

Fred Morris

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JAN 12 1975 *Buffalo*

White House race draws Harris's bid

Concord, N.H. (AP)—Fred R. Harris became the third Democrat yesterday to announce a formal bid for the 1976 presidential nomination.

The former senator from Oklahoma called for \$20 to \$28 billion in tax cuts for many Americans, but said taxes should be increased "for the Nelson Rockefellers and J. Paul Gettys."

Mr. Harris, 44, said the economy also needs a massive public service job program, enforcement of anti-trust laws and selective controls on monopolies and big business such as food, steel, oil and autos.

Mr. Harris, the son of a sharecropper, stood behind a hand-lettered banner that said, "Let's Get to Work for America."

His wife, LaDonna, a Comanche who is active in women's and American Indian affairs, smiled over his shoulder. About 100 supporters clapped frequently.

Mr. Harris called for an attack on big business and the rich.

"Privilege is the issue. It prevents full employment and fair taxes. It drives up prices and corrupts democracy," Mr. Harris said.

"The basic question in 1976 is whether our government will look after the interests of the average family or continue to protect the super rich and the giant corporations . . . We're interested in changing this country and returning it to popular control," the former senator said.

He had made a quick bid for the presidency in 1972 but dropped out when he was beaten after six weeks.

Mr. Harris said he had to be sure Georgia's ability to govern was not "undermined" when he bid for the office of governor. "I'm not a politician, foreign policy" he said at the United States. "If the people were in an average sit-

uation there no long could bet he tit toward supporting dictatorships."

Mr. Harris promised to run "a people's campaign."

He said this time he is traveling without staff in borrowed cars often combining his campaigning with lectures to cover expenses, staying at the homes of supporters, holding coffees in private homes and keeping his campaign low-key and low-cost. He has raised about \$3,000, he said.

Meanwhile, Representative Morris K. Udall (D., Ariz.) was campaigning several miles away.

The first 1976 presidential primary will be in New Hampshire March 2, 1976.

Mr. Udall and Georgia's Gov. Jimmy Carter are the only other announced Democratic presidential hopefuls.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas have indicated they might run. Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota have said they will not run.

Mr. Harris promised to organize his supporters around local issues.

After the news conference, Mr. Harris held a meeting of his supporters to discuss New Hampshire issues. Those issues—listed on a blackboard beside Mr. Harris—included high utility rates and food costs, health care, land use and senior citizens.

He said he hopes to hold similar meetings in other states where he has campaigned. He plans to set up a network of committees of local citizens and workers to pressure politicians.

Mr. Harris said he supports the idea of a living wage. Harris said he supports the idea of a living wage. Harris said he supports the idea of a living wage. Harris said he supports the idea of a living wage.

Mr. Harris repeatedly returned to the question of the government's relation with big business.

"The government must stop emptying the pockets of those who have to work for a living in order to subsidize the Lockheeds and the Penn Centrals," he said.

He said 1976 will be "the year of the people" because "most people have been shown

D-10-16

Harris

The Albany (GA.) Herald

Wednesday, July 23, 1975

Under Harris It 'Cheap'

The use of campaign trailers and campers is common in the state politics, but Harris apparently is the first presidential candidate to take a cross-country campaign to the highways. Putting economic adversity to work, Harris says his low-budget transcontinental trip will take his campaign to towns no presidential campaign has ever visited. He compares it to Harry Truman's famous 1928 "Whistle Stop" railroad campaign.

An example is Ely, Iowa, where Harris will arrive Aug. 12 for a campaign picnic at the home of his aunt and uncle, Wanda and Ralph Harris. Ely, near Council Bluffs, has a population of 275.

Harris also will visit larger cities, such as Rapid City, S.D., Boise, Idaho, Sheboygan, Wis., Lima, Ohio, Pittsburgh, Chicago, San Francisco and Chadron, Neb. In all, 44 stops are planned, with picnics in the smaller communities and brown-bag lunches at downtown parks in larger cities.

Harris hits on issues in BU talk

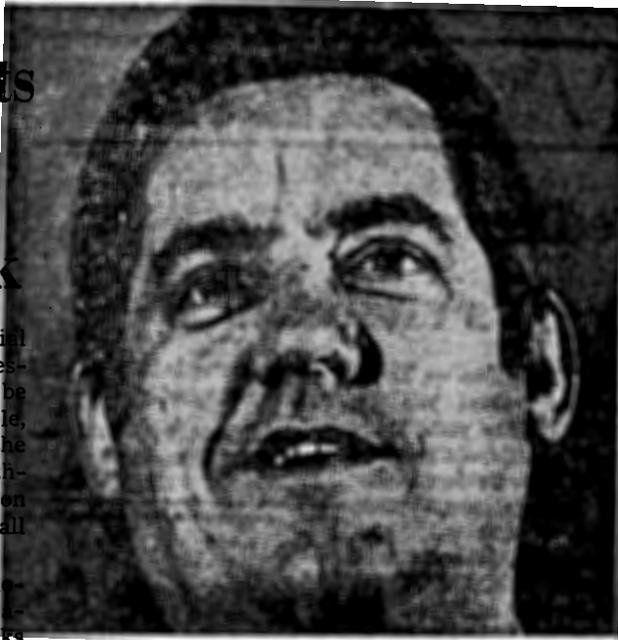
Democratic presidential candidate Fred Harris yesterday said, "It won't be easy, it may be impossible, but I hope to bring the United State back together by forming a coalition of voters that crosses all socio-economic lines."

Harris, a former Democratic Senator from Oklahoma, made his remarks in a speech entitled, "The Issue Is Privilege," to 800 people at Boston University's Morse Auditorium.

The speech and a short question-and-answer period were sponsored by the Community Church of Boston. Harris is a candidate in the Democratic presidential primaries in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

Harris said he is running his campaign on issues, citing the main issue as the fact that the majority of the wealth in this country is controlled by a privileged few.

Attacking the defense budget, Harris said it



FRED HARRIS . . . proposes voter coalition

should be cut so that housing, transportation, educational, environmental, and social programs can be improved and expanded. He said the multinational industries should no longer have all their needs catered to.

"We must stop supporting the multinationals," Harris said. "If we took the rich off welfare we could get this country back to work. It is a crime to teach the work ethic and then have the massive

unemployment we have in this country."

Harris was well received by the mostly white crowd of students, elderly and middle-aged persons.

The candidate drew the loudest applause of the day when he talked about the need for a new coalition and then said, "It's up to you people out there to make this country work. You don't get liberty by begging, you take it. That's what I propose."

After his speech, Harris journeyed to New Hampshire.

Can Harris return home, keep promises, and win?

By Stephen Wermiel
Globe Staff

CAMPAIGN '76

OKLAHOMA CITY — Can a former oil state senator return home as a Presidential candidate on a promise to break up major corporations, including oil companies?

That question may be the key to the Oklahoma Democratic caucuses Feb. 7 which pit former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris against Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen and former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

More recently, Alabama Gov. George Wallace has authorized a group of volunteers to take a stab at the caucuses here while Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana has allowed a local organization to be opened in his name while insisting it is not being run by his national campaign.

Unlike earlier caucuses in Iowa and Mississippi, the candidates in Oklahoma, a state rich in oil and natural gas, are trying to avoid the label of frontrunner, each pointing to another as the man to beat.

For example, Carter coordinator David Hales, working out of a house in Oklahoma City, maintains, "If there is a frontrunner right now, it's Harris because of his friends here."

Bentsen's national campaign director, Bob Healy, said, "Carter's been there a long time and it's Harris's home state, so it's going to be a tough one."

But if there is anyone clearly struggling, it is Harris, although not against unbeatable odds by any means. He was elected as more conservative than liberal, and dropped out of his own reelection race in mid-1971 to run for President instead of risk losing his own Senate seat.

When first elected he had the support of the family of the powerful Sen. Robert S. Kerr whose death in 1964 left the seat open. Kerr was closely tied to the state's oil and gas industry through the Kerr-McGee Co.

But over a half dozen years, Harris moved to the left, opposing the Vietnam war and working on the Presidential Commission on Urban Violence toward a conclusion that white racism and black despair led to the ghetto riots of 1967.

His growing radicalism (he prefers the term populism) notwithstanding, Harris is still expected to show some strength in

Tulsa and Oklahoma City where the Republicans have grown more conservative but the active Democrats have remained more liberal. There is also Harris strength at the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma State University and in his home region of Commanche County southwest of Oklahoma City.

Bentsen's Texas origins help him relate to Democrats in the Sooner state where his campaign is under the direction of William Reynolds, former administrative aide to Kerr. "He relates well to the oil people," said Mrs. Phelps.

Reynolds claims to be organized in 73 of the 78 counties where caucuses will occur in 3027 precincts Saturday. Others like William Crain, executive director of the state Democratic committee, question whether the Bentsen effort is as widespread. Crain also said Bentsen might suffer somewhat from his poor showing a week ago in Mississippi caucuses.

An aide to Democratic Gov. David Boren believes, "Bentsen started a long while ago at point x and he is still at point x."

That leaves Carter, who is privately supported by Boren, although the governor will remain officially neutral. "Carter seems to be active everywhere," said Crain, adding that he had received the active support of a highly popular former Democratic chairman, J.C. Kennedy.

With Carter coming on strong, according to many pundits, the real winner still may be "uncommitted," said Crain, who predicted a turnout of no more than 20,000 voters though almost one million Democrats are registered in the state. The uncommitted route is one way of getting from the precinct level as a delegate to Feb. 28 county conventions or six congressional district caucuses on March 20 or the state convention April 3d and 4th.

Harris eyes state primary

By Michael Coakley

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL candidate Fred Harris said here Tuesday that he is organizing a statewide campaign in Illinois but stopped short of committing himself to running delegate states in all 24 of the state's congressional districts in next year's primary.

Harris, a former United States senator from Oklahoma, indicated his Illinois plans may hinge on whether Sen. Stevenson [D., Ill.] decides to enter the Presidential race.

There has been persistent speculation that Stevenson will run as the favorite-son candidate of Mayor Daley's organization in the Illinois primary.

SPEAKING AT A press conference in the Midland Hotel, Harris first said that a favorite-son campaign by Stevenson would not be enough to keep his own campaign out of Illinois.

However, in response to a question, he later said an all-out national effort by Stevenson would be another matter. "Naturally, at that point I'd have to decide whether, with limited time and resources, it was worthwhile to challenge another candidate in his home state," Harris said.

Beginning two days of appearances in Illinois, his first foray into the state during the current campaign, Harris said he is recruiting 1,000 volunteers a week thruout the country.

HARRIS ALSO was a Presidential candidate in 1972 but dropped out of the race early due to a lack of money. He said he does not anticipate that same problem this year because of the new



Tribune Photo by Ray Gora

Former Sen. Fred Harris: Government must "look after the interest of the average family."

public financing law for Presidential campaigns.

His campaign should raise the necessary amount of private contributions in the required 20 states in order to qualify for the public money by September, he added.

At his press conference, Harris termed "privilege" the basic issue for 1976, "whether the government will begin to look after the interest of the average family or whether it's going to continue to protect the interest of the super-rich and the giant corporations."

In keeping with that theme, he attacked President Ford's energy program, claiming that the administration's increase in the excise tax and its plan to take controls off the price of domestic crude oil will cost consumers an additional \$36.4 billion a year.

The Des Moines Register
DES MOINES, IOWA
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JAN 24 1975

Off and running

Former Oklahoma Senator (and former Democratic National Chairman) Fred Harris has become the third officially announced candidate for the 1976 Democratic nomination for president.

Harris made a brief run at the 1972 nomination as a "new populist" exponent of reform, but ran out of money before primary time.

Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Representative Morris Udall of Arizona are the only other announced Democratic candidates for the present. Senators Henry Jackson of Washington and Lloyd Bentsen of Texas are unannounced but active.

No one in this field has mounted a sustained presidential campaign before (Jackson dropped out of the 1972 race in May). No one has yet generated the kind of pulse-pounding enthusiasm which attracts the cadres of loyal believers — cadres which become the seed-grounds for armies of delegates.

Democrats with those followings are either fatally flawed or unavailable. Senator Hubert Humphrey has accepted elder statesman status. Senator Edward

Kennedy has deferred to the shadow of Chappaquiddick.

Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, who makes adrenalin flow as well as pulses pound, is available with loyal legions from his 1968 and 1972 efforts awaiting the word. But his racist roots have made him anathema to others. Another third party try as in 1968 remains a possibility.

And then there's Gene.

Former Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy has announced his independent candidacy early. He has his Committee for a Constitutional Presidency as a campaign nucleus. The wry quips of the white knight of 1968 can still galvanize a faithful remnant to action.

That remnant, unhappily for Democrats, constitutes a part of the Democratic liberal wing. When the time comes to pick a candidate, Democrats may be looking for someone who can charge through the double flank attacks of Wallace and McCarthy with the same aplomb Harry Truman displayed against a different Wallace and Strom Thurmond in 1948.

Harris

Continued From Page 1

social worker who first heard Fred Harris speak at a social welfare conference, pour a couple of scotches. LaDonna kept one and Fred got the other.

Bill Fredette, at 38 a full-time college student again, brought out cold meats, cheese and rolls, and he and Fred dug in as Harris reported how it had gone in Keene.

"It was a fair turnout," he said of the informal meeting held by another new friend in his home. "Three or four state reps signed the pledge cards."

As her husband talked enthusiastically, LaDonna Harris went upstairs, changed into a flowing black-and-white robe, and returned and rejoined the conversation. It was just like a comfortable night at home with close friends.

And that how it is these days as the Harrises, generally regarded as two of the most prominent windmill-tilters in the Democratic Party, take dead aim on the presidential nomination, a step and a day at a time.

They were in New Hampshire last weekend, the fifth time this year, building a campaign infrastructure that already numbers about 400 signed volunteers — and living off the land, guerrilla style, as they go. No hotels, no rental cars, no big restaurant bills, no high-priced media experts, no advertising, no paid staff.

The next morning the Harrises were off, in somebody else's car again, for a meeting with Democratic students at the University of New Hampshire, a free television interview and two recruiting coffees in the Concord area.

At each, more than 20 voters crowded into a private living room, sitting on the floor as LaDonna Harris introduced her husband and told of their personal and political life together. Then Harris, the evangelist of what he calls "the new pop-movement," made his pitch. Spitting out the words and biting them off in his urgent Oklahoma twang seasoned with an occasional "damn" and "cain't," Harris' message came through loud and clear:

"LaDonna and I have always worked for a living and we think the working people of this country are entitled to have someone speak for them against the rich people and the big corporations. The question is whether we're going to continue to allow a few big corporations and the rich to control the economy and the government."

There is, in both the message and the style, the flavor of a George Wallace without the hint of racism that lingers in Wallace's harangues and with the snarling bitterness of the Alabama governor. But Harris seeks to touch on the same frustrations. "I believe I can appeal to the same people Wallace does," he told one guest, "and I believe I'm the only one with a serious chance to be nominated who can."

After about 20 minutes of nonstop talk about the need for "economic democracy" in the country by cutting the corporate society down to size, Harris answered questions and made his final pitch:

"I'm going to ask you to make a commitment now, when it counts. I want to change the world. I wouldn't ask you unless this was a serious effort. The big shots wait around until they see who's going to come out on top, but you can decide whos' going to come out on top. You can say, 'I know Fred Harris personally. I think he's the best candidate. I'm supporting him because I know he can win.' You have to say that. And you can make it happen."

A volunteer — the owner of the lavender jeep — passed out green cards. At the two evening coffees in the Concord area, 36 to 45 persons — a mix of old and young — signed up. Not all may actually come forward to work, but they did sign, and there was no question about the enthusiasm in the room.

The "people's campaign" approach is possible, Harris told his listeners, because of the new campaign financing laws. "A year ago," he said, "I would have to spend three-fourths of my time with rich people who have always given to Democratic candidates. Now all they can give me is \$1,000. Now I have to spend my time with you folks."

Harris explained that for the first time, federal money will tax-checkoff system), but in the primaries for serious candidates, defined as those who raise at least \$5,000 in each of 20 states, with no single contribution exceeding \$250. And that's what Harris is setting out to do, starting shortly after the first of the year.

A letter is going out to those who signed pledge cards asking them to attend Harris' formal announcement of candidacy in Concord Jan. 11, after which a brown-bag lunch will be held and workshops formed on what to do about food prices, utility and healthcare costs and the economy of the elderly.

The whole scheme follows a formula Harris laid out in a four-page memo to hundreds of friends last June on how he intended to get elected President on his new populism platform, attacking "privilege and concentrated economic power" in the hands of the rich and the big corporations. He has been involving the plan around the country fulltime since then.

In 10 states so far, the plan has been steadfastly followed. But with the focus on New Hampshire, during last weekend's stay, the Harrises attended nine coffees given by friends from Democratic politics or activities, including his work as a tax-reform advocate and hers as a national leader in Indian affairs (a member of the Comanche tribe, she is president of Americans for Indian Opportunity).

Both are in demand on the college lecture circuit and since June they have been scheduling their grass-roots politicking in conjunction with speeches, thus reducing travel expenses.

The Harris campaign of 1974 is a far cry from his brief presidential bid in 1971. Bankrolled by a wealthy New York friend, the then-Oklahoma senator jetted around the country, even chartering a plane to take the press along on one swing. In six weeks, he had to announce he was quitting because "I'm broke," after having spent \$250,000.

Harris is depending squarely on the new campaign financing law to build his candidacy by the time the New Hampshire primary campaign begins little more than a year from now. He says his grass-roots approach will fulfill the \$5,000, \$20-state requirement easily and enable him to mount a full-scale campaign in New Hampshire, where the spending limit will be about \$200,000. A good showing there will generate more interest and money and he will be on his way, he insists.

To those who say a former senator without great national public recognition is only kidding himself to think he can be elected President, Fred Harris at 44 thinks positively.

"I'm lucky not to be in the Senate," he said. "I'm not distracted."

And with that, Fred and LaDonna Harris press on to meet more "folks," shake more hands, drink more coffee, preach more gospel of the new populism, round up more believers and get them to sign on the dotted line. And as others scoff, they are fortified by the knowledge that others scoffed at George McGovern at the same stage four years ago.



Washington Letter

A good idea from Fred Harris

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Washington
Perhaps the best idea yet for improving the president-selection process has come from Democratic candidate Fred Harris. Harris thinks that the public and particularly the delegates are entitled, before the nominating convention, to know what kind of person their presidential nominee is likely to choose as his running mate.

Often in the past have the delegates enthusiastically chosen the presidential nominee only to find within hours that he has someone in mind for the vice-presidential slot they don't especially like.

One recalls quite vividly the 1960 GOP convention where Richard Nixon was the strong choice of his party. But Nixon quickly antagonized the bulk of the delegates — most of whom had conservative leanings — by selecting a moderate, Henry Cabot Lodge, as his running mate.

Obviously Nixon was seeking to "balance" his ticket and broaden his appeal in the general election. Thus, politically, it might have been a good choice on his part.

But one can make a good case these days — especially given the new emphasis on candor after Watergate — that a presidential nominee should no longer have the right to keep silent about his choice for running mate. This might affect the decision of those nominating him.

Also, it would put more pressure on the presidential candidate to choose a person of real ability for the No. 2 spot — one that the delegates would readily perceive to be prepared to take over as president if need be.

Such open disclosure could lead to the convention not only picking a "good" person — as the delegates see it — for the presidential nomination but, at the same time, choosing a highly qualified person for his running mate.

The Democratic nominating convention in 1960 also illustrated how "finagling" on the part of a newly selected presidential nominee could run counter to the wishes of most of those who had made his nomination possible.

That year Kennedy soured his own nomination, in the eyes of many delegates who had been responsible for his victory, by choosing Lyndon Johnson as his No. 2 man. Again, Kennedy was "balancing."

Granted that Johnson was being viewed that year by many Democrats as a person of presidential caliber. But shouldn't the con-

vention delegates as a whole have had the right to know in advance that if they took Kennedy they also would have to take Johnson?

Doubtless both Nixon and Kennedy thought they would lose their own nomination if they let it be known to their own supporters that they had such "balancing" plans in mind.

The important consideration here is that the people — and, of course, the delegates — be in a position to choose both their president and vice-president.

So often over the years the vice-president has become president. The public is particularly aware of this with Gerald Ford in the White House (through a constitutional succession provision that calls for presidential appointment and does not let the voter have his say) and with the ascension of Lyndon Johnson to the No. 1 spot still in memory.

Harris, detailing his idea to a group of reporters recently, suggested that all candidates should provide a list of no more than 4 or 5 names from which they would select their running mate. From such a list the people and delegates could judge the quality of the persons each candidate had in mind.

Also, Harris' proposal — if all candidates would comply — would prevent the eventual nominee from playing politics with the vice-presidency.

Harris says that no matter what any other candidate does he will provide such a vice-presidential list between the last primaries and the convention.

Some have supported the idea of candidates running for the vice-presidency in the primaries. But this idea has not proved workable. Few really outstanding persons want to run for the second spot. If they are interested in governing the nation, they run for president.

So Harris has a very good idea. It is better, too, than if he had proposed that each candidate select only one person for the second spot, for that person might decline. Also, it can be argued that the presidential nominee should have a little latitude in choosing his mate — so that he can pick the one from the list viewed as most politically potent at convention time.

Mr. Sperling is chief of the Washington bureau of The Christian Science Monitor.

Bayh and Harris campaigns nearly broke, reports show

The precarious financial situation of liberal Democrats Birch Bayh and Fred Harris make them leading candidates to drop out of the presidential race unless they make good showings in the early primaries, starting less than two weeks from now. Knight News writer Aaron Epstein reported yesterday.

Bayh's campaign is almost broke. A report filed with the Federal Election Commission showed that the Indiana senator had only \$208 cash on hand at the end of January and a \$100,000 trail of debts strewn around the country. However, \$161,912 in approved Federal matching funds was not included in his report.

Harris's report also disclosed more than \$100,000 in debts, with cash on hand slumping from \$23,000 at the beginning of the month to zero by Jan. 31. But nearly \$69,000 was sent to his campaign in matching funds since the January report was compiled, and another \$131,700 is anticipated.

REAGAN ESCORT

Ronald Reagan pulled one of his strongest supporters from behind the scenes by having Gov. Meldrim Thomson of New Hampshire campaign with him for the first time.

Following a rally at the Pittsfield fire station where Thomson introduced President Ford's challenger, reporters asked Thomson why he hadn't campaigned with Reagan before. "I've been keeping store at the State House," Thomson said.

But Reagan aides say privately that Thomson's sometimes antagonistic brand of conservatism has created many enemies throughout the state and they have kept him at arm's length.

CARTER SURVEY *

The Jimmy Carter campaign has

CAMPAIGN '76

retained a professional telephone survey to contact New Hampshire voters in the last two weeks before the Feb. 24 primary.

Although he was reluctant to discuss the details of operation, Carter's New Hampshire campaign manager, Chris Brown, confirmed that a group had been hired. He identified the firm as NTA, which does business out of suburban New York and was reportedly involved in at least two primaries during Sen. George McGovern's campaign in 1972.

CAMPAIGN NOTES

President Ford's rating with the American people continues to be evenly divided, according to the Gallup Poll, with 45 percent approval, 45 percent disapproval and 10 percent undecided . . . The Harris Poll, meantime, shows Sen. Edward Kennedy holding a 4 percent lead over Mr. Ford and a 10 percent lead over Reagan, with Hubert Humphrey leading Mr. Ford by 4 and Reagan by 3. Sen. Henry M. Jackson is holding an early lead in Alaska precinct caucuses with Jimmy Carter a distant second, but uncommitted delegates are in the majority . . . A "cab caravan" of New England taxi drivers is planning to campaign for Fred Harris in New Hampshire this weekend . . . Carol Channing will be out with Eunice Shriver at the Burlington Mall at 4 p.m. today.

Massachusetts Insurance Comr. James Stone has added his name to the list of Morris K. Udall endorsements . . . A UPI survey of rival campaign managers in New Hampshire pegs Carter and Udall as current front-runners with Birch Bayh, Harris and Shriver behind in that order.

Harris greets N.H. mill crews with heady prose, hardy chow

Curtis Wilkie
Globe Staff

BERLIN, N.H. — When Fred Harris arrived at his Berlin rally last night, a country band struck up the Woody Guthrie populist anthem "This Land is Your Land," while dozens of people stood like a Depression-era soup line waiting to be served a 99-cent hame and bean supper.

Later they would cheer as Harris, speaking in his Oklahoma twang and evangelical style, attacked the utility companies and Republican Administration and declared that "the people that have to work in this country are entitled to have someone speak for them."

It was a convergence of the candidate and the working class: The essence of a presidential campaign that is pitted against America's power structure. It is a campaign that is waiting for lightning of strike, it represents a great unknown in the New Hampshire primary. Like last night, when it was unclear whether the 350 people who crowded into the hall were attracted by Harris, a cheap dinner or an event to break the bleak winter routine in this paper-mill city in the mountains, it is impossible to measure Harris's impact here.

No candidate commands deeper loyalty. Harris's followers believe they are soldiers in a political revo-

lution. But there is a question about the breadth of the Harris campaign. It is a campaign predicated on public outrage over rising fuel cost and favoritism in business, but it is being conducted in a climate of apathy and indifference which Harris encountered very stop yesterday.

Standing against the backdrop of birch-filled hills, Harris and workers changing shifts at the Berlin Mill yesterday. They showed little recognition as they walked with shovels in hand, while the Harris in a black overcoat with his hat in the middle shook their heads and said: "I'm Fred Harris, former Vice President, and I'd sure like your help."

Between handshakes, Harris hummed "St. Louis Blues" and shuffled in the cold.

Making the rounds of the local social clubs — which substitute for bars in this last outpost of civilization in New Hampshire — in the Country, Harris drank beer and soup and talked with residents in the afternoon.

He met men like Louis B. Sullivan, a mill worker and registered Democrat who said he preferred Ronald Reagan or Nelson Rockefeller, the latter because "he's got so much money that you don't have to worry about him stealing."

At the Eagle's Club, Harris met Sargent Shriver's campaign manager to use by pasting their

over Shriver's. Here they lambasted Harris's state chairperson, Laurie Hannan, because she is a woman. To shield her, the manager said, from profanity.

The men took little notice of Harris and stood drinking out of the cold and free for a while from the mills and the woods where they work. Typical of New Hampshire's suspicious political nature, they defied ideological compartmentalization. Several said they were undecided on which of several liberal Democrats to vote for, but they also professed fealty to Meldrim Thompson, the very conservative Republican governor of the state.

It was not particularly encouraging for Harris. Then suddenly there was a hall jammed with people, hanging on to Harris's impassioned attack on the politics of privilege.

They listened as Harris told them about his father, an uneducated Oklahoma sharecropper, and his mother, and of "how hard they worked, and how very little they got out of it."

He said he would break up the oil companies, take on big business, declare unconditional amnesty for Vietnam draft evaders and would never flinch on his position.

It was a vintage performance by Harris, who had told reporters over lunch: "I don't talk about other candidates or that strategy kind of crap. I want to talk about the issues."

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12/11

Harris enters primaries, will run in 15 districts

Neil Mehler

Political editor

RED HARRIS, the populist former Alabama senator, announced Wednesday that he will enter both the delegate contests and the Democratic presidential preference primary in Illinois.

The 45-year-old Harris, one of 10 Democratic presidential contenders, is the fourth to announce his entry into both contests.

At an Executive House news conference, he said he will seek delegates in at least 15 of the state's 24 congressional districts.

BECAUSE OF limited time and money, Harris said, he will not enter delegate contests in four city districts—the 2d, 5th, 7th, and 8th—or in the partly city, partly suburban 3d, he said.

But he will enter the delegate contest in the 9th District on the north lakefront and is studying the possibility of enter-

ing the 1st and 11th district races in the city, he said.

He will enter all downstate races except in the 16th District, which includes Rockford, but he may enter that one too, he said. The same applies to the North Shore 10th District.

THE OTHERS who have said they will enter the delegate battles and the non-binding preference primary are Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

Harris' platform includes emphasis on "a job for every American," tax cuts for the average man and tax increases for the Rockefellers and J. Paul Gettys, and improving railroad passenger services.

ABOLISHING THE Interstate Commerce Commission, a move he said would foster competition in the transportation industry, and breaking up the oil companies' control of all facets of production and distribution also are Harris goals.

The Oklahoma Journal



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Tuesday, December 17, 1974

Harris Takes On Guerrilla Style



Fred R. Harris

By JULES WITCOVER
The Washington Post
News Service

WINDHAM, N.H. — It was past midnight when the candidate for President of the United States and his wife pulled up in the lavender jeep outside the old, white frame home of Bill and Janet Fredette. They rushed in from the early winter ice and cold, toting their own luggage. Shedding their overcoats they went directly to the living room fireplace, where white birch logs blazed.

Fred R. Harris, former senator from Oklahoma, former Democratic National Committee chairman, probably now the first full-time guerilla-style candidate for President, let the fire banish the cold of the long ride. He and his wife, LaDonna, had just come from Keene, across New Hampshire, after another sortie in search of foot soldiers for the 1976 state presidential primary, 15 months away and first in the nation.

LaDonna went to the kitchen and helped Janet Fredette, a

See HARRIS on Page 8

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SUNDAY NEWS

NEW YORK PICTURE NEWSFEE ©

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JAN 12 1975

By Helen

Harris' Hat in the Ring

Concord, N.H., Jan. 11 (UPI) — Former Sen. Fred Harris (D-Okla.) announced his candidacy today for the Democratic presidential nomination, saying he thought "people are smart enough to govern themselves."

Harris called for a \$20 billion to \$28 billion tax cut "for individuals, not corporations," and said that the nation needs selective controls on monopolies and a "very large public service jobs program" to help turn the tide of recession.

"Privilege the issue"

"I'm interested in changing this country and returning it to popular control," Harris, 44, said to about a hundred of his supporters, who will organize his campaign in New Hampshire where the nation's first presidential primary will be held on March 20, 1976.

He said he would announce his candidacy soon in primaries in six to eight other states.

"Privilege is the issue. It pre-

vents full employment and fair taxes. It drives up prices and corrupts democracy," Harris said.

"The basic question in 1976 is whether our government will look after the interests of the average family or continue to protect the super rich and the giant corporations."

Harris retired from the Senate in 1972 and ran a brief presidential campaign that year. He abandoned the race after he ran out of money.

Third Candidate

Harris is the third announced candidate for the Democratic nomination. The other two are former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona.



WITH A YEAR and three months yet to go before New Hampshire's first-in-the-nation Presidential Primary, former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris has announced his candidacy

for the Democratic nomination. He made his plans known at a Concord press conference Saturday as his wife, Ladonna, stood by.

(UPI Telephoto)

Democrat Harris Declares Presidential Primary Bid

By R. WARREN PEASE
CONCORD, Jan 11 — Counting on federal financing to pick up the cost of his "people's campaign," Fred

from Oklahoma, at a mid-morning press conference here, said the change in the presidential campaign financing laws made it possible for

Indian, Harris sketched out a five-point program which will spearhead his presidential drive in the Granite State.

He said something must be

thing he intends to do is put a stop to a foreign policy "which was both secretive and elitist."

He told his supporters his campaign would be a "people's campaign" both in strategy and beliefs.

"The strategy is simply this: we will go to the people," he said.

Harris said both the economy and the politics of the country are in deep trouble because too few people have all the money and power and most people have little or none."

This is Harris' own brand of "populism" which he intends to pursue for the next year and three months.

"My people's campaign approach is possible," Harris said, "because of the change in the presidential campaign financing. A year ago, I would have had to spend three-fourths of my time with rich people who've always given to Democratic candidates. Now, all they can give me is a thousand dollars."

Harris said he intends to enter most, if not all of the presidential primaries.

Harris left the U.S. Senate in 1972 to run for President but quickly abandoned the campaign trail when he said he ran out of money.

Many political observers believed Harris had become too liberal for Oklahoma voters and would have had a difficult time winning re-election.

In 1968, Harris was reportedly high on the late Sen. Robert E. Kennedy's list of

DEC 13 1974

By [unclear]



(AP Photo)

Harris And Wife LaDonna In Keene

Harris To Announce Decision In January

KEENE, N.H. (AP) — Former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris says his "hatband is in the ring" and he will announce Jan. 11 whether his hat will follow.

The potential Democratic presidential contender was in New Hampshire this week for the fifth time since fall to test support in the state with the nation's earliest presidential primary.

In Keene for a coffee gathering Thursday night Harris indicated he had all but decided to run.

"My hatband is in the ring," he told supporters. Discussion

at the session centered on national and world economic problems.

Earlier in the day in Manchester the 44-year-old former legislator talked about tax reform and breaking up business monopolies.

"Too few people have all the money and power, while most people have little or none," he said.

"That's why the rich can discriminate against working people, and that is why monopoly power continues to grab bloated profits for sugar and beef middlemen, while most American can hardly afford to buy groceries," Harris said.

Two other Democrats have already announced their intentions to run in the 1976 New Hampshire primary, held traditionally in March. They are Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

JAN 12 1975 *By the*

Sen. Harris Announces Presidential Candidacy

CONCORD, N.H. (AP) — Former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma announced his candidacy Saturday for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, calling for an attack on forces preventing "full employment and fair taxes."

Harris, 44, told a news conference he would run "a people's campaign — both in strategy and in beliefs."

Harris, who calls himself a "new populist," stressed economic problems as the central theme of his campaign.

"The basic question in 1976 is whether our government will look after the interests of the average family or continue to protect the super rich and the giant corporations," he said.

"Both the economy and the politics of our country are in deep trouble. Too few people have all the money and power, and most people have little or none."

He said 1976 offers an opportunity to give all Americans "a fair chance and a fair share."

"What stands in the way is privilege. Privilege is the issue. It prevents full employment and fair taxes. It drives up prices and corrupts democracy.

"We must lower taxes for most Americans and raise them for the Nelson Rockefeller and J. Paul Gettys. We must stop the Exxons and the Safeways from using their monopoly power to squeeze out competitors and then overcharge consumers.

"The government must stop emptying the pockets of those who have to work for a living in order to subsidize the Lockheeds and the Penn Centrals."

Harris has visited New Hampshire six times since August, laying the groundwork for his campaign.

He has met with students and with other voters in small groups, seeking volunteer workers.

Harris is the third person to announce his candidacy for the Democratic nomination.

Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona have also announced their candidacies. Sens. Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas have indicated they are interested in running, and Sens. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota have withdrawn

from contention.

Harris retired from the Senate in 1972, ran a brief presidential campaign that year but abandoned it when he ran out of money.

This year, he is hoping to finance a campaign with funds provided under the new federal campaign funding law, which turns over some federal revenue to candidates.

Harris planned to meet with volunteers after the announcement to plot a strategy for the New Hampshire campaign.

He has been running his campaign from his home in McLean, Va., a suburb of Washington.

In a statement about a model 1976 campaign, Harris said last June that attention should be focused on "privilege and concentrated economic and political power."

"Every speech by the candidate and every campaign release, advertisement and publication must emphasize that privilege and concentrated economic and political power are the root causes of our present problems," he wrote.

"The campaign must address the real, day-to-day problems of people — heavy and unfair taxes, bad or nonexistent housing, inadequate and costly medical care, inflated food, utility and other prices, high interest rates, exorbitant military expenditures and waste, and unemployment."

He said the presidency must become "a people's office." He called for less isolation and security for the president.

The campaign should be reduced in scale, replacing limousines with public transportation, large rallies with personal contact, paid staff with volunteers, he said.

Fred Harris Enters Race For President

Special to The Washington Post

CONCORD, N.H., Jan. 11—Former Sen. Fred R. Harris declared his candidacy for President today, promising a "people's campaign" in what he described as a war against privilege.

He commented:

"Privilege is the issue. It prevents full employment and fair taxes. It drives up prices and corrupts democracy."

Harris, 44, a one-time U.S. senator from Oklahoma and former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, vowed he would wage a unique campaign.

Harris will campaign in New Hampshire because it holds the earliest presidential preference primary in the nation and Harris believes that the attention focused on candidates in that primary by the national media will gain him the national recognition he looks for.

New Hampshire's primary will be held in March, 1976. Harris's announcement follows similar declarations of presidential candidacy by Rep. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.) and Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

About 50 supporters from key communities across the state showed up to hear Harris announce his candidacy.

Under questioning by newsmen, Harris said he planned to be a force in New Hampshire politics during his quest for votes in the state's primary. He said he would help local efforts to keep utility rates down.

"I plan to assist the New Hampshire people in this. There ought to be more to a campaign than just coming here and running for President and then leaving. There should be a result of my being here other than as a candidate, something to help the people," he said.

Harris sharply criticized the "secretist foreign policy" tactics of President Ford's administration and Harris said any

See HARRIS, A6, Col. 1

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D. C.
D. 535,016 SUN. 710,148

JAN 12 1975

Harris Seeks '76 Nomination, Pledges 'People's Campaign'

HARRIS, From A1

foreign policy he exercised as President would be open and known to the nation's voters.

However, he made clear his candidacy would push for domestic change and dwell on the economic ills of the country above all else.

"The basic question in 1976 is whether our government will look after the interests of the average family or continue to protect the superrich and giant corporations," he said.

His announcement that he will enter the New Hampshire primary came on his sixth trip to the state. He first visited New Hampshire in 1972, when he was a declared candidate for President. Harris later dropped out of contention, asserting his campaign had too few dollars to continue.

A strategy sheet passed out by Harris' campaign organization today indicated the candidate did not feel he had to win the New Hampshire primary to be successful.

The document said, in part: "The candidate does not have to run number one in the New



FRED R. HARRIS
ex-senator

Hampshire primary, because the conventional wisdom of the national press and political officials and observers will be that he (Harris) will not even make a showing there. History indicates that the conventional political wisdom is always wrong."

Harris believes that running

with 25 per cent of the vote as one of the top three contenders for the Democratic nomination, he will have sufficient base and recognition on which to build his primary organizations in more populous states.

Accompanying Harris today as he announced his presidential aspirations was LaDonna Harris, his wife, a Comanche Indian and leader in a number of women's and minority rights organizations.

Harris said, "We must lower taxes for most Americans and raise them for the Nelson Rockefeller and J. Paul Getty. We must stop the Exxons and Safeways from using their monopoly power to squeeze out competitors and overcharge consumers."

He acknowledged at his news conference here that the more attention he pays to his New Hampshire primary candidacy, the less time and resources he would possess to spark support elsewhere.

Harris spends most of his campaign evening in citizens' homes and focuses his daytime campaign effort on visits to small groups.

JAN 10 1975 *B.H.*



FRED HARRIS

Harris to Make Presidential Bid

By Joseph A. Lastelic
Chief of the Washington Bureau

Washington—Fred Harris, former Oklahoma senator who tried for the presidency in 1972 but went broke, will announce tomorrow he is ready to run again because the new federal campaign financing law makes his candidacy possible.

Harris, 44, will make the announcement in Concord, N.H., that he will enter the New Hampshire Democratic presidential primary. He has been in that state, California and other key primary states already talking up his new Populist philosophy.

He will be No. 3 on the Democratic roster of presidential candidates—Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona was first, Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia was second. Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota, who played with the idea a long time, gave up. Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas and Terry Sanford, former North Carolina governor, are expected to be the next to announce.

Harris has said the princi-

pal issue for 1976 is "economic and political privilege." He wants tax cuts for what he calls average taxpayers and increases for the wealthy, and a break-up of monopolistic corporations.

"The underlying cause of our severe economic problems in America," Harris said last night, "is that too few people have all the money and power, and most people have little or none."

Harris calls the new campaign financing law, which provides for federal matching funds in presidential primaries, the most massive improvement in politics in his lifetime. He believes that law will make possible his "People's Presidential Campaign."

Harris was born into a sharecropper's family in 1930, became a lawyer, served in the Senate from 1964 to 1972, and was Democratic national chairman in 1969 and 1970. Since he left the Senate he has taught government at American University, lectured, wrote a book, "The New Populism," and tended his garden in McLean, Va., in the suburbs of Washington.

- POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

Harris in 'People's

WASHINGTON *Star* NEWS
WASHINGTON, D. C.
D. 418,126 SUN. 344,011

JAN 12 1975

By J. W. Germond

By Jack W. Germond
and James R. Dickenson
Star-News Staff Writers

To no one's surprise Fred Harris announced in Concord, N.H., yesterday that he would enter the state's primary next year as the first step in a "people's campaign" for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976.

Harris became the third formally declared candidate, following Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona and Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia. Others, most notably Sens. Henry M. Jackson and Lloyd Bentson, are planning to declare themselves shortly.

The former senator from Oklahoma followed a determinedly populist line as he opened his campaign. "Privilege is the issue," he said. "It prevents full employment and fair taxes. It drives up prices and corrupts democracy."

HARRIS SAID the "basic question" is whether the government will "look after the interests of the average family or continue to protect the super rich and the giant corporations . . . we must lower taxes for most Americans and raise them for the Nelson Rockefeller and the J. Paul Gettys."

Harris began his second try for the nomination — he campaigned briefly in 1971 — with only \$1,500 in his account but said he expects to make it on small contributions, the new federal financing and his penchant for carrying his own bags and staying with friends.

The Harris style this time contrast somewhat with that of his previous campaign when he flew around the country in a jet airplane backed by a wealthy New Yorker and spent \$250,000 in six weeks.

Harris decided against another campaign for the Senate in 1972 after his out-



Fred R. Harris, with his
president during a news c

days, he insists, the lack of political base is an asset rather than a liability. "I did everything back in 1971," he says, "I learned from it he says, "The Senate is an advantage because it gave me the time to meet a lot of people and to meet for this kind of campaign."

New Hampshire Harris plans to make one imposing practical proposal: to head start another liberal campaign made in lining up some of the best liberal Democrats in the

* * * *

WASH. POST

4/16/75

Confidential file

✓
**Harris Questions
Necessity of CIA**

Associated Press

Former Sen. Fred Harris, a candidate for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, said yesterday the Central Intelligence Agency should be eliminated.

Harris said that while many critics of the agency are asking how it can be better controlled, "I believe the CIA should be abolished."

The Oklahoman, a former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, told a breakfast audience that if he were President, he would increase employment from the current 88 million persons to 100 million within 18 months and would fight for a \$30 billion tax cut, nearly \$10 billion more than that approved by President Ford.

2-25-75

Condoleezza Rice

Harris Stumps in N.C., Urges a New Coalition

By FERREL GULLORY
Chief Capital Correspondent

Democratic presidential candidate Fred R. Harris Monday opened a two-day campaign swing through central North Carolina here and offered to lead a revival of the long-time Southern populist dream coalition of working whites and blacks who have been "victimized by money and power."

The former senator from Oklahoma also included women, Indians, the young and the aged in his proposed coalition of the "commonly exploited."

Members of the coalition "don't have to love each other," said Harris, but they can band together in an alliance to confront what he said is the central issue of the campaign:

"Whether the government is going to look after the interests of the average family or whether it is going to continue looking after the interests of the super rich and the giant corporations."

Harris said "I admire" the work of the tax reform advocates in North Carolina who are pressing for repeal of the state sales tax on food and for higher income taxes on the well-to-do.

On the national level, he called for a \$30 billion tax cut

for individuals and for price controls on "monopolistic" industries, like steel, automobiles, oil and gas and some food producers.

About 100 people showed up at dusk for a reception and speech by Harris in the Sir Walter Hotel. The candidate had another speech scheduled for later in the evening in Fayetteville. Today he is to have a press conference in Raleigh and make another appearance in Chapel Hill.

In an interview before the reception, Harris suggested that his campaign theme would attract support from those who



Fred R. Harris

See HARRIS, Page 2

Continued from Page One

have voted for Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace in the past. Wallace won the 1972 Democratic presidential preference primary in North Carolina.

"What I say has as much appeal to those who might other

wise have supported George Wallace as there is to people who supported George McGovern (the 1972 Democratic candidate)," said Harris.

"I come out of that kind of people," said Harris, recalling that when he was young his

parents were "migrant cotton pickers."

Harris was twice elected to the U. S. Senate from Oklahoma. He has also served as chairman of the Democratic National Committee and was co-chairman of the 1968 Humphrey-Muskie campaign.

He ran for president in 1972, but dropped out in a matter of weeks, saying, "I'm broke." This time, he said, the new federal campaign finance law, which provides some federal matching funds for candidates who demonstrate a wide base by raising \$5,000 in contributions no larger than \$250 per person in 20 states, gives him the opportunity to make a full-fledged race.

The campaign financing law, he said, "is tailor-made for the kind of people's campaign we are trying to put together here and across the country."

At the reception in Raleigh, Harris said that the black-white-Indian support he is seeking "is not an easy coalition," but he said it can stick together because whites, blacks and other minorities "have common problems."

Others tried to drive a wedge between the races, he said, but "all the time Standard Oil of New Jersey was ripping both of them off."

He said that a friend who teaches school in Nebraska told him recently that "the government has issued a directive that you cannot give seconds to little children in the free lunch program." In some cases that is the only meal poor

children get, he said. "We ought to be ashamed of that kind of government," said Harris.

In addition to price controls and a tax break larger than now being considered by Congress, Harris proposed higher taxes for the "super rich," enforcement of anti-trust laws which, he said, would result in a 20 per cent "natural" decrease in prices, and a massive program to put the unemployed back to work.

As a symbol of his intention to run as a "citizen candidate," Harris is traveling without any semblance of a staff, which usually accompanies a presidential candidate.

He walked off the commercial jet that flew him to Raleigh-Durham Airport carrying his own bags. He was to spend Monday night in the home of Arthur White, who owns an advertising and travel agency in Raleigh.

"I'm staying with Arthur White because I can't afford to stay in a hotel," said Harris.

Keep It on Ice

WASHINGTON — Marketing specialists at the U.S. Department of Agriculture say that all natural cheese should be kept refrigerated.

When storing cheese, the original wrapper or covering should be left on it, if possible and the cut should be covered with wax paper, foil or other wrapping material to protect the surface from drying out.

Concise file

Harris in Quest of Presidency Comes Here Carrying Own Bags

By FRANK LYNN

Carrying his own baggage and handing out his own publicity releases, former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma opened the New York phase of his low-budget Presidential campaign yesterday by telling 150 supporters that he would enter the New York primary next year.

"New York is the kind of state that you can't ignore and stay out of if you're a serious candidate," said Mr. Harris, the third Democratic Presidential hopeful to campaign here this week.

The other two, Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, had been wary of any pledges to run in New York, apparently fearful of stepping on the political toes of Governor Carey. Some politicians see the Governor as a possible national candidate next year or at least the key figure in the New York delegation.

Mr. Harris, a former Democratic national chairman who is taking the most liberal positions of the present Democratic Presidential hopefuls, said he had no idea whether Mr. Carey would be a national candidate next year.

If Governor Carey were to become a serious candidate, Mr. Harris indicated that he would have second thoughts about his own New York campaign. However, he indicated that he would not be scared off by a favorite-son move by the Governor.

"You can't make decisions based on favorite sons," he said, adding that "favorite sons don't work any more."

The 44-year-old Oklahoman lived up to his self billing as "the citizen candidate" in his first public campaigning here.

Breathless and 45 minutes late because of a delayed train from Philadelphia, Mr. Harris was at the rostrum of the faded Red Room at the McAlpin Hotel

taking off his overcoat and putting his large briefcase on a chair before most of his audience even realized he had arrived.

The audience comprised Liberal Democrats from the white-haired to the long-haired. Most had been invited from mailing lists consisting of those who have expressed interest in Mr. Harris's career over the years and their friends.

There was only one recognizable politician, Sarah Kovner, a founder of the New Democratic Coalition, but Mrs. Kovner said she was not making any commitments yet.

Mr. Harris conceded that he had no New York "names" in his camp yet.

"Most of the big shots don't make early commitments of support because they want to find out which way the wind is blowing," said the former Senator, adding that if he were a political leader, he would probably take the same stance.

In his talk to his supporters, delivered in such rapid-fire fashion that there was little opportunity for applause, Mr. Harris concentrated on unemployment, contending that "a job ought to be a right—an enforceable personal right."

He predicted that the official unemployment would rise to 10 per cent, or nine million unemployed, by missummer, but that even more would be unemployed if part-timers and new job seekers were included in the statistics.

Mr. Harris, in his speech at the McAlpin Hotel and later at Hunter College, called for creation of at least two million public-service jobs, a network of day-care centers to allow employable women to work, strong antitrust enforcement to encourage competition, which he said would create jobs and tax cuts of \$30-billion.

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

Harris
Harris

Harris eyes state primary

By Michael Coakley

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL candidate Fred Harris said here Tuesday that he is organizing a statewide campaign in Illinois but stopped short of committing himself to running delegate slates in all 24 of the state's congressional districts in next year's primary.

Harris, a former United States senator from Oklahoma, indicated his Illinois plans may hinge on whether Sen. Stevenson [D., Ill.] decides to enter the Presidential race.

There has been persistent speculation that Stevenson will run as the favorite-son candidate of Mayor Daley's organization in the Illinois primary.

SPEAKING AT A press conference in the Midland Hotel, Harris first said that a favorite-son campaign by Stevenson would not be enough to keep his own campaign out of Illinois.

However, in response to a question, he later said an all-out national effort by Stevenson would be another matter. "Naturally, at that point I'd have to decide whether, with limited time and resources, it was worthwhile to challenge another candidate in his home state," Harris said.

Beginning two days of appearances in Illinois, his first foray into the state during the current campaign, Harris said he is recruiting 1,000 volunteers a week throught the country.

HARRIS ALSO was a Presidential candidate in 1972 but dropped out of the race early due to a lack of money. He said he does not anticipate that same problem this year because of the new



Former Sen. Fred Harris: Govern-

ment must "look after the interest of the average family."

public financing law for Presidential campaigns.

His campaign should raise the necessary amount of private contributions in the required 20 states in order to qualify for the public money by September, he added.

At his press conference, Harris termed "privilege" the basic issue for 1976, "whether the government will begin to look after the interest of the average family or whether it's going to continue to protect the interest of the super-rich and the giant corporations."

In keeping with that theme, he attacked President Ford's energy program, claiming that the administration's increase in the excise tax and its plan to take controls off the price of domestic crude oil will cost consumers an additional \$36.1 billion a year.

Harris File

★ Harris urges Burns ouster

By Eleanor Randolph

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL contender Fred R. Harris Monday called on Dr. Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, to resign "in order to save America."

"He is one of the economic calamities visited upon this country during the Nixon and Ford administrations," the former Oklahoma senator said at a press conference in front of the Wrigley Building.

"Dr. Burns is one of those heavy-handed economists who think that to bring down inflation you have to bring down unemployment," said Harris, who served on the Senate's Finance Committee.

HARRIS SAID the tight-money policies of the Federal Reserve have helped "conservative" bankers but have aggravated the housing shortage and the financial problems in the construction industry.

"The only way we can get people back to work is to expand the money supply and bring interest rates down," Harris said.

Harris, who stopped in Chicago Sunday and Monday on his 35-day campaign trip across country in a Winnebago camper, acknowledge that there already have been rumors that Burns is planning to resign.

"I hope the rumors are true because it would be cheering news for most Americans," he said.

Chicago Tribune 8/5/75

Frank Starr

Fred Harris on the campaign trail

8/4/75



WASHINGTON—The Seldom Scene—a home-grown bluegrass band with an army surgeon, a commercial artist, and only one honest-to-goodness redneck hill-billy—was singing, "It's dark as a dungeon 'way down in the mine."

The surrounding office buildings had spilled out their usual bronze-limbed secretaries and bright young men onto the expensive grass in Lafayette Park opposite the White House. It was lunch time, an alfresco ritual for that crowd.

But the entertainment wasn't exactly free. It was Fred Harris seizing an opportunity [as he has been known to do] to dramatize the start of a 5,300 mile camper trip across the country he hopes will help get him elected as a people's President in a people's campaign.

The new campaign law had a lot to do with it, he said, evening the score so ordinary folks would no longer have to depend on the super-rich and the big corporations to pick their candidates for them. They, the people, Fred told them, could make a difference now.

So he was going on the road, he said, four adults and two children in a Winnebago camper for five weeks to mount a grass-roots campaign giving ordinary folks a chance against The Big Establishment.

And there were vestiges of previous

people's campaigns, a handful of kids in cutoff jeans and bare feet handing out literature, cheaply made but uniform signs with homey messages like "Put Ford in the Outhouse and Harris in the White House," and even George McGovern's 1972 campaign theme song.

But it ought to be said that old Fred has done his share of establishment politicking. That hand-painted sign, "Better Fred than Ted," brought to mind how far he'd strayed from it.

Harris had won the support of Oklahoma oilman Sen. Robert Kerr before in 1964 he sought the Senate seat vacated by Kerr's death. He defeated two former governors and a popular University of Oklahoma football coach, Bud Wilkinson, to win the seat.

In Washington he lived just two blocks from Sen. Robert Kennedy in suburban McLean, Va. Their wives were close friends, and the senators were ideologically close.

The night President Johnson announced he would not seek the 1968 nomination Harris returned from a trip to New Orleans to find a message that Kennedy wanted him to call. Harris tried but never found out what Kennedy wanted. Next morning he had breakfast with Hubert Humphrey, and a few days later became co-chairman of Hum-

phrey's campaign. Kennedy's foreshortened campaign went on with Fred in opposition.

