

By James Reston

KANSAS CITY, Aug. 31—The best that can be said about President Ford here in Kansas City is that he made a good acceptance speech and avoided an open revolt within the Republican Party.

He strengthened the core of his army by narrowing its base, and now looks strong all the way from Grand Rapids to Topeka.

It is an interesting experiment in stockade politics, huddling the conservative faithful together in the Middle West, but it defies geography and the multiplication tables.

There is now, and for a very long time there has been, general agreement about how to win and lose Presidential elections in this country.

"The party with a minority following," concludes the Brookings Institution's study of "The Politics of National Party Conventions," "cannot hope to win by nominating a candidate in its own image—one who will meet with favor only among its previous following. If it insists constantly on such a choice, it can justly be accused of trying to commit political suicide."

"No America without democracy," says Clinton Rossiter in his brilliant study of "Parties and Politics in America," "no democracy without politics, no politics without parties, no parties without compromises and moderation."

"The unwritten laws of American politics demand that the parties overlap substantially in principle, policy, character, appeal and purpose—or cease to be parties with any hope of winning a national election . . ."

This was the general rule that elected Gen. Eisenhower and even Nixon for two terms apiece, and Roosevelt for four. It was also the rule Mr. Ford himself followed when he came to the White House as a conservative and reached out to Nelson Rockefeller and stuck with Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State. Even Ronald Reagan tried for a "Republican coalition" with his appointment of Senator Schweiker of Pennsylvania as a potential Vice President.

But in his preoccupation with Reagan, President Ford dumped Rockefeller, hid Kissinger here in Kansas City as much as possible, swallowed an anti-Kissinger foreign policy plank in his own platform, and finally settled for Senator Dole as Vice President—a pineapple by any other name.

Even Mr. Dole had enough sense of humor and sense of history to be astonished and embarrassed when he was told that

Mr. Ford in the selection is the way it was done.

He didn't really choose Dole on ideological grounds. It is not reasonable to suppose that he chose him as the best possible No. 2 President or even as a young Republican who could hold the party together into the 1980's if they lost in November.

After all the talk of casual and disastrous last-minute Vice President choices, Mr. Ford did precisely that—he chose Dole literally in the middle of the night. It didn't make sense but it made temporary peace with Reagan. And besides, Carter was perceived to be thin-skinned and short-tempered, and Dole was regarded in the Republican Party as a good man with a hatchet.

This is not the best advertisement for Mr. Ford's reputation as an amiable, decent guy who wants to run a "positive, responsible, Presidential" campaign, but he did it anyway, and the main point about it is, not that he

## WASHINGTON

figured it all out with evil intention, but that he really didn't figure it out, and had no long-range intention at all—only to get through the convention without provoking Reagan supporters into a demonstration and a conservative third party movement.

This has hurt the President even in his own party, for it raises a fundamental question about his judgment and his vision of the country's and even his own best interests.

For 25 years as a leading man of the Congress, he was never seriously considered for the Presidency. When he stumbled into it, he said he wouldn't interfere in the legal charges against Nixon whom he then pardoned.

He was also uncertain about the economy—fiddling with WIN buttons and balanced budgets. He was uncertain about Rockefeller, Kissinger, and about whether to campaign in the primaries or not to campaign; whether to debate Jimmy Carter or not debate him.

Mr. Ford's instincts about the Vice Presidency originally were quite different. He favored young moderate experienced men—George Bush of Texas, Donald Rumsfeld of Illinois—but then, almost by accident, he eliminated them by putting them into the C.I.A. and Defense Department beyond political recall.

What has hurt the President here is not that he is trying to take the country to the right or that he doesn't want to do what is right, but that he is confused in his own mind about

# Plains Language From Truthful James

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By C. I. Sulzberger

PLAINS, Ga.—Jimmy Carter is a mild politician and honest enough to acknowledge that foreign policy is likely to be a relatively lesser issue in his campaign to replace Gerald R. Ford. "The lines aren't clearly drawn there and as a result domestic matters are bound to be more important," he said.

