

Terry Sanford

Folder Citation: Collection: Records of the 1976 Campaign Committee to Elect Jimmy Carter;
Series: Noel Sterrett Subject File; Folder: Terry Sanford; Container 92

To See Complete Finding Aid:

http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Carter-Mondale%20Campaign_1976.pdf



Terry Sanford for President

To build a new American community



After the 1972 election the Democratic Party turned to Terry Sanford to chair its Charter Commission and pull the party back together to be ready to face the issues in the presidential election of 1976. The 1974 midterm convention in Kansas City could have turned into a disaster of recrimination and political infighting had delegates mistrusted the integrity of the presiding officer of the convention.

R. M. Koster, a novelist and delegate, wrote about Terry Sanford's leadership in Harper's Magazine:

"All Sanford did was run the difficult Saturday session with exemplary cool, giving all who cared to learn lesson after lesson in grace under pressure.

"Watching Sanford direct the conference reminded me... of a concert-master directing the Boston Symphony. Besides controlling himself and the delegates, Sanford provided the indispensable appearance of fairness, as well as the substance of it..."

Terry Sanford's experience as president of Duke University and governor of North Carolina makes him one of the most unusual candidates to run for President in decades. As a successful administrator without the preconceptions of years in Washington, he is a man who would open the White House to fresh perspectives from all across the country, involve the best minds in the search for answers, talk straight and create a new mood, trust and pride in our country.

Terry Sanford's two decades of public service in tough jobs on the firing line have given him firsthand insights into what will work in states and cities. Sandord hasn't spent his career in Washington issuing press releases and voting on bills. He has worked in the trenches of state government as the first of the "New South" governors with the courage to fight for equal rights; he has served as president of a great university seeking to build a scientific and educational community devoted to excellence and the search for truth; he has been a force for unity in the Democratic party and a spokesman for economic justice and racial reconciliation in his region. Throughout his career, Terry Sanford has reached for the original idea, the unconventional solution, and has acted with bold strokes. Take a look at his record.

The Sanford record

In 1972, while many other university presidents were experiencing opposition from their students, 25,000 students in North Carolina signed their names on petitions asking Terry Sanford to run for President of the United States. Sanford's history of service to his state and his nation sparked their enthusiasm.

Sanford ^{Wash Post} Said Ready To Withdraw

Special to The Washington Post

RALEIGH, N.C., Jan. 21 — Former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford is planning to withdraw from the race for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Sanford, currently on leave as president of Duke University, has scheduled a news conference Friday on the Duke campus to announce his political plans.

Contacted at his home in Durham, N.C., last night, Sanford said: "I won't even comment" on the report that he will cease active campaigning.

"Nobody knows what I'm going to say (Friday). I'm not 100 per cent sure of what I'm going to say. I'm about 95 per cent (sure)," Sanford said.

Sources close to Sanford indicated that the candidate's decision involved an assessment of his status in the presidential race and not his health.

Sanford was hospitalized and unable to campaign actively in New Hampshire earlier this month after suffering from chest pains.

A Sanford campaign staffer who informed newsmen of Friday's news conference, described Sanford's impending announcement as being of national significance.

MAY 29 1975 *By Jack W. Germond*

Sanford Enters Race, Blasts Wallace

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

Terry Sanford, the president of Duke University, opened his quest for the Democratic presidential nomination today by trying to establish himself as the principal antagonist of George C. Wallace.

In a statement formalizing a campaign that has been under way for several months without conspicuous impact, Sanford said Wallace "has fooled the people who have believed in him by calling forth the easy fears and avoiding the complex and tough-minded solutions."

The former governor of North Carolina insisted his campaign is based on more than playing St. George to Wallace's dragon. But he left little doubt he is relying on defeating the Alabama governor in the North Carolina primary next March as the vehicle for making himself a serious candidate.

"I DO NOT TRADE on fear or hatreds or scare tactics," Sanford said at the National Press Club. "In

that respect I stand in stark contrast to one candidate. My mission in life is not to eliminate the George Wallaces from the political scene. However, I came up at the same time in similar climate, region and crucial times, and it is my responsibility to challenge him."

Sanford, who is 57, becomes the second candidate from the South committed to a strategy of trying to gain political respectability by cutting down Wallace, the leader in opinion polls among those now actively seeking the Democratic nomination. The other is Jimmy Carter, the former governor of Georgia.