After the election, when Harris learned that party chairman Larry O'Brien had resigned, he went to work calling every one of the 110 members of the national committee, and 72 hours later he was elected chairman.

Back during that 1964 Senate race, Harris had said of his popular opponent, Wilkinson, "Oh, Bud ain't no hill for a climber." It said a lot, that remark. He was a young man in a hurry.

Now Fred was half shouting in his urgent, preacher's delivery. He had started at such a high pitch, he'd have trouble building on it. "President Ford has been in office one year, and the American people are one year worse off!" he exclaimed.

After his speech he told some hangers-on that, yes, the U. S. ought to recognize Cuba. Nearby a parade of Baltic youngsters went by chanting, "One, two, three, four—don't give Russia any more!"

Then he and his wife got in their camper and drove off with lots of "Adios, muchachos" and "Goodbyes" as if they were going a lot farther than Baltimore.

The morning of Monday, Aug. 4, they'll be in Grant Park.

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In the meantime, No. cadres are supervising the "reeducation" campaign by which they united and ruled the North after 1954 and then went on to unite all Viet Nam.

"A notable point in the achievement of the students," said a straight-faced report in a Saigon paper, "is that almost all of them have admitted that, no matter what they formerly did in the puppet armed forces, they had sinned against the people and the revolution."

The new authorities, however, were not necessarily disposed to accept mere statements. Perhaps, the paper noted, "they have shammed progress and pretended to progress merely to get thru this phase before returning to society at large."

For those who "sincerely" wished to "take their place among the nation's community," the paper said, "the most correct path and the most practical measure are productive labor." Thus, after completing their "study course," the eager, revved-up graduates would "return to their home lands to perform productive labor."

There is, of course, another word for the euphemism "productive labor." It is "slavery"—and it is clearly the fate that now awaits hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of Vietnamese caught on the losing side of a generation of warfare.

Harris file

Harris Opens His Headquarters Here in 1976 Bid, Emphasizing Volunteer Effort

Fred Harris yesterday opened the first public headquarters in the city for the 1976 Presidential campaign and offered this lesson from his populist-style race: "There's a kind of people's loophole in this new campaign finance law—they don't include the value of volunteer services."

Mr. Harris, former Senator from Oklahoma, opened a Madison Avenue storefront between a Chock Full O' Nuts and a Beefburger restaurant, the first of the nine Democrats said to be in the running for the Presidential nomination, formally to occupy a city site.

"By the middle of October we'll have a functioning organization in every Congressional district in New York," he told a youngish crowd that drank cider and cringed from the warm-up din of a noisily amplified band. "My principal opponent so far in New York is 'Uncommitted,'" he said.

Mr. Harris was alluding to the tactic that most Democrats expect from the state organization—an effort to elect delegates uncommitted to any candidate, a bloc that could be used in convention bargaining by Governor Carey and the state chairman, Patrick J. Cunningham.

Three Others Open



ers in the districts but no plans for a central office.

Other than personal appearances here, there have been no overt signs of organizing on behalf of Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia or Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania or former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina.

On one wall of Mr. Harris's headquarters was an amateurishly painted rainbow above the picture of a camper bus, the vehicle that had carried the candidate on a Western swing during the summer. He glanced at the picture and

grinned. His campaign, he said, offers people "the chance to have a citizen President again."

The Harris and Jackson efforts appear to be the best organized in New York so far [though it is almost impossible to tell how—or whether—the Wallace campaign is at work until actual delegate petitions appear and the two start with totally different concepts of 1976 politics under the new financing rules.

A block north of the Harris storefront is a bare 23d-floor office at 555 Madison Avenue where the Jackson campaign,

charted by Matt Lifflander, is focusing on fund-raising.

"We made a decision in Washington long ago," Mr. Lifflander said. "You can only spend \$10-million nationwide, so you've got to pick your spots. It was carefully calculated. The way the rules of the game are: you've got to have the money this year; you can't pick it up at the end from fat cats."

Mr. Harris—and Mr. Udall, too, whose young coalition-oriented group is based in an apartment house at 288 Lexington Avenue—is counting on

a volunteer surge of the sort that nominated Senator George McGovern four years ago, but without the tinge of elitism that proved fatal to the South Dakotan's effort.

Yesterday Mr. Harris denounced the Ford Administration's economic policies, called for aid to fiscally-troubled New York City, for federalization of welfare and for establishment of "a Federal urban bank—to loan directly to cities."

Of New York, he said, "No serious candidate for President can avoid entering this primary."

Of his plans he said, "We're looking forward to fielding full delegate slates."

Of the core issue, as Mr. Harris saw it, he said, "Too few people in this country have all the money and power."

Harris Quits Active Role In Presidential Campaign

By CHARLES MOHR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 8 — Fred Harris exited laughing today.

The former Oklahoma Senator told a news conference that he was still a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination but that it was "very unlikely" he could win. He said he would end his "national effort" in primary elections, scale down his staff and campaign headquarters and concentrate on influencing the Democratic platform, and possibly the selection of a nominee, in July.

The news conference was crowded with members of Mr. Harris's staff and political volunteers who had come from all over America to pay tribute to the short, heavy-set man who had inspired them. Mr. Harris turned the occasion into an unusual—but, for him, characteristic—moment of emotion, warmth and unpretentious retrospection.

Mr. Harris had called his politics the "new populism." He said the overriding issue in the 1976 campaign was privilege, and he attacked concentrated wealth and called for "a widespread diffusion of economic and political power."

The Final Trench

In the New Hampshire primary last Feb. 24, he ran fourth with 11 percent of the vote; in the Massachusetts primary a week later, he was fifth with 8 percent. His campaign coffers empty, he abandoned plans to contest such states as Illinois and Wisconsin and prepared to make a last-ditch stand in Pennsylvania. But today, he said that "lack of money" had forced him to retreat from that final trench.

"Listen," he answered, "anybody who doesn't have any more friends than I do needs protection," Mr. Harris said amid laughter.

Mr. Harris, flanked by his wife Ladonna and his daughters, said he would continue to seek uncommitted delegates and do a bit of campaigning in such states as Texas and Connecticut. He said he hoped to have enough delegates to satisfy party rules so that his name could be officially placed in nomination at Madison Square Garden. In a realistic sense, however, his campaign is over.

Lack of Matching Funds

The suspended state of the Federal Election Commission, which is now unable to disperse matching funds to candidates, contributed to his own political suspension, Mr. Harris said. Another factor, with far more primaries and candidates this year than usual, was that failure to pass a threshold of success in early primaries made it virtually impossible to continue.

"I don't rail against that," Mr. Harris said today, "because I expected to use that very system."

When Mr. Harris began to campaign in the summer of 1974, there seemed to be several possible outcomes. One of the most likely was that, sooner or later, commentators and politicians would begin to denounce him as a radical. Another possibility was that he would make no significant impact at all and would go unheard.

Instead, something quite different happened. Rather than "excommunicating" Mr. Harris, many liberals in his party embraced his populist doctrines.

Of his showing in the early primaries, Mr. Harris said:

"You couldn't call it victory because we didn't run that well. But we ran just well enough to keep going, so it really wasn't defeat. We didn't know what to call it and we just decided to call it quits."

Mr. Harris had one of the largest—and most gifted—staffs in politics, and his staff members worked for nothing or next to it. Except for manpower he ran a spare proletarian campaign, usually staying in private homes rather than hotels. Hundreds of his hosts across the country have certificates entitling them to spend one night in the White House, now probably no longer negotiable.

Potential for Tears

There was considerable potential for tears as Mr. Harris stood before his followers and friends, but he did not let his full-scale campaign end that way.

Recalling that he had finally accepted Secret Service protection last month after declining it for months, Mr. Harris said he was reminded of a man who ran for sheriff in Cotton County, Oklahoma, got almost too few votes to count, but appeared after the election with a pistol strapped to his hip.

"Someone said, 'Woody, why are you wearing that pistol? You didn't get elected sheriff.'"

Message Is Echoed

Other liberals, such as Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, echoed many of the words and even some of the rhythms of the Harris campaign, particularly his unrelenting attacks on monopolistic power wielded by "giant corporations," his appeals for more equality of opportunity and his demands for social justice. Even more conservative candidates, such as Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, seemed to borrow elements of the Harris gospel.

In Massachusetts last month, Mr. Harris joked: "I'm beginning to feel like a ventriloquist; I sometimes feel I can get these other candidates to say anything I want them to. I just hope the people will begin to notice that I am moving my lips."

Not enough voters did. So Mr. Harris, who likes to say he finds "existential value in struggle itself," told his followers today: "It is enough for now to say that you and I have shared a vision of what kind of country this ought to be, that we did what we could toward making that vision a reality, that we had some effect on our country's thinking and future, and that we may yet have more before we're through."

Harris

2 Part II—Wed., Sept. 3, 1975

Los Angeles Times

Ex-Sen. Harris Outlines Plan to Spur Employment

BY GEORGE SKELTON

Times Political Writer

Populist Fred Harris, one of a dozen Democrats running for President, offered his solution to the unemployment problem Tuesday: cut taxes for most people, boost them for the "superrich" and expand the money supply to bring down interest rates.

"The right to a job ought to be as automatic in this country as the right to unemployment compensation or Social Security," the former Oklahoma senator told a news conference at the Greater Los Angeles Press Club.

"If we take the rich off welfare—stop the direct subsidies and the tax subsidies to the superrich and the giant corporations—we can get this country back to work."

Harris outlined his program for solving unemployment in sketchy, general terms.

Basically, he would immediately and permanently reduce federal income taxes for families earning less than \$20,000 annually. This would cover 90% of the taxpayers, he said

and cost \$15 billion a year.

Second, he added, "We ought to couple that with a tax increase for the Nelson Rockefellers and the J. Paul Gettys who are not paying their fair share of dues in our society." This would finance the tax cut.

Third, Harris continued, "We should be expanding the money supply by the rate of 12% or more a year, bringing down interest rates, particularly on housing, to between 4 and 6% a year."

And "it is an outdated notion," he insisted, that expanding the money supply increases inflation.

In addition, the ex-senator said a locally controlled "public service job reservoir" should be authorized for 2 million employment slots.

"If I were President right now, I'd say within 18 months we would have 100 million people at work," he claimed.

Now, 88 million Americans are working.

Candidate Harris

Fred Roy Harris, 45, born and reared on a family farm, was elected an Oklahoma state senator at the age of 25, a US senator at 33, and Democratic National Committee chairman at 38. He did not seek re-election to the Senate in 1972 but made a brief run for the Democratic presidential nomination that year.

A progressive but mainstream Democrat and supporter of the oil depletion allowance when first elected, Harris has moved consistently to the left on economic and social issues since serving on President Johnson's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission that studied causes of racial riots.)

He seeks the White House as an advocate of breaking up big corporations, taxing the wealthy much more heavily and the poor less, developing new energy resources through a government corporation rather than private investment, and undertaking major new health, housing and job programs.

Mr. Harris's supporters usually describe him as the most left-wing candidate among this year's Democrats, but he seeks to appeal to economic traditionalists, too, by advocating a return to old-fashioned capitalism—with vigorous competition among smaller companies in a free market.

Sen. Harris would treat any industry in which four or fewer companies control 70 percent or more of the sales as a "shared monopoly" and he would use antitrust laws to broaden the market.

He has proposed other restrictions on several industries:

Oil companies would be compelled to give up some phases of production, which most now control from well-head to pump sale.

Auto makers would have to stop production of any model running less than 22 miles on a gallon of gasoline.

Utilities would have to raise rates for large-scale business users and lower them for homeowners.

Non-farm conglomerate corporations would have to sell their farms.

His economic programs, coupled with much heavier taxes on income and net wealth, would redistribute existing assets. But Sen. Harris has not offered detailed economic research to show that his kind of economy could offer as many new jobs or sustain as fast a rate of growth as less regulated corporations have done.

Like most other Democrats, however, Mr. Harris favors a guarantee of a government job to any worker who cannot find employment in private enterprise.

He advocates national health care, a vastly expanded Federal housing construction program, retention of the current broad-based Food Stamp program, and public day care centers.

Sen. Harris also backs other liberal programs, including some form of countercyclical revenue-sharing to concentrate aid in cities and states with the highest unemployment rates. But he defines himself as a "populist" rather than a liberal, and emphasizes his belief in the need for fundamental change in the economic system to benefit the working class. (Among the \$94 billion in tax "loopholes" he would eliminate are deductions for home mortgages, charitable donations and loan interest payments, all of which benefit middle-income families as well as the rich.)

He consistently supports school integration, by busing when necessary, affirmative action hiring for women and minorities, and gay rights.

He would cut \$14.7 billion from the defense budget through reductions in troops and weapons, and would end intervention in Angola, Portugal and other countries where communists are gaining political strength. He has criticized the heavy degree of American involvement in negotiating a Mideast peace, although he supports aid to Israel.

Energetic and visionary, usually considered the most effective speaker among the left-of-center candidates, Harris arouses crowds to fervent support. He tours the country in a camper and stays in private homes, and he seeks the "grass roots" support of people who like Gov. George Wallace's economic message but dislike his record on race. Harris's major problem is in reaching mainstream Democrats who recall George McGovern's problems in 1972 and fear Harris is too radical to win in November.



Harris discounts Wallace threat as liberal Democrats talk

By Jerome Watson

Sun-Times Political Editor

MINNEAPOLIS — Democratic presidential candidate Fred Harris Saturday dismissed liberal fears of George Wallace, maintaining that the Alabama governor is "on the wane" and has "zero chance" of getting the Democratic nomination.

He said Wallace did not offer solutions for the frustrations he articulates and contended Wallace would not do well even in states like Massachusetts, where busing is a major issue.

Harris, one of five presidential hopefuls attending a two-day liberal candidates' forum here, also challenged the widely held view that the Democratic convention next year in New York City may be brokered.

He predicted that the nominee would emerge from the primaries and win on the first or second ballot and that, by the time the convention opened, the field would have narrowed to two or three candidates.

At a press conference, Harris said his own weak showing in the polls is meaningless because organization, not polls, was what counted now.

Harris noted that Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) was supported by only about 3 per cent of the electorate at the start of his pursuit of the 1972 Democratic nomination.

Harris, a former senator from Oklahoma, said he was organized in 43 states and had the best organized campaign of any of the 10 or so current candidates. For that reason, Harris said, it doesn't matter that a large proportion of voters don't know who he is.

In an indirect challenge to Mayor Daley, Harris said he would organize in all 24 Illinois congressional districts, including Chicago, where Daley traditionally seeks to elect uncommitted delegates and discourages presidential candidates from running.

Despite speculation that Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) might emerge as a compromise candidate at the national convention, Harris, who helped manage Humphrey's 1968 campaign, maintained the modern history of Democratic conventions proved a candidate could not be nominated without going through primaries.

Harris employed some of the most stirring rhetoric of the day with his attacks on the "privileged" establishment and elicited some of the most intense applause.

However, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, despite a much lower-key delivery, received a standing ovation after his appearance.

Udall's handling of questions on a broad range of issues appeared to impress many in the audience, and several delegates said Udall appeared to have grown in personal stature in recent months.

Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J.

Shapp, one of the official or unofficial candidates seeking the favor of the activist liberals, said at the press conference he will formally announce his candidacy on Sept. 25 and plans to run in the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries.

Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana said at another press conference he would decide by the end of October whether to enter the presidential race, but that he is encouraged to do so, and that if he runs, "Hang onto your hat."

Bayh agreed with Harris that Wallace has no chances of winning the Democratic nomination and, like Harris, said he thought the nominee could be a candidate who does well in early primaries.

The candidates who seemed to be taken most seriously were Udall, Harris and Bayh. Shapp and former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford seemed to generate less enthusiasm.

Although it was clear that none of the candidates had

emerged as the clear conference favorite, several Illinois delegates said they thought the meeting encouraged many delegates to choose sides and was useful in promoting an exchange of views.

The conference was different from one held in Chicago last March, when many liberals

seemed to hope Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts would reverse his decision not to run. Steve Cohen, president of the Americans for Democratic Action in Massachusetts, reflected the view of a number of others that "the waiting for Kennedy is over."

Among Illinois conference

delegates, fear was expressed that Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson (D-Ill.) might allow himself to be used by Daley as a favorite son candidate to hold the Illinois delegation together for a

candidate of Daley's choosing. An estimated 1,500 persons from 10 states gathered here for the two-day conference, including about 1,000 persons from Minnesota.

Politics by Perry

Where Are New Populism's Populists?

By James M. Perry
FROM DOVER, N.H.

Fred Harris, the only just-plain-folks, New Populist candidate in America with a law degree and a Phi Beta Kappa key, was telling a roomful of earnest voters here that he has an old friend out in Omaha, Neb., named Gene Crawford. Gene, Fred was saying, is a full-blooded, 300-pound Sioux Indian, and an ex-Marine.

"The only promise I've made, and it's just half-jokingly, is that when I'm President, I'll name Gene Crawford as chief of protocol. Just think about all those society people in their sashes and medals, comin' to the White House and the guy greetin' 'em"—at which Harris shoved his own not-inconsiderable girth forward, in parody—"is a 300-pound Indian!"

It does tend to boggle the mind, but, then, the whole idea of the Fred Harris campaign for President tends to boggle the mind. Harris has no press secretary, no paid staff, no downtown head-



Analysis and Opinion

quarters, no press buses, no image-maker, no fancy brochures or classy issues papers. For all of that, he's running just about as well as any other Democratic candidate for President, including Sens. Henry M. Jackson and Lloyd Bentsen and Gov. George Wallace, each of whom has spent \$1 million already. Fred Harris has spent \$13,000.

For Better or Worse

The Fred Harris campaign is what political reform is doing to us, for better or for worse. In 1972, Harris tried to run for President too (he knew he couldn't be re-elected to the Senate from Oklahoma), but the money ran out. This time, Harris can latch on to public money, from the income-tax check-offs. "It's the most important revolution in politics in my lifetime," he says. It's what sustains him, and it's the reason the odds-makers shouldn't write him off, yet.

Anyway, he's a charming, uniquely American character. And his extraordinary wife, LaDonna, who is half Comanche Indian, possesses the finest chiseled profile this side of Mt. Rushmore.

Harris' campaign "headquarters" is the family's modest, middle-class (brick, center-hall Colonial) home in McLean, Va., a Washington suburb. The campaign began a year ago in the play room, where there are now five desks. It worked its way up the stairs past the pictures of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the living room, where a full-time volunteer, Joe Meyer, builds a new desk or two almost every week end. "It won't be long," says Harris, who

wears a cowboy hat and a Levi jacket when he's "at home," a gray-flannel suit when he's on the road. "before we have to put a couple trailer houses out in the back yard." His national campaign co-ordinator—because it's a people's campaign, titles like "director" and "chairperson" are studiously avoided—is Jim Hightower, a nail-nibbling, full-time volunteer who supports himself on the advance from his book about food, *Eat Your Heart Out*. Hightower wears blue jeans, a Levi Strauss belt buckle, and an immense, floppy straw hat. John Mitchell, he ain't.

There are two basic assumptions in this campaign, spelled out in a memo Harris wrote to his friends last June: "(A) The fundamental ideal of the American experiment is the widespread diffusion of economic and political power, and (B) people are smart

enough to govern themselves."

Thus, Harris says, as President he's going to give American business the damndest dose of "free" enterprise it's ever had to choke down. He says he'd get rid of the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) and the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), except for their safety-enforcing functions. He says he'd pretty much wipe out the \$94 billion he figures goes to industry in Government subsidies. He says he'd give "average" Americans (of course, the rhetoric often has a George Wallace ring to it), a huge tax cut and rebate, and he says he'd tighten up inheritance and other laws so we can do a better job redistributing the nation's wealth. He says he'd make sure the J. Paul Getty and the Nelson A. Rockefellers pay their fair share.

The New Populists

The Old Populists were a marvelous collection: Pitchfork Ben ("the One-Eyed Plowboy") Tillman, Jerry ("the Sockless Socrates of the Prairies") Simpson, Mary E. ("the Kansas Pythness") Lease. Bumpkins and clodhoppers, the effete Eastern elitists sniffed, but these clodhoppers kept marching out of the West and the South and they wouldn't shut up. They demanded things like a graduated income tax, a breakup of the trusts, secret ballots, even suffrage for women. The Democrats and the Republicans listened, and, at last, learned.

The people who walked miles and miles to hear "Calamity" Weller and "Whiskers" Peffer were hard-working, hard-scrabble folks, victims of immense injustices. But who are these New Populists flocking to Fred Harris' banner?

I watched about 200 of them in historic old Faneuil (the "Cradle of Liberty") Hall in Boston a week ago. I watched another 100 of them turn out to hear Harris in New Hampshire. A

few of them, I suppose, are hard-scrabble folks; most of them, though, I've seen before. I know this crowd, even if the faces and the names have changed. This is the old McGovern constituency: students, teachers, upper- and upper-middle-class housewives, Brahmin-type WASPs, high-income Jews. Good, decent, high-minded folks, each and every one of them—but not a hungry belly in the lot.

In Boston, the New Populists were asked to spread out and join any one of 11 "interest" groups that interested them most. Interest groups included: Women's Rights, Tax Reform, Minority Rights and Economic Structure. Said Alice Cohen to Martin Cohen: "Whaddya like—women's rights?" At the minority-rights session, an earnest young college student explained: "One reason we have poor people is that we have rich people." The "expeditor" for the foreign-policy panel wore a button that showed a smoking cigarette. "Yes," the button said, "I do mind." Popular, too, this election year are Dutch sailor caps. The biggest, toughest issue in Boston is school busing, but there was no panel to discuss that.

An Extravagant Ambition

Harris moved on to Concord, the New Hampshire capital, the next day to hold the first big organizational meeting for his first big primary election a year from now. Harris hopes to get 25 per cent of the New Hampshire vote and finish in the top three. The way things look now, it's not an extravagant ambition.

Harris, Hightower, and Mike Brower, the Boston professor who put both of them up for Saturday night, arrived early, and Harris himself cleaned off the conference table at the Highway Hotel. Among the first to arrive was an Episcopalian minister in a turtle-neck sweater and peace necklace. He brown-bagged his own lunch, consisting principally of raw carrots and bananas. After Hightower said things were really moving for Harris in California, Wisconsin, and elsewhere, a young state representative said, well, things could be better in New Hampshire. Everywhere she goes, she said, all she hears about is Udall, meaning Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona. Harris' principal antagonist in the race for the old McGovern gang right now. What the Harris organization needed, she said, was some kind of visible state leader, somebody in charge. Udall's son, Mark, is working in New Hampshire, and David LaRoshe, until recently the Democratic state chairman, is the Udall state chairman. "With this campaign," said an older, bearded gentleman from Rye, "I don't know who to call." I suppose he still doesn't, because no final action was taken on a chairperson at the meeting. They'll try again in April.

Harris, I thought, became a little testy about how things were going. He pounded on the table. "You," he said, pointing to the people in the room, "are the Democratic Party in this state, if you want to be. You can nominate the next President, starting right now in this room, if you want to. This thing will develop. There's nothing like this campaign in America. Udall couldn't put a roomful of people together like this if he wanted to. Nobody could." The Episcopal minister agreed. Yes, indeed, he said, his long, gray curls bobbing in agreement, "We can do it ourselves."

Harris insists, almost vehemently, that he has working-class supporters in Boston and in New Hampshire, and in the dozen or more other states that he's organizing. "I have black supporters in Roxbury and Dorchester [in Boston]," he says, "but most of them are out of work now, and it would have been hard for them to get downtown for a meeting like that."

Well, maybe so. Of course he has

Correction: Chocolate

In a story headlined "Ersatz Chocolate," in the March 8 Observer, we erroneously reported that Peter Paul, Inc., operated at a net loss in 1974, but that sales of candy bars held steady. In fact, Peter Paul showed a profit for 1974, and sales of candy bars increased. In addition, our story erroneously implied that the designation "Nu Style" on the company's York Peppermint Pattie was added to reflect a recent change in the candy's coating. In fact, the designation dates to the early 1930s, and has been phased out. The Observer regrets the errors.

some working-class support. But most fed-up, working class Americans don't care much about politics, and when they think about it at all, they tend to look to George Wallace. Fred Harris has signed up hundreds of wonderful, sincere, earnest, deeply committed people, but they aren't enough. The Old Populists came marching out of the boondocks by the hundreds of thousands because they thought they could make a difference. The New Populists want to make life better for millions of Americans who stopped listening years ago.

FRED HARRIS



“ WE JOIN THE WINNER . . . FRED HARRIS

. . . there is a nerve in America which can be touched by an appeal to the basic economic interest of the vast majority of the citizenry.

We think Fred Harris could usher in a new era of economic and political creativity. We think the time for that era has come and we believe that Harris is tough enough and articulate enough and dedicated enough to be its midwife.

Fred Harris for President, 1976!

ROCKY MOUNTAIN JOURNAL, Editorial, Feb. 26, 1975

. . . Harris is projecting himself as the candidate of the powerless . . . he proposes to tax the rich more heavily and to break up the economic monopolies and oligopolies. When Mr. Harris first struck these neo-populist themes in his first . . . campaign for the democratic nomination three years ago, they seemed resurrected rather than relevant. But the recession and sharp rise in prices may give his message . . . new political potency.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Editorial, January 21, 1975

FRED HARRIS MAY BE AMERICA'S MOST EXCITING BICENTENNIAL PROJECT

Harris, the son of an Oklahoma sharecropper, may be the man to show the country, 200 years after its beginning, how to make democracy work again.

Harris doesn't show up in the polls yet. But he will. Then he will have the money the political fatcats . . . always denied to candidates like Harris who stood for the individual American, instead of the big special interest.

Fred Harris may be America's most exciting Bicentennial project.

STATE NEWS AND DAILY EAGLE, Dover, Delaware: May 20, 1975

Harris has generated more emotion for his candidacy than any other announced contender. He got the best response at the California Democratic Convention.

POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE NEWSLETTER, March 21, 1975”

FRED HARRIS *for* PRESIDENT

JIM HIGHTOWER, TREAS. • 703/893-0830 • 1104 WAVERLY WAY • McLEAN, VIRGINIA 22101

**One person
running for President in 1976
has the toughness and ability
to make a difference in
the way the country is run:**

*This can be just another Presidential election . . .
or it can be one of the most significant years
in the history of Presidential politics.*



FRED HARRIS was born into a sharecropping family in Oklahoma in 1930 and knows the meaning of hard work. By the time he was 12, he was following the wheat harvest all the way to North Dakota each summer with his family.

Working his way through the University of Oklahoma as a printer, Harris received a degree in government and history and a Law Degree "with distinction" — earning membership in Phi Beta Kappa along the way.

After establishing his own law practice, Harris served for eight years as a reform-minded member of the Oklahoma State Senate. He upset University of Oklahoma coach Bud Wilkinson in 1964 to win a seat in the U.S. Senate, where he built a record as a plain-spoken and forceful advocate of tax reform, anti-monopoly legislation and human issues.

Harris served with distinction on the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (the Kerner Commission) and later served as co-chairman of the Urban Coalition's Commission on the Cities in the 70's.

As Chairman of the Democratic National Committee in 1969 and 1970, Fred Harris launched significant new reforms to help broaden the Party's base. He did not seek re-election to the U.S. Senate in order to run for President in 1972, but that campaign was cut short by lack of money.

Outside the Senate, Harris has continued to use his legal and political experience to work with citizens' groups around the country that are involved in tax, reform, utility-rate fights, campaigns against food monopolies, union representation for mine workers and other battles against concentrated economic power. *New Yorker* magazine called his third book, *The New Populism*: "A lucid, forthright, compelling exposition of what the author believes should and can be done to return the United States to the control of the majority of its inhabitants."

LADONNA HARRIS is a Comanche Indian who was born on a farm in Cotton County, Oklahoma, in 1931. LaDonna was raised in the home of her grandparents, where Comanche was the primary language. She is President of Americans for Indian Opportunity, a national organization which supports Indian action projects and self-help programs.

LaDonna has long been active in the fields of women's and minority rights. She was a co-convenor of the National Women's Political Caucus and is a member of the National Advisory Committee of NOW. She also serves on the national boards of Common Cause, the Urban Coalition and a number of other such groups.

In 1973, LaDonna was selected as one of seven Women of the Year in the United States in a national poll conducted by *Ladies' Home Journal*.

Fred and LaDonna have three children: Kathryn, a recent Stanford Law School graduate; Byron, just out of high school; and Laura, a high school freshman.



WE KNOW where the Republicans stand. The question is whether the Democrats will stand for anything. Fred Harris is determined to see that they do.

"The basic issue in 1976," he says, "is whether people who have to work for a living will have a President who fights for their interests, or whether the super-rich and the giant corporations will continue to run everything."

That's plainer talk than we've had for a while, and it's about time.

Fred Harris isn't afraid to talk about the issues.

- ▶ He's talking about *real* tax reform, forcing the Rockefellers and the Tennecos to pay their full share of society's dues.
- ▶ He's talking about cutting off the government supports that allow multinational corporations to move our jobs and our wealth abroad to foreign countries.
- ▶ He's talking about an open foreign policy based on principle, rather than supporting every military dictatorship that owns a pair of sunglasses.
- ▶ He's talking about a public oil and gas corporation to develop publicly owned resources; price controls on monopolistic industries; rollbacks of interest rates; vigorous anti-trust enforcement; building a national rail system; and a guaranteed job for every American willing and able to work.

"Too few people have all the money and power, and everybody else has very little of either. The issue in 1976 is privilege: whether our government is going to continue to look after the interests of the super-rich and the giant corporations, or begin to look after the interests of the average family."

FRED HARRIS

THIS YEAR, thanks to the new campaign financing laws providing for federal matching funds, the people through their contributions will decide who's going to be a serious candidate.

The rich will not be able to buy this election.

As Fred has said, "If we get ourselves together, we are a majority, and we can make this a people's government again".

This time we can make a difference.

I support Fred Harris, and I want to help him get elected President! Please contact me:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____

Phone _____ Zip _____

Occupation _____

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

FRED HARRIS for PRESIDENT
1104 Waverly Way — McLean, Va. 22101
703 / 893-0830

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”
THE STATE NEWS AND DAILY EAGLE
Dover Delaware, May 20, 1975

“ Fred Harris will do more than talk about working men and women. He'll fight for them . . . As a State Senator and as a U.S. Senator, Fred could be counted on when it counted for us. He has the guts to stand up for working people.”

Henry Likes, President
Oklahoma AFL-CIO

“ . . . Harris is projecting himself as the candidate of the powerless . . . he proposes to tax the rich more heavily and to break up the economic monopolies and oligopolies. When Mr. Harris first struck these neo-populist themes in his first . . . campaign for the democratic nomination three years ago, they seemed resurrected rather than relevant. But the recession and sharp rise in prices may give his message . . . new political potency.”

THE NEW YORK TIMES
Editorial, January 21, 1975

FRED HARRIS FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
1104 Waverly Way, McLean, Virginia 22101
Jim Hightower, Treasurer

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

FHB-101

**One person
running for
President in
1976 has the
toughness
and ability
to make a
difference
in the way
the country
is run:**



**FRED
HARRIS**

This can be just another Presidential election. Or it can be one of the most significant years in the history of Presidential politics.

We know where the Republicans stand. The question is whether the Democrats will stand for anything. Fred Harris is determined to see that they do.

"The basic issue in 1976," he says, "is whether people who have to work for a living will have a President who fights for their interests or whether the super-rich and the giant corporations will continue to run everything."

That's plainer talk than we've had for a while, and it's about time.

Fred Harris isn't afraid to talk about the issues.

- **He's talking about real tax reform, forcing the Rockefellers and the Tennecos to pay their full share of society's dues.**

- **He's talking about cutting off the government supports that allow multinational corporations to move our jobs and our wealth abroad.**
- **He's talking about an open foreign policy based on principle, rather than supporting every military dictatorship that owns a pair of sunglasses.**
- **He's talking about a public oil and gas corporation to develop publicly owned resources; price controls on monopolistic industries; rollbacks of interest rates; vigorous antitrust enforcement; building a national rail system; and a guaranteed job for every American willing and able to work.**



FRED HARRIS

Born into a sharecropping family in Oklahoma in 1930, Fred Harris knows the meaning of hard work. By the time he was 12, he was following the wheat harvest all the way to North Dakota each summer with his family.

Working his way through the University of Oklahoma as a printer,

Harris received a degree in government and history and a Law Degree "with distinction" — earning membership in Phi Beta Kappa along the way.

After establishing his own law practice, Harris served for eight years as a reform-minded member of the Oklahoma State Senate. He upset University of Oklahoma coach Bud Wilkinson in 1964 to win a seat in the U.S. Senate, where he built a record as a plain-spoken and forceful advocate

of tax reform, anti-monopoly legislation and human issues.

Harris served with distinction on the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission) and later served as co-chairman of the Urban Coalition's Commission on the Cities in the 70's.

As Chairman of the Democratic National Committee in 1969 and 1970, Fred Harris launched significant new reforms to help broaden the Party's base. He did not seek re-election to the U.S. Senate in order to run for President in 1972, but that campaign was cut short by lack of money.

Outside the Senate, Harris has continued to use his legal and political experience to work with citizens' groups around the country that are involved in tax reform, utility-rate fights, campaigns against food monopolies, union representation for mine workers and other battles against concentrated economic power. *New Yorker* magazine called his third book, *The New Populism*, "A lucid, forthright, compelling exposition of what the author believes should and can be done to return the

United States to the control of the majority of its inhabitants."

LADONNA HARRIS is a Comanche Indian who was born on a farm in Cotton County, Oklahoma, in 1931. LaDonna was raised in the home of her grandparents, where Comanche was the primary language. She is President of Americans for Indian Opportunity, a national organization which supports Indian action projects and self-help programs.

LaDonna has long been active in the fields of women's and minority rights. She was a co-convenor of the National Women's Political Caucus and is a member of the National Advisory Committee of NOW. She also serves on the national boards of Common Cause, the Urban Coalition and a number of other such groups.

In 1973, LaDonna was selected as one of seven Women of the Year in the United States in a national poll conducted by Ladies' Home Journal.

Fred and LaDonna have three children: Kathryn, a third-year law student at Stanford University; Byron, a senior in high school; and Laura, an eighth grader.

Fred Harris Has Consistently Voted For America's Workers

In the United States Senate, he fought for more public service jobs, for higher minimum wages, for repeal of the 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, for protection of organized labor's political rights, for expanded social security benefits, for extended unemployment compensation coverage, for strong job safety regulations, and against the Supreme Court nominations of Clement Haynsworth and Harrold Carswell.

In 1969, 1970, and 1972, Fred Harris' votes in the Senate warranted a 100% pro-labor rating by the AFL-CIO. Overall, through eight full years as a Senator, his votes coincided with the AFL-CIO position 87% of the time—one of the top pro-labor voting records in the Congress.

Fred Harris has often taken the lead in fights for workers' rights and interests. He stood with mine workers in 1974 at their historic strike in Harlan County, Kentucky, serving on the Citizens Board of Inquiry that drew needed public attention to the Brookside mine strike. He led the Senate fight in 1971 against the nomination of Earl Butz to be Secretary of Agriculture, and he joined labor unions and other groups in 1973 to press for anti-trust action against the giant monopolies that artificially inflate food prices. In the Congress, within the Democratic Party and as a private citizen, he has led the battle for meaningful tax reform that will ease the burden on the middle class and make the rich pay their fair share.

Fred Harris. Democrat for President '76

"The issue in 1976 is privilege: whether our government is going to continue to look after the interests of the super-rich and the giant corporations, or begin to look after the interests of the average family."

—Fred Harris

I support Fred Harris, and I want to help him get elected President!

Please contact me:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

FRED HARRIS for PRESIDENT

JIM HIGHTOWER, TREAS. ☆ 202/737-7000 ☆ 1412 K STREET N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

Authorized, printed and paid for by Harris for President Committee: Fred Harris, Chairperson; Jim Hightower, Treasurer, 1412 K Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

"There's only one man out there speaking to the issues that affect working people. That man is Fred Harris . . .

"All his life, Fred Harris has been on the side of working people. He has voted for all the issues which we are concerned with. The American people aren't looking for a movie star or some big name—they're looking for leadership, they're looking for someone who cares for forgotten people and who will do something about the direction of this country. Fred Harris is that man. We must get somebody in the White House to fight for people who work for a living. My candidate is Fred Harris."

—George Hardy, President Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO



Fred Harris VS. Unemployment



"Fred Harris is the Harry Truman of 1976. I'm for Fred because he understands that jobs are the issue in 1976. He has made full employment his number one priority, not just in seeking labor votes, but in seeking to get the country moving forward."

Edward Sullivan, Business Manager
Service Employees International Union
Local 1254, Boston, Massachusetts

"The basic thing we've got to have in America, and everything else depends on it, is a job for every American as a personal enforceable right. The President ought to be required by law to have an affirmative policy to put people to work. Private jobs are best, but if a person can't get a private job, he or she should be able to walk into the Employment Office—not the Unemployment Office—and say, 'I want my job.' The right to a job in America should be as automatic as the right to Social Security or unemployment compensation.

"We're headed toward 10% unemployment, which means 9 million people out of work officially, but really a great deal more if you add in those who aren't counted. We haven't seen that kind of misery in this country in 40 or 50 years. And we ought not to have to.

"We have 88 million Americans at work right now. We should have 5 million full-time jobs and 7 million more part-time jobs, within the next 18 months. We could do that if we brought down interest rates on housing, shocked some health back into the economy with a large tax cut for individuals, held prices down through price controls on monopolistic industries and enforcement of the antitrust laws, and provided enough public service jobs to take up the slack in the private sector.

"Job reservoir programs ought to be on the shelves, ready to go, under the control of local people.

"There's plenty of work to be done. Every child in America who needs child care should have it within the next five years. We need to clean up the environment, build mass transit systems and solar energy equipment if we decide to do so.

"There's plenty of money to do this with. The Joint Economic Committee report, updated in December 1974, shows that billions of dollars in direct and indirect subsidies are taken from the working people and handed over to Lockheed or Penn Central or the big banks or the oil and gas people. If we would take the rich off welfare, we could get this country back to work."

Fred Harris VS. Earl Butz

In 1971, Senator Fred Harris led the opposition to Richard Nixon's nomination of Earl Butz, a director of Ralston-Purina, as Secretary of Agriculture. "Is this the kind of Agriculture Department the nation needs—one dedicated to fostering the interests of the giant corporations in their fight to control American agriculture?" Harris asked his colleagues.

After four years of secret wheat deals, high food prices, and outrageous profits for corporate middlemen, Harris' fears have been confirmed. "Earl Butz has got to go," Harris declares. "We need a Secretary of Agriculture who'll look out for the interests of ordinary consumers and family farmers."

"I've looked at all the candidates and Fred Harris has shown me that he has the toughness and ability to reach the rank and file of organized labor. He's got what we need to win the Presidency in 1976."

Don Rowen, President
South Central Iowa Federation
of Labor



Fred Harris VS. 'Right-to-Work'

Fred Harris has voted against "Right-to-Work" more than any other presidential candidate. He voted against this anti-labor legislation nine times in the Oklahoma State Senate and again as a U.S. Senator. On the key vote in 1965, Harris voted to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

"Fred Harris will do more than talk about working men and women—he'll fight for them. In fact, his voting record during his entire political career is 99% for the working people. As a State Senator and as a U.S. Senator, Fred could be counted on when it counted for us. He has the guts to stand up for working people, and he would be a working people's President."

Henry Likes, President
Oklahoma AFL-CIO

POLITICS



Lou DeMatteis

Fred Harris: A Populist with a Prayer

BY TOM HAYDEN

When Fred Harris was running for president in 1972, he used the phrase "a new populism" to define his campaign platform. Populism was not exactly an overriding issue for most liberal leaders back then, with Nixon in the White House and the war in Indochina, so little was made of it, especially when Harris could not find the financial support for his presidential bid.

Last summer I met Harris at a gathering of California reformers. He and his wife, LaDonna Harris, were once again campaigning for the presidency and this time he was talking about the redistribution of power—a phrase not exactly overused by American politicians. But this time, I think, something might be made of it.

There is little, however, about Fred Harris that resembles the American politician we've come to associate with the race for the presidency.

In fact Harris looks and sounds like he'd be more comfortable at a farmers' market in Oklahoma, where he was born 44 years ago, than at a Georgetown reception. His family was poor, his father a small farmer. "The last year of his life, which was 1974," Harris said, "was the first year of his life he'd ever been out of debt. If he'd lived another year he'd have been broke because the cattle business went to hell after that." Harris attributes his natural

populism to his father—an attitude of antigovernment, antirichness and anti-big corporations.

LaDonna Harris, who now directs an educational and reform-oriented foundation, Americans for Indian Opportunity, has known her husband since their high school days in Walters, Oklahoma, and it was through her that he learned the language and culture of her people, the Comanches. In the process he experienced the racism directed against Indians: "LaDonna is an asset to have, as an Indian, and as a campaigner—because she thinks she's an asset. In the 200 years of race relations in this country, the only improvements there have been are when racial minorities change the way they think of themselves."

Harris started out his political career in the late Fifties in the state senate where he was regarded as a rising star in Oklahoma's rather conservative Democratic party. When Robert Kerr died in 1963, Harris was elected to replace the multimillionaire oilman in the U.S. Senate and was reelected to a full term in 1966.

As a senator, Harris tended to be a safe liberal, late in turning against the war (1968) and a Humphrey ally against the McCarthy insurgents. But his populist ideas were rekindled by continued run-ins with political honchos: The giant oil firms opposed his Senate campaign when he supported the interests of smaller independents;

he angered Lyndon Johnson while on the President's Commission on Civil Disorders when he concluded that civil disorders were caused more by white racists than by outside agitators.

But Harris stayed on in the Democratic higher circles after the 1968 election for about a year. As the national party chairman he appointed the commissions which would eventually reform the party's rules. By now, though, as he recalls it, he had started changing "more nearly back to what I'd been when I grew up in a populist home."

With the war hopefully ending, Nixon long gone and economic stagnation here to stay, the political compass is starting to change direction as well. Domestic contradictions are nearly everyone's preoccupation, with the possible exception of Henry Kissinger and those he serves. That forbidden word—class—is once again being heard in political debates.

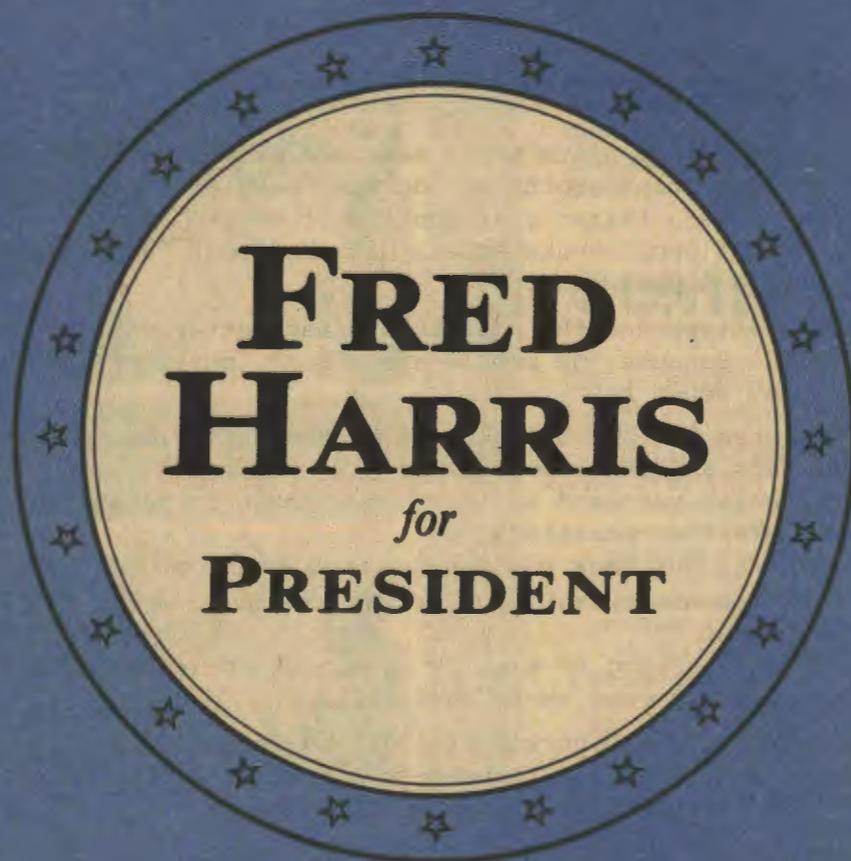
And that means Fred Harris bears watching because he alone is posing issues and answers which interest dispirited and answers which interest dispirited. The Louis Harris poll shows that 72% of the population think their taxes are unfair and that 85% think politicians are not telling the truth about recession and inflation. But the only other presidential candidate remotely addressing these same concerns is George Wallace, the reactionary populist.

In their frantic search for a serious candidate among the multitude of Democratic contenders, the national media and the established politicians have assiduously ignored Harris. It's not quite clear what makes a candidate "serious." Does it involve a factor so crude as cash? Recognition in polls two years before an election? Or is it an appeal to those patricians of the press who make themselves the keepers of our national political tastes?

Can Harris win? Without media attention, of course, he'll go nowhere. But let's say he's working on it just the same.

After 1968, you said you started back toward a more populist attitude. Within the party, you carried out the mandate for structural reform, you left the party and returned to the Senate where you began debating whether to run for president. And then?

Then I was faced with the question of whether to run for reelection—my Senate term would expire in 1972—or to run for president. I wavered back and forth a good while, wondering if I could put together the money and the campaign. I finally decided it was not worth a year or more of my life to try to get reelected to the Senate because if I won I'd still just be in the Senate. And I'd already been in the Senate and was of the opinion that things were eight years worse. Also, since the



ISSUES HANDBOOK

*“What we’ve got to have
is a fairer distribution
of wealth and income
and power.”*

Harris President/2

U. S. SENATOR FRED R. HARRIS (D. OKLA.)

Biographical Information

Fred R. Harris, senior U. S. Senator from Oklahoma, was born in Walters, Oklahoma, on November 13, 1930.

He and his wife, LaDonna, a member of the Comanche Indian tribe, have three children: Kathryn, 21; Byron, 14; and Laura, 10.

A member of Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Oklahoma, he received a BA degree in government and history and a law degree "with distinction."

After practicing law at Lawton, Oklahoma, and serving for eight years as a member of the Oklahoma State Senate, he was elected to the U. S. Senate in 1964 for a two-year unexpired term and was re-elected for a full six-year term in 1966. He serves as a member of the Finance Committee and the Government Operations Committee.

He was one of the more active members of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission), which reported concerning the urban riots of 1967.

His newest book, NOW IS THE TIME: A New Populist Call to Action, was published by McGraw-Hill in April, 1971. In it he proposes that a new populist coalition, joining Americans of disparate backgrounds, can be put together, across race lines and age lines, to move America in the urgent ways he feels are needed. "Fred Harris has written a book that is a lot like he is: tough and brave, incisive and blunt," Mayor John Lindsay said of the Senator's book.

He and Mayor Lindsay now serve as co-chairmen of the Commission on the Cities in the Seventies, sponsored by the National Urban Coalition.

Senator Harris has led a movement in the Senate to reform the seniority system and other undemocratic practices, and chairs the Senate Democratic Caucus Committee on Senate Reform.

As 1969 Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, he launched new efforts to reform delegate selection and national convention procedures and to establish the Party as a strong voice on the issues.

Senator Harris has announced that he will not seek re-election to the United States Senate in order "to take a closer look at becoming a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President." He believes that America must have a better distribution of income and the other good things in our society, a better distribution of power, and must return to idealism as the basis of foreign policy. He has said, "I believe we can put America back together again."

Candidate Harris raps foreign policy intrigue

Chicago Trib 10-13

By James A. Jackson

FRED HARRIS, Democratic candidate for President and former U. S. senator from Oklahoma, told the first annual Gray Panthers convention Sunday that he thinks it is wrong for agencies of the United States government to use the nation's power to overthrow foreign governments and plot assassinations of foreign officials.

Harris, who calls himself the people's candidate, was warmly greeted by the 200 delegates of the senior citizen activist organization at the Lutheran School of Theology, 1100 E. 55th St.

"Some people see America as the Austria-Hungarian Empire of the 20th Century with [Secretary of State Henry] Kissinger as its Metternich," he said. "It is a time that it seems we are not bound by principles outside our own shores. It is wrong to use the excuse of national security to overthrow governments, plot the assassinations of leaders of other countries, and commit other immoral acts."

HARRIS ALSO called for the end of what he described "excessive, illicit t

what he described as "secretive, elitist foreign policy."

He urged vigorous enforcement of anti-trust laws, and said that what the country needs is a "graduated income tax rather than graduated loopholes."

"Too few have all the money and the power," he said.

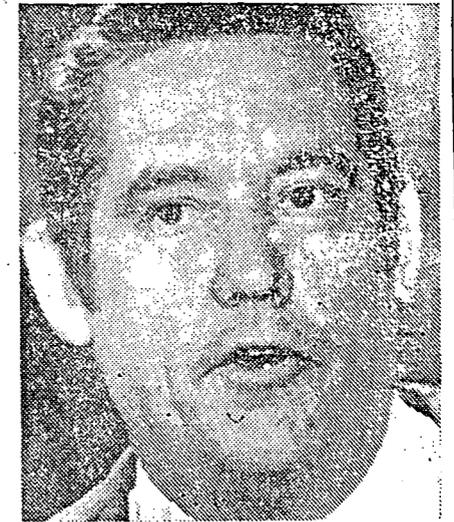
Harris pledged that if he were elected, he would "substantially" reduce military spending without lessening national security.

He received a standing ovation.

HOWEVER, THE convention ended on a less than cordial note. Several delegates from Nebraska threatened to leave the organization after a resolution favoring the legalization of marijuana was passed.

"As a mother of six and grandmother of 20, I cannot, simply cannot, support this resolution," said Mrs. Helen O. Douthy of Omaha.

Another dissident, Mrs. F r a n n e L. Goodwin, also of Omaha, said, "How can I support this type of thing and then go back and face the kids that I have been working with and telling them that there are other alternatives to dope."



Fred Harris

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HARRIS: AGAIN, A THUNDERING 'NEW POPULISM'

The basic issue in 1976 is privilege...whether the government will begin to look after the interests of the average family, or whether it will continue to protect the interests of the super-rich and the giant corporations.

—Fred R. Harris

Fred Harris is not the nation's first populist, but the former senator from Oklahoma (D 1964-73) aims to be its first populist President. Other incarnations of the wealth-and-power redistribution movement have foundered despite the leadership of such inspirational candidates as William Jennings Bryan and Robert LaFollette. Yet Harris, at 44, is convinced that this time the American people are ready for the populist gospel.

The Campaign

For more than a year, he and his political partner, his wife LaDonna, have been patiently cultivating small groups of supporters through their low-budget "people's campaign." The style and substance of the campaign are intertwined in this standard message from Harris: "If you're going to be a citizen President, you ought to be a citizen candidate. That means living the way other people live, and traveling without any staff, or very little of it, to get between you and the people."

That approach reached its apex last summer. For the entire month of August, the Harrises and a skeleton staff traversed the country in a camper bearing the label, "On the Road to the White House." Kicked off by a modestly attended rally in Washington's Lafayette Park, at the door of the White House, the humble caravan logged 6,300 miles and 55 events in 13 states. It paid for itself by passing of the plate (total expense: under \$9,000). Meals often were cooked over an open fire, and the staple of the trip was the small towns and small groups of citizens invariably skipped over by the moneyed and jet-borne candidates.

Harris' theory is that the crucial element in this campaign, far more than money or even media attention, is cells of committed supporters. With that in mind, he passes out little green sign-up cards at every kaffeeklatsch and after every speech. Those who sign up (2,500 more did so on the camper trip) are then mailed the campaign newsletter, urged to "reach out" to still other potential supporters and tapped to function as unpaid advance men upon Harris' next foray into their territory.

Such campaign visits are a full-time occupation for Harris. His national campaign coordinator, James Hightower, noted with satisfaction that "we can have Fred 'on the ground' all the time, attending five to seven events a day." The strategy into early 1976 calls for most of that time to be spent in the key primary states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York and Wisconsin, with the early caucuses in Iowa and Mississippi also receiving the candidate's close attention. His rough-hewn technique always invites comparison with his smoother competitors.



The Populist Message

Wherever the campaign takes populist lawyer Harris, his earthy, hard-hitting rhetoric pounds home the same theme. The core of his populist appeal is the attack on aggregated, maldistributed wealth and power in a society that aspires to be democratic. He upbraids the individual rich, but his real fire is aimed at the giant corporations, with their intricate, pervasive economic advantages over the "little man." His stance on virtually all specific issues flows from that prime position. As Harris warned in his third and most recent book advocating his views, *The New Populism*, "Unless we are willing to deal with the underlying evils of concentrated economic power, everything else is a snare and a delusion."

Harris is hardly reluctant to spell out the specific implications of his attack on aggregated economic power. Among other things, it means:

- Tax reform—"getting the rich off welfare," as Harris calls it. This includes the elimination of such provisions as the accelerated depreciation of business capital investments and special treatment of capital gains, passage of a more steeply graduated income tax and enactment of a tougher minimum income tax to thwart those rich who pay little or no taxes under existing law.

- A Jeffersonian antitrust policy, coupling tough enforcement to break up monopolies and oligopolies (Harris calls them "shared monopolies") with legislation to aid small businesses.

- Guaranteed public employment where private work is unavailable, "a job as a personal, enforceable right." For those who cannot work, a negative income tax would provide income maintenance.

- Placement of the federal reserve system under public control through effective congressional oversight.

- The requirement of federal charters for, hence greater federal control over, corporations doing business in interstate commerce.

- Regulatory reform, including abolition of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Board, aimed at eliminating government-sanctioned, inflation-inducing monopolies.

- Elimination of complex subsidies to agribusiness corporations, and an explicit policy of support for the renaissance of the small farmer.

Serving Self-interest

Harris' positions on complex economic issues sometimes defy categorization. Some, such as taxpayer-supported public service employment and regulatory reforms, have been endorsed by some conservatives. Yet the majority of the planks in Harris' economic platform are, in traditional terms, liberal or even radical.

His record on race relations appears unequivocal. His wife, LaDonna Crawford Harris, is a Comanche Indian who takes pride in recalling that Comanche was the primary

language spoken in her home. Harris helped establish the Oklahoma Human Rights Commission. His work on the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission) in 1967 was firm in its focus on white racism as the root cause of black urban riots. His Senate record on civil rights was one of solid support for minorities. As Democratic national chairman from January 1969 to March 1970, he led the way in opening up the party to women and racial minorities.

Despite these well-defined and long-held liberal positions, Harris is vocal in his desire to reach those voters inclined toward Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace. He has stated that "I believe I can appeal to the same people Wallace does, and I'm the only one with a serious chance to be nominated who can." That apparent, dramatic inconsistency is bluntly addressed by Harris. Both in his *The New Populism* and in his campaign talk he declares that "self-interest" has to be the basis of the populist coalition he envisions.

"You can't appeal to black people and poor people on the basis of their own self-interest and to everybody else on the basis of morality," he wrote. "That kind of appeal is the luxury of the intellectual elite.... The basis of the coalition must be self-interest. Those in the coalition don't have to love one another...all they have to do is recognize that they are commonly exploited, and that if they get themselves together they are a popular majority and can take back the government."

He is not the favorite of the Democratic Party's left wing standing alone. For some on the left, he is in fact too radical in his proposals; for others, he is too glib and simplistic in prescribing remedies for exasperatingly complex problems. Still others may be "closet Harris supporters," as one House aide terms it, but they fear that Harris' strident pitch could spell a second McGovern-style disaster for the party. Only if Harris adds to his share of the fractured left-wing vote by attracting support from the right can Harris emerge from the pack and capture the much-sought momentum needed to win the party nomination. Likewise, only by attracting those voters can Harris quell the fears of Democrats who fear another rejection of the party by its traditional labor supporters.

The New Law's Impact

Both in style and substance, the Harris campaign has to be marked as a renegade operation. It is in stark contrast to Harris' previous abortive run for the presidency in 1971. Despite his denigration then of "rich, manipulative advertising campaigns," his six-week campaign was largely just that. He spent over a quarter of a million dollars in that brief period, in what his 1976 campaign manager mocks, in a reference to one authority on presidential contests, as the "Teddy White" approach to presidential politicking: jet around, get media attention, get some big money and parlay all that into more media attention and primary victories.

This time is different, said National Coordinator Hightower, partly because Harris decided to return to a more congenial mode of campaigning. "Fred has run a populist campaign before," said Hightower. "His 1964 Senate race was like this. That time he went to every Oklahoma town with a zip code—and that's some small towns."

Vastly more important in allowing Harris to attempt his "people's campaign," however, is the new federal election campaign financing law and the Federal Election Com-

Harris' Interest-Group Ratings

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)—ADA ratings are based on the number of times a representative voted, was paired for or announced for the ADA position on selected issues.

National Farmers Union (NFU)—NFU ratings are based on the number of times a representative voted, was paired for or announced for the NFU position.

AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE)—COPE ratings reflect the percentage of the times a representative voted in accordance with or was paired in favor of the COPE position.

Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA)—ACA ratings record the percentage of the times a representative voted in accordance with the ACA position.

Following are Harris' ratings during his years in the Senate:

	ADA ¹	COPE	NFU ³	ACA ³
1972	65	100	100	0
1971	63	78	100	17
1970	94 ⁴	100	100	0
1969	83	100	81	8
1968	57	67	90	0
1967	62	100	80	0
1966	60	75 ²	100	17
1965	76	75 ²	77	25

1. Failure to vote lowers score.

2. Scores listed twice indicate rating compiled for entire Congress.

3. Percentages compiled by CQ from information provided by groups.

4. ADA score includes some votes from December 1969.

mission that administers it. That law is the key to the existence of the 1976 Harris campaign. Should he achieve any ultimate success, it will be dramatic testimony to the impact of the new law on the American electoral process.

As Harris freely admitted in 1971, his campaign blitz self-destructed for lack of money. "I'm broke," he reckoned openly the day he folded. The next spring, in a *Harper's* article, Harris concisely laid out the problem which plagued him and other candidates who lacked well-heeled backers under the old campaign financing system: "It's a circle. The press doesn't take you seriously because you haven't got the money. You don't get the money because the press doesn't take you seriously. What's a poor candidate to do?"

Under the new law, poor candidate Harris is relying predominantly on small contributions garnered first through the bands of signed-up loyalists, next through sophisticated direct-mail solicitations. Once he accumulated the required minimum of at least \$5,000 in each of 20 states in gifts of \$250 or less—he announced on Oct. 8 that he had reached that goal—he qualified for the federal matching funds provided under the new law. No longer does he have to persuade the press to anoint him a "serious" candidate. The Federal Election Commission did that for him once he achieved the statutory threshold. At the start of the election year, he could look forward to having those small contributions matched by the commission, dollar for dollar.

Thus less money stretches farther. Since the Harris campaign is careful to spend only what it has actually taken in, accumulating no debt, the matching federal funds will be money in the bank. Those funds will ensure Harris' staying power through at least the early round of primaries and caucuses. "This time we'll get our shot at the primaries," said Hightower.

The second aspect of the law that Harris strategists view as favorable to their cause is the spending limitation. Their reliance on unpaid volunteers rather than on media blitzes makes them impervious to spending limitations, whereas they argue that the campaign strategies of other candidates, such as Senators Henry M. Jackson (D Wash.) and Lloyd Bentsen (D Texas) might be cramped by those restrictions.

Finally, should the Harris strategy actually work out and render him a serious contender for the Democratic nomination, the Harris theory is that the party need not balk at nominating him for fear of alienating moneyed supporters. The money to wage the general election campaign

Harris Staff, Advisers

National campaign coordinator: James Hightower, 32, previously a staff member for former Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough (D Texas 1957-71) and, for the past five years, director of the Agribusiness Accountability Project in Washington, D.C.

Media coordinator: Frank Greer, 29, on leave from the Public Media Center in San Francisco, a public-interest group advocating citizen access to the news media.

Issues coordinator: Gary Wasserman, 31, on leave from the political science department of Medgar Evers College of the City University of New York.

Field organization coordinator: Andy Schuman, 24, formerly on Harris' Senate staff.

Fund-raising and political troubleshooter: Ralph Collins, 32, a Texan who has been involved in statewide campaigns there.

Harris' Background

Profession: Attorney.

Born: Nov. 13, 1930, Walters, Okla.

Home: McLean, Va.

Religion: Baptist.

Education: University of Oklahoma, B.A., 1952; LL.B., 1954; Phi Beta Kappa.

Offices: Oklahoma State Senate, 1957-64; U.S. Senate, 1964-73.

Military: None.

Memberships: Phi Alpha Delta legal fraternity, Masons, Oklahoma and American Bar Associations.

Family: Wife, LaDonna Crawford; three children.

will, he reasons, come from the federal coffers rather than from the big spenders anyway. And that means, the theory continues, that Harris would not have to alter his anti-corporate pitch in order to placate Wall Street.

Background of Poverty

Populist politics sits naturally on Fred Harris. He was born poor and never has been rich. As a child, he worked in the fields alongside his family, not only in the Oklahoma fields but on cropland all the way through the Midwest to North Dakota, where the Harrises followed the wheat harvest as migrant laborers. Even in the past two years, as a Washington attorney and a former senator, Harris has made less than \$45,000 a year. (Harris has filed copies of all his federal tax returns since 1971 with the Federal Election Commission.) That income hardly compares either with that of many senators or with that of most of the other presidential candidates.

Likewise, Harris does not have the veneer of an eastern education. All his formal schooling was in his home state. It was at the University of Oklahoma that his zest and aptitude for law and politics became apparent. He graduated at the head of his law class and established his own firm. In 1956 he was elected a state senator at age 26, the youngest in Oklahoma history.

Harris' ambition became equally apparent in 1962. By then a leader in the state senate, he made a premature bid for the governorship and placed fifth. Undaunted, he began in 1963 to prepare for a shot at the U.S. Senate. He was elected to a two-year term in 1964 and was re-elected to a full term in 1966.

Harris critics observe that his ambition has at times led Harris away from the stated idealism of the New Populism and back to the old expediency, and there are facts to support that view. Despite an over-all reform record in the Oklahoma Senate, he did sponsor a bill increasing the oil and gas depletion allowances. In his early years in the U.S. Senate, he meshed well with the entrenched party leadership, as proved by his cochairing of the 1968 Humphrey presidential campaign and then by his leadership of the party itself.

Yet by 1971, Harris had emerged as an independent voice. He had broken with the Johnson administration on the war in 1968; he had been vocal on urban affairs and race relations, despite the cost to his Oklahoma popularity, and his voting record had become demonstrably more liberal. (*Box, p. 2194*)

Such behavior had earned him trouble in Oklahoma, where he would have had stiff opposition if he had decided to run again for the Senate in 1972. He ran instead for the

Harris' CQ Vote Study Ratings

	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965
Presidential¹								
support	13	20	45	57	55	70	62	77
opposition	46	30	42	40	9	15	23	19
Voting								
Participation²	39	51	76	86	65	85	82	95
Party³								
unity	42	56	73	73	61	71	60	75
opposition	3	5	5	11	9	13	20	21
Conservative								
Coalition⁴								
support	3	4	4	16	17	27	27	33
opposition	45	43	75	70	41	61	56	62
Bipartisan⁵								
support	26	30	61	71	52	77	78	89
opposition	10	14	14	17	10	8	5	5

1. Ground rules, 1974 Almanac p. 1008.

2. Definitions, 1974 Almanac p. 1016.

3. Definitions, 1974 Almanac p. 1001.

4. Definitions, 1974 Almanac p. 991.

5. Definitions, 1974 Almanac p. 986.

presidency and began in that campaign to give full voice to the positions he advocates in the current campaign.

Positions on Issues

While Harris spends the bulk of his campaign time spreading the populist economic message, he is also vocal on a panoply of other issues. Often he sees these as being inextricably related to the basic demand for a fairer distribution of wealth and of access to power.

Foreign Policy

The keys to Harris' approach to crafting a foreign policy are these: Let the people know what is being done, stop conducting foreign affairs for the benefit of the big, multinational corporations, and place international behavior on a more moral footing. "Some people warn against an isolationist foreign policy," he said. "What we've had is an isolationist foreign policy—it has isolated us from peoples and governments all over the world. What we need is a foreign policy that aims at a vision of the world we would like to see.... There was a time at the end of World War II when nations everywhere wanted to pattern themselves after us. That can happen again."

Such an open, moral foreign policy would involve many specifics: Terminate U.S. support of such regimes as that of Brazil or the now-defunct junta in Greece, end such covert operations as the opposition to the Allende regime in Chile and cut the defense budget substantially. Harris has even called for outright abolition of the exposé-ridden Central Intelligence Agency.

Civil Rights, Civil Liberties

In keeping with his record on civil rights for minorities, Harris has favored school racial integration; while in the Senate, he introduced legislation aimed at facilitating it.

The major votes on the busing issue have occurred since his tenure in the Senate, but he has declared that where neighborhood control of schools amounts to racial discrimination, the right to equality before the law must take precedence over local control. Harris' major focus, however, is on working to end white prejudice rather than simply reducing the impact of discrimination.

On women's rights, Harris has been a constant supporter of the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment, which he cosponsored in the Senate. He favors the appointment of women to cabinet posts and to the Supreme Court. In both government and private employment, he supports the affirmative action principle.

He also endorses the Supreme Court decision on abortion, viewing that as a question of the privacy of the individual woman. Privacy issues are of particular concern to Harris. He opposes governmental assertions of the right to wiretap and to conduct electronic surveillance on citizens, and he views the criminalization of marijuana and of sexual activities among consenting adults as additional examples of unacceptable governmental intrusion into private lives.

The Young and Old

The populist themes are easily adapted to the wants of both the young and the old of the society. For the old, Harris advocates greater control over their own lives through increased Social Security benefits that are indexed to inflation; more reliance on direct income support that allows the old to choose the services they prefer, and an end to compulsory retirement.

For the young, he supports greater control over the educational institutions in which they spend their formative years. In the Senate, Harris successfully offered an amendment to the omnibus education amendments of 1972 which declared it to be the sense of the Congress that there be student representation on the governing boards of colleges and universities.

(HARRIS continued on p. 2201)

(HARRIS continued from p. 2194)

Energy, Environment

Harris' opposition to the oil companies is inseparable from his positions on energy and the environment. He would begin by restructuring the oil industry through the antitrust laws. He would curb consumption of fuel by forcing the automobile companies to build more gas-efficient cars, by abolishing discounts for big-volume users of electricity and possibly by a fuel allocation program.

He would then promote the development of alternative energy sources by intensive funding of research into geothermal, solar and other sources. He emphatically would not support the continued development of nuclear power, however, favoring instead a moratorium on nuclear plants.

Other Issues

Harris demonstrated an interest in conservation while in the Senate by sponsoring one of the bills advocating ocean mammal protection. As passed, the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 (PL 92-522) set a permanent moratorium on most killing of ocean mammals and on the importation of their products.

Familiar with the problems of cities through his work on the National Urban Coalition's Commission on the Cities in the 70s, Harris strongly criticizes the federal failure to bail out New York City from its fiscal distress. He advocates both emergency financial assistance for hard-hit cities and long-term aid through assumption of health and welfare burdens and through greater control of interest rates that increase the cities' debt maintenance problems.

As for health care, Harris' populist answer is a universal, federally funded system. The costs of the system should be reduced through greater emphasis on group medical practice and the use of paraprofessionals. More reliance on preventive care and improvement in the national record on infant mortality and the doctor-patient ratio are also urged by Harris.

—By Barry Hager

TENNESSEE PRIMARY

Clifford Allen, Nashville's metropolitan tax assessor, won the Democratic nomination in Tennessee's 5th District in a seven-candidate contest Oct. 9. The district is vacant because Richard H. Fulton (D), who represented it for 12 years, resigned in August to become mayor of Nashville.

Allen, 63, will be a heavy favorite to defeat Republican Bob Olsen in the special election Nov. 25. Olsen, a 42-year-old television newscaster, had no opposition for the Republican nomination. The district, once represented in the House by Andrew Jackson, has not elected a Republican in the 20th century.

Allen, a veteran Democratic politician, is well-known in the Nashville area for his pro-consumer rhetoric and crusades against high utility rates. He more than doubled the vote of his closest competitor, State Rep. Michael Murphy. The 32-year-old Murphy ran a personal contact campaign, emphasizing walking tours and telling voters he could handle constituent service better than the older Allen.

Trailing both Allen and Murphy were Tom Shriver, the Davidson County district attorney general, and Gilbert Merritt, a wealthy Nashville attorney. Shriver complained that Allen was preoccupied with utility rates, while Merritt promised to fight the power of major oil companies.

Complete but unofficial returns:

Clifford Allen	35,944	51.5%
Michael Murphy	15,383	22.0
Tom Shriver	10,641	15.2
Gilbert Merritt	7,447	10.7
H. L. Crowder	221	0.3
George Brooks	119	0.2
Red McEwen	104	0.1

POLITICAL NOTES

Bentsen Regroups

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D Texas) imposed limits on his presidential campaign Oct. 8, saying he would concentrate his efforts on eight to 10 states and try to enter the party convention with enough delegate votes to be taken seriously if a deadlock develops.

Bentsen said he would concentrate on rural and suburban areas in New York, Illinois, Michigan and Pennsylvania, and on smaller states in the South and West. "I'm trying to be realistic," Bentsen explained. "I have to play the cards I've been dealt."

Harris Qualifies

Former Oklahoma Sen. Fred R. Harris, running a self-styled people's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, moved a step toward respectability Oct. 8 with the announcement that he has raised enough money in private contributions to qualify for federal matching payments.

Harris said he had raised \$205,000, including at least \$5,000 in gifts of \$250 or less in 21 states and the District of Columbia. Six other Democratic contenders qualified before Harris.

Reagan Organizes

The unannounced campaign of former California Gov. Ronald Reagan for the Republican presidential nomination moved forward in New Hampshire Oct. 8 with the opening of a state campaign headquarters. Reagan supporters said the former governor's campaign chairman in New Hampshire would be Hugh Gregg, 57, who was governor from 1953 to 1955. Gregg generally had been associated with the moderate wing of the state Republican party.

Jay Announces

John D. (Jay) Rockefeller IV said Oct. 10 that he would make a second try for the West Virginia governorship that eluded him in 1972. Rockefeller, a Democrat, has spent most of the intervening years as president of West Virginia Wesleyan University.

McManus Quits

Charles A. McManus resigned as president of the Americans for Constitutional Action, leaving the conservative organization he founded because he said rival groups were diluting the amount of money available to promote conservative political causes. McManus started ACA in 1959.

HARRIS CAMPAIGN: QUEST FOR 'POPULIST COALITION'

If humble origins elected Presidents, Fred R. Harris would move into the White House in January 1973.

The Oklahoma Senator, the latest in the already long list of Democrats who would like to be their party's nominee in 1972, never lets his audiences forget his dirt-poor farm background.

"New Populism," his approach is called. Its appeal is directed at the little man, the blue-collar worker, the minority-group member, the welfare mother.

The message is usually blunt. "The level of my outrage just gets higher and higher," Harris said in a television interview in March. "I think that people are, so damned tired of the wishy-washy, mealy-mouthed politicians they could puke—and so am I."

In a luncheon speech at the National Press Club Aug. 18, he repeated what he had said many times before in reference to two running mates in the 1969 New York City mayoral campaign: "What this country needs is more of the old Mailer-Breslin slogan: 'No More Bullshit.'"

Harris Staff, Advisers

Campaign manager: Jack H. Vaughn, 51, former head of the National Urban Coalition, former ambassador to Colombia and Panama and former director of the Peace Corps.

Administrative assistant and press secretary: James Monroe, 45, a former Oklahoma newspaperman who has been on Harris' staff since he was elected to the Senate.

Chief financial organizer: Herbert Allen Jr., a New York City investment banker and a contributor to the 1968 Humphrey-Muskie campaign.

Director of issues research: Jim Rosapepe, 20, a Yale University student who was chief speechwriter for George C. Rawlings, the Democratic candidate for Governor of Virginia in 1969.

Special assistant to Vaughn: Jon Darrah, 30, a former Peace Corps volunteer who worked for Vaughn at the Urban Coalition.

Campaign press secretary: John Twohey, 26, formerly an aide to a New York state assemblyman and, before that, a journalism teacher at Notre Dame.

Campaign communications director: Bill Combs, 28, a former Peace Corps official.

Legislative assistants:

Frank Cowan, 30, former head of the Oklahoma City Urban League, a Harris staff member since 1970.

Fred A. Gipson, 35, a former attorney in Oklahoma City and a former aide to Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney (D Okla. 1951-69), a Harris staff member since 1968.

Charles W. Maynes, 32, a former foreign service officer who joined the Harris staff in 1971.

The anecdotal earthiness of the 40-year-old Oklahoman shows only one side of an ambitious politician who is frequently described as a true intellectual and "whose congenial loquacity," in the words of a *Harper's* magazine article in 1968, "conceals one of the sharpest minds in politics today."

Delayed Announcement. Harris waited until July 16 to announce that he would seek the presidential nomination.

He said he would run in all or most of the state presidential primaries in 1972. His staff emphasized the importance of the Florida, California and New Mexico primaries. "In the early primaries," he said, "I don't have to win against everybody, just beat somebody. In the middle primaries, I have to move into contention. And in the final ones, I have to win some."

Populist Theme. In the days before his announcement, Harris described the basis of his "New Populism," the details of which are contained in his second book, *Now is the Time*, published in 1971. It is, he explained, a three-fold theme:

- Redistribution of wealth, including tax reform, a higher minimum wage, income maintenance, guaranteed jobs, consumer protection and antitrust efforts.

- Redistribution of power, including abolition of the congressional seniority system, national voter registration and community control of police forces.

- Restoration of idealism as the basis for U.S. foreign policy. (*Positions on issues*, p. 1860-61)

"The American people are dissatisfied with the quality of life in this country," Harris told a group of Washington reporters July 14. "As I go around the country, I find the people are trying to find someone who feels deeply about the need for change—and says so with spirit."

Nature of Campaign. "I think people are sick and tired of rich, manipulative advertising campaigns, and I think one can run a populist kind of campaign in method as well as philosophy," said Harris in an interview with *Congressional Quarterly*. He said he was pleased with the agreement of most Democratic prospects to limit voluntarily their primary spending to 5 cents a vote for radio and television. "That would mean that if one entered in all 23 primaries and spent the maximum for radio and television, he wouldn't have spent but \$2.8-million, and that's a clearly manageable figure in a nationwide primary campaign," said Harris.

He also urged three "face-to-face confrontations" of all the candidates in each primary state.

After the announcement, Harris began traveling to three states a week: Oklahoma, Colorado and Nebraska one week; New York, Pennsylvania and Texas the next; West Virginia, California and Florida the next. His technique on each one-day stand was the same: press conference in the morning, lunch with local politicians and friends, reception in the evening.

Senator's Wife Serves on Over 10 National Committees



Mrs. Fred Harris, left, Visits Her Sister, Mrs. Ray Hooper of Albuquerque
Mrs. Harris Displays Most Recent Picture of Youngest Daughter, Laura

By GRACE MARIE PRATHER

Mrs. Fred Harris, wife of the Oklahoma Senator, might very well be considered the 101st non-member of the U.S. Senate.

She serves on more than 10 national committees, has received three coveted awards and is president of the Americans for Indian Opportunity which she founded. She also claims to be the only lawmaker's wife to testify before Congressional hearings.

Mrs. Harris was in Albuquerque with her husband Tuesday and spent Monday here visiting her close relatives who live in the city.

Her most recent committee appointment was to the National Women's Political Caucus. "We're trying to pass the Women's Right amendment," Mrs. Harris said. "It is trapped in committee and we feel that by this bipartisan effort, we will be able to devise tactics to get it out to the floor."

SHE FEELS THAT THE Amendment should have the teeth in it for enforcement. "It's not going to do any good unless women can bring changes against institutions that discriminate against them.

"It infuriates me that women never climb like men do in business or in government. It's really gotten to be a thing with me."

She said she is for the women university campuses who are bringing charges against their institutions because they are not promoted at the rate the men are. "Their efforts are really effective because the women are holding up federal funds to the colleges."

BUT WOMEN'S RIGHTS IS NOT her only cry. Mrs. Harris is a Comanche Indian and fights

for the rights of her race, male and female, and for the rights of other minority groups.

She founded Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, a nationally known Indian self-help organization, in 1968 and later started Americans for Indian Opportunity. "That is the one single thing that takes up most of my time," she said.

Mrs. Harris was very active in the Taos Indians' successful fight for the Blue Lake land. "I took some of the Indian men around to meet the senators. It was so emotional when the vote was being taken and when they said the Indians would get the land, tears started running down the men's cheeks and we all hugged each other."

MRS. HARRIS ALSO IS NOTED for her concern with the Indian woman. "If they were able to live in a total Indian culture, then it might be okay for the Indian women to follow the traditions of a woman's responsibility, but in this half and half society, they have to move forward."

She praised Albuquerque's Rita Cortez who started the New Mexico Indian Women's Council, saying, "She has a great reputation as a hard

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worker and is extremely successful in her difficult task of organizing Indian women."

Mrs. Harris is outgoing and friendly but obviously willing to fight for her convictions. Asked how she reacts to political adversaries when she is thrown together with them, she said: "You have to try to understand why people might have the opposite opinion and you can never take their opposition personally. You never know. You might need their vote on the next issue."

"THE THING THAT PROBABLY hurts the most is when something — or someone — is defeated simply because the people don't understand it."

And about her husband's presidential aspirations, Mrs. Harris said he was the one who made the final decision. "He had to be but I respect his judgment and believe he should be the one to decide." Now, she is just thinking of the road to the presidency. "We'll consider how to handle the destination later," she said.

The couple has a good language for politics — Comanche. "No one else knows it. When we're at a party and I see someone Fred should speak to, I tell him in Comanche to turn around and greet his friend. And when it's time to leave, he always tells me he wants to go in Comanche."

THEY HAVE ALSO TAUGHT their children to speak the language. "When I correct them, I usually speak Comanche because it doesn't sound so harsh."

They have three children, Kathryn, 21, Byron, 14, and Laura, 10. "They are all pretty independent and want to be known in their own right — they don't brag that their father is a Senator."

Mrs. Harris tries to make time for her husband, her children and her work. She makes trips with her husband since they are frequently on committees working on compatible issues — such as urban problems — and she does much of her committee studying at home so she can be with the children. She just takes the time to attend the many committee meetings in between.

SO FAR SHE HAS TESTIFIED in six congressional hearings, the first time four years ago in support of funding for the Office of Economic Opportunity. "We discovered — to our amazement — in checking records that there has never been any other lawmaker's wife to testify before any Congressional hearing in the history of our country."

Mrs. Harris is not the tea party type. Although she does what is expected of her as a Senator's wife, she doesn't waste her time on the extra things she considers meaningless. "I've gotten a lot of the other wives involved in what I do."

Mrs. Harris visited the University of New Mexico Medical School, the Bernalillo County Mental Health Center and the Albuquerque Indian School during her visit Tuesday.

Harris President 72

JACK HOOD VAUGHN

Biographical Information

"I think this is the time when the nation needs a leader who is really listening to the common man and speaking to the real issues. Fred Harris is that man."

This from Jack H. Vaughn, the man who heads the Presidential campaign efforts of Senator Fred Harris.

Vaughn, who was born in Columbus, Montana, on August 18, 1920, the son of a cattle rancher, has gained an unusual depth of experience in confronting the basic causes of poverty, both in the United States and abroad.

His career has included service as President of the National Urban Coalition, as Director of the Peace Corps, as a U. S. Ambassador to Panama and Colombia, and as an Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. He has also been a professional boxer, an educator and an administrator.

Vaughn worked his way through the University of Michigan as its head boxing coach and graduated with a B.A. in Latin American studies. He immediately went on active duty with the Marine Corps, serving in the Pacific in World War II. He returned to the University of Michigan to teach Spanish and French while obtaining a Master's degree in French in 1947, taught at the University of Pennsylvania for a year and then headed for South America where he held a variety of government jobs.

As the Peace Corps' first Latin America regional director, Vaughn developed the concept that volunteers should live with and at the level of the people they are serving, and pioneered the community-level approach to economic development.

He led the National Urban Coalition in its efforts to improve the quality of life in the nation's cities, by bringing business, minority, labor, religious and other interests together to tackle their mutual problems.

He and his wife, the former Margaret Weld, live in Washington, D.C. He has two grown daughters, Kathryn and Carol.

Vaughn and Senator Harris have known each other for several years. They came together politically because, as Vaughn tells it, "I've seen Fred in about 30 forums -- with minority groups, labor, university students, Latin Americans -- and each time the question has been asked by them, 'Why isn't this man running for President?'"

Harris President72

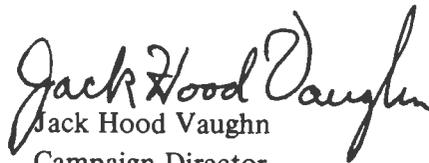
Dear Friend:

I wanted to share with you the following letter of support for Senator Harris' candidacy. It came to us from Irving Louis Horowitz. As you may know, Professor Horowitz is widely regarded as one of the country's foremost political sociologists. He is editor of *Trans-action*, the social sciences monthly, and chairman of the department of Sociology at the experimental Livingston College at Rutgers University.

I'm certain the Senator would be interested in any comments you might have on Professor Horowitz's statment.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Jack Hood Vaughn

Campaign Director

September, 1971

Harris President 72

MRS. FRED R. HARRIS

Biographical Information

LaDonna Harris was born on a farm in Cotton County, Oklahoma, and was graduated from Walters High School in 1949.

She and her husband, U. S. Senator Fred R. Harris, have three children: Kathryn, 21; Byron, 14; and Laura, 10.

A member of the Comanche Indian Tribe, Mrs. Harris was reared in the home of her grandparents where Comanche was the primary language. She is President of Americans for Indian Opportunity, which supports Indian action projects and self-help programs. She was appointed by President Johnson as a member of the National Council on Indian Opportunity and served as Chairman of its committee on Urban and Off-Reservation Indians. In 1967, she was appointed by Sargent Shriver as Chairman of the Woman's National Advisory Council on Poverty.

Active in the field of minority rights, she serves as a member of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, and the Board of Trustees of the National Urban League. She received the National Education Association's 1969 Human Rights Award and is an honorary member of Delta Sigma Theta sorority. She was the recipient, jointly with her husband, of the Human Rights Award of the Southwest Region Anti-Defamation League in 1968 and the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee in 1969.

LaDonna Harris is an activist for women's rights. She was a convener of the Women's Political Caucus and was elected a member of its Policy Council and Executive Committee.

Her efforts have been effective on a broad range of other social concerns. Mrs. Harris is a member of the National Steering Committee of the Urban Coalition, the Policy Council of Common Cause, and the Board of Directors of the National Association for Mental Health and Americans for Democratic Action. She was Chairman of the 1970 National Health Forum, and is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Health Council and the Committee for National Health Insurance.

Interested in education since the days when she worked in the University library and extension division to supplement the income her husband earned as a printer so that he might graduate with honors from the University of Oklahoma, Mrs. Harris now serves as a member of the Board of Visitors of the University of Oklahoma and as a member of the Board of Trustees of Antioch College.

LaDonna Harris: Campaigner

By Delmer Robinson

Home and Family Editor
LaDonna Harris is an activist; an active activist.

Which is a good thing, for as the wife of a prospective presidential candidate, Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, she is with him on a whirlwind tour of the country.

Monday she was in Charleston on the latest stop in a pre-campaign campaign. It is a grueling pace, averaging about three states a week, but the active Mrs. Harris thrives on it.

"I got off the plane at Kanawha airport with the usual Monday morning letdown, but then I started meeting people, had a television interview with Jackie Oblinger and then this interview with you," she said, "and I'm wide awake."

Later came a luncheon and a reception to meet West Virginians, all in the day's crowded schedule.

Mrs. Harris long has been active in the field of minority rights — as an Indian and as a woman.

She is half Comanche, and is president-founder of Americans for Indian Opportunity. Her blue eyes light up as she talks of the work. "Yes, I do believe we are making progress."

She has told how the American Indian is on the lowest rung of the social and economic ladder. "We have the least job opportunity and the poorest health. (a life expectancy of only 42) the national average is 65)."

THE BIG PROBLEM, she says, is in the urban areas, with Indians suffering a culture lag, and finding difficulty adapting to city life.

Yet she points proudly to the work of her organization in Dallas, Texas. "We've trained a staff of three in how to give services. Some of the Indians need advice on getting the electricity turned on in their homes; how to shop in a supermarket; classes in consumer education. And how to get the services offered by government agencies to all citizens.

"There are 32 tribes represented in Dallas. One of the



Mrs. Fred Harris
Indian Rights, Women's Rights

most numerous is Navaho. So classes are given in the Navaho language to newcomers to the city. All these programs have become successful and are now locally sponsored.

"So now," she proudly notes, "the national group has pulled back, and the program is locally run. Dallas has become aware of the Indians in their midst, and their unique problems."

In this same period of time, three federally-funded HEW projects have failed even to get off the ground, she notes.

LaDonna Harris has been accused of being a latecomer to the women's rights movement. She denies it with a laugh: "I didn't join them late, they joined me late. I've been preaching involvement and equal rights for years."

She was the first wife of a senator to testify before a congressional committee — and as might be expected, in behalf of the poverty program at

the behest of Sargeant Shriver.

MRS. HARRIS is not the shy, retiring type of senatorial wife, content to remain discreetly in the background. "Some of the senator's wives meet regularly to roll bandages. It is a nice quiet social activity, but Johnson and Johnson can roll bandages better.

"Once you've become aware of the issues, the problems facing minorities in this country, the social life of Washington loses much of its appeal," says Mrs. Harris. You gather she is not the tea party type.

The Harrises are no strangers to poverty. She sometimes jokingly claims that Harris married her because he thought she was a rich Osage Indian instead of a Comanche.

Actually they were high school sweethearts. He married her while he was a sophomore in college. Then came

the hard times as he worked as a printer and she took care of veterans' children to make money to keep him in school, a task complicated by the arrival of their first child.

"Tuition time was particularly critical" she recalled. "But later, when he won scholarship grants because of his grades; the situation eased.

"YOU KNOW, I'm to appear on the Dinah Shore show next week and they wanted me to do a cooking segment. But I'm no cook. We lived on hamburger so long I gave up trying to become a great cook. I never could afford the ingredients for fancy dishes," she said.

"So we'll compromise on the Shore show, and I'll talk about Indian foods," Mrs. Harris said.

She took an early and active interest in her husband's political career. "When he was first elected to the Oklahoma legislature, he shared a room with the speaker pro-tem. I would come visit him and set in on the political gab sessions. And because Fred accepted me as an equal, the legislators did, too."

Continuing, Mrs. Harris said: "Fred often asks my reactions; he says I have good judgment of people. I tell him that's the Indian coming out in me."

LaDonna Harris enjoys her activist role. "People ask me if I dislike political life, as if it were something dirty and unladylike.

"I like the interaction with people. I enjoy meeting them, getting their viewpoints; yes, and giving them mine" she says.

BUT DON'T GET the idea that LaDonna is a brusque, domineering, masculine type. She may be half-Indian but she's all woman.

Recently she was pleading for consideration of the urban Indians' plight before a Labor Department official. "I wasn't getting through to him. He couldn't understand the Indians faced special job problems in the cities. I went over my presentation three times with him. He still didn't comprehend. A friend who was with me passed a note suggesting I try one more time. It failed . . . and I broke into tears," she recalled.

Reg Murphy

LaDonna Harris Enters the Campaign

LaDonna Harris almost certainly is the first Comanche Indian woman to run for President of the United States.

Well, no, not technically. She has not tossed whatever the female equivalent of a plumed war bonnet is into the 1972 Presidential campaign. It's her husband, Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, who has entered the race technically.



But Mrs. Harris, the product of a Comanche reservation in the oil country, will be running. Perhaps she will be one of the best campaigners in years. Certainly she will be one of the most charming.

When Harris announced Friday that he was running in the primaries, one

thought ran through the heads of people who know the couple well: Fred and LaDonna Harris can't make it to the White House, but they are going to give this country a spectacular show while they make the campaign.

First, there are the roots. Fred grew up in Walters, Okla. His father was as dirt poor as most farmers were in the dust bowl which had been scraped clean of the trees and grass that held the land together.

Fred knew more about poverty than most men who are 40. He tells stories about visiting towns with his father, neither of them knowing enough to know how to order food in a decent restaurant. So bewilderment is not strange to them.

And he can joke—yes, joke—about race relations in a way that eases tensions. He kids about the Comanche being “a warlike tribe” and about his wife having a proclivity toward scalping him.

Or he can talk in another way about easing tensions. Once he took a saunter through a pool hall in Summerhill and down the streets of Cabbagetown. Then he went over to the Grady Homes Day Care Center in the heart of Atlanta. Little three-year-olds climbed up on his lap. “They were singing songs and talking. They didn't know that I was white and they were black.”

One of the strengths is that Harris doesn't think it all has to be deadly serious. Get him away from the crowds and he can tell marvelous stories about hootenannies in Walters. There is a certain zest in the way he approaches the living of life.

When an Atlantan crowded LaDonna, Fred and an aide into the rear seat of a compact car not long ago, Harris quipped, “We're used to a lot bigger cars and a lot more obsequious drivers.” But he would have been offended if the driver had been humbled by the process.

In all candor, it should be pointed out that he runs partly because of his troubles in Oklahoma. He is more liberal than his Oklahoma constituency, particularly that part of it involved in oil and farming. He doesn't particularly fit the Western mold.

So he is going out into the big world. With LaDonna at his side. It will be a cheerful campaign, if nothing else.

He told a friend once, “Maybe we can point out some of the hopeful things. This country needs hope.”

It may whip him. His chances in the primaries may be no better than a buffalo's on the Oklahoma plains at the turn of the century.

If you are going out to run for the Presidency of the United States, though, he has one of the indispensable qualities. That would be LaDonna Harris, full-blooded Comanche, intelligent lady, tough campaigner and handsome wife.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 103 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

JACK TARVER, President



REG MURPHY, Editor

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(NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)  11

The American Indian's Ambitious Ally

By Judith Anderson

THE AMERICAN Indians have a dedicated ally in LaDonna Harris.

Partly because she's half Comanche and partly because her husband, Senator Fred Harris (Dem-Okla.), is within a few days of deciding whether or not to run for President in 1972, Mrs. Harris has been busy defending the rights of her people.

"The biggest job," she said in an interview in her suite at the St. Francis Hotel yesterday, "is educating the general public about the Indians."

"In school we learn that the Indians met the Mayflower, that Pocahontas saved Captain Smith and from then on it was all warfare," she said. The Indians' side of the story has yet to be heard.

As president of Americans for Indian Opportunity, a nonprofit foundation started a year ago, Mrs. Harris is out to raise funds and promote Indian reform.

Bright and exuberant, with black hair pulled back tightly in a bun, LaDonna Harris has been described as sparkling like an uncut diamond and probably the most active Senate wife.

Her dedication dates back to her childhood in Oklahoma, where she "knew the painful scars of discrimination" in public school.

After her marriage to Fred Harris, her high school sweetheart, and his election to the state senate, she soon found her niche in Indian affairs.

Two years ago she came to San Francisco as a committee chairman of Presi-



MRS. FRED HARRIS
The Indians' side

dent Lyndon B. Johnson's National Council on Indian Opportunity to study the conditions of the American Indian living in the big city.

The urban Indian is a major concern — "half of our problem," Mrs. Harris said yesterday.

Because he's often mistaken for other minorities, "there's no way to know how bad off he is," she added. Los Angeles and San Francisco number first and second in Indian populations off the reservations.

Mrs. Harris was disappointed in the failure of Indians to keep Alcatraz, primarily "because they wanted to be there," she explained.

"If they can't have Alcatraz," she suggested, "the Federal Government should consider giving them other surplus government property.

"It would help repay the Indians for the dishonest

ways land was taken from us in the past."

She does not consider such land grants as a step backward toward the idea of reservations. "I've come full circle on that concept," she confessed.

The government's long standing policy to take away the Indian's culture and integrate him into society has "done nothing but destroy him," she said. Rates of suicide and alcoholism among Indians are much higher than in the general population.

She said the Alcatraz concept, where Indians could develop their own educational-cultural centers, on unused land near cities; might help give them back the identity they lose when they move away from their tribes.

"Man cannot be home any place until he's home some place," she said, quoting from a eulogy she'd heard at Negro leader Whitney Young's funeral earlier this year.

The Indian must develop a positive self-image so that he can determine for himself what he'd like to do, she added.

If Senator Harris decides to run for the presidency, LaDonna Harris will be right behind him, helping mobilize the minority vote.

The decision is a major one, since Harris will have to give up his Senate seat to enter the election. Their visit with friends in San Francisco will help him evaluate the national situation, she said.

"It would be an awesome, hard job," she conceded of the presidency. "But I trust his opinion," she added with a confident smile.



He's No Phony

Notwithstanding Gov. Moore's objections, West Virginia still holds its attraction for prospective candidates for president—and so it was that U. S. Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma flew into Charleston Monday for a whirlwind of campaigning and a maximum of exposure.

Like others before him—South Dakota's Sen. George McGovern, Indiana's Sen. Birch Bayh, Iowa's Sen. Harold E. Hughes, and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts—Harris is a Democrat, which is the kind of presidential prospect most objectional to West Virginia's Republican Governor.

BUT MOORE'S earlier criticism of unnamed visiting politicians for seeking a "backdrop of poverty and neglect" in West Virginia provided no worry for Sen. Harris, who frankly said he could find all the poverty and neglect he wanted to see in his home state of Oklahoma without searching for it elsewhere.

What makes Harris stand out from many other politicians—notably President Nixon who recently set out to rekindle the flames of racism to attract the whuffo vote in the South and elsewhere—is that he shows genuine concern for those suffering from poverty and neglect.

Harris is remarkably frank and honest in proposing what he calls "a new, progressive people's coalition to help enact a visionary agenda for America," which would include better distribution of income and wealth, justice for minorities and others who pay an unfair share of social costs, a reversal of militaristic trends toward a peaceful existence, confrontation and restraint of the powerful interests which profit by polluting the earth, and "fundamental reform of government to make it responsive to the people's will."

Indeed, Harris will speak enthusiastically and at length on subjects that would make other politicians quiver in their boots—presidential hopefuls and candidates for lesser offices as well—out of fear of disturbing the affluent and others basking in established comfort. His program might well be one of comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable.

So it is that Fred Harris thinks people are tired of "high-priced, slick manipulative campaigns"—campaigns based on Madison Avenue techniques aimed at selling a president as the establishment would sell soap powder or underarm deodorant—and feels it is time a man be chosen for what he is and what he stands for.

This is why his strategy is to test his philosophy by entering the primaries of various states. He wouldn't necessarily have to win the early primaries but would have to be encouraged in order to enter

the middle primaries — including West Virginia — and then he would have to be showing a winning pace in order to enter the later primaries, such as California.

In short, Harris plans to lay his thinking open to the people and let them decide whether he should be a candidate for the Democratic nomination. It's not an easy route, for it lays him open to opposition from the power interests. But it's an honest one, for no matter what the question he lays his answer on the line. He operates under a rare formula that what the bull produces is better to grow corn than to elect presidents.

During his one-day visit to Charleston, Harris submitted to unrehearsed questioning on Charley Ryan's "Closeup" which will be shown on Channel 8 at 10:30 tonight, on Bob Brunner's "At Issue" which will be telecast on Channel 3 at 12:30 p.m. Sunday, and to an in-depth quizzing by the Gazette editorial board which will be printed in full later this week.

We think they'll be worth your watching, listening and reading to determine whether Sen. Fred Harris really is the friend of the minorities, the underprivileged, the neglected, the hungry, the ill, the forsaken—all those people America should stand for and the establishment should be concerned about—and if he is the man needed in the presidency.

This unusual man may not win the Democratic nomination or the presidency in his unorthodox but refreshing approach, but he may be an influence in guiding other candidates away from a huckster's dream and toward reality. If he does nothing more he will have made a contribution toward making America what it pretends to be, even in the process of proving only that he is a politician ahead of his time. Whatever, he's no phony.

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The Charleston Gazette

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The 'Populist Style'

By TOM WICKER

MIAMI—A major trouble with the Democratic Presidential candidates is that the only one who can easily be distinguished from the moderate-to-liberal pack is the national defense hard-liner, Henry Jackson of Washington. Fred Harris hopes the "Populist style" will make him another.

This is one of the longest shots currently visible, but a day with the Oklahoma Senator, as he did some ground work here for next March's Florida primary, suggests that it may not be out of the question. And anyway, after Mr. Harris' withdrawal from an all-but-hopeless re-election campaign in his home state, he has nowhere to go but up.

Mr. Harris has far more national political expertise than most young Senators. As a member of the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders, a co-manager of Hubert Humphrey's Presidential campaign in 1968, and Democratic National Chairman in 1969, he has a better idea than most as to where the power lies in the various states and cities, and how hard it is to move.

So he knows what he is getting into, and he would hardly have done it without the backing of a first-class fund-raiser—Herbert Allen, the wealthy New York investment banker. But it is the "Populist style" that gives Fred Harris his chance, if any.

This is more than a matter of issues, although he intends to campaign on a platform of "redistribution of wealth, redistribution of power and a foreign policy based on idealism." But also Mr. Harris is convinced that even in the age of television, politicians have become too "cool."

"I believe that people feel some lack of emotion on the part of these other fellows," he says of his Democratic rivals. "I believe the people want to touch you and see you. They want to hear some of what we used to call 'redfaced speeches' down in Oklahoma."

So he intends to learn from the tactics of Lawton Chiles, who walked the length of Florida to publicize his successful Senate campaign last year. "The people are sick of slickly manipulated, high-priced advertising campaigns," he told his Florida audiences. And in a television interview, he added:

"I guess I can't use the Mailer-Breslin slogan on the air but I can paraphrase it—'No more hogwash.'"

A highly personal campaign of straight talk, Mr. Harris argues, will get attention because "people just feel so left out. Things seem so impersonal and far away and people feel powerless . . . decisions are being made that affect their lives that they don't have any control over.

IN THE NATION

And down deep most of them don't believe it makes any difference which politician they elect; they don't believe anything will change."

That is right out of George Wallace's book, of course, but Mr. Harris has a different intent—one that doesn't fit the "Populist" notion. Nineteenth-century Populism fell apart on the race question and most "Populist" types since then have tended more or less openly toward racism. Mr. Harris says instead—probably more bluntly than any other Democrat now running—"the real issue is not race but economic class."

Health problems affect blacks and whites alike, he points out. Appalachian whites and Southwestern Chicanos both are out of work. Cubans in Miami and American Indians on the reservation, as well as relatively affluent suburban whites, worry about their children's schools and their own inability to have much effect on the way things go. If all these and other groups could be united around a Populist program—the redistribution of wealth and power—and against the powerful exploitative elements of American society, they could be a great political force.

This may be the pipe dream that most American politicians have considered it, but Fred Harris is at least well suited to pursue it, with his poor Oklahoma beginnings, his Southern accent, his occasionally "redfaced" oratory, and his fondness for telling stories about his family back home in Oklahoma. A gregarious mixer with a booming laugh and a quick wit—after suffering a florid introduction at a luncheon here, he rose gravely and said: "That concludes our program for the day"—he looks and sounds like a backwoods radical with an urban education.

Mr. Harris was the first candidate on the phone to Harold Hughes after word spread that the Iowan would withdraw from the race; and he believes the "Populist style" may bring more of Mr. Hughes' erstwhile supporters to him than to George McGovern. He is committed to primaries here, in New Mexico and California, and concedes that circumstances probably will force him into most of the others.

The main problem for the other candidates, he thinks, is to "stop Muskie from overwhelming the field" in the first few primaries. But in the long run, he believes, the winner at the Democratic Convention and over Mr. Nixon is going to be the candidate who "lets the people know that if he's elected, things will change." The "Populist style" is aimed at just that.

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EDITORIAL OPINION PAGE

Monday, July 5, 1971

Senator From Oklahoma Promising Presidential Material

Oklahoma's Democratic Sen. Fred R. Harris will decide by Sept. 1 whether to drop out of the Senate race and begin a campaign for the presidential nomination.

Kansans, many of whom feel closer to the Southwest than they do to the Midwest, will be watching closely.

The senator's supporters say his decision is contingent upon whether enough money can be raised, whether there is enough support in Oklahoma to bolster his candidacy.

So far, 14 years of hard-driving public life have betrayed no serious political or personal flaws in Harris. He has always been a workhorse. He was a long shot for the vice presidency in 1968, but instead was named Democratic chairman by Hubert H. Humphrey, the defeated Democratic presidential candidate.

At 40, Harris is a bundle of politically valuable contradictions. He is a sharecropper's son with an Oklahoma drawl and shiny black hair parted in the middle. But beneath that head is a nimble brain. He earned a Phi Beta Kappa key at the University of Oklahoma College of Law in 1954.

Despite his roots in rural Oklahoma, Harris has become an outspoken pleader for help for the urban slums. He never abandons his shoes - off, wheat - belt informality.

Once when Harris greeted President Johnson in the reception line, the President, in his best Texas drawl, said, "Why don't y'all come and see us?"

Using his own Southwest idiom, Harris replied "Why don't you holler at us?"

He is an acknowledged member of the innermost Senate establishment who also appeals to dissenting factions — the young, the minorities and even doves.

He managed to stay friendly with both Lyndon Johnson and the Kennedy clan in those chaotic months following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, though his switch to Humphrey caused some bitterness in Kennedy ranks.

However, his standing among the Kennedys improved when he threw his weight into Teddy's upset leap into the Senate majority whip's seat.

Harris has continually championed the American Indian cause — his wife, Ladonna, is a Comanche and she has taught him her tribe's language.

Sen. Harris is a complex but interesting politician, and no doubt will be heard from more as 1972 approaches.

If he doesn't seek the presidential nomination then, there is always 1976 when he would be only 45 years old.

Sees Similarity to Home State

Harris Sounds Out Area

By Fanny Seiler
Staff Writer

A majority of people in this country aren't satisfied and the blacks, blue color workers, farmers, young and old really are seeking the same things—more power over their own lives—Sen. Fred R. Harris, D-Okla., said Monday during a visit to West Virginia to seek support for the presidency.

Harris, 40, hit upon the state of the economy in the United States and the similarity between Oklahoma and West Virginia during a brief visit in Belle and in discussions with reporters.

President Nixon's wage and price freeze was a "dramatic turnaround" from the President's position a few weeks ago when everything was fine, Harris said. The new action against inflation, Harris said, was an admission that the earlier policy had failed.

* * *

HARRIS WOULD like to have seen Nixon have the courage to take the action three years earlier. Harris, however, isn't in complete agreement with Nixon. The senator said the wage and price freeze was long past due, and he favors the change in policy of selling gold to foreign governments.

But the tax incentives proposed to stimulate the economy, Harris said, favor the big corporations when it is the average taxpayer who needs a tax break.

The average taxpayer more than pays his fair share of taxes, Harris said.

He told a group of about persons gathered in the home of Nancy Martin at Belle that the United States is the only rich country which pushes out its old people and this has "got to change." Several of the persons on hand to meet Harris at Mrs. Martin's home were elderly citizens. Mrs. Martin, 76, is a retired postmistress at Belle who has long been active in civic and political affairs.

* * *

HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT was a key, too, in Harris' visit at Belle. More jobs are needed, he said, noting that Eastern Oklahoma is very similar to West Virginia with its strip mining and coal fields, and its poverty. "Nothing is as good as money," Harris said.

Harris is against strip mining as it is carried on in West Virginia, and favors its abolition. The subject of strip mining came up during casual conversation at the meeting at Belle. However, the issue isn't as emotional in Oklahoma where surface mining has been on the increase in recent years.

Harris found other ties with West Virginia, the former West Virginians who went to Oklahoma to help develop "our oil and gas wells."

Harris met during a luncheon with the Democratic political figures from Kana-



ARRIVING at Kanawha Airport, Sen. Fred Harris and wife, Laddonna, begin a day of testing

political support in Kanawha County.

(Staff Photo by Lawrence Pierce.)

wha County, including Secretary of State John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV and Democratic State Chairman Rudy DiTrapano. About 55 persons attended the luncheon.

* * *

HARRIS TOLD the political leaders and the press his primary campaigns, if he runs, will be based on his "new populist" which was the subject of his second book, "Now is the Time: A New Populist Call to action."

His book proposes "a new, progressive people's coalition to help enact a visionary agenda for America, better distribution of income and wealth, justice for minorities and white workers who pay an unfair share of social costs, peace, and a reversal of militaristic trends, confrontation and restraint of the powerful interests which profit by polluting the earth, and fundamental reform of government

to make it responsive to the people's will."

Harris said there needs to be a better distribution of the good things. The economic problem, Harris believes is a lack of money by the consumer to purchase goods, and not a lack of investments by industry.

He "would get us out of Vietnam" if he were president and he would cut economic and military aid to Pakistan. He also opposes Nixon's increased aid to Greece and Brazil. But he favors Nixon's trip to China.

* * *

HARRIS SAID RACISM is what sank the old populism and that is what is wrong with Gov. George Wallace's populism.

Harris proposes a public works program, and his tax reform includes an

The Charleston Gazette

increase in taxes for those who are depleting minerals.

After seven years in the U.S. Senate, Harris said he decided against seeking re-election because he couldn't have the impact in making changes he felt were needed. To deal with problems in the urgency needed, Harris wants to run for president.

He will decide by the first of October whether to run. The West Virginia primary, he said is important historically and he was encouraged up to now with his reception here and in other states. He is traveling to three to four states each week.

His strategy is to enter early primaries, which he won't necessarily have to win. But the primaries next May will be more important to win, and the later primaries such as California will be extremely important. "I would have to be winning the late primaries" Harris said, to have a chance at the nomination.

Sen. Edmond Muskie, D-Maine, is the frontrunner now, Harris said, adding that this isn't real important because the majority of Americans haven't made up their mind or focused on the political races.

'It's Time to Be Outraged'

Harris, the 'New Populist'

By Larry Wilson

World-Herald Political Writer

"The Democratic presidential campaign needs what we used to call 'red-faced speeches' down in Oklahoma. This is not so much a time for 'cool' candidates but a time to be outraged. It is a time for plain outspokenness . . ."

Speaking those words recently in Omaha was Sen. Fred Harris, signaling the entry of a new campaign style into the Democratic race.

The Oklahoman is giving up his Senate seat in order to actively explore his prospects for the nomination.

Harris says radical things in a folksy way. Omaha Democrats said he has more personality than some of the other candidates, is a better mixer and more emotional speaker.

But while Harris wins the "guy I

'I believe we can put this country together again'

would most like to have a drink with" award, that popularity has not yet translated itself into solid support for the presidency, talks with Democratic leaders indicated.

* * *

Harris, who won't be 41 until November, is a friendly fellow who combines the spirit of an Oklahoma football fan with the "lift up thine eyes" appeal of a Southern preacher.

His wife, LaDonna, is half Comanche and a leader in programs to improve the plight of the Indians.

After his wife is introduced, Harris winks at the audience and comments: "I have always said Indian affairs are the best kind."

Then he gets serious, and, building up to a little "redfaced" oratory, as he continues:

"A lot of people are trying to tell us black people are natural enemies of the labor union people; that Chicanos and Indians are the natural enemies of the blacks; that young people are adversaries of the older people of our society; that working people don't have the same interests as the farmer — I believe none of that is true. I believe we can put the country together again if we all realize we have the same kind of interests . . ."

Harris calls himself a "new populist," saying: "It is about time politicians begin to stand up for the people against the vested interests. I would like to see people's lives changed with better distribution of income and power and

idealism as a basis of foreign policy. People really doubt that it makes much difference whatever politician they elect. They don't believe anything will change."

In Nebraska, Harris invoked the memories of George Norris and William Jennings Bryan as friends of the people and said he is not interested in "just another political exercise."

He said he will run for the nomination if people will listen and if they think he will "really make a difference in America."

Said Harris: "Idealism is the pragmatism of today."

* * *

In his talks, Harris frequently refers to his father, a small Oklahoma farmer "who never made it to high school, works harder than most and pays more than his share of taxes while tax exemptions allow a lot of rich people to get by."

He advocates tax reform and a "stiff minimum tax on large incomes which are now exempt."

In introducing Harris to an Omaha group, Democratic National Committeeman Tom Kelley said: "I'm neutral in the presidential race. But that doesn't keep me from being proud. And I'm proud of this guy. I was proud to hear him tell the editors of The World-Herald that Ronald Reagan should pay taxes."

* * *

It is customary for candidates of both parties to meet from time to time with editors of the newspaper for an informal discussion of issues.

The Kelley reference was to such a session with Harris which the committeeman also attended.

It was recently disclosed that, because of the way California's tax laws are written, California Gov. Reagan pays no state income taxes.

Harris replied: "I don't blame Reagan as a private citizen for taking advantage of tax loopholes. But he is richer than 85 per cent of the people he governs."

"As a politician and a public official, I blame him for not trying to change the law under which he pays nothing. This is morally wrong and has got to be changed."

Harris favors a "pre-announced timetable" for withdrawal from Vietnam, elimination of the special sugar subsidy with which the U.S. "favors" South Africa, and the cutting of military aid to Greece and Brazil. He advocates "legislation to prevent the use of American military and economic aid for the killing and repression taking place in Pakistan."

Harris proposes a six-month wage and price freeze to slow inflation and calls President Nixon's domestic policy not only wrong but immoral."

His standard speech also includes,

"No industrial society in the world pushes old people out as we do — where some of our elderly citizens must give up lunch or breakfast or something else just to buy medicine — where a high percentage of our children are hungry and a growing percentage of our people are at the poverty level, one out of eight — there is no reason for that to be so."

* * *

Harris lashes high interest rates and big bank profits, saying it is time to "talk tough."

Harris, a lawyer, is a Phi Beta Kappa of the University of Oklahoma. He served in the state senate before moving to Washington. And he went to Washington by defeating Bud Wilkinson, a fellow who did better on the gridiron than at political football.

Nebraskans this year have had an opportunity to see and hear Edmund Muskie, George McGovern and Birch Bayh on the campaign trail. Hubert H. Humphrey, who has a long list of Nebraska friends as a result of his appearances over the years, spoke at a nonpolitical affair. Still to come are Henry Jackson and others eyeing the 1972 contest.

Muskie, McGovern, Humphrey, Bayh and Harris all have about the same position on major issues. Harris is trying to say the same things differently with his "Boomer, Sooner" approach.

Harris argues that none of the Democratic candidates, prior to his semi-entry into the race, really caught fire. He considers the field "wide open" and intends to experiment the "populist" method. He does not think any candidate will get the nomination without entering the primaries.

The soft-spoken Muskie has the tradi-

Nebraskans to pick 'style show leader' in May 9 primary

tional reserve of a New Englander. Bayh and McGovern are both low-key campaigners, the idea being to project sincerity, rather than word wizardry. Bayh has a typical Hoosier twang in his voice. McGovern admits openly to being jealous of the deep, booming voice of Harold Hughes, which he somewhat wistfully describes as a "million-dollar echo box."

Most Republicans fear Jackson more than any of the other Democratic hopefuls but do not think the Washington senator has much chance at the nomination. Nebraskans will get to pick their favorite at the May 9 primary.

Mini-talk, midi-talk or maxi-talk? The "style show" is on.

Eyes on White House

Harris Faces Odds Again

By Robert Pearman

National-World Editor of The Star

Edmond, Okla. —Sen. Fred R. Harris took a couple of swipes with a comb at his long and somewhat unruly hair, tugged at his suit and headed out the door of his hotel room in Oklahoma City at a high lope.

"Come on," he said, "Let's go to a party."

The party was an informal "Funds for Fred" rally at the Edmond home of Ray Whitson, district chairman of the Democratic party.

The banner against the backyard fence said "FRED HARRIS, The Man For The People." And from the yard next door three small boys watched unbelievably as 200 assorted persons gathered, TV lights shone and a public address system blared out across the wide expanse of affluent suburbia. They wondered what in the world was happening.

What was happening was that Fred Harris had come home—come home not as a senator seeking his party's renomination, but as a man who would be President. For on July 16 Harris had announced that he would not seek re-election to the Senate but would actively campaign for the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

To some it was an audacious move. Faced with a challenge, announced in April, by Rep. Ed Edmondson, Senator Harris was in trouble just obtaining his party's renomination. And then, if he did get by that hurdle, next fall he probably would face a popular Republican, Dewey Bartlett, former governor. To them no horse ever loomed darker than Fred Harris. But experience had taught others to be more cautious.

"Fred Harris," said a newspaperman who has observed Oklahoma politics for two decades, "is an easy man to underestimate. He is always aspiring to goals that are seemingly beyond his reach."

When he made his announcement (which almost coincided with the announcement of Sen. Harold Hughes of Iowa that he would not be a candidate) Harris joined Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota as the two Democrats who are, at the moment, actively running. A half dozen others are running without the formality of saying so.

Why did he do it, Harris was asked.

"I had put it out of my mind for the last six months or so," he said of his decision. "I was pretty much turned around by people like Jack Hood Vaughn (former Peace Corps director) who said 'Fred, if you'll run for President, I'll quit my job and

work for you.' And I came to the conclusion that if there were people like that around, it was worth exploring."

Harris said that he will enter all of the primaries unless there is some good reason not to. For instance a favorite son candidacy by Gov. John J. Gilligan of Ohio would keep him inactive in that state.

But later, at the fund raiser here, Vaughn was more explicit. Senator Harris, Vaughn said, will test the electorate in Florida, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, North Carolina, Tennessee, New Mexico, California, perhaps Nebraska and Oregon.

The Oklahoma senator sees his chances tied to a campaign that starts slow and builds so that he has momentum, so to speak, when the other aspirants start to fade.

"We don't have to beat everybody. We just have to beat somebody in the Florida race," the senator said. But Vaughn sets a higher goal and sees greater urgency.

"He is going to have to beat most of the candidates in Florida," Vaughn said. "And I think he will."

Sen. Fred Harris is short. His hair is long. He is not a handsome man. The son of a Mississippi sharecropper who moved to Oklahoma, he does not profess to be Indian although he looks as much like one as his wife, Mrs. LaDonna



Harris Strategists

Sen. Fred R. Harris, 40 (left), seeking the Democratic nomination for the presidency, chats with his principal lieutenants, Jack Hood Vaughn, 50 (center), former director of the Peace Corps and the Urban Coalition, who resigned as President Nixon's ambassador to Colombia, and Herbert Allen, Jr., 31 (right), the chief fund raiser. (Copyright 1971, Oklahoma Publishing Company)

Harris, who is half Comanche. He is a lawyer, a fiery speaker, an informal man who exudes hospitality and friendliness. Within three minutes after meeting him it seems much more proper to call him Fred than senator.

"I feel awfully deeply about the issues," he said in the car on the way to Edmond. "Three years after the Kerner Commission (on which he served) and three years worse off. And I know things are worse in this country than when I went to the Senate seven years ago. I despaired at being unable to change things sufficiently as a member of the Senate."

A presidential campaign, he believes, might get the Harris philosophy into focus. He believes in strong words and fundamental change.

"I believe that people are entitled to hear a little more tone of moral outrage," he said. "The times call for a man with some emotion, some spirit." He finds both lacking in the other Democrats who would seek the office.

He eschews labels and declines to say if he would consider himself the most liberal of the Democratic hopefuls (including McGovern, Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine, Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana, Sen. Edward Kennedy of Mass. and Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington). But he does con-

cede that he advocates a greater degree of change for the country than do the others.

Just what kind of change is somewhat obscured. In his new book, "Now is The Time," he calls himself a "new Populist" and seems to advocate a social and economic upheaval that would redistribute the nation's wealth and political power and he urges a new approach to foreign affairs based on "idealism."

"If Fred Harris doesn't quit talking about redistribution of the wealth and income, I may be fired in a few days," quipped Herbert Allen, Jr., president of Allen & Co., Inc., a New York investment banking firm. Allen, a one-time Humphrey supporter, has taken over the management of the crucial financial aspects of the Harris campaign.

The backyard affair here raised about \$25,000, but 60 per cent of the million that Harris would need will come from New York sources with whom he already is in contact, Allen said.

The Oklahoma senator's stand on redistribution of wealth could pose problems, but only among the "uninformed," Allen said. For the senator's talk about tax reform would simply "broaden the base" of capitalism. "Such practices boost consumer spending and enhance capitalism."

"Maldistribution of wealth and income in America, despite all our talk through the years, is still with us," Harris wrote in

his book. "Taxes, social welfare programs and economic policy have made no real change in the rigid economic stratification which has been a durable characteristic of American life."

Other lines in the book are revealing of Harris's new populism: "There simply cannot be a mass movement without the masses. . . . A substantial number of those who voted for Mr. Wallace in 1968 did so at least as much because of some of his Populist positions as for racist reasons. . . . As one who thinks that it brutalizes human beings to kill or injure animals inhumanely, I am repelled by the rhetoric of violence and put off by those who would even flirt for a moment with the notion that bombings and maimings and killings of human beings for any American goal can be made to appear romantic or ennobling."

Two questions loom in Harris's home state: Can he go into the Democratic convention with solid support from Oklahoma, and, had he stayed in the Senate race, could he have been re-elected.

J. C. Kennedy, party chairman in Oklahoma, conducted a telephone poll of county chairmen. He asked this question: If Senator Harris does decide to become a serious candidate for the presidency could he count on your support?

Kennedy said 127 persons answered yes, four or five said no and four or five were undecided.

William Sheppard of Midwest City, eastern Oklahoma county chairman, was so astounded that he conducted his own poll. Sheppard asked who they would favor as a favorite son. Forty per cent said Harris, Sheppard asserted but 60 per cent said Carl Albert, speaker of the House, or were undecided.

"I just couldn't believe that most party members wanted to support Harris for President," Sheppard said. "I had heard too many say that they wouldn't support him for dog catcher."

The lines for a showdown with Edmondson in the Senate race were sharply drawn. Edmondson, of Muskogee, has generally supported the President on the Vietnam War. Harris has demanded complete withdrawal at the end of this year.

On June 17 Harris was the only Oklahoma representative in Congress to vote for either the Hatfield-McGovern amendment or a similar resolution in the House that would have shut off funds for the war in Indo-China. This year he introduced a bill to provide federal funds

for bussing students to achieve racial balance.

A check of the two organizations that rate members of Congress on liberal-conservative votes show all Oklahoma members of Congress more and more conservative except for Harris, who is voting more and more liberal.

Harris believes he would have beaten Edmondson had he elected to stay in the Senate race.

"We were ahead in the only poll that was taken," he said. "My posture was improving and I was the incumbent."

Other Oklahoma political leaders think Harris might have won too; none thinks it would have been an easy victory. Most believe the tough primary fight might have brought a party schism that would have turned the seat over to the Republicans in the general election.

Harris believes the very factors that caused him trouble in Oklahoma now make him a viable candidate for the Democratic nomination.

"Anybody is going to have trouble today who makes it very clear where he stands on the issues," he said. "If I weren't controversial on such things as race, the Vietnam War, then I don't think anybody would even think of me as a candidate for the presidential nomination." And, he is wont to point out, total acceptance in one's home state is not an absolute prerequisite to becoming President.

"President Nixon was repudiated by the voters of California when he ran for governor and he's in the White House today."

J. C. Kennedy, state party chairman, also thinks there are many Oklahomans who would prefer a more conservative representative in Congress but who would wholeheartedly support Harris for the nomination and election. Kennedy said they see the national problems and have a broader outlook when they consider someone to run the whole country and international affairs.

Harris has faced the odds before, and Oklahomans are reminded that he has a penchant for beating them.

"A lot of folks have laughed at the prospect of Fred Harris being nominated as a candidate for President," one small town newspaper publisher said. "The laughter is getting quieter and quieter."

Harris comes by his Populist attitudes honestly. With his parents he earned a living in southwest Oklahoma picking cotton and plucking chickens. As a young man he followed the wheat harvests.



Campaign Assets

Senator Harris greets friends at a fund-raising affair in Edmond, Okla. His wife, Mrs. LaDonna Harris, a half Comanche Indian, is a popular figure in Oklahoma. Kathryn Harris, a student at Radcliffe, is between her parents. (Oklahoma Journal staff photo)

"He had to work like a dog for everything he has," said the former dean of the University of Oklahoma Law School, where Harris was the No. 1 graduate in the class. After that he married LaDonna Crawford, great-granddaughter of a Comanche medicine man, Hoahwah.

At 26 Harris was in the state Legislature and at 33 he ran for governor, finishing fifth in a field of five.

"You know I think I do know everybody here," he said, looking out over the heavily populated lawn in the Whitson's yard. And he began to name them.

"There's Charley Wilson from over at Heavener—Charley, the tick king, he's always trying to get me to do something about ticks. Well, Charley, I've never been in a powerful enough position, but if I get to be President. . . ."

He did know them all and most had been with him since that abortive run for governor. The \$100 contribution had come hard for some, but they had made it and they were still smiling.

Harris went to the U.S. Senate

by upsetting in a primary former Gov. J. Howard Edmondson, brother of Ed Edmondson, who had appointed himself to the Senate when Sen. Robert Kerr died.

Then, who would have thought that Harris could beat the unbeatable Oklahoma football coach, Bud Wilkinson. But he did and was elected to the unexpired 2-year term. He won the full term in 1966.

"We took a poll in an affluent neighborhood in the Wilkinson campaign and it was all Harris," one newsman recalls. "We couldn't figure out what had happened. Then we remembered: It was Saturday afternoon. The Wilkinson vote was all in Norman."

The Oklahoma senator's wife, active in minority and Indian affairs, is a political asset. In Nebraska, where the senator is pondering a primary race, she appeared at the Omaha Indian reservation last week. She also is not without a sense of humor.

"LaDonna is wondering," a friend said, "what people are going to say when her relatives put the pallets down on the floor of the White House."

Can Harris win his home state with vow to break up oil firms?

By Stephen Wermiel
Globe Staff

OKLAHOMA CITY — Can a former oil state senator return home as a Presidential candidate on a promise to break up major corporations, including oil companies?

That question may be the key to the Oklahoma Democratic caucuses Feb. 7 which pit former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris against Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen and former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

More recently, Alabama Gov. George Wallace has authorized a group of volunteers to take a stab at the caucuses here while Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana has allowed a local organization to be opened in his name while insisting it is not being run by his national campaign.

Unlike earlier caucuses in Iowa and Mississippi, the candidates in Oklahoma, a state rich in oil and natural gas, are trying to avoid the label of frontrunner, each pointing to another as the man to beat.

For example, Carter coordinator David Hales, working out of a house in

CAMPAIGN '76

Oklahoma City, maintains, "If there is a frontrunner right now, it's Harris because of his friends here."

Bentsen's national campaign director, Bob Healy, said, "Carter's been there a long time and it's Harris's home state, so it's going to be a tough one."

But if there is anyone clearly struggling, it is Harris, although not against unbeatable odds by any means. He was elected as more conservative than liberal, and dropped out of his own reelection race in mid-1971 to run for President instead of risk losing his own Senate seat.

When first elected he had the support of the family of the powerful Sen. Robert S. Kerr whose death in 1964 left the seat open. Kerr was closely tied to the state's oil and gas industry through the Kerr-McGee Co.

But over a half dozen years, Harris moved to the left, opposing the Vietnam war and working on the Presidential Commission on Urban Violence toward

a conclusion that white racism and black despair led to the ghetto riots of 1967.

His growing radicalism (he prefers the term populism) notwithstanding, Harris is still expected to show some strength in Tulsa and Oklahoma City where the Republicans have grown more conservative but the active Democrats have remained more liberal. There is also Harris strength at the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma State University and in his home region of Comanche County southwest of Oklahoma City.

Bentsen's Texas origins help him relate to Democrats in the Sooner state where his campaign is under the direction of William Reynolds, former administrative aide to Kerr. "He relates well to the oil people," said Mrs. Phelps.

Reynolds claims to be organized in 73 of the 78 counties where caucuses will occur in 3027 precincts Saturday. Others like William Crain, executive director of the state Democratic committee, question whether the

Bentsen effort is as widespread. Crain also said Bentsen might suffer somewhat from his poor showing a week ago in Mississippi caucuses.

An aide to Democratic Gov. David Boren believes, "Bentsen started a long while ago at point x and he is still at point x."

That leaves Carter, who is privately supported by Boren, although the governor will remain officially neutral. "Carter seems to be active everywhere," said Crain, adding that he had received the active support of a highly popular former Democratic chairman, J.C. Kennedy.

With Carter coming on strong, according to many pundits, the real winner still may be "uncommitted," said Crain, who predicted a turnout of no more than 20,000 voters though almost one million Democrats are registered in the state. The uncommitted route is one way of getting from the precinct level as a delegate to Feb. 28 county conventions or six congressional district caucuses on March 20 or the state convention April 3d and 4th.

DEATHS

Alden, Margaret
 Andrews, Joseph P.
 Azab, Charles M.
 Barnhart, Liena E.
 Barriola, Madeina
 Bellomy, Virginia
 Blakey, W. J.
 Bombard, David E.
 Bornheim, Elsie
 Breda, James F.
 Callahan, G. F.
 Callanan, Joseph
 Careo, Oriana
 Carven, Margaret A.
 Casanovassa, Lena J.
 Cobb, Emily
 Cobb, M. died M.
 Coen-Barley, Eleanor L.
 Collins, Joseph
 Collins, Virginia J.
 Combe, Victoria
 Cornish, Ralph E.
 Costa, Harriett
 Cotter, John R.
 Coughlin, T. F.
 Curran, Lawrence
 D'Alessandro, Christina
 Dano, Alex G.
 Dello Russo, Paul A.
 DeMiglio, Guy
 Dempsey, John F.
 Diegelmann, Theresa M.
 Dineen, Arthur F.
 Donald, George S.
 Dow, Myrtle M.
 Drown, Jean E.
 Eaton, Joseph F.
 Egan, Patience Love
 Finnegan, Mary
 Fitzgerald, F. G.
 Fitzpatrick, Ellen
 Flanagan, Edwin J.
 Folkins, Aurelio
 Forrest, S. Warren
 Gannon, Lillian L.
 Geary, David P.
 Goldberg, George
 Gookin, Thomas L.
 Grinnell, Margaret T.
 Hackell, L. J.
 Hanick, Patrick
 Hart, Sister Eugenie
 Hart, John J.
 Headley, Roberto A.
 Helmsdorf, Daany
 Herman, Eunice
 Hodson, Mary M.
 Hodgson, William L.
 Hopkins, Edward J.
 Howland, Josephine A.
 Howland, Weston
 Ianzio, Ideali
 Ingalls Anne C.
 Kane, Kevin F.

ALDEN in Norwood, January 31, Margaret, wife of the late Harold L. Alden, mother of Donald, grandmother of Patricia Czuzner and two great-grandsons, sister of Vivian Drake of Worcester. Services in the First Congregational Church of Norwood, Tuesday, February 3 at 2 p.m. Friends may call at the May Funeral Home, 85 Nichols Street, Norwood, Monday 2 to 4 and 7 to 9 p.m. in lieu of flowers. Please make contributions to the Relief Fund of the First Congregational Church.

ANDREWS — Of Somerville, Feb. 1, suddenly, Joseph P., beloved husband of the late Cecelia (Marshall); father of Ronald Andrews, Cecelia McCusker and Alice Stevens. Funeral from the Rogers

DEATH NOTICES

BOMBARD — In Chelsea, formerly of So. Boston, January 31, David E., husband of Mary (McFarland), father of Mrs. Lorraine Packard, Mrs. Geraldine McCormack, Mrs. Dolores Fitzgerald and David E. Bombard Jr. Visiting hours at the Joseph W. Casper & Sons Funeral Home, 187 Dorchester St., So. Boston, Monday, 2-4, and 7-9 p.m. Funeral: Mass in the Gate of Heaven Church, So. Boston, Tuesday, February 3, at 10 a.m. Interment, Mt. Hope Cemetery, veteran of WW II.

BORNHEIM — Of Cohasset, Jan. 31, Elsie K. (Herold). Beloved wife of the late Henry, mother of Heien Bornheim of Cohasset, Mrs. Norma Connolly of Pembroke, George of N.J. and James of Hull. Private services will be held at the Pyle Funeral Home, HINGHAM, Tuesday, Feb. 3. Visiting hours are omitted.

BOTTLESEN — In Reading, February 1st, Edwin S., beloved husband of Lillian (Laidlaw), father of Edwin E., North Reading, and Lillian E. Bottelsen, Reading; brother of John of Winthrop, Henry of Everett, Erna Wynn, Everett, and the late Alfred Bottelsen. Funeral from the Joseph Doherty Funeral Home, 11 Linden St., READING, Wednesday, at 9:15. Funeral Mass in St. Agnes Church, at 10. Calling hours Tuesday 2-4 and 7-9.

BRENNAN — In Salem, Jan. 31, James F., age 73, of 57 Sylvan St., Danvers, formerly of Salem, husband of the late Margaret A. (Henry) Brennan; father of James, David and Daniel Brennan. Funeral Wednesday at 10 a.m. from the Murphy Funeral Home, 85 Federal Street, at Rte. 114, SALEM; to be followed by a Funeral Mass at 10 a.m. in the Immaculate Conception Church. Relatives and friends are respectfully invited to attend. Visiting hours Tuesday 3-5 and 7-9 p.m. Interment will be in St. Mary's Cemetery, Salem. Memorial contributions may be made to the Heart Fund.

CALLANAN — Of Rockland, formerly of Dorchester, January 31, Joseph F., husband of Carol A. (Dunbar), father of James, Michael, Terry and Rene Covington, residence 311 Market St., brother of Sr. Gertrude Callanan of St. Mary's Convent, Randolph, Francis A. of Stoughton and Mary Ann of Calgary, Alberta, Canada. Funeral Mass in Holy Family Church, Rockland, Tuesday at 9 a.m. Visiting hours at the Sullivan Funeral Home, 45 East Water St., ROCKLAND, on Monday 2-4 and 7-9. In lieu of flowers donations may be made to the American Cancer Society, 47 West Elm St., Brockton.

CALLAHAN — In Boston, January 31, formerly of North Reading, George F., husband of Glady C. (Carr) Callahan, father of Robert J. of Wilmington, Mrs. Barbara A. Gilman of Reading, Miss Georgia F. of North Reading, Mrs. Marjorie A. Cairns of Wilmington. Also survived by 2 brothers and 5 sisters. Funeral from the Crosswell Funeral Home, 19 Bow St., NORTH READING on Tuesday, February 3 at 8 a.m. Funeral Mass in St. Theresa's Church at 9 a.m. Relatives and friends invited. Visiting hours at the funeral home on Sunday evening 7-9, on Monday 2-4 and 7-9.

CARELLA—Oriental "Orrie" Lieut. Ret. Quincy Fla. Dept. in West Quincy, February 1, beloved husband of Philomena (Colielfi) Carella, father of Miss Dionne J. Carella of Amesbury and Mrs. Rose Feitelberg of Hingham, brother of Mrs. Ida Morfi of Quincy and Mrs. Alba Macchi of Hingham, also survived by 4 grandchildren. Resposing

DEATH NOTICES

COSTA — Of Arlington, January 31, Harriett (Helmers), beloved mother of Harold Costa of Arlington. Also survived by 3 grandchildren and 2 great-grandchildren. Funeral from the Daniel F. O'Brien Funeral Home, 226 Mass. Ave., ARLINGTON, Wednesday, at 9 a.m. Funeral Mass in the Immaculate Conception Church, Alewife Brook Parkway, at 10 a.m. Relatives and friends invited. Visiting hours Monday, 7-9 p.m., Tuesday, 2-4 and 7-9. Donations in her memory may be made to the charity of your choice.

COTTER—in Marlboro, Jan. 30, John R., formerly of Arlington and Andover, beloved husband of Catherine (Kilmann-Keating) Cotter, father of Mrs. Herbert P. (Joan) Redmond to No. Andover, his first wife Ann Cronin died in 1970, brother of James H. Cotter of So. Dennis, Mrs. Thomas (Katherine) Conley of West Roxbury, Timothy Cotter of Revere, William P. Cotter of Chelsea, Richard J. Cotter of West Medford, also survived by 6 grandchildren. Funeral from the Henry S. Burke Funeral Home, 56 Washington St., WELLESLEY HILLS (Route 16) Tuesday, at 9 a.m. Funeral Mass in St. John's Church, Wellesley Hills at 10 o'clock. Relatives and friends respectfully invited. Visiting hours Sunday and Monday 2-4 and 7-9 p.m. For those who wish donations made, see the Cotter Family College of Pharmacy, 179 Longwood Ave., Boston, c/o Dr. Robert Walsh.

COUGHLIN — Of Norwood, February 1, Timothy F., of 82 Nahatan St. Husband of the late Mary E. (Costello), father of Mrs. Barbara Fiodora of Lincoln, and Joseph of Wilmington, Del., brother of Joseph F., Jeremiah T., and Miss Nora Coughlin, all of Norwood. Also survived by 3 grandchildren. Funeral from the Gillyooly Funeral Home, 126 Walpole St. (Rt. 1A), NORWOOD, Wednesday, February 4, at 8 a.m. Funeral Mass in St. Catherine's Church at 9 a.m. Relatives and friends invited. Visiting hours, Monday, 7-9, and Tuesday, 2-4, and 7-9 p.m.

CURRAN—Of Sharon, formerly of Rosindale, January 31, Lawrence, beloved husband of Loretta (Marini), father of Deborah, Lawrence and Brian, brother of Mary of Rosindale and Mrs. Ann Mihalock of Foxboro. Funeral from the J. Higgins Funeral Home, 428 Washington St., ROSINDALE SQUARE, Tuesday, February 3 at 9 a.m. Funeral Mass in the Sacred Heart Church at 10 o'clock. Relatives and friends invited. Visiting hours Sunday and Monday 2-4 and 7-9. Parking in rear of funeral home of Cummins Highway.

D'ALESSANDRO — In Medford, Feb. 1, Christina (Amaru) beloved wife of the late Angelo and mother of Mrs. Arthur (Teresa) Jolly of N.H., Frank, Joseph and Mrs. Anthony (Matilda) Fountain, all of Medford, Victor of Sussex, Peter of Reading, Mrs. Robert (Conceita) Ingersoll of Malden, Louis of Framingham and the late Angelo of Medford. Sister of Samuel Amaru of Fla. Also survived by 25 grandchildren and 14 great grandchildren. Funeral from the Dello Russo Funeral Home, 306 Main St., MEDFORD, Wednesday at 9 a.m. Funeral Mass in St. Clement's Church at 10 a.m. Relatives and friends are respectfully invited. Visiting hours Monday 7-9, Tuesday 2-4 and 7-9.

DANO — Of Quincy, unexpectedly Jan. 30, Alex G., husband of Gitta (Dob). residence 129 Presidents Lane, father of Robert H., Gustav G., Luisa M., Barbara A., Marjorie A. and Gancy. Mother of Geza and Laszlo both of Hungary and Mrs. Margaret Dorke of Calif. Funeral services Tuesday, Feb. 3 at 11 a.m. from the Covenant Congregational Church, 315 Wentwell St., Quincy. Relatives and friends invited. Visiting

DEATH NOTICES

FITZPATRICK — Ellen, of Cambridge, January 31, 1976, late residence 17 Williams St., sister of Annie Gill of No. Quincy and Penelope Pidgeon of N.Y., N.Y., also survived by several nieces and nephews. Relatives and friends are respectfully invited to attend the Funeral from the Keahone Funeral Home, 333 Hancock St., NO. QUINCY, Tuesday at 9:15. Funeral Mass in Sacred Heart Church, No. Quincy at 10 a.m. Visiting hours Monday 7-9.

FLANAGAN — In Lynn, Jan. 31, Edwin J., aged 68 years, husband of Marion L. (Fogarty) Flanagan of 46 Manning Rd., Lynn; father of Mrs. Lois Marie of Northboro and the late Paul E. Flanagan; brother of Robert of Laconia, N.H. Also survived by 7 grandchildren. Funeral from the David J. Solimine Funeral Home, 444 Broadway, LYNN, on Tuesday at 9 a.m. followed by a Funeral Mass in St. Plus V. Church at 10 a.m. Interment in St. Mary's Cemetery, Salem. Relatives and friends are respectfully invited. Visiting hours Sunday, 7-9, Monday 2-4 and 7-9 p.m. Retired Lynn retail florist.

FOLKINS — Of the West End, Jan. 30, Aurelia D. (Rita Maccini); beloved wife of Harry F. and devoted mother of Paul M. of Needham, Richard P. of Boston, sister of Francis Godfrey of Lexington, Emma E. and Mrs. Maccini, both of Boston. Funeral from the Joseph A. Lonsone Jr. Funeral Home, 58 Merrimac and New Chardon Sts., BOSTON, Tuesday at 8:30 a.m. Funeral Mass in St. Joseph's Church (Cardinal O'Connell Way) at 9:30 a.m. Relatives and friends invited. Visiting hours Sunday 7-9, Monday 2-4 and 7-9.

FORREST — Of Topsfield, February 1, S. Warren Forrest, of 140 Washington St.; husband of Thelma G. (Coffin) Forrest; father of Miss Natalie S., David P., both of Topsfield and Mrs. Franklin S. (Dorothy) Beveridge of Hingham; brother of Mrs. Miller (Helen) Dartt of Cincinnati, Ohio. Funeral services will be held in the Topsfield Congregational Church, Wednesday, 9 a.m. Relatives and friends invited. Visiting hours in the Pearson Funeral Home, 167 Maple St., DANVERS, Tuesday, 2-4 and 7-9. Interment in Park Cemetery, Tilton, N.H. Expressions of sympathy may be made in lieu of memory to the American Cancer Society, 445 Huntington St., Lynn, or to the charity of one's choice.

GANNON — In Malden, Jan. 30, Lillian L. (Lodge), wife of the late Walter H. Gannon. Funeral from the A. J. Breslin and Son Funeral Home, 610 Pleasant St., MALDEN, at MEDFORD LINE, Tuesday at 9:15. Funeral Mass in the Sacred Heart Church at 10. Relatives and friends invited. Visiting hours Monday 2-4 and 7-9.

GEARY—In Arlington, February 1, David P., husband of Bertha K. (Richardson), father of David P. Jr., Leo W., Warren S., Austin D., Leonard V., Fred W., Paul B., Brian F. Geary, brother of Maurice J. and Thomas F. Geary, Helen F., Crais, Sr. Emerita, S.S., and the late Joanna Geishecker and Edward A. Geary. Funeral from the D.W. Grannan and Son Funeral Home, 378 Mass. Ave., ARLINGTON, Wednesday morning at 8. Funeral Mass in St. Agnes Church at 9 o'clock. Relatives and friends invited. Visiting hours Tuesday 2-4 and 7-9. Donations to the Arlington Boys Club, 60 Pond Lane would be appreciated.

GOOKIN — In Venice, Fla., Feb. 1, (formerly of West Roxbury and Norfolk, Mass.) beloved husband of

Sen. Fred Harris: A Bicentennial candidate

Former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma is a unique Presidential candidate for 1976, because his platform is as old as the nation itself.

Speaking in Marblehead, Harris offered a thoughtful alternate to the Democratic and Republican stances as now postured. He speaks for a return to the Populist theory of government offered by Thomas Jefferson and John Madison.

He is neither conservative nor liberal by today's use of those labels. Harris seeks a mixture of tough government action and no government action to bring about widespread diffusion of economic and political power.

He believes in free enterprise and the work ethic, and he would apply those two standards to lower prices, cut taxes, and allow the people to determine the operation of their own government.

Harris starts out with the belief that if economic power is concentrated in a tiny fraction of the population political freedom will exist only at the largesse of those individuals.

He would disseminate that

base of wealth by applying strict controls to monopolistic industries: auto, steel, fuel, and much of the food business.

At the same time Harris would demand total enforcement of current anti-trust laws against vertical control of industry.

While maintaining strict control of monopolies until they are broken up, Harris would get government out of the business

Commentary

of blocking free competition. He would, for instance, abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission, which effectively prohibits competition between truckers, airlines, and railroads.

The combined result would be a return to unfettered free enterprise. "What this nation needs," Harris comments, "is a good dose of what it says it believes in."

The results will be across the board price reductions averaging 20 per cent, he predicts, and a splintering of

economic power among thousands of companies, instead of among a handful.

Along with encouragement of free competition the Presidential contender would eliminate nearly all corporate tax breaks and institute a massive tax reduction for individuals, up to \$30 billion.

The Harris alternate does not stop there. Why, he asks, does our government guarantee unemployment instead of employment? A job should be the enforceable right of every citizen, he reasons, rather than an unemployment check.

An intriguing thought? A citizen has the right to demand a job, to work for a living, but not the right to demand pay for not working.

To create the necessary job pool Harris does not see as an impossible task either. The intense competition created from removing government blocking action will provide a total of 93 million private sector jobs nationally, out of the 100 million Harris envisions as necessary.

Another five million will be created by government action in areas of national need: day care

for working families, and government built transportation systems.

The remaining two million jobs would be in locally controlled job banks to provide employment where unemployment is the only alternative.

In other words, Harris is saying, the work ethic on which this nation was founded is a good thing, and must be revitalized as a right of each citizen.

And it was good to hear a candidate for President say we must assume the American people are smart enough to govern themselves. Involvements such as Vietnam and Pakistan are the results of government not letting their own people know what it is doing, he asserts.

Harris has some strong thoughts about the massive American middle class too. Citing a poll which shows 80 per cent of Americans believe they are over-taxed, he said the middle class will continue to reject the thesis that it must pay to benefit others instead of itself.

Calling much of the current Democratic liberal movement "elitist", he commented that the reason for the George Wallace vote in 1972 was a rejection of the

Democratic Party's "holier-than-thou" attitude in telling the voters why they must spend more and more to benefit others while their own suffering multiplies.

Harris believes his program offers the middle class hope for the first time in a century, and for the first time sees a real chance of it as a winning platform.

The reason for that optimism

By Robert A. Hastings

is the still little-understood Presidential Financing Act which will take effect for the 1976 election. Under that code a federal kitty of \$40 million will be split among the major candidates, and constitute the spending limit for the campaign.

In primary races donors are limited to a maximum of \$1,000, meaning for the first time that a handful of massive contributors can not call the presidential platform shots, hinder massive anti-trust action, and perpetuate such free-enterprise blocking

agencies as the ICC. Harris calls the act a "revolution in American politics," and the one thing that makes it possible for a Jeffersonian candidate to have a chance.

Harris believes there is no longer any alternate to his program. In Massachusetts, he points out, there are only two alternatives to current problems, higher taxes or higher unemployment, both bad for the nation.

Who is Fred Harris... a former Oklahoma state senator; a former U.S. Senator who had grown so "liberal" he was going to lose his seat when he first ran for president in 1972; a former chairman of the Democratic National Committee... but not a Democrat or a Republican as we use those labels today.

A flashback in history... or a history lesson?

Harris bases his campaign on the contention that what Jefferson and Madison predicted would happen in their arguments for Populism two centuries ago, has happened.

Harris, it appears, requires some thoughtful reflection as a Bicentennial candidate for President.

HARRIS FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
1104 Waverly Way McLean, Virginia 22101
(labor donated)

Rocky Mountain Journal

Vol. XXVI No. 23 February 26, 1975 50 cents Good journalism begets good government

We join the winner Fred Harris for President

The *Rocky Mountain Journal* hereby endorses Fred Harris for the Democratic nomination and for election as President of the United States in 1976.

We do so because we want to get in good with the winner early.

1976 is cut to Fred Harris' measure.

He is short, a bit chubby and not what you'd call pretty. He is out of office, having chosen not to run for re-election to the Senate from Oklahoma after a disastrous exploratory foray in the pre-primary presidential skirmishing in 1972. He ran out of money and quit.

How can such a man hope to be a serious contender in 1976?

The answer lies in his program. 1972 was the last year of the grand illusion. It was the year of a landslide victory for Richard Nixon because the nation still believed in the myths of permanent American preeminence in a world where things could and should continue to get better and better. It was not a year for issues because comfortable assurances were still acceptable.

1976 will be a year of trial by combat.

There is no candidate with political sex appeal sufficient to wrap up an election on the force of his personality. We have to choose among the likes of Gerald Ford, Henry Jackson, Lloyd Bentsen, Morris Udall, et al. None of them touches the imagination of an electorate which will, perforce, be seeking solutions to basic problems.

In the field, Fred Harris will not emerge because he has more charisma than the rest of the candidates.

He will emerge because he is the only candidate whose program offers a fundamental solution to the nation's problems.

Fred Harris proposes a radical program—free enterprise.

He believes that our chronic inflation, our maldistributed income, our inability to respond to economic challenge, results from the cartelization of American industry. He proposes the dissolution of the American monopolies and the resurgence of competition as a means to create a more just and humane social order as well as to fashion a leaner and more responsive economy.

This is a message tailored to a nation which has lost faith both in its muscle-bound federal bureaucracy and its muscle-brained captains of

industry. Salvation will be found neither in agencies along the Potomac nor in glacially impervious board rooms of the major American corporations.

If the average American has any clear perception, it lies in his knowledge that the fix is in. He knows that the regulated control the regulators, that the rich and powerful speak more persuasively in private council than the electorate at the polls, that regardless of changes in party and personality, things remain essentially the same.

Fred Harris is a credible apostle of change.

In the Senate he sought to bring it about in spite of the fact that he came from an oil state in which oilmen dispose in matters political.

He is a poor boy, the son of a dirt farmer. He ranged the central plains with the wheat harvesting crews who descended from Canada to Oklahoma with the cycle of reaping. He married an Indian girl. He ran for the U.S. Senate, against both odds and reason, as an opponent of the golden boy of Oklahoma politics, former OU football coach, Bud Wilkinson. He was elected and re-elected in spite of his obsession with the poor and with justice. He wrote a book called *The New Populism* in which he explained his theory that the country would be liberated if the creative energies of its citizens were given scope and meaning. He and the book were ahead of time.

But the time has come. Fred Harris will kick the stuffing out of his primary opposition in New Hampshire and the national geniuses of syndication will discover that there is a nerve in America which can be touched by an appeal to the basic economic interests of the vast majority of the citizenry.

It is not an appeal centered in class or race or ethnicity. To our surprise, we will discover among the yeomanry of the Kiwanis Clubs a yearning for the chance to compete in an economic game where ingenuity, sacrifice and imagination can overbalance the sheer weight of money power. It is an appeal to which the young and old alike can respond. The young are without jobs and the aged without security in a period of ruinous inflation.

We think Fred Harris could usher in a new era of economic and political creativity. We think the time for that era has come and we believe that Harris is tough enough, articulate enough and dedicated enough to be its midwife.

Fred Harris for President, 1976!

Take The Rich Off Welfare

Fred Harris

Fred Harris is an active candidate for the 1976 Democratic nomination for President. After serving two terms in the U.S. Senate from Oklahoma, he left the Senate in 1972 to run for President, but had to quit the race for lack of money. Since then he has been teaching government at American University and has been an active advocate of tax reform and other consumer issues. His latest book is The New Populism.

We ought to require politicians and economists to recite from memory a couple of lines from Oliver Goldsmith: "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

For the fact is, that after all our New Deal programs, the upper one-fifth of our families now have 41 per cent of the income after taxes. The lower one-fifth has only five per cent. That spread is slightly worse than it was in Franklin Roosevelt's day.

The distribution of wealth is worse in America than the distribution of income. Eight per cent of our people own 60 per cent of all the assets.

There's a wide-spread myth of a "people's capitalism" in America. However good it may sound, it's not true. There may be a lot of stockholders, but 90 per cent of our productive capital is held by only 2.3 per cent of American households, and five to eight per cent own the rest. Two per cent of the people in America own 80 per cent of all individually held corporate stock and 90 per cent of all individually held corporate bonds.

Since most U.S. economic growth is in corporate capital, and internally generated, it is simply wrong to assume that if the economic pie gets larger, everybody will be better off. Instead, the maldistribution of wealth and ownership will grow.

For all of us, money decides whether we can send our children to college or buy a home or get health care or pay our grocery bill. And money is power. That's why, at the very least, the government itself should refrain from redistributing wealth and income in the wrong direction. Sen. William Proxmire's recently updated study of federal subsidies shows that the federal government each year takes \$94-billion out of my pocket and your pocket and hands it over to timber interests, oil and gas companies, the Lockheeds and the Penn Centrals.

Sen. Philip Hart's study shows that prices would come down naturally in America by 20 per cent if we had vigorous enforcement of the present anti-trust laws against monopoly power. The non-enforcement of those laws means that the government is looking in the other direction while monopolistic companies over-charge us and thus redistribute massive amounts of wealth and income in the wrong direction, from consumers to wealthy owners.

America stands, most basically and traditionally, for a wide-spread diffusion of wealth, income and power. We have not done very well in carrying out that basic goal, because we have not made it an express one. If we did have an express goal for fair sharing in privileges and responsibilities, we would not only demand that the government stop redistributing wealth, income and power in the wrong direction, but we would also require — and this is fundamental — that the dues that we pay in our society be fairly assessed.

The "Fred B. Harris Memorial Library" is a sign that will never be hung. Not because my father, who died last year, wasn't as charitable as other people. He just didn't have it to give. One reason was that all his life he paid a disproportionate share of the dues that run our society.

People like my dad, who was a small farmer in Oklahoma, were taught all their lives to dislike welfare programs. Now, people like him — and a lot of the rest of us — are beginning to see that there is a great deal of welfare that goes by a different name.

It doesn't matter that we say that taxes ought to be based upon the ability to pay. You can be a worker in GM's Vega plant in Lordstown, Ohio, making \$9,000 a year for turning the same screw 107 times an hour, having to hold up your hand to go to the toilet and slip around to take a smoke. Or you can be Richard Gerstenberg, the head of GM, with all your country clubs, corporate jets, and plush offices, making nearly \$1-million in salary and incentives. You still pay at the same rate — roughly 33½ per cent — in total local, state, and federal taxes. There's not much progressive taxation in that, and people know it.

The federal corporate income tax is set by law at 48 per cent. But the tax laws favor bigness. The average tax rate for the biggest 100 American industrial corporations is only around 30 per cent. Some of the largest banks enjoy a tax rate of only 16 per cent. The largest oil companies in America pay a federal income tax of less than eight per cent. That means that small and middle-sized businesses pay their own taxes and the taxes of the big corporations as well.

We say we believe in the work ethic — and we should. But we can't really believe that and at the same time continue a tax system which taxes income earned by the work of working people much more heavily than the income earned from investments. If you make your living from Ford stock that goes up in value, rather than from working harder to produce more Fords, you get a bonus under the capital gains provisions of the tax laws.

The 16th amendment to the U.S. Constitution authorized a tax on income "from whatever source", and, as has been stated by Philip M. Stern, author of

The Rape of the Taxpayer. if oil-rich J. Paul Getty paid tax on his income "from whatever source", the U.S. Treasury would be better off by about \$70-million a year. Instead, Mr. Getty pays only a few thousand dollars; that's what President Kennedy told two senators in the early '60's.

Stern points out that the rest of U.S. taxpayers have to make up that \$10-million, the same as if it were paid to Mr. Getty directly out of the federal treasury. The 200,000 richest families in the country escape an estimated \$15.7-billion a year in federal income taxes through the capital gains loopholes alone. The rest of us, in effect, foot the bill. I call that welfare for the rich.

It's time that people who have to work for a living banded together, through the political process, to take the rich off welfare.

We don't have to wonder about who President Ford represents. His recent recommendations tell the story. He wants to expand even further the advantage of the present capital gains loophole for rich people and, at the same time, increase regular income taxes by five per cent for single people making \$7,500 a year or more and for couples making \$15,000 a year or more.

Together, with our youngest daughter, Laura, who is 13, I do all of the grocery shopping in our family. And I know quite well that a single person or a couple at those income levels probably cannot pay their bills right now. Yet, President Ford wants to add five per cent to their taxes.

That's outrageous. What we need — in addition to immediate, selective controls on monopolistic industries like automobiles, steel and food and rollbacks in monopolistic industries like oil and gas, vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws and an immediate jobs program for everyone who is willing and able to work — is an immediate tax cut for most Americans, coupled with a tax increase for rich people and big corporations not now paying their fair share of the dues.

There is a stirring of that kind of populist awakening, and consequent demand, in America. It's like what Andrew Jackson said in 1832:

"When the law undertakes . . . to make the rich richer and potent more powerful, the humble members of society — the farmers, mechanics, and laborers — who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors for themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government."

Those citizens, those voters, did complain about such injustices in the elections of 1974 — and they won. They will again in 1976.

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW

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Up From the Basement

By Tom Wicker

WASHINGTON, July 14—You might run for mayor of a small city or even for Congress out of a makeshift headquarters in the basement of your house. But everybody knows you can't run for President that way—everybody but Fred Harris.

Mr. Harris, an ex-Senator from Oklahoma and ex-chairperson of what some people think may be the ex-Democratic party, is not only running for President from the basement of his Virginia suburban house; he's also using the living room, dining room, study and two construction trailers parked in the back yard.

In and out of this clutter of desks, phones, typewriters, duplicating machines and filing cabinets roam most of his 19 full-time staff members and aundry other part-time workers (of them all, including the full-time people, only two get small salaries, as compared to the \$50,000 monthly payroll recently reported for the Scoop Jackson campaign).

When Fred Harris travels, it's in a style commensurate with his headquarters. On July 30, he's off with his wife and daughter for a 13-state, 44-stop, coast-to-coast tour that will bring him to San Francisco on Labor Day—in the camper in which the whole trip will be made. He plans the nearest thing possible today, and within his means, to Harry Truman's famous "whistle-stop" tours.

Mr. Harris's means are not what you'd call opulent. According to his July 1 accounting, he has raised and spent about \$73,000, most of it in small contributions averaging about \$20. That's a drop in the bucket to what well-heeled candidates like Mr. Jackson and Senator Lloyd Bentsen have stashed away. But, as explained by Jim Hightower, the young national coordinator of the Harris campaign, "It's not how much you've got but what you get for it."

What Mr. Harris has got for \$73,000 is, first, a debt-free, self-sustaining operation. Second, he has put together volunteer organizations that he considers vigorous and effective in eighteen states, including majors such as California, New York (where state coordinator Alex Goodwin says about 1,000 volunteers are at work organizing Harris committees in all 39 Congressional districts), Wisconsin, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He expects to have ten more states properly organized by mid-September and is aiming at all fifty by the end of the year.

In fact, it is Mr. Harris's organizing,

more than his do-it-yourself headquarters and his whistle-stop camper, that identifies his campaign strategy. In one recent day in California, he says about 850 people attended various Harris organizing meetings, and a high percentage signed green Harris pledge cards. The other night in Colorado he claims to have signed 175 committed supporters to pledge cards—while in a hotel room nearby another Democratic candidate was meeting with "about twelve fund-raising sources."

That has been the Harris strategy—to concentrate on organizing, while the other candidates have focused on raising the money—\$5,000 in each of twenty states, in contributions of less than \$250—needed to qualify for Federal matching funds under the complex new public-financing law.

As a result, Mr. Harris proclaims himself far ahead of any other candidate in putting together state organizations. And he thinks his pledged supporters—he expects to have 50,000 signed up by the end of the year—give him the broad base he needs for

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raising his qualifying money. On the other hand, in his view, merely having raised the qualifying money early does not provide candidates like Mr. Jackson and Mr. Bentsen with effective political organizations in the various states.

The Harris campaign is moving, however, out of its self-sufficiency or "living-off-the-land" phase into a series of fund-raising events—such as a \$50-per-plate dinner in Denver the other night—being arranged by the various state organizations. A first test mailing to 130,000 potential Harris supporters went out last week, the forerunner of a mailing to a million "possibles" in September.

But the organizing goes on, particularly in preparation for what Harris workers regard as the "first test," the meeting of the New Democratic Coalition in New York in December, when the D.C. presumably will endorse a candidate. Mr. Harris hopes to score well, and go on to a good showing in the Iowa precinct meetings in January, en route to "pre-empting the left" in the later primaries.

That may be a high aim, coming from a suburban basement and a \$73,000 campaign, but Fred Harris is remarkable in one other aspect as well. He is the only Democratic candidate with a bold new economic program, one he thinks gives him a crack at the big pool of George Wallace voters. About that program, more later.

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FRED HARRIS FOR PRESIDENT '76

BIOGRAPHIES

FRED HARRIS

Born into a sharecropping family in Oklahoma in 1930, Fred Harris knows the meaning of hard work. By the time he was 12, he was following the wheat harvest all the way to North Dakota each summer with his family.

Working his way through the University of Oklahoma as a printer, Harris received a degree in government and history and a Law Degree "with distinction" — earning membership in Phi Beta Kappa along the way.

After establishing his own law practice, Harris served for eight years as a reform-minded member of the Oklahoma State Senate. Beginning in 1964, he was twice elected to the United States Senate, where he built a record as a plain-spoken and forceful advocate of tax reform, anti-monopoly legislation and human issues.

Harris worked hard on the 1967 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (The Kerner Commission) to help produce a report that did not dodge the problems facing poor people and minorities. He became the leading spokesman for the conclusions and recommendations of that landmark report, and he later served as Co-Chairman of the Urban Coalition's Commission on the Cities in the 70's.

As Chairman of the Democratic National Committee in 1969 and 1970, Fred Harris launched significant new reforms to help broaden the Party's base. He did not seek re-election to the U.S. Senate in order to run for President in 1972, but that campaign was cut short by lack of money.

Outside the Senate, Harris has continued to use his legal and political experience to work with citizens' groups around the country that are involved in tax reform, utility-rate fights, campaigns against food monopolies, union representation for mine workers and other battles against concentrated economic power. He has been a popular lecturer and writer, and has taught government at American University. New Yorker magazine called his third book, The New Populism: "A lucid, forthright, compelling exposition of what the author believes should and can be done to return the United States to the control of the majority of its inhabitants."

LaDONNA HARRIS

LaDonna Harris is a Comanche Indian who was born on a farm in Cotton County, Oklahoma, in 1931. She and Fred have three children: Kathryn, a recent graduate of Stanford University Law School; Byron, a senior in high school; and Laura, an eighth grader. LaDonna was raised in the home of her grandparents, where Comanche was the primary language. She is President of Americans for Indian Opportunity, a national organization which supports Indian action projects and self-help programs.

LaDonna has long been active in the fields of women's and minority rights. She was a convener of the Women's Political Caucus and is a member of the National Advisory Committee of NOW. She also serves on the national boards of Common Cause, the Urban Coalition and a number of other such groups.

In 1973, LaDonna was selected as one of seven Women of the Year in the United States in a national poll conducted by Ladies' Home Journal.