In this frank statement—which he wouldn't have made had he the "irresponsible" Reagan been his opponent—in some sense the quietly-tough Reagan doesn't have a pretty precise idea of what changes a Carter administration would seek in the United States attitude abroad.

At the heart lies a twisted conviction: "The President must 'be in charge' and take ultimate decisions. He must also keep the American people informed, especially through Congress, of all the United States commitments. He adds: 'There can be no serious consequences to keeping people and Congress informed. If national security is involved on some issue and it is therefore inadvisable to publicize details, at least press must be kept advised.'"

After all, our Secretary of State would speak to the world with a holier voice if he didn't speak for the people. That is one of our troubles. The people don't even know what the President is talking about much of the time. And, as foreign nations become aware of this, it weakens our position abroad. Instead, Mr. Carter explains:

overseas. They doubt the value of our proclaimed positions."

During a wide-ranging talk in the den of his comfortable one-story house in this peanut, corn-, pecan- and cattle-raising area, I wondered if extensive consultation with Congress might not encourage that body's desire to intrude American political considerations into formulation of United States international policy.

"No," he replied. "If the Congress and the President consult continually and closely on our country's objective needs—take, for example, Cyprus—there will be less political influence exerted on Congress or applied by pressure politics. Congress has a tendency to inject itself into foreign policy problems when it is not first consulted by the President. Therefore, I am convinced my formula will avoid partisan influence on the reverse."

He believes the method he proposes will encourage a bipartisan approach to world problems by producing better understanding of global difficulties. He stresses: "The emphasis would be on discussion with Congressional leaders of both parties. I would furthermore favor inclusion of some qualified Republicans in my Cabinet, if I am elected, or in other positions dealing with international affairs."

However, he opposes an idea, once contemplated by Truman, of appointing two cabinet members to share foreign policy problems: a Secretary of State, who would remain at home, and a secretary of foreign affairs, who would be America's chief negotiator abroad. Instead, Mr. Carter explains:

"I want a Secretary of State like Marshall or Acheson, a strong spokesman for U.S. policy, a man who could analyze problems and maintain close relations with the President. But it is the President who must be responsible for ultimate decisions. Right now it isn't clear whether Kissinger or Ford makes the final policy decisions. I personally think it's Kissinger, not Ford."

"The Secretary of State must be the President's Number One adviser on foreign policy. But I would like to help him out by improving the quality of our major diplomatic appointments. I want these to depend firmly on merit. I am not under obligation to anyone, and I don't believe people should be paid off for helping elect a President by getting embassies."

"Finally, at the same time, I would like a man of great competence to administer the National Security Council and to expand that body's role to include matters like foreign trade, economics, energy, agriculture, et cetera."

Before future columns elaborating these ideas and others related to foreign policy—choice of envoys, nuclear strategy, oil, the third world, overseas bases and military dispositions, Eurocommunism—I would like to add a brief personal impression.

For myself, a foreign resident over almost four decades, Jimmy Carter in the flesh is more appealing than Jimmy Carter the TV image: externally courteous, more relaxed, internally thoughtful, brisk, decisive. He seems to contrast in some respects with his

rural Southern habitat of quiet creeks, swamplands dominated by great trees trailing Spanish moss, lazy cattle surrounded by white egrets.

This is a tender landscape that partially obscures its own vitality, truth and plain language. History must prove whether its first Presidential candidate since the Civil War can successfully impress these essential qualities on the nation.

## ... South African Retreat

South Africa's white rulers have reacted in contradictory ways to the black protests and riots that have claimed more than 250 lives in two months. They have promised a "new deal" for blacks living in the segregated townships near the major cities—modest reforms aimed at meeting longstanding grievances. But they have at the same time arrested many of the leaders with whom they will have to discuss any reforms.

When a new round of rioting broke out in Soweto outside Johannesburg earlier this month, the white police sought help from Winnie Mandela, a leader of the Black Parents' Association and the wife of black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, who has been in prison for the last thirteen years. But several days later the police arrested Mrs. Mandela—who already has spent seventeen months in detention and thirteen years under house arrest.

