

## **Milton Shapp**

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Shapp

## Pennsylvanian draws bead on White House

# Shapp joins list of '76 Democratic hopefuls

By George Moneyhun  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp has a problem with his name. Too few people know it.

Or, at least too few outside Pennsylvania know it, and many of those who do — reporters in particular — almost invariably spell it wrong. This minor annoyance could signal one of the biggest obstacles between the quiet-talking, business-like Democratic Governor and the White House he hopes to win between now and November, 1976. His "recognition factor" nationally is nil.

The former businessman-turned-politician formally joined the long list of Democratic

presidential hopefuls this Thursday (Sept. 25) in Washington. Although he brings to the national arena a record of economic success in the country's fourth largest state, the Governor can point to few accomplishments that have attracted attention nationally.

Governor Shapp is considered one of the darkest of the several dark horses among the eight announced Democratic candidates because of his low national recognition. He is also believed to be the first member of the Jewish faith to seek the presidential nomination of a major U.S. party, a fact he discounts as a hindrance in his bid for the White House.

His first major task is to become better known, and that he plans to tackle with

weekend campaign forays across the U.S. — his first will be to Cleveland, then to New England, and Florida.

"The economy is the number one problem in our nation today," says Governor Shapp, and getting the economy moving again will be the major theme of his campaign.

The Governor hopes to convince U.S. voters that he can do the same thing for the national economy that he did for Pennsylvania's. When he took office in 1971 — his first elected office — the state was \$800 million in debt and had been going steadily downhill for decades.

Using what he calls "modern management techniques," the Governor sought to hold down government operating costs and concentrated on investing state money in projects that would develop jobs, natural resources, housing, and transportation. Today the state is solvent and economic specialists brought in by

the Governor are making long-range plans for future economic development.

The Governor calls the national planning and budgeting processes antiquated; he decries the lack of long-range planning, and calls for a businesslike approach to managing the federal government.

Governor Shapp attracted some national recognition in 1974 when he played a leading role in convincing independent truck drivers to call off a nationwide strike that threatened to bring most of the country's freight to a halt. A truck driver himself early in his career, some supporters have since dubbed him "the trucking Governor."

The Governor is fond of saying he comes from a "broken family" — his mother a Democrat and his father a Republican. His father voted Democrat only once — during the Depression when his business was "down and out."

SHAPP

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Wash Post 1/17

# Pa. Probe Opens Pandora's Box

By Jack Anderson  
and Les Whitten

Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp called on us several weeks ago to complain that the Justice Department was hounding him. He was the victim, he alleged, of a "political investigation" directed by Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh.

Before Thornburgh came to Washington, he was the U.S. attorney in Pittsburgh. He campaigned against Shapp and accused him of improprieties worse than Watergate. Thornburgh is using his new powers in the Justice Department, Shapp charged, to try to make the charges come true.

Those were serious allegations, coming, as they did, from a powerful governor and Democratic presidential contender. At first Shapp appeared to be the darkest horse in the presidential race. But in a poll taken at a Democratic convention in the key state of Florida, Shapp placed second to former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and beat Alabama's Gov. George C. Wallace.

We sent Marc Smolonsky to Pennsylvania to check into Shapp's complaints. Smolonsky has spent more than a month on the investigation. He has interviewed a host of state officials and government investigators from Harrisburg to Washington. Here are our conclusions:

—We found systematic corruption, including organized crime links, throughout the Shapp administration. During Shapp's two terms, 57 state officials have been indicted by grand juries. Except for an allegation of perjury in a complex contract case, however, no wrongdoing has been attributed directly to the governor.

—Another grand jury indictment, which should shake up the Shapp administration, is expected within 10 days. Sources close to

the investigation say Edgalio (Gene) Cerilli, chairman of the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, will be indicted on federal kickback charges.

Cerilli told us he was unaware of the possible indictment, had no idea what the charges could be based on, and, in any event, had taken no kickbacks. Shapp said he couldn't believe Cerilli was guilty of the charges.

—Reliable eyewitnesses have seen state officials sitting at the same restaurant table with Joseph Scalleat, who, according to the Pennsylvania Crime Commission, is a Pennsylvania underworld boss. He has a regular table and telephone setup at Lombardo's restaurant near the capitol building in Harrisburg.

Among the high officials spotted at his table are Lt. Gov. Ernest Kline and the Liquor Control Board's chief counsel, Harry Bowytz. Kline and Bowytz admitted seeing Scalleat in Lombardo's but denied meeting with him.