Sanford said he planned to enter 17 of the more than 30 presidential primaries next year but conceded that his viability is predicated on beating Wallace in North Carolina. If he doesn't do that, he indicated, at an informal dinner with re-



TERRY SANFORD

porters last night, he would be forced to abandon his campaign.

"IF I DIDN'T do it," he said, "I'd get back to the

great life of being president of Duke."

On the face of it, Sanford's assignment is imposing. In 1972 Wallace beat him easily in the North Carolina primary, capturing more than 50 percent of the vote to Sanford's less than 40 percent.

Sanford served as governor there from 1961 to 1965 and won a reputation as a political and racial moderate long before the wave of "New South" politicians such as Carter gained prominence.

Sanford has well-established credentials within the Democratic party. He headed the citizens committee for Hubert Humphrey in 1968 and last year was chairman of the Democratic Charter Commission whose product was approved at a special conference in Kansas City in December.

Sanford also is well

known in the education community, in part because of his role as a prime mover in setting up the Education Commission of the States.

BUT SANFORD has little national recognition and is no more than an asterisk in opinion polls in which Democrats are asked their preference for a nominee. At this point party professionals rate him among the longest in a field of longshots.

Sanford told his dinner guests last night that he recognized "there are legitimate doubts" about his potential but he added: "I have as good a chance as any of them that have announced." He pictured his 10-year absence from office as "probably an asset" in a time of skepticism about politics and politicians.

Conrad DeLoe

Sanford Will Make Bid in June

From News Dispatches

NEW YORK (AP) — Former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford indicated Wednesday he would "jump in" the Democratic presidential scramble by June and came down hard against further military aid to Indochina.

Sanford, now president of Duke University, said that he was not announcing his candidacy now because "it's a little early — people are inclined to tire of long campaigns. Also I'm not in a political job and therefore my time is more limited."

"I'm not testing the water," Sanford added.

"I know it's cold. But I'm ready to jump in at the proper time. And I think the proper time will be the end of the school year," he said at a news conference prior to a reception in his honor.

Sanford, 58, said, "I made up my mind to run about a year ago. It's just a question of when to officially start the campaign."

He said he had been to New Hampshire, where the first presidential primary will be held, "about a half-dozen times" and had set up an organization in that state.

About 200 persons attended the cocktail party for Sanford at the University Club on 54th Street. Among them were Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., former Postmaster General James A. Farley and Angier Biddle Duke, official greeter for New York City Mayor Abraham Beame.

On Thursday, Sanford is scheduled to meet in City Hall with Beame, who is expected to have some say in how the New York delegation to the next Democratic National Conven-

tion will vote.

Asked his view on the administration's request for further military aid to Indochina, Sanford replied with a flat "No."

Saying such aid would only postpone the eventual unification of the area under some form of "anti-China communism," Sanford added:

"We should phase out there ... We have certain obligations as to redevelopment, but we ought to quit contributing to the military conflict ..."

Sanford said he thought the major campaign issue would be unemployment — putting "hope back into the lives of the millions of people out of jobs."

Sanford said he believed the country is getting away from the "concept of regionalism," and he does not think of himself as a Southern candidate.

He said the "great burden of racism has been lifted" and

candidates from the South can now devote their time to other issues.

Sanford said he believed new campaign laws limiting contributions to \$1,000 each might make fund-raising difficult for a presidential campaign "but the whole effect is going to be very wholesome."

He said he has raised so far between \$75,000 and \$80,000 for his "non-campaign."

Among those attending the reception was Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn.

Humphrey told the reception guests he was more than pleased to come to the reception because Sanford had done the same for him.

But a spokesman for Humphrey, who is generally believed to still have presidential hopes, emphasized that the senator's attendance did not constitute an endorsement of Sanford.



Sanford, right, with Sen. Humphrey at dinner

Candidate file

Raleigh News Observer

ca. Feb. 75

Under the Dome

Continued from Page One

RECEPTION — A Sanford source said those who were invited to the fund-raising event — essentially it is a two-hour cocktail party — are a mixture of Sanford and Humphrey people.

He said the room where the event will be held can hold about 250 people.

Five other Democrats have already formally announced their candidacies for the 1976 nomination. Sanford is expected to join the field officially by making a formal announcement sometime this spring.

A Citizens Committee to Nominate Terry Sanford has raised about \$70,000 so far.

• • •

DEMOCRATS — The state Democratic Executive Committee is expected to meet March 15 to consider the party's "affirmative action" plan for involving blacks, women, senior citizens, Indians and young people in party affairs without the establishment of quotas.