Many of the leaders best qualified to articulate black

grievances—clergymen, lawyers, educators, journalists, activists in women's and student organizations—are among some 140 now being detained without charge or trial under South Africa's drastic security laws. How can the Government expect to resolve its racial problems by dialogue with the nonwhites if it persists in shutting up those best qualified to participate in the dialogue?

Before her arrest, Winnie Mandela warned the Government that a few concessions would not suffice to restore order in the townships; only the promise of eventual full parliamentary representation for the black majority could accomplish that. As the history of black African nationalism clearly demonstrates, if the white rulers ignore her advice and silence her voice they will soon be hearing a rising chorus of far more strident voices.

## Part Way in Namibia...

A multiracial conference representing eleven tribal or ethnic groups in Namibia (South-West Africa) has announced plans for bringing that territory to independence from South Africa. Ten years ago, these proposals would have been hailed even by black African governments as a breakthrough. The plans call for dismantling apartheid, pulling Namibia together as a unitary state with safeguards for minorities and setting up a multiracial central Government that would aim at independence by the end of 1978.

On paper this program meets many of the demands made over many years by black Namibian leaders and their backers in black African governments. It envisions a Namibia very different from the one that South Africa's white Government was trying until recently to construct in the former German colony it has ruled since 1970.

The nonwhite participants in the conference at Windhoek clearly proved, by their insistence on the scrapping of apartheid and their agreement to a unitary state, that they are far from being the stooges of the white South African Government that more radical black leaders have made them out to be. And the representatives of 90,000 whites—about 12 percent of Namibia's population—demonstrated much greater willingness to accept multiracial government than South Africa's white rulers.

As it stands, however, the conference report faces certain rejection by most black African governments and it must raise questions even among those disposed to acknowledge the progress it represents. It was obviously rushed to publication to blunt a United Nations Security Council resolution of last January which called for sanctions against South Africa unless it agreed to elections in Namibia under U.N. supervision by August 31.

The document in fact contains no reference to elections and makes it evident that final agreement has yet to be reached on a "constitutional foundation" and a form of government. Representation at the conference was based on ethnic groups rather than political formations. Thus, the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the only Namibian entity recognized by the United Nations, did not participate in the meetings and promptly denounced the program. The 25-member United Nations Council for Namibia also rejected the report and called on the Security Council to take "appropriate measures" against South Africa.

As with so many efforts to advance peaceful evolution in volatile southern Africa, the Windhoek report offers too little and has come along very late. To have genuine utility, the agreement has to be fleshed out quickly with provisions for elections supervised by the United Nations—whose ward Namibia legally is—and SWAPO must somehow be brought into the deliberations on the country's constitutional structure.

# Presidential Campaign

Now that the two major parties have decided on their Presidential tickets after the seemingly endless—and exhausting—preconvention campaigns, the American people have just ten weeks left to make up their minds on the fateful choice of national leadership for the next four years. That choice will depend both on the way the electorate sizes up the two principal candidates, and on the way the respective candidates propose to handle the great political, economic and social questions affecting this country's future.

For all the foolishness and froth that surrounds it, especially at convention time, the process of selecting—and electing—an American President is a profoundly moving and serious act of democratic faith and judgment. With the experience of 1972 still fresh in mind, the American people today have to be acutely aware of the significance of the decision they are called upon to make in choosing the nation's Chief Executive and also—in case his term is not completed—his designated successor.

As the campaign proceeds—and, despite the polls, it is the genius of the American political system that no election is settled until the ballots are counted—the American voter will be trying to evaluate the true character, instincts, philosophy and qualities of leadership of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. Of equal importance is the necessity to determine their respective positions on the basic issues.

In fact, the most interesting point President Ford made in his politically adept acceptance speech in Kansas City last week—perhaps the best political speech at either convention and delivered with more force and eloquence than the President has ever before displayed—was his assertion that he was "ready, eager to go before the American people and debate the real issues face-to-face."

As his Democratic opponent had already indicated willingness to undertake such a debate, there is now genuine ground for hope that the campaign will concentrate on "the real issues," issues of substance, and that it will not be distracted by emotional excursions designed

only to whip up passions and inflame prejudices. In this connection, President Ford's disappointing choice of Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, a sharply partisan wheel horse of no national stature, places in doubt his alleged determination to wage a campaign on the real issues.

The real issues are not hard to find. They involve the basic questions of the national economy: how best to handle inflation which, though slowed, is still inordinately high, and unemployment, to which the same comment applies. They concern the inequity of taxes, and how to achieve sound and fair tax reform. The real issues go to the heart of the urban problem and the responsibility of the Federal Government to assist the cities and other localities in shouldering the burden of welfare, of reconstruction and rehabilitation, of education, health and housing.

The issues concern the basic flaws in our society: racial conflict growing out of economic and social injustice; the explosion of crime ignited by hopelessness and neglect; corruption at varying levels of public as well as private business; the imminent destruction of a livable environment, both urban and rural; threatened or actual erosion of individual rights, of personal privacy, of human freedom. The real issues include major aspects of defense and foreign policy, the energy crisis, questions of foreign trade and the accountability of multinationals, America's relations with her allies, the third and Communist worlds, the United Nations.

President Ford did well to demand discussion of the "real issues," but even in doing so in his acceptance address, he tended to smother them in meaningless and misleading generalities. It simply will not do for him merely to ape Harry Truman's campaign of 1948 by concentrating his attack on Congress.

In this revolutionized world, do Gerald Ford and Robert Dole give greater promise of clear, courageous and thoughtful leadership than do Jimmy Carter and Fritz Mondale? That is the question the American voter will have to decide in the next ten weeks.

# Conservationists Give Carter High Marks and Ford, Low Ones

By GLADWIN HILL

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 21—If

environmental concern won

elections, there would be no

need for a November runoff be-

lieve Jimmy Carter and Presi-

dent Ford.

Conservationists give the

Democratic candidate very high

marks for his record and posi-

tion on environmental prob-

lems, and give Mr. Ford very

low ones. The same dispari-

ties between the running

of Senator Walter F. Mond-

ale of Minnesota and Senator

Mark J. Daley of Kansas.

What this may mean in terms

of votes is problematical. Al-

though opinion surveys indicate

an important concern of citi-

zens, it is regarded as essen-

tially a "switcher" issue — not

a primary determinant, but a sub-

capable of polarizing other

undecided votes.

Recognition of this was sug-

gested in both the Democratic

Republican primary cam-

paign. Representative Morris

of Arizona made an en-

vironmental values a major

point, apparently to

win a seat in the North

Carolina primary, both Presi-

dents and Ronald Reagan

impelled to espouse pre-

servative philosophy that there

is no need to change develop-

ment.

Mr. Ford was in office 10

months before he met a group

of environmental leaders, and

it was to advance the phi-

losophy that there is no need

ervation of the New River from

power development—a reversal

of a previous Ford stand.

A Carter victory in November

would portend a new outlook

on environment in the White

House where it has been getting

very short shift, conservation

leaders say, and perhaps some

significant changes in the ac-

tivities of some Federal agen-

cies.

A leading political activist

organization in the environ-

mental field, the League of

Conservation Voters, rates the

former Georgia Governor as

"outstanding." President Ford,

by contrast, was called "hope-

less."

The nonpartisan, Washing-

ton-based league is a campaign

arm of such groups as the Si-

erra Club and Friends of the

Earth, as well as thousands of

individual citizens throughout

the country.

The league's latest rating of

Senator Mondale, on the basis

of selected votes and environ-

mental issues in the Senate,

was 78 out of a possible 100

points. Senator Daley's score

was 38.

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months before he met a group

of environmental leaders, and

it was to advance the phi-

losophy that there is no need

to change develop-

ment.

be a detente between environ-

mental quality and economic

advancement.

Mr. Carter, by contrast, on

the day he announced his can-

didatecy, said in answer to a

news conference question that

oil deposits in the case of a

conflict between economic

development and environmental

quality would go with environ-

mental quality.

The league analysis of Mr.

Carter's record runs 42 type-

written pages. Some highlights

are as follows:

U.S. Governor of Georgia

from 1970 to 1974, he consoli-

dated most of the state's en-

vironmental functions into a

Department of Natural Re-

sources, with a vigorous ad-

ministrator; got budget in-

creases for environmental ac-

tivities and launched numerous

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Oil: Favors restrictions on

the oil industry's vertical inte-

gration and ownership of com-

peting energy sources; has ad-

vocated Federal, rather than in-

dustry, exploration of offshore

oil deposits.