—Jack Greenblat, vice chairman of the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, formerly owned an interest in Luv Motors, an American Motors dealership in Allentown, Pa. He also became a paid consultant for American Motors in 1971-74 while he was a turnpike official. During this same period, the state began buying American Motors cars.

Greenblat also is part owner of a Chrysler-Plymouth dealership in Allentown. Curiously, the state also began purchasing Chrysler-Plymouth cars after Greenblat became a state official.

Shapp admitted this didn't look good but expressed confidence in Greenblat. Federal authorities, meanwhile, are investigating. Greenblat denied any conflict of interest.

—The Philadelphia Strike Force is investigating alleged violations of the

Pennsylvania liquor code by the Thrifty Beverage Co. The task force also is attempting to untangle some alleged mobster and political ties to the beverage firm.

—Federal investigators are looking into charges that state Attorney General Robert Kane wrongly granted immunity to at least one prominent politician accused of taking kickbacks. Since we couldn't reach the politician for comment, we will withhold his name. Kane denied any wrongdoing.

—Shapp has been accused of lying to the State Contract Practice Committee on Oct. 8, 1974. His testimony dealt with the complex, controversial sale of a cable television franchise. Shapp was a pioneer in cable television and founded the Williamsport Cable TV Co.

This is not the end of the story. We counted at least 21 state and federal investigations into the Pennsylvania government. The details tend to be repetitious.

Oppression in Paraguay—Paraguay has arrested a famed anthropologist, Prof. Miguel Chase Sardi, who opposed President Alfredo Stroessner's genocide policies against the Ache Indians. Arrested with the professor, but released, was Marilyn Renhfeldt, who also had sought civil rights for the Indians.

In the past, Stroessner permitted wealthy Paraguayans and foreign "sportsmen" to hunt the Ache like animals, sources have told us. Now the genocide takes the form of slave labor and starvation. The distinguished archeologist was charged with "subversion," which covers any opposition to veteran despot Stroessner.

Footnote: The U.S. embassy in Paraguay has made informal inquiries about the case.

By Chic Young

NY Times  
1/22

THURSDAY, JANUARY 2

# SHAPP IS REPORTED UNDER F.B.I. STUDY

## Inquiry Is Said to Involve Obtaining Franchise and Sale of TV Concern

WILLIAMSPORT, Pa., Jan. 21 (AP)—The Federal Bureau of Investigation apparently has opened an inquiry into how and why the Williamsport City Council awarded a 25-year franchise to a cable television company owned by Milton J. Shapp, shortly before he became Governor of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Shapp, a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, sold the concern in February 1972, about two months after the contract had been affirmed. Mr. Shapp said he made a \$2 million profit on the transaction.

Seth M. Lynn, a Williamsport lawyer interviewed by an F.B.I. agent today, said that he had been told "they want to know what was behind the contract to Citizens Cable TV Company."

"I wasn't really any help to them," Mr. Lynn said, noting that he had represented a company that had been taken over by Citizens Cable. "I had nothing to do with either the sale by the Governor or the awarding of the franchise contract."

The transaction came under attack by Republicans in the state legislature during Mr. Shapp's 1974 re-election campaign, when it was disclosed that two of the Williamsport Councilmen who had approved the contract were working for the state. They are William F. Verdini and Toselle Meconi.

The F.B.I. agent who interviewed Mr. Lynn declined to comment. But the Philadelphia Bulletin quoted a United States Justice Department source as saying a "preliminary" investigation of the sale had been started.

Despite the Bulletin report, the F.B.I. in Washington said that it had no knowledge of such an inquiry. A spokesman said that it was possible a F.B.I. field office was investigating and had not yet in-

formed headquarters. Justice Department sources had the same response.

A Shapp spokesman said that the Governor was unavailable for comment. He added that Mr. Shapp had done nothing wrong in selling his TV cable property and had nothing to hide.

### Shapp Seeks U.S. Funds

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 (AP)—Governor Shapp said today that his Presidential campaign had qualified for Federal matching funds by raising more than \$5,000 in at least 21 states.

The Governor said that \$343,012.25 had been obtained in 40 states on his behalf and nearly \$250,000 of that qualified for Federal matching money.

### Sanford Reappraising Plans

RALEIGH, N.C., Jan. 21 (AP)—An aide to Terry Sanford says a "real reappraisal" is

being made of the Sanford Democratic Presidential campaign strategy in the wake of chest pains that caused the former North Carolina Governor to miss some two weeks of campaigning.

Willis Whichard, Mr. Sanford's manager in North Carolina, said he had recommended that Mr. Sanford discontinue campaigning in New Hampshire and concentrate on winning North Carolina's March 23 primary. Mr. Sanford has said he must win here against Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama to remain in the race.

### Mississippi Aid For Wallace

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 21 (AP)—Three former Mississippi Governors endorsed Governor Wallace for President today and urged a big turnout of Democrats at precinct caucuses that will start the selection of the state's National Convention delegates.

"It's my fear . . . that there

will be so few people participating in the precinct meetings that a little group of well-organized supporters of a candidate who is not acceptable to the people of Mississippi will prevail at the meetings" former Gov. John Bell Williams said.

The caucuses, which will be held Saturday, will establish the formula by which 19 of the 24 delegates will be apportioned among the candidates.

Joining Mr. Williams at a news conference announcing their endorsement of Mr. Wallace were former Govs. Ross Barnett and Paul B. Johnson Jr.

### Bayh Assails For Program

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 (AP)—Senator Birch Bayh said today that President Ford's programs for the upcoming year amounted to doubletalk and would do little to heal the ailing economy.



GOV. MILTON SHAPP

## THE MAN

*Globe 2/1/76*

### Shapp sure of his ability in business, government

By Stephen Curwood  
Globe Staff

Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp chuckled quietly when a reporter asked him last week how he can win the Democratic presidential nomination this year, when most voters don't even know who he is.

"Underdog — that's the story of my life," he said, leaning his slim frame against the back of a couch in the Colonnade Hotel's Presidential Suite.

"When I came out of the US Army Signal Corps, I started my own business with \$500, and went into competition against RCA, Philco and the Telemeter Division of Paramount Pictures. I had two employees then. When I sold my share of the business (the Jerrold Electronics Corp.) in 1966 we had \$50 million in sales, and more than 2100 employees," Shapp said.

"Nobody gave me a chance when I went into business and nobody gave me a chance when I ran for governor on a platform that included a call for income taxes. But the first time I won the Democratic nomination and the second time I won the general election with one of the largest pluralities ever given a Democratic candidate. And now I'm Pennsylvania's first two-term governor in a century."

Supporters of Shapp's presidential bid say that unlike most politicians he has both a strong record as a public official as well as outstanding private business success. Shapp pulled Pennsylvania back from the edge of fiscal default, they say, and right now he has detailed plans to cut the cost of Federal government and at the same time increase services.

Shapp's detractors call him the "dingbat" of the 1976 Democratic race and point to his lack of charisma — he's 63, short, elf-like and barely adequate as a public speaker — as evidence that meaningful numbers of voters will never recognize him. "He's as dull as dish-water," was the cliché that one longtime political observer used to describe Shapp.

The governor shrugs it off. "I've overcome great obstacles before," he said, not raising his voice.

# Gov. Shapp Causing Perplexity With Near-Bid for Presidency

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

NEW ORLEANS, June 12—When is a presidential candidate not quite a presidential candidate?

That was a question many of the nation's Democratic governors were asking themselves last night and early today as they boarded flights home after the conclusion of the three-day 67th annual National Governors Conference.

It was raised by the perplexing performance here of Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania, an unconventional politician who went about making his candidacy known and seeking initial support in a highly unconventional way.

In Mr. Shapp's own words, his intention "has sort of been dribbling out over the last two months."

But when he arrived in New Orleans and began telling reporters, he intended to form a committee soon to begin soliciting funds for a Presidential effort, that was taken as a sort of announcement, even though it lacked the fanfare that has come to be expected.

Under close questioning in an interview, however, Mr. Shapp, a 62-year-old former businessman from the Philadelphia suburbs, said that he had "still not actually declared" a candidacy. That would come later, he said, after he had explored the possibilities of financing a campaign.

If that confused reporters, Mr. Shapp's tactics were positively dumfounding to his colleagues among the Democratic Governors, who have long hoped that someone other than Gov. George C. Wallace would come along to enable them to challenge the senatorial stranglehold on Presidential nominations.

But Mr. Shapp apparently called none of them to seek support before beginning to put out the word. And none of them, when asked privately about the development by newsmen, had anything positive to say about Mr. Shapp's chances. Some were irritated by his entire performance.

One, who knows the Pennsyl-

vanian well, said he thought Mr. Shapp's candidacy was a result of an ego bruise because the governors of other large states, such as California, Illinois and New York, have been mentioned as Presidential possibilities while he had not.

Another said he thought Mr. Shapp was angling for a Cabinet job in a future Democratic administration.

Still another said he liked Mr. Shapp and thought he had been a good Governor but described the non-announcement as "typical of Shapp's strange way of mishandling things like this—coming down here and grandsanding instead of announcing in Pennsylvania or Washington."

Mr. Shapp, one of the most candid of politicians, readily acknowledged that, while some of his colleagues had come up and wished me luck, others have ignored me.

## Long Fight in State

"We'll just keep plugging," he said, recounting his long fight to be taken seriously in Pennsylvania politics. The president of a television antenna company, he caught the political virus in the John F. Kennedy campaign of 1960 and fought both Republicans and organization Democrats for a decade before winning the governorship in 1970.

The Governor said he intended to try to qualify for Federal matching campaign funds by raising \$5,000 in \$250 lots in each of 20 states. If he could not qualify, he agreed, it would be difficult to persuade voters to believe in his candidacy. His widespread connections among Jewish contributors, Mr. Shapp said, would aid him in raising money.

If he finally takes the plunge, Mr. Shapp would be the first major-party Jewish Presidential candidate.

## Primaries Are Eyed

He said that he would hope to enter at least one New England primary, the Florida primary and several others in addition to the one in Pennsylvania, which will have one of the largest state delegate blocs at the convention.

He has no intention of confining himself to his home state as a favorite son, Mr. Shapp added, but would expect to control "a good-sized majority" of his state's delegation.

The Pennsylvania budget will be approved by next month, Mr. Shapp said, and with that out of the way, he should be able to campaign on weekends and perhaps one other day a week. He said he expected to set up a headquarters in Philadelphia soon.

JUNE 13, 1975

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# Shapp Fans Cast Glances At National Horizons

By SHERLEY UHL  
Press Politics Editor

PITTSBURGH—Fresh from a festive inaugural ceremony, Milton J. Shapp is expected to confer tomorrow with President Ford on the nation's economic crisis.

Shapp said several other governors have been invited to the White House session.

**Friends Serious**  
Shapp recently has shown interest in national politics and in the inaugural ceremonies here yesterday one development appears obvious:

no longer is regarded as only humorous to list Shapp as a potential presidential candidate.

sounds like a candidate, acts like a candidate and many of his friends are taking seriously.

Shapp has been to Washington before on advisory and emergency missions but this will be the first time he's had the President's ear. It won't be the last.

**Buttons Appear**  
Shapp-for-President buttons are very much in evidence at the inaugural. An initial run of 500 was produced readily by state Agriculture Secretary James McHale.

labor supporters also urging him to shoot for

all goes as expected, a Shapp-for-President committee soon will be organized.

Those buttons, incidentally, are eagerly sought here as collector's items at \$1 each, but they undoubtedly will be a dime a dozen or even free if the movement jells.

Certain Shapp men, including the legislative leaders, believe the governor is just as viable a presidential prospect as many of those who have been mentioned as such or who have announced.

Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, for instance; or former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, or Boston Mayor Kevin White, or for that matter, Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey, or New York Gov. Hugh Carey.

**Not The Last**

Shapp has been to Washington before on advisory and emergency missions but this will be the first time he's had the President's ear. It won't be the last.

He intends to make the D. C. scene frequently over the next year or so to plug his appeal for more funds to stimulate the private sector, especially in transportation and housing.

His inaugural address con-

shall," he said, "continue to raise our voices in Washington, seeking an end to destructive national economic policies that are creating unnecessarily high rates of inflation, unemployment and recession."

Shapp also noted in his speech: "At a time when many states are facing severe financial problems, Pennsylvania's position is strong . . ."

**Success Theme**

And that scene may be replayed later — Shapp's success in stabilizing Pennsylvania as compared with distress in other states with critical fiscal problems.

Lt. Gov. Ernest P. Kline, in his inaugural remarks, also indicated he and the governor may be moving onward and upward.

"I'm sure," said Kline, "that the years ahead will provide an even greater opportunity for leadership for him and for me."

The Shapp White House dream is not officially recognized by the governor. Asked if he himself would wear a Shapp-for-President button, he grinned and replied:

"No . . . Muriel (his wife) wouldn't let me in the house."

**Vim To Brim**

Nobody here seemed to en-

as much as the governor himself.

He was brimming with vim in his role as the first Pennsylvania governor to succeed himself in more than 100 years, thanks to a 1968 constitutional amendment.

"Do you realize," he was asked, "that you are the first governor in this century who can't blame all of his troubles on his predecessor?"

"Well," said Shapp, smiling quizzically, "I'm not sure about that."

In a "peoples' reception," a well-attended function at the Penn Harris Motor Inn, Shapp gleefully led a highly animated snake dance to the strains of "Happy Days Are Here Again" — or as the singer shouted, "Happy Shapp Is Here Again."

**'Dancing In Dark'**

The governor was equally effervescent at last night's inaugural ball, where he and Mrs. Shapp danced the traditional inaugural waltz to a swinging version of "Dancing in the Dark."

As played by the inaugural band, it definitely wasn't a waltz.

Shapp, whose dance style was vaguely reminiscent of the '30s, said he chose the number because he frequently operates in the dark and that's a joke.



—UPI Telephoto

A congratulatory kiss is given by wife, Muriel, after Gov. Milton J. Shapp was sworn in yesterday.

Shapp was accompanied in the Grand March by Muriel, his son, Richard, and his daughter, Joanne, of Philadelphia belly dancing fame.

Later, the orchestra played a special rendition of a tune composed by Shapp, titled "No Shortage of Love." From there on in it was all down-

hill, as the governor tripped the light fantastic with a dozen guests before departing.

Mrs. Shapp, wearing a baby

blue knitted dress, silver shoes, and red roses, left earlier. She was virtually speechless. She had laryngitis.

JAN 26 1975

*Bohalla*

# Shapp Talks in Calif. Political Waters

By MIKE WEISS

Special to The Bulletin

Sacramento, Calif. — Pennsylvania's Governor Shapp barely stirred a ripple in his first test of the national political waters in a speech here yesterday before the state's leading Democrats.

Shapp, whose remarks were barely audible in some sections of the vast high-ceiling convention center here, drew applause only twice from the 1,256 delegates to the California State Democratic Convention.

The first hand-clapping

PAGE ONE

came when Shapp predicted a Democrat would be elected President in 1976. The second bit of applause came when he ended his speech.

Shapp told the delegates he is not a presidential candidate but came to their state to "stir discussion about my program."

The program he presented in his talk was an expanded version of the inaugural address he gave last Tuesday in Harrisburg, Pa.

The Pennsylvania governor urged the Californians to join forces with him in determin-

ing "who will be the next President."

"With your votes and mine," Shapp said, "we can probably determine" the party's choice of a 1976 presidential nominee.

Shapp urged the California members of his party to put off discussion of individual candidates for national office until next year and to concentrate on "dynamic programs and organization," which he said "are the dual essentials to Democratic victories."

Since his reelection last fall,

by Zalmon G. Garfield, a \$30,000-a-year part-time consultant to Shapp who lives in San Francisco.

Others Scheduled

"While I don't know the circumstances, I can see some Democrats out there saying to Zal, 'You're always talking about this guy Shapp, why don't you get him out here,'" Doran said.

In his speech Shapp also said, "If the Democratic party is to win in 1976, we need more than good candidates."

"We need a united party, with the full support of women, organized labor, the independent and liberal segments of the American voting public, youth, senior citizens and the minority groups of our society."

"If we have learned anything from 1968 and 1972, it is that we must unite the Democratic party with programs which appeal not only to our own constituents, but to the vast majority of Americans."

Shapp claimed he had put together such a record in Pennsylvania government and politics.

The governor also again strongly attacked the economic and energy proposals of President Ford.

"The White House politics are anti-people. The energy proposals represent economic genocide for this nation. And Congress is too unwieldy to move quickly enough to capture the initiative."

"This nation is no longer drifting. We are starting to slide," Shapp contended.

Please Turn to Page 4, Col. 1

1973-74 Session Ended With Much Unfinished Business

*Go Governor  
From Marwan Inone*

# Divided Legislature Produced Controversial Laws

By **BOB WARNER**  
Associated Press Staff Writer

A sharply divided State Legislature, not always cooperative with Gov. Milton J. Shapp, wound up the 1973-74 session with a lot of unfinished business and a lot of controversial laws.

Most of the legislation the Democratic-controlled Senate and the Republican House managed to agree on — including a tax cut, abortion controls and renewal of the death penalty — was motivated by politics, lobbyist pressures and economic and labor interests.

Major failures were in election reform and consumer protection.

When there was no leadership push or some special appeal, proposed legislation just died.

Rep. Robert Butera, a Montgomery County Republican who was the majority leader in the just-ended General Assembly, sadly but philosophically summed it all up:

"We got a lot of stuff through the House but we got no help from Shapp in the Senate," Butera said. "My theory is that it's very difficult to motivate the Legislature, or anybody for that matter, without a strong push.

"Except on issues where there's a strong political appeal you're not going to get 253 legislators (50 senators and 203 representatives) to agree to something without a push from either a lobby or the administration.

"There's been no organized push from this administration to get legislation through."

Shapp, however, sharply disagreed with this assessment. He blamed the Republican-controlled House with stonewalling and politicking, and radically changing or killing his legislative proposals.

Highlights of the past two years of lawmaking, most of it concentrated in 1974, were cuts in the state personal income tax and in corporate levies, bigger than Shapp wanted; the adoption after

took credit for it and swiftly abandoned all talk of a 1974 tax increase.

Meanwhile, House Republicans had begun several investigations aimed at the Shapp Administration. A special committee began trying to unravel a state police wiretap scandal, then branched into other law enforcement issues.

The House established another committee to investigate state contract practices. Its hearings didn't begin until mid-1974, when the committee became a major issue in the gubernatorial campaign. Republicans alleged major scandals in county highway offices, political fund-raising and other areas, but Democrats dismissed the charges as politically inspired.

On the House and Senate floors, the tax controversy dominated 1973. Early in 1974, with the fiscal dispute almost ended, the House and Senate moved several important bills to the front burners.

As mortgage money became virtually unavailable because of antiquated interest rates, the Legislature agreed to a major redraft of mortgage and interest laws.

The Shapp Administration decided on the basic concept,

then negotiated the details with the financial community. Organized labor, another special interest group now playing an increasing role in consumer issues, stepped in to insist on strong consumer protection features.

The House and Senate began serious debate on the three biggest moral issues of the session: capital punishment, pornography and abortions.

Strong political overtones were reflected in off-the-record comments from lawmakers who voted for the bills but said privately that they disagreed with their provisions.

An antipornography bill cleared the Legislature in February and was vetoed two weeks later by Shapp. Sentiment to override the veto was dissipated when Drew Lewis, the Republican candidate for governor, agreed with Shapp's action.

A measure to restore Pennsylvania's death penalty, prescribing mandatory capital punishment for certain crimes, was passed and promptly vetoed in March. Four days later, the House and Senate voted overwhelmingly to override and the bill became law. A court test is expected.

Another constitutional test is expected for the abortion bill that became law in September. The measure was designed to regulate abortions strictly within guidelines set by the U.S. Supreme Court. It, too, passed over Shapp's veto, after the governor objected to provisions requiring consent for an abortion from a woman's husband or parents.

While the death penalty, pornography and particularly the abortion issue generated enough pressure on their own for action by the Legislature, it took a strong push from the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO to get the House and Senate to agree on no-fault auto insurance.

After three years of battling among insurance companies which wanted no-fault and trial lawyers who didn't, organized labor made no-fault a priority for 1974 and the Legislature passed a no-fault bill in July.

If it survives a court test, the no-fault system will allow motorists to collect from their own insurance companies for the medical costs of an accident, regardless of who causes the mishap. The plan is scheduled to take effect in mid-1975.

The Pennsylvania AFL-CIO also was the major force behind significant improvements in state-mandated benefits for the unemployed and workmen injured on the job. A boost in Pennsylvania's minimum wage also went through in the closing days of the session with organized labor's support.

The Pennsylvania State Education Association (PSEA), the state's largest teachers' union, pushed through an overhaul of the teachers' retirement code to grant cost-of-living boosts to pensioned teachers and improve benefits for those still teaching.

PSEA joined the Pennsylvania School Boards Association in successful lobbying for a boost in state aid to school districts.

The Pennsylvania Farmers Association, the Pennsylvania Environmental Council and the Pennsylvania State Grange all staked out different positions on a proposal to provide preferential tax assessment on farmland.

The Legislature eventually passed a compromise, intended to keep property taxes from forcing farmers off their land and to provide incentives for preservation of open spaces.

Profit and nonprofit nursing homes lobbied before the Legislature and the public for a Shapp Administration proposal to create a \$100 million loan fund for safety improvements to nursing homes. The plan was approved by statewide referendum last spring, and the administration now is preparing to make the low interest loans available.

The Legislature itself had a substantial stake in a recodification of the state employees retirement code. Official descriptions of the bill tried to hide the fact that it gave incumbent lawmakers a pension boost of about 20 per cent.

If the Legislature was to be graded for its work, its lowest marks probably would be in government reform and consumer protection.

After months of debate, the House and Senate agreed last summer to an open meetings bill, dubbed "the Sunshine Law" after a Florida statute. The strength of the Pennsylvania law still must be determined by the courts, which will rule on what types of meetings must be open to the public and which may remain closed.

Spurred by the Watergate scandals in Washington,

House Republicans moved on a variety of government reform fronts, but inaction by the Democrat-controlled Senate quashed their efforts.

The House bills included a package to create strict campaign finance laws and a new state commission to enforce them. Current laws set no limits on campaign contributions and do not require pre-election disclosure of where candidates get the money to run their campaigns.

Another bill passed by the House and killed in the Senate would have restricted certain practices of legislative lobbyists and forced them to make annual disclosures of how much they spend trying to influence legislation.

Other proposals to require financial disclosures from legislators, Cabinet members and other top state officials died in the Senate after overwhelming passage by the House.

A bill to provide for merit selection of judges, reducing political factors and putting a premium on recommendation from legal groups, passed neither chamber.

Shapp endorsed virtually all the reform proposals but never won support for them from Senate Democratic

leaders. He followed his own set of campaign spending rules and voluntarily instituted a merit selection plan for judges.

The Shapp Administration itself exerted pressure to kill a bill revamping Senate confirmation procedures. The bill had been delayed for months because House Republicans tacked on a consumer advocate program.

At the end of the session, the administration prevailed on Senate Democratic leaders to postpone action on confirmation procedures until 1975. Republicans charged that the administration wanted to get better treatment from the Democrat-controlled Legislature taking office in January.

The consumer advocate program died at the same time. Both Democrats and Republicans supported the concept, but disagreed strongly on major details.

As well as no-fault car insurance, the Legislature passed a bill to outlaw a number of insurance industry practices described as "dirty tricks" by state officials.

But many other consumer protection bills died. They included proposals to outlaw pressurized debt collection practices and to provide more protection for the public in consumer credit transactions.

Different officials provide different explanations for the work of the legislative session.

On the campaign trail, Shapp often accused Republican lawmakers of blocking his legislative program. He said the GOP-controlled House refused to act on administration proposals.

But the Democratic Senate also appeared little more receptive to administration programs than the House. While House Republicans passed several of their own bills on health programs and costs, the Senate never acted on administration proposals in the same areas.

Shapp often criticized Republicans for failing to act on his proposals for a graduated income tax. But Democratic

## Was Unpopular First Three Years as Governor

# Shapp's Wooing of Voters Rarely Smooth

By **LARRY MARGASAK**  
Associated Press Staff Writer

Milton J. Shapp's own polls show he was an unpopular governor the first three years of his administration.

As his first year ended, only 32 per cent of those surveyed said he handled his job well.

And it wasn't until March, 1974, after he successfully helped to mediate a national truckers' strike that more than half those polled — 64 per cent — liked Shapp's work.

The polls reveal the master

It was such a rough beginning for the new governor that Doran thought the 32 per cent rating was good. "I thought it would be down to the low 20s," he said. "It was a bloody year, but there was an awful lot to look forward to."

Doran knew that during those dark days Milton Shapp sowed seeds which would sprout into popular programs later.

The lottery was born, giving Pennsylvanians the chance to become millionaires and eventually providing free transit and property

hours helping to bring state aid to Tropical Storm Agnes victims. Polls confirmed the image of Shapp as someone with enormous energy leading the rescue effort.

The same year, Shapp installed his own man, Dennis E. "Harvey" Thiemann, as chairman of the Democratic organization Shapp once fought. It took a bitter public showdown to depose John Scales, Thiemann's predecessor, and Shapp may have lost his reputation as a nonpolitical reformer. But he showed he could jump into an

The year of the political coup for Shapp was 1973.

On Feb. 6 he proposed his tax cut just as Republicans, who had taken over the House, planned to make the reduction their big issue.

On July 12 he avoided a budget stalemate by accepting the GOP's 1973-74 spending proposals. Then months later he pushed through supplemental appropriation bills which gave him his original spending figure.

In August, Shapp waived executive privilege and made an unprecedented appearance

have led Shapp in the gubernatorial polls.

The year ended with Shapp's positive rating at 40 per cent.

Shapp's reelection may have been decided that December day in 1973 when a group of unhappy truckers met with State Police Commissioner James D. Barger. They demanded to see the governor about the price of fuel and Shapp's response was, "Send them over."

The governor became the truckers' hero, fighting their battle in Washington. When

# Shapp launches bid for Democratic presidential nomination

CAMPAIGN

BOSTON GLOBE  
Associated Press  
9-26



Pennsylvania's Gov. Milton Shapp announces he'll seek Democratic presidential nomination. (UPI)

WASHINGTON — Gov. Milton J. Shapp yesterday formally launched his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination with a warning that unstable government will result unless government fiscal policies are drastically changed.

The 63-year-old, two-term governor of Pennsylvania told newsmen here that "unless we stimulate the economy, you'll have a crisis in this country of such proportions that you'll have an unstable government."

Shapp's formal entry into the race followed an informal announcement earlier this year.

"The prime cause of inflation today is not Feder-

al spending to take care of human needs," he said. "The prime cause is that insufficient investment in this nation has driven our productivity rate down to 66 percent.

"And it is the cozy relationship that presently exists between the White House and the special interests which is driving up the price of food, housing and fuel, in a relentless search for excessive profits," he said.

If Shapp wins the nomination, he will be the first major party nominee of the Jewish faith.

But he is considered a long shot due to lack of national recognition.

"People say he's a dark horse, an underdog," said Norval Reece, his campaign manager. "So what?

Everybody's an underdog. His chances for the nomination are much better than many of the people running."

Shapp sees only Alabama Gov. George Wallace, one of the 10 announced candidates, going to next summer's convention with a sizable bloc of delegates.

"I don't see any of the other candidates who are in any stronger position than myself," he says.

That position could be weakened by Shapp's troubles in the state ad-

ministration. He has fired three top state officials since 1973 amid rumors of scandals.

Shapp is to testify before a Federal grand jury in Pittsburgh Oct. 9 on what happened to a \$20,000 cash contribution from a contractor in his 1970 campaign. The money, reportedly passed to an aide, was not listed on existing campaign records.

# Shapp Plan Sets Limit on Campaigning

NYT 1/25/76

By LUCINDA FRANKS  
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, Jan. 22—Governor Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania, regarded as an underdog in the Democratic Presidential contest, is trying to turn that fact into an advantage that could win him the nomination at the party's convention next July.

His long-range strategy emerged this week in three days of campaigning in southern Florida. He will enter primaries in just a few states, concentrating his efforts in Florida and Massachusetts, and try to make a respectable showing so he will be able to go to the convention, not as a favorite son, but as a demonstrated vote-getter.

"That convention will be wide open and brokered," the Governor said. "I'm going to be coming in with at least two-thirds of Pennsylvania's 176 delegates. I will have a solid power base."

"I can't really lose. Other candidates are using themselves up by entering all the primaries, and none of them will be able



Gov. Milton J. Shapp

to get enough delegates to win on the first ballot. Meanwhile, I'll be waiting in the wings, ready to sprint up there at the end."

## Wants Top Spot

The Governor, who insists that he is going after the Presidency, not the Vice-Presidency or a Cabinet post, said that he would be happy if he could capture 10 to 12 percent of the vote in the Massachusetts primary March 2 and the Florida primary March 9. He then plans to enter the races in Pennsylvania, California, Nevada and New Jersey.

Governor Shapp, after ending his southern Florida tour, which took him to Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach and Miami, announced Wednesday that he had qualified for Federal funds, having raised \$5,000 in 20 states. He also disclosed that he had raised a total of more than \$340,000 in 50 states.

In Florida, Mr. Shapp has mapped out a careful strategy designed to cut into Senator Henry M. Jackson's popularity along the heavily Jewish Gold Coast from Palm Beach to Miami. Mr. Jackson is a strong supporter of Israel.

Mr. Shapp, who is Jewish, is concentrating his push in the more populous districts of southern Florida, aiming primarily at the Jewish vote, senior citizens and former Pennsylvanians—a substantial group in Florida.

"He's going to cut the guts out of Jackson," said George DePontis, a consultant in Mr. Shapp's Florida campaign. "Jackson needs the Gold Coast if he's going to win the primary, and we're going to have such an extensive operation in these condominiums along the coast that Shapp will certainly make real inroads."

## Problem Encountered

Mr. Shapp appeared to arouse the enthusiasm of his audiences in Florida, which were small but invariably interested in his ideas and programs. However, he encountered a problem that political observers had been predicting: He simply does not look, talk, or even move, as one Democratic observer put it, like a President.

He is a short, slightly stooped figure (he has a bad back), and his arms fall loosely at his sides. His voice is so soft that audiences constantly ask him to speak up.

"His ideas should be contagious—we should be set on fire by them," said one Democratic club member in Hallandale, outside Miami. "But he's so sparse-looking, the tone of his voice is flat, and I think his ideas get drowