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Beall has a lot going, but is it enough?

By BENTLEY ORRICK

Representative J. Glenn Beall, Jr., the amiable Western Maryland businessman and Republican politician, says he has the momentum going to overcome the formidable advantages his opponent, Senator Joseph D. Tydings, possesses merely by virtue of being an incumbent and a Democrat.

Mr. Beall indeed has a lot going for him, but it looks like it will be either too little or too late.

President Nixon flew into the state to campaign for Mr. Beall. Vice President Agnew, the state's most politically successful native son in this century, drove into the state to campaign against Mr. Tydings.

The radical right and the firearms fanatics are distributing their overblown denunciations of Mr. Tydings on schedule.

Mr. Tydings's honesty was questioned in a national magazine article.

The old-line Democratic politicians that control the white urban and suburban working-class bloc votes still cannot entirely forget nor forgive Mr. Tydings's

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1964 election in which he ran against the bosses.

Some still smolder about Mr. Tydings's prosecutions, as a Kennedy-appointed U.S. district attorney, of Democratic political luminaries involved in the savings and loans scandals.

The rank-and-file white workingman still harbors a distrust of Mr. Tydings for being too friendly with the blacks.

And then there is the personality of Maryland's senior senator. The words sometimes heard are "aloof," "stuck-up," "cocky," "unavailable." But the words are heard less often now.

Most of the things Mr. Beall has going for him are intangibles.

Most of what Mr. Tydings has going for him are easier to put your hand on. He has by far the better campaign organization, both at the professional and volunteer level. He has almost solid backing from the leaders of organized labor, the same backing that kept the rank-and-file primary election defections from becoming a rout. He has the solid support of the Baltimore Negro vote, out to flex its newly developed muscles.

He is on the ticket of Governor Mandel who appears sublimely confident of election in a landslide. He has raised enough money to checkmate a Republican television blitz.

And he is a Democrat in a state dominated by Democrats.

It would be an upset if Mr. Beall could overcome all the material advantages of Democratic incumbency in a Democratic state, but for a while it looked like an upset was very much in the making.

Mr. Tydings failed to get a majority of the votes cast in the Democratic primary. The 173,000 votes for George P. Mahoney added up to 25,000 more than the veteran campaigner usually gets, and the 40,000 votes for a political unknown also in the race smacked of a substantial protest vote against the senator.

Mr. Beall, who had followed his late father's path into the state Legislature and then into the House of Representatives, had breezed through the primary.

Vice President Agnew had been instrumental in getting Mr. Beall to give up his safe congressional seat for a crack at Mr. Tydings and a chance at following his father one step farther into the Senate and, in the process, exacting a measure of political revenge, because it was Mr. Tydings who retired the senior Beall from the Senate in the 1964 election.

Mr. Beall, at 43 a year older than Mr. Tydings, had a well-known political name in Maryland. But Mr. Tydings not only enjoyed the publicity advantages of incumbency, he bore the name of the late

Senator Millard E. Tydings, who, with four straight terms, was the most widely known Maryland politician of the century until Mr. Agnew came along.

Mr. Beall, probably in the interests of conserving campaign money, in short supply after the Democratic fund drives, barely campaigned before the September 15 primary. It was apparently a miscalculation because he soon found that he had to devote a debilitating amount of personal time and his campaign resources just to let the voters know who he was.

The Western Marylander started off in low gear and seemed to stay there too long. The original strategy was just to be there, just to present a respectable alternative to Joe Tydings, to pick up his enemies, to ride the Maryland branch of the conservative river that was said to be rolling along at flood stage and about to smash the liberal dikes.

Mr. Tydings had picked up a lot of enemies with his firearms registration proposal, his early dovishness on Vietnam, his active role in the Senate rejection of two of Mr. Nixon's Supreme Court nominees from the South.

But Mr. Tydings had been busy covering himself. He had, in his own words, "preempted the crime issue" with his early and stanch backing of anticrime



Tydings and Beall: The fence-mending senator vs. the good, gray opponent.

legislation, some of which annoyed but did not repel his liberal constituency.

He wasn't seen anywhere near a college campus during the riots.

He handled the gun issue so well that Mr. Beall started calling gun control "a straw man" that Mr. Tydings had created himself.

"I've spent a hell of a lot of time mending fences," Mr. Tydings likes to say. And apparently he has.

Mr. Beall took the offensive in the campaign October 9 by injecting the

racially sensitive issue of using buses to promote racial integration in the schools. Mr. Tydings hadn't voted to ban federal funds for busing, Mr. Beall said. But Mr. Tydings replied that he believed in local option, state's rights if you will, and called busing impractical in any case.

Mr. Beall said that Mr. Tydings was supported by radical sounding groups, such as the Americans for Democratic Action. Mr. Tydings said the ADA sup-

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ported Mr. Agnew in 1966, so what was Mr. Beall calling the Vice President?

The President and the Vice President came in and Mr. Tydings said he must be doing something right to be singled out for a GOP purge.

Mr. Beall, true to his style, stopped short of bandying about the Life magazine story that detailed Mr. Tydings's major interest in a mortgage company that did business with the government. Mr. Beall, a longtime proponent of civil rights himself, also stayed clear of racial issues after his one shot on busing.

Meanwhile Mr. Tydings was trumpeting his pro-labor record and calling Mr. Beall a Republican "rubber stamp" on economics, blaming the Nixon adminis-

tration for increased unemployment and rising prices.

Mr. Beall is recognized, now. That much of his campaign plan has been realized. On his handshaking tours he is greeted by a surprising number of men and women ready to declare, "You've got my vote," even if they are not sure if his name rhymes with "teal" or "tell."

Mr. Tydings, while often greeted warmly, almost never gets to hear those magic words, "You've got my vote."

But as election day neared, all the indications were that good, prematurely gray Glenn Beall had never really got going in time.

If Mr. Beall takes it on Tuesday, it will be a come-from-behind upset and a vindication of President Nixon's campaigning.