The main fault found in Mr.

Carter's record was his support

of large-scale highway construc-

tion, placement of Georgia's

coastal program under a budget-

ary agency, rather than a re-

source agency, advocacy of de-

velopment of natural gas, and

"waffling" on abortion.

Ford Is Credited

Mr. Ford was credited by the

league with having "served en-

vironment well on a handful of

occasions," such as his policies

on international fishing and

whaling restrictions, predator

poisoning, and revitalization of

the railroads.

However, the league added,

"His administration has usually

chased after energy at any

price."

Cited were the Administra-

tion's promotion of nuclear

power, accelerated offshore oil

and west coal-leasing programs,

strip-mining control legislation,

Also on the debit list were im-

portant Doofus Ford's regional

coordinator in Denver and a

legislator in Western problems.

and pressure for weak oil-shale problems.

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ened water pollution regula-

tions, extended deadlines on air

pollution compliance, and weak

toxic substances controls; and

undiscoverable policies on mining,

logging, and grazing on Federal

lands.

"The Ford Administration in

general has turned its back on

the environmental movement,"

Michael McCloskey, executive

director of the Sierra Club,

commented Thursday. "I have

never seen a contrast between

two positions drawn more

clearly."

Departing from tradition, the

Sierra Club, in the "Outgoing

issue of its monthly magazine

will publish the respective

Carter and Ford responses to a

league questionnaire on en-

vironmental views.

While little has been heard

from the Ford camp on the rule

environment will play in the

President's coming campaign,

Mr. Carter has been organizing

a sizable environmental task

force. It includes such individ-

uals as Joe Browder, recent

head of the Environmental Pol-

icy Center, a Washington lob-

bying group; and Katherine

Fleicher, recently the Environ-

mental Defense Fund's regional

coordinator in Denver and a

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# Carter Seeks to Establish Close Ties With Congress

## He Plans to Help the Campaigns of Many Democratic Candidates to Muster Support for Reforms

By RICHARD O. LYONS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 21—Jimmy Carter, more than any Presidential candidate in recent years, is courting the allegiance of Congress before the November elections by going to unusual lengths in aiding Democrats seeking election to Congress. At the same time, he is discreetly soliciting the cooperation of key committee chairmen and party leaders on Capitol Hill.

The power changes in Congress will be the most extensive in years, involving changes in the Democratic leadership of both houses, 50 changes in chairmanships and perhaps 100 new members. Because of this, Mr. Carter cannot take Congressional cooperation for granted and he is seeking to head off problems long before they may arise.

Representative Al Ullman of Oregon, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, conferred with Mr. Carter for four hours on Wednesday. He said that the Democratic Presidential candidate "already is deeply concerned about getting Congress and the executive branch into a harmonious arrangement."

"He is very well aware that Congressional cooperation is the key to his whole program," Mr. Ullman said, adding that Mr. Carter has listed "quantum changes" in Federal programs on taxation, the Federal bureaucracy, health insurance and welfare as his major reform proposals.

Mr. Carter, along with nearly all the Democratic political experts, assumes that even a successful Presidential campaign will not dramatically raise his party's majorities in both houses and that the ideological divisions within Congress will remain about the same.

Thus, to bring about the more controversial legislative and administrative reforms he is proposing as campaign issues, Mr. Carter and his aides feel

that he will need not only large numbers of Democrats who are loyal to him.

By contrast, if President Ford is elected it is unlikely that the Republicans will capture either house and it is just as unlikely that the new Democratic leaders will effect the current impasse between the two branches of government.

Mr. Carter is seeking to put many Democrats in his debt by making personal appearances and attending fund-raising functions for them to a much greater degree than is customary in a Presidential campaign.

Changes in the Federal election laws have placed restrictions on campaign contributions to local candidates while Federal funds subsidize the Presidential races. This serves to accent the fund-raising help that a Presidential candidate can give to a Congressional candidate.

Under the 1974 Campaign Finance Act, Congressional candidates are forbidden to accept campaign contributions of more than \$1,000 from an individual or \$5,000 from an established political committee.

### 'A New Ball Game'

"It's a whole new ball game in fund raising this year and it's going to be easy for us to help a lot of candidates," said Frank Moore, Mr. Carter's Congressional liaison director.

Mr. Moore said Mr. Carter hoped that these candidates he helped get elected would in turn "bind themselves to Jimmy" next year.

Representative Tim L. Hall of Illinois, who won a surprise victory two years ago in a normally Republican area, is a candidate who is binding himself to Mr. Carter. Mindful of his narrow, 7,400-vote margin, Mr. Hall is passing out campaign buttons identifying himself as being one of "Carter's Little Lever Pals."

In addition to seeking to mesh his campaign with those of most Democratic Congressional candidates, Mr. Carter is looking beyond the November elections by holding policy discussions in Georgia with key Congressional committee chairmen.

He has also sought to foster a spirit of mutual cooperation and dependence by making four visits to Capitol Hill, where the shift in membership and leadership promises to be the most extensive in many years.

Eight Senators and 51 Representatives have already announced their retirements, while three other Representatives have been defeated for primary renominations. With these 62 seats known to be changing and with more Congressional primaries and the general election yet to take place, it seems likely that there will be 100 new faces in the Senate and House next year.

### Gains Expected

Mr. Carter's chief pollster, Patrick H. Caddell of Cambridge, Mass., has told Democratic strategists here that the Democrats might gain from 20 to 30 seats in the House this fall, which, if true, would underscore the already extensive changes. A gain of 20 in the House would give the Democrats 311 seats, the greatest majority since the Roosevelt landslide of 1936.

Mr. Caddell cautioned that his numbers "haven't crystallized yet" and other Carter aides, such as Mr. Moore believe that Democratic gains will be much more modest.

Representative James C.orman of California, the chairman of the Democratic National Congressional Committee, said, "We Democrats would be happy to retain the 2-to-1 majority we now have in the House."

"I think it's possible that we might pick up five more seats, but it's still too early to tell," he added. His estimate is supported by another Democratic pollster, William R. Hamilton of Washington, who in the past also conducted surveys for Mr. Carter.

As for the leadership, 10 committee chairmen and 39 subcommittee chairmen are known to be leaving the House and Senate. Viewed another way, next January only seven of the 22 standing committees in the House will have the chairmen they had two years ago.

Further, the Democratic leaders of both houses—Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana and Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma—are retiring and Mr. Carter has already conferred with their likely replacements, Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia and Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts.



# CARTER TO STRESS CAMPAIGN IN AREAS OF FORD STRENGTH

Opening Labor Day Speech  
to Be in Warm Springs  
Retreat of Roosevelt

## MAIN STRATEGY HINTED

No Threat Appears Felt in  
the South or Its Adjacent  
Border State Regions

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

Special to The New York Times

AMERICUS, Ga., Aug. 21

After opening his Presidential campaign with a Labor Day speech in Warm Springs, Ga., Franklin Roosevelt's favorite retreat, Jimmy Carter plans to focus his pursuit of the White House on states where President Ford seems strongest, an aide said today.

In the first look at the Democratic candidate's geographic strategies, Jody Powell, his press secretary, said here today that major investments of time and money would be made in those areas "that look to be the most hotly contested, from California, running through the industrial midlands, up into the Northeast."

Such an approach would seem to confirm what Mr. Carter has been tentatively suggesting for several days now, that he feels no threat from President Ford here in the South or in its adjacent border regions and does not plan to extend himself greatly in those areas.

### Alternative Prepared

Adding substance to that theory, Mr. Powell said today that Florida and Texas, where Mr. Carter won Democratic primaries, were "not quite in the category" of states "hotly contested" by the Republican ticket.

Moreover, Mr. Powell's preview of the Democratic thrust this autumn reflected the candidate's response to Mr. Ford's selection of Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas as his Vice Presidential running mate.

Had the choice been Ronald Reagan, John B. Connally or Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, all of whom are regarded as substantially more formidable in the South than Mr. Dole, Mr. Carter was prepared to answer the challenge with a spirited Southern campaign.

### Will Speak Tomorrow

The choice of Warm Springs, the tiny Georgia village where Mr. Roosevelt died 31 years ago, was announced by Mr. Powell on the eve of a four-day trip by Mr. Carter to the West Coast and Iowa, a foray designed to reinforce his image in those areas.

He will speak in Los Angeles on Monday, Seattle on Tuesday and Des Moines on Wednesday, before returning to his home in Plains, eight miles from this city.

The Carter forces chose not to begin his campaign at a traditional Labor Day rally in Cadillac Square in Detroit be-

cause Michigan is the home state of the President, Mr. Powell said. "But we're not conceding Michigan," he added.

Warm Springs, he said, is "an extremely beautiful setting" that holds significance for the country because of its relationship to Mr. Roosevelt, who spent a great deal of time there as a part of his rehabilitation from polio. Later, as President, Mr. Roosevelt made the little town his Southern White House.

### Other Steps Planned

In addition to his opening in Georgia on Sept. 6, Mr. Carter will probably appear at a stock car race in Darlington, S. C., and at an evening rally in Virginia, Mr. Powell said. In the first week of his campaign, he will spend his time in other Southern states and in the urban Northeast.

Mr. Powell also disclosed that the Democrats plan to supplement the appearances of Mr. Carter and his running mate, Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, with a coordinated schedule for their wives and their families.

"We will be hitting almost every area of the country every week with somebody," he said. A map with scheduling overlays will be used "to get a visual feel for all this," he said.

Moreover, he said, that arrangement will be augmented with appearances on behalf of Mr. Carter by "prominent Democrats" such as Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

Mr. Powell said that the purpose of the trip to California

this week would be to "provide early exposure" for Mr. Carter in an area where he did not campaign extensively this past winter and spring during the primaries.

"We do better where we're known better," he said. He contended that Carter campaign pills had shown the candidate to be in a "very favorable position" in California. Although he declined to show the poll from which he was quoting to reporters here, he said Mr. Carter's support on the West Coast was "both harder and more enthusiastic than President Ford."

But he said he expected the President's popularity, as measured in polls, would increase now that he has won the Republican nomination.

Mr. Carter's speech in Los Angeles will attempt to set an optimistic, upbeat tone for his campaign, his chief speech writer, H. R. Anderson, said today. His remarks on Tuesday in Seattle before the national convention of the American Legion, will deal with "things he feels need to be done to restore the country to a proper position of trust and respect around the world," Mr. Powell said.

On Wednesday in Des Moines, Mr. Powell suggested, Mr. Carter will seek to exploit what the campaign strategists now perceive to be a "discontent with the Ford Administration" among farmers and other voters in the Midwest.

Mr. Carter believes the Republican ticket is vulnerable there, and Mr. Powell said he appraised the selection of Mr. Dole as an admission by the President that it was now well in the Midwest for him.



## China's Quake Enhances Stature of Premier Hua

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

Special to The New York Times

HONG KONG, Aug. 21.—For all the suffering that last month's earthquake brought to parts of north China, it may have had one positive effect. It seems to have helped consolidate the position of Hua Kuo-feng, the relatively unknown party administrator who was unexpectedly picked as Prime Minister last spring to replace the late Chou En-lai.

With China facing so many other uncertainties, the impending death of a badly-enfeebled Chairman Mao Tse-tung, a series of vacancies in major party posts, and an unsettled political campaign, Mr. Hua's evident emergence as an effective leader is an important accomplishment.

At the time when Mr. Hua was chosen prime minister in April, after the day-long disturbance in Peking's Tien An Men Square by 100,000 people, many analysts believed that he was a last-minute compromise choice, a man of lesser rank and experience but the one acceptable to all sides.

Whatever the reason for Mr.

Hua's selection, events since the earthquake that struck Hopei Province on July 28 have revealed him as an apparently forceful and capable leader.

It was Mr. Hua who headed relief efforts. And it was Mr. Hua who led a delegation, two days after the initial tremor, to Tangshan, the devastated industrial city near the epicenter of the quake.

To underscore the point, a film clip of Mr. Hua's visit has been repeatedly shown on Chinese television.

Some analysts believe that his new stature and the populace's growing familiarity with him are reflected in a change in the terminology by which he has been identified in the press.

Until recently, he was always referred to as Hua Kuo-feng Tsung-li, or Prime Minister Hua Kuo-feng. Last week the press agency, Hsinhua, began referring to him simply as Hua Tsung-li, or Prime Minister Hua, a more familiar usage.

Chairman Mao is the only other leader regularly accorded this treatment.

# Miki Meets With Chief Critic in Tokyo, But Is Unsuccessful in Party Unity Bid

By ANDREW H. MALCOLM  
Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Aug. 21 — Prime Minister Takeo Miki conferred again today with his chief political critic and challenger, Takeo Fukuda, in an unsuccessful effort to patch up the political split that widened this week within Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party.

The meeting took place at the end of a hectic week that saw some unusual political developments here, including jeering of the Prime Minister by members of his own party and the mounting drive to seek a party vote of no-confidence in Mr. Miki as leader of the Liberal Democrats.

There was a series of meetings of local and national party officials, elders and members of the Diet to discuss the political consequences of the Lockheed aircraft bribery scandal. Former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka was indicted Monday for bribery in the scandal.

Mr. Miki, who heads only a minor faction in his party, used the sessions to repeat his public appeals for thorough party reforms, for a special session of the Parliament to handle pressing fiscal legislation and then for a general election. "The final political settlement rests with the general election," Mr. Miki told 200 delegates from his party's provincial chapters. "Let us leave everything to the judgment of the people."

## Resignation Demanded

Mr. Miki's opponents include the powerful factions of Mr. Fukuda, who is Deputy Prime Minister, of Masayoshi Ohira, the Finance Minister, and the now leaderless but angry faction once headed by Mr. Tanaka. They want Mr. Miki to resign his party leadership, and thus the Prime Minister's post, before the extraordinary session of Parliament, expected late this month or early in September.

"At first I thought it was good for Miki to investigate the Lockheed incident," Etsusaburo Shiina, the party vice president, said yesterday. "But a little flattery has gone to his head and now he believes he is the only one who anybody can."

An earlier bid by Mr. Shiina to oust Mr. Miki failed when public opinion generally interpreted the move as an effort to halt the Lockheed investigations. Such political control of criminal probes has not been unknown in Japanese political party votes and reforming po-

relies heavily on corporate support.

Mr. Miki has called on party members to display the political courage necessary to face the Lockheed scandal—which has now seen the arrest of 18 Japanese, including three prominent Liberal Democrats—and to reform the party structure to avoid other scandals.

## Jeering Incident

These reforms, he said, include disbanding party factions, broadening participation in party votes and reforming political fundraising that now relies heavily now on corporate support.

But when the Prime Minister

suggested these reforms at a party conference Wednesday, his voice was drowned out by jeers. "That's nonsense," they said, "stop joking." "Shut up." "Are you an opposition party leader?"

Then on Thursday his opponents circulated a petition calling for a meeting during the coming week of the 393 Liberal Democrats who are members of the Diet. Today there were 277 signatures on the petition, including those of 11 of the 21 Cabinet ministers.

At the session, Mr. Miki's Liberal Democratic critics are expected to push for a vote of no confidence, which is usually a tactic employed by the opposition political parties. According to party rules, if more than two-thirds of the party members from Parliament attend the meeting, their votes will have the same power as a general party convention. And Mr. Miki's resignation as party president would be sought.

Because of the Liberal Democrats' majority in Parliament, election to their party's presidency has in the past been tantamount to selection as Prime Minister.

It is not customary in Japanese politics to openly attack fellow party members. Implication is preferred. Thus, the 71-year-old Mr. Fukuda talks of the need to "freshen" the party, and his supporters understand that as an attack on Mr. Miki.

Mr. Fukuda has also been doing a little political fence-mending with past party adversaries. This week he visited the home of Shigeru Hori, an influential Liberal Democratic Party elder, and both agreed on the need for Mr. Miki's resignation.