In preparation for that meeting, state Democratic officials are conducting a series of meetings — in effect public hearings — around the state to discuss the issue.

A proposed affirmative action plan has been put together

by a special committee appointed by party Chairman James R. Sugg. This draft plan will be the focus of discussion at the meetings.

One of these meetings is scheduled for the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh on March 3 at 7:30 p.m. Also to be discussed are new national party rules for delegate selection.

DELEGATION — Party officials are seeking clarification of the new Democratic Party rules on selection of delegates to the 1976 national convention.

National party rules call for the makeup of state delegations to reflect the presidential preference of the Democratic electorate. Ben J. Utley, party executive director, was in Washington Wednesday to discuss the matter with national officials.

Final decisions on how to implement the delegation selection rules will be put off until after the legislature decides whether the state's presidential primary will be continued, said Sugg.

But if delegates are to be selected at county, district and state conventions and if rules are enforced to ensure that the delegation reflects presidential candidate preferences, this would result in something "entirely different from what we've done before," said Sugg.

Sanford Declares Candidacy

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina declared his candidacy for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination yesterday, casting himself as the Democrat who can derail Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace's bid for the White House.

Accusing other Democrats of "cozying up" to Wallace out of fear of alienating his supporters, Sanford said he intends to confront Wallace directly in the North Carolina primary and quit the race if he fails to beat him there.

"We might as well shoot it out at high noon," the 57-year-old president of Duke University said in an interview after his announcement, "and if we can't cut it there, get out."

To this end, Sanford supporters in the North Carolina legislature are pushing through a bill that would move the presidential primary ahead from May 4 to March 23 to provide an early confrontation on Sanford's home ground, where he lost to Wallace in the 1972 primary.

An amendment to the bill, approaching passage, would require candidates to notify the state that they wish to be on the ballot and to pledge to "wage an active and highly visible campaign" in North Carolina. The amendment is designed to limit the primary to a Sanford-Wallace contest and to pressure Wallace to campaign personally and often in the state.

Former Democratic National Chairman Jean Westwood, Sanford's campaign director, said she hopes Sanford's strength in North Caro-

See SANFORD, A-1, COL. 1

lina will persuade other liberal Democratic candidates who have been critical of Wallace—former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona—to stay out of the state's primary.

But Sanford said yesterday that he didn't care whether they came in or not. He expressed confidence that he could beat Wallace in North Carolina whether he faced him one-on-one or in a multi-candidate field.

Wallace appears to be firmly committed to run in the North Carolina primary. When the legislature sought to eliminate the primary earlier this year, Wallace made a personal appearance in Raleigh to oppose the action, and it was abandoned.

Sanford said he was singling out Wallace as a target "because I think the press has given far too much attention to George Wallace . . . Too many people have been cozying up to him and afraid of him, afraid that he's got people out there who will somehow turn against you if you say something bad about George Wallace.

"I don't believe that I believe he needs to be taken on. I believe he represents just the kind of spirit we don't need in this country anymore. Because I'm the nearest thing to him in terms of service, in place of service, in time in history, I'm the one to take him on."

Sanford's plan would establish him early in 1976 as the man best able to rid the Democratic Party of the threat of a Wallace nomination, and thus consolidate liberal support, now largely withheld from any one of the several declared candidates.

Sanford predicted that he would beat Wallace "in about as many [primaries] as he'd beat me." In addition to North Carolina, Sanford said, he would probably beat Wallace in Tennessee "and I'll take him on in Michigan" — two state primaries Wallace won in 1972.

On one issue that will put him in direct confrontation with Wallace, Sanford said he would support court orders on school busing. But, he added, it is a President's responsibility to provide leadership and money to help local school boards come up with more acceptable alternatives, including major upgrading of schools now considered inferior.

Sanford, governor of North Carolina from 1961 to 1965 dur-

ing the lunch-counter sit-ins and other early civil rights demonstrations in the South, said he will compare his record of breaking down racial barriers with Wallace's segregationist policies and statements in the same period. Sanford said he does not agree with the growing view that only one of the liberal group will survive to the national convention in July 1976, because "I don't see how any serious candidate can fail to raise \$5 million" and thus qualify for another \$5 million in federal matching funds under the new campaign finance law.

Sanford said he expected to raise the money by direct mail and the establishment of fundraising task forces in the states.

He said he will continue as active president of Duke through the end of this year when he will start a one-year sabbatical, to which he is entitled after six years as the school's president.

His campaign, in fact, has been under way for more than a month, with Mrs. Westwood as campaign director former Vermont Gov. Philip Hoff as head of the Washington headquarters and eight organizers in the field.

A prime technique in the campaign will be a series of public forums, called Sanford Citizen Assemblies, with Sanford as moderator for four local panelists discussing ways grass-roots view can be injected into national government to solve problems and restore public trust.

Sanford is the sixth Democrat to announce his candidacy. This will be his second try for the presidential nomination. In 1972, he made a late start in the North Carolina primary as a stop-Wallace candidate and was beaten. He said he will probably enter 17 to 20 primaries and compete for delegates in all the non-primary states.

Sanford, 57, a lawyer and one-time FBI special agent, was a combat paratrooper in Belgium and France in World War II and a state senator in North Carolina before his election as governor in 1960.

A backer and favorite of John F. Kennedy, he seconded his nomination to be President at the 1960 Democratic National Convention and helped Kennedy carry the state.

His four-year term as governor was marked by sharp budget increases for public education and the creation of a statewide anti-poverty program that was a forerunner of the national effort. He has been president of Duke since 1969.

Sanford

Pick
F.Y.I.

JLP

Sanford's Challenge To Wallace Aided

By Fernel Guillory
Special to The Washington Post

RALEIGH, N.C., June 20—The North Carolina General Assembly has designed new presidential primary rules that facilitate a direct contest in 1976 between former Gov. Terry Sanford and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

When he formally announced his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination, Sanford said he had a responsibility to challenge Wallace and said that a critical spot for the challenge would be North Carolina, the state where Sanford was governor in 1961-65.

Sanford supporters in the legislature successfully sidetracked a proposal to have all active candidates automatically placed on the ballot. They were concerned that several candidates on the ballot would dilute the anti-Wallace vote and work against Sanford.

In the 1972 primary, Wallace

received about 50 per cent of the vote in North Carolina. Sanford about 37 per cent and three other candidates drained off 13 per cent.

The new rules will not prevent other candidates from entering the North Carolina primary.

But they require candidates to request the listing of their names before they are put on the ballot.

To eliminate marginal candidates, the new rules provide that the state board of elections can accept only those candidates who have qualified for federal matching payments under the new federal campaign finance law or candidates who obtain 10,000 signatures on petitions.

Further, the rules say that if a candidate runs in a party primary in North Carolina, he cannot appear on the general election ballot in the state as a third party or independent candidate.

N

'High Noon' in North Carolina

FORMER GOVERNOR TERRY SANFORD of North Carolina entered the Democratic race for President on Thursday, becoming the sixth Democrat to do so. There is, however, a difference. By way of distinguishing himself from fellow candidate George Wallace, Mr. Sanford, who is now president of Duke University, hopes also to distinguish himself from other candidates in the field. "I'm the one to take him on," Mr. Sanford said of Governor Wallace in the course of announcing his candidacy, and he likened the prospect of their contending in next spring's North Carolina primary to "high noon." In fact, Mr. Sanford made confrontation with Mr. Wallace a central theme of his announcement.

There are any number of reasons that he should do so, speaking strictly in terms of his own reputation and candidacy. Mr. Sanford entered an odd three-way primary in North Carolina (Wallace, Sanford and Rep. Shirley Chisholm of New York) belatedly in 1972—and also in a condition of relative disorganization. He was trounced by Governor Wallace, and so any effort to make his 1976 candidacy plausible would require that he get his own back in the state he once governed. Again, as a political longshot, Mr. Sanford has nothing to lose from making such a test a critical one, since his candidacy—as he knows—could not survive a second defeat in North Carolina by George Wallace. There is "face" involved here too, since it was Mr. Wallace who recently taunted the state's reluctant Democrats into holding a primary at all next year. Finally, for Mr. Sanford there is also a deeper question of personal vindication. He is, as he has pointed out, a political contemporary of Governor Wallace, a southerner who went a different way, and he wants to put his way to the test.

But when you have said all that, it is still true that the challenge to Governor Wallace which Mr. Sanford

intends has implications for much more than the Sanford candidacy and, we would say, wholesome ones. For many years now the national Democratic Party and its individual spokesmen have been wrestling with the "Wallace problem," as it is known, and we use the wrestling match metaphor advisedly, since it has been pretty much a conflict of fake grimaces and phony leers and howls, one in which the alleged opponents have managed to avoid actually engaging one another at all. Various, Governor Wallace has been inveighed against, smiled upon, imitated, flattered and patronized by the Democrats who fear him most. But he has not been confronted squarely, and that evidently is what Mr. Sanford means to do. It can hardly be regarded as an affront to Governor Wallace. Rather, it seems to us, what Mr. Sanford has in mind is taking the Governor seriously—and taking him on, at last.

George Wallace's record as Governor of Alabama, his conception of our diplomatic and military obligations abroad, his answers to some very tough questions concerning the economy and this nation's energy needs, the choices he would make between the competing claims on the country's resources, the way in which he would finance some of the grand military and social programs he espouses—all this needs to be brought out. Governor Wallace, for all the political anxiety he has engendered within his party, has had a free ride so far. He has not been obliged to defend his own record or to demonstrate his actual fitness for the office to which he aspires: he has been allowed to cruise along on the most shapeless of promises and to fuel whole campaigns on little more than resentment and innuendo. That's why we think Terry Sanford's approach to the Governor is good news. It represents the beginning of wisdom.

...e ad-
of public schools
separate staff for
y ci

he wanted it to draft leg-
to clarify the relationship be-
tween the superintendent and a "strong enu-
Raleigh News + Observer 5/15/75

Sanford Plans to Enter At Least 3 Primaries

File Sanford

United Press International

Former Gov. Terry Sanford said Wednesday he plans to run next year in Democratic presidential primaries in New Hampshire and California as well as North Carolina.

Sanford, in an interview, also said he plans to make a formal announcement of his candidacy "very soon" in Washington.

Now president of Duke University, Sanford was defeated by Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace in the 1972 North Carolina presidential primary, but has been planning another campaign since December.

"Well, I know I'll run in New Hampshire and North Carolina," he said. "I'm reasonably well satisfied I'll run in Idaho, Montana and Oregon, all of which come on the same date.

"I'm sure I'll run in California."

He said he and his strategists, led by former Govs. Philip Hoff of Vermont and Hulet Smith of West Virginia, will be considering primary races in other states, including New Mexico, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Ohio.

"The principal purpose of the primaries is to demonstrate that you can campaign," he said. "It's not the principal way delegates are selected, though a good many delegates are selected this way."

Sanford, governor of North Carolina from 1961-1965, has traveled in about 35 states in the past 18 months and in 10 to 15 states since the first of the year.

Dozens of other stops in all parts of the country, including two visits this week to New York, are listed on a schedule that separates campaign activity from university and other activities.

He and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia will appear Saturday afternoon before a local Democratic Party group in New York, an appearance typical of his low-key style.

"I've always felt you

shouldn't start a campaign until you felt the public was ready for a campaign to be started," he said. "I don't think the public is quite ready for presidential campaigns."

The public, he said, "is somewhat fed up with politics."

"But I do think a campaign is an educational process and we'll have to get on with talking about the issues, so we'll just have to start warming things up this summer," he said.

Sanford said he has chosen Washington as the site for his announcement because, "I think when you announce for the presidency, you should make it in the nation's capital."

Although both Sanford and Carter are former southern governors regarded as moderates, he refused to compare himself with Carter or with Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas.

"It's not for me to say what sets me apart from Senator Bentsen and Jimmy Carter," he

said. "That's up to the voter to decide."

But he has no qualms about making distinctions between his record and Wallace's.

"I think the difference between Governor Wallace and me that has to be judged by the public is that Governor Wallace has talked in terms of the complaints," he said. "I've talked in terms of the solutions."

"He's based a great deal of his campaigning on a fear of something or people being fed up with something," he said. "I've attempted to talk about that something in terms of how we as American people can do something about it."

Sanford said he "faced the same stresses and strain and challenges and demands of the early 1960s when Governor Wallace was a governor and I was a governor also.

"I'm willing for the people to look at the record of how I approached the problems as distinguished from how he approached the problems," Sanford said.

Terms...

Sanford in Race Officially, Is Critical of Gov. Wallace

SANFORD IN RACE FOR PRESIDENCY

From Page One

that "everyone who wanted to work could get a job."

Sanford singled out for criticism Alabama Gov. George Wallace who has not formally announced he will run but is expected to do so early next month.

"George Wallace has fooled the people who have believed in him by calling forth the easy fears and avoiding the complex and tough-minded solutions," Sanford said. "I have a duty to show the nation that the South stands for more than the politics of fear."

Sanford said he expects to enter both the early New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries, but made it clear that the crucial test will be the March primary in his home state.

Sanford's brief but unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic nomination in 1972 was derailed when he was defeated by Wallace in the North Carolina primary.

Sanford told newsmen he welcomes a rerun of that race and said he will drop out of the presidential sweepstakes entirely "if I don't win there."

He said he thinks Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington is probably the current frontrunner in the race for the Democratic nomination "and he's not very far out in front."

Asked if he might accept a vice presidential nomination, Sanford gave a flat "no." "I just don't want to be vice president," he said.

Sanford said he will continue as president of Duke for the remainder of 1975, but would take a leave of absence next year to campaign.

Sanford earned a reputation as a political moderate when he served as governor of North Carolina from 1961 to 1965. He has been president of Duke since 1970 and served last year as chairman of the party commission that wrote the new charter adopted at last December's Democratic miniconvention.

He said he is better organized this year than he was in 1972 when "I didn't get into it in time — I wasn't taken seriously."

He said he expects to have no difficulty in raising the \$5 million in funds that the new campaign financing law sets as the limit for presidential contenders.

Besides Sanford and Jackson, other announced Democratic candidates are Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas.



—AP Wirephoto.

DUKE PRESIDENT DEMOCRATS' 6TH ENTRY

WASHINGTON (AP) — Former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford, vowing "a bold campaign and a bold administration," Thursday joined the growing ranks of candidates seeking the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination.

Sanford, 57, president of Duke University, formally kicked off his campaign by telling a news conference he will enter between 17 and 20 state primaries. He is the

sixth Democratic candidate to announce.

While conceding his campaign may be an uphill struggle Sanford asserted "I am different from the other candidates in background and experience and temperament."

He said that if elected, he will institute sweeping economic reforms and proposed using federal funds as a last resort to guarantee

See Page Seven, Col. One

Sanford

5/30/75 Chart. Times

JUN 11 1975 *By Walker*

Another Hat in the Democratic Ring
■ *Washington, May 29* — Former Governor of North Carolina Terry Sanford, singling out Governor George Wallace as his special target, becomes the sixth Democrat to enter the 1976 presidential race. Sanford, 58, is currently president of Duke University. He says in his announcement that he



Sanford wants
to tangle again
with Wallace.

came up in southern politics at the same time as Wallace and that "too many people have been cozying up to him. He needs to be taken on and I am the man to take him on." He says that Wallace "claims there is a 'new Wallace.' But new means that the old appeal to racism is no longer useful and so now he moves to yet other fears and doubts. I expect to be running for the Presidency with a positive program, but I have a duty also to show the nation that the South stands for more than the politics of fear. I want the people of this country to be given a clear choice between what I see as the politics of fear and the politics of hope." Sanford, who was knocked out of the presidential primaries in 1972 when Wallace clobbered him in the North Carolina primary, says that a similar result in his home-state primary next spring would take him out of the running in 1976. Other declared Democratic hopefuls are Senators Henry Jackson (Wash.) and Lloyd Bentsen (Tex.), former Senator Fred Harris (Okla.), former Governor of Georgia Jimmy Carter, and Representative Morris K. Udall (Ariz.).

MAY 29 1975

B. J. Walker

Sanford becomes 6th entry in '76 Dem sweepstakes

WASHINGTON (AP) — Terry Sanford, president of Duke University and a former governor of North Carolina, is the sixth formal entry into the 1976 Democratic presidential race.

Sanford was to make his formal announcement at a news conference today, although his campaign has been unofficially under way for months.

A brief but unsuccessful candidate in 1972, Sanford hopes to combine the moderate image he established as governor in the early 1960s with his later work in education to emerge as his party's leading liberal presidential contender.

The 57-year-old Sanford's last major political post could also be helpful. He was chairman of the party commission that wrote the charter adopted at last December's Democratic miniconvention, a position that enabled him to travel widely and deal with most key party leaders.

His advisers concede he

starts well back in the field, with a relatively low level of recognition, but they feel the lack of strong contenders makes the contest wide open.

He intends to challenge directly Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, due to announce his candidacy next month.

In 1972, Sanford was defeated by Wallace in the North Carolina primary. A repetition of that would probably doom a 1976 candidacy that faces an uphill battle in the views of most party leaders.

Elected governor in 1960 as a racial moderate in a Democratic primary campaign where his chief rival urged the closing of schools to avoid desegregation, Sanford expanded the North Carolina education system and won approval of the necessary tax increases to pay for it.

He has been president of Duke since 1969 and will take a leave of absence to pursue the Democratic nomination.

Sanford is a short, sandy-haired man with a gravelly

voice, twinkling blue eyes, and a dry sense of humor.

He has been launching his drive with a series of "Sanford Citizen Assemblies," at which he joins with relatively small groups to discuss their ideas for dealing with the nation's economic and foreign problems.

The other five announced candidates are Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, former Sen. Fred Harris, D-Okla., Sens. Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas.

Sanford Is Planning to Enter 20 Presidential Primaries

By WAYNE KING
Special to The New York Times

DURHAM, N. C.—Two men of this century who were presidents of universities, Dwight Eisenhower and Woodrow Wilson, were also Presidents of the United States, but neither for the office while he was running his university. Terry Sanford, 56-year-old president of Duke University, believes he can become the first man to do that, and do successfully, even with the odds against him.

"Terry Sanford would be a good President, maybe a great one," said a Democratic party functionary, in a comment that has become the conventional wisdom about Mr. Sanford's candidacy. "The only thing is that that isn't enough to get him elected."



Terry Sanford

One reason is that Mr. Sanford does not have "a political base"—meaning simply that he is out of office. Unlike, say, Representative Morris K. Udall, of Arizona, a Democratic Presidential candidate, Mr. Sanford is not able simply to call a news conference at the drop of a hat and declaim his own views at length by virtue of his status as an elected representative of the people.

Too, he does not have the 18 staff members a Representative has, the free mailing and stationery, office space, over \$20,000 in travel and communication money, free computer time, access to inside information, and the ability a Congressman has even in the worst of times to raise money. Also, a Congressman can do a lot more for constituents, even if he loses his bid for a higher office, than a college president who does the same thing.

At the same time, although the Duke trustees have been indulgent, in fact supportive, regarding Mr. Sanford's candidacy, his university duties make full-time campaigning impossible. A Congressman can,

if he wishes, take advantage of 200 or so days a year when Congress is not meeting.

"But I've always said that if I can't campaign and run the university at the same time," Mr. Sanford said in an interview, "then I don't deserve to be President."

At the same time, Mr. Sanford will campaign considerably harder beginning in January, the start of the sabbatical leave arranged six years ago when he accepted the university presidency.

"We have key people in place in more than 40 states already—not a tight organization, but the basis for a statewide organization," Mr. Sanford said, "and I expect to enter about 20 of the some 30 primaries."

"Then we'll go into the others where there are causes," he continued. "In the states where we don't enter primaries—there's not much sense in going into Georgia and Indiana, for example—we'll go after secondary support, trying

to pick up delegates after the favorite sons are out.

"There are a number of 'must' states—New Hampshire, North Carolina, Oregon, California, New York—and a good many that are close to that category," he said.

Until recently, Mr. Sanford's prime target has been Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who defeated him in the North Carolina primary three years ago in Mr. Sanford's other bid for the Democratic nomination.

Although he is broadening his campaign, Mr. Sanford nonetheless expects to do some campaigning or delegate wooing in all the Southern states. His campaign is being led by Jean Westwood, former head of the Democratic National Committee, and Philip Hoff, former Governor of Vermont.

Two Other Problems

Besides his low public profile, Mr. Sanford has been hampered by reputation as a perennial candidate and a serious shortage of funds. The first liability is spurious, the second quite real.

Mr. Sanford has run for high public office only twice, once successfully for the Governorship of North Carolina in 1960 and unsuccessfully for President in 1972. At the same time, his name has been mentioned for a variety of appointed positions, usually the Cabinet, producing the anomaly of a candidate who is both not a household word and yet is still regarded as another of the same old faces.

Campaign money is a very real problem. "We've got the fund-raising structure in place," said Mr. Sanford, "but it's extremely difficult under the new law. It's a wholesome change, but it gives tremendous advantage to the incumbent. You need enthusiasm to stir up money and you need money to stir up enthusiasm. Unless you're already in office, you have a hard time of it."

Ironically, what enthusiasm

Mr. Sanford has been able to stir up among some of his more cautious contributors has been a result of his current status as a nonofficeholder.

"Terry is clean," said one supporter, a university employee. "Watergate and things like that make a candidate like him more attractive."

Mr. Sanford sees other benefits. "Over the last four-five years," he said, "the Duke presidency has opened up some doors. In 1970, there was a trip to Africa, a chance to move in there, talk with people; the following year we were in England, then in France, the Soviet Union. The cosmonauts had just been killed and we didn't talk with [Premier Aleksei N.] Kosygin but we did meet with some of the Soviets and talked with them. In 1972, we went to Spain, to France and Italy to look at educational programs.

"The other side is that there have been countless opportunities to entertain foreign visitors here. Except for the United Nations, the only United States trip by [Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot] Trudeau was to Duke in 1974."

Kosygin and China

Last month, Mr. Sanford had a two-hour talk with Premier Kosygin on a second trip to the Soviet Union that almost did not come off. Mr. Sanford was told at first that he could not have an appointment with the Premier, so he canceled the trip. The Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Anatoly F. Dobrynin, was then told that a possible American President had been offended. The trip, and the conversation, were reinstated. Mr. Sanford termed the talk "interesting and important."

Next month, he will visit China, again as a university president, but the trip is quite likely to have political overtones.

Mr. Sanford says he is running for President, against the odds, "because I am angry about the way the country is being run and ruined."

Domestically, he says the major thrust should be the protection of jobs. In that regard, he places particular emphasis on an approach called the

"employe plan," a program advocated by a corporation lawyer, Mr. Kelso, that would allow a corporation to increase its investment credit for tax purposes providing stock to its employees.

Mr. Kelso and its other backers, including Senator Roy B. Long, Democrat of Louisiana, say that the plan would provide corporations with a new form of financing, helping to avert the boom or bust cycle, and making employees part of the corporate structure.

"I am outraged at the same old talk, the same old solutions," Mr. Sanford says. "Jobs come behind profits, special interest, and the President hasn't got the heart or the nerve to do something about it."

Stand-by Price Controls

As for inflation, Mr. Sanford says, "we need somebody with enough guts to stop the price-teering. We don't need to raise oil prices. We do not need to let 'steel' anticipate the market for profits and raise prices. We can have stand-by price controls that would be triggered if inflation reaches a predetermined level, rolling back increased prices. But you've got to have the guts and the discern to do that."

On foreign policy, Mr. Sanford said, "On the last trip to Russia, what struck me was that the people in Leningrad are preoccupied with peace comes out of the terrible ordeals when they were under siege."

In contrast, he said, "We still in a mindless arms race that will ultimately ruin our nation and destroy the world. Our military is twice as large as it ought to be, a saber rattling."

With that, Mr. Sanford turned easily to other matters, to his upcoming trip to China as a university president. "I know," he says, "I have some time thought we could accomplish a great deal having Chinese scholars stay in the United States, most likely in the hard sciences. Now we could get a group of them here at Duke."

NY Times
9/14

Terry Sanford



To reinstate
the American

Revolution...

Terry Sanford's declaration of candidacy for the Presidency of the United States
May 19, 1975, Washington, D.C.

JUN 9 1975 *By Holman*

Sanford Not Worried About 'Getting Lost'

By Michael Holmes

The fourth Democratic presidential hopeful in three days stumped in Nebraska Sunday.

Former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford followed Rep. Morris Udall, of Arizona, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris into the state.

But Sanford said he's not worried about getting lost in the crowd, which now numbers six declared candidates.

It's "good that a lot of candidates are running," said Sanford, president of Duke University. He said he is confident he can "break out of the pack."

Sanford said President Ford not only can be defeated in 1976, but "ought to be. He's made an absolute mess of the domestic situation."

Sanford said the nation's priority should be jobs.

"After 25 years of talking, it's time to adopt a policy of full employment," he told a press conference at the Old Mill Holiday Inn.

He said current unemployment, reported Friday at a post-World War II high of 9.2 per cent, was created "deliberately by the government" in an effort to check inflation.

Sanford said a balanced



--World-Herald Photo
Sanford

budget is mandatory, and a major reduction in defense spending would help accomplish that.

Sanford said he would like to see the Pentagon budget trimmed about 15 per cent from current proposals of more than \$100 billion.

He said that if elected he would create a new national economic council, similar to the National Security Council, to coordinate economic policy.

He said agencies like the Federal Reserve Board and Agriculture Department now formulate their own economic plans.

The President has a Council of Economic Advisors, Sanford said, "but it advises; it doesn't coordinate."

Sanford said, "It's time to give the government back to the people." This can be done, he said, through greater use of state and local governments.

"There is ample evidence that the people should be skeptical (of the federal government)," he said, adding that it is because the government has not gotten out of the habit of distrusting the people. "The government has to believe in the people."

He called for a new approach to foreign affairs based on moral leadership, "not military might."

Military aid to make friends "is no longer a useful, viable, humane policy," Sanford said.

He said America needs a non-military, intelligence gathering agency like the CIA, but it "must remember that its purpose is to gather intelligence and not try to influence decision-making."

Sanford has said he planned to enter between 17 and 20 primary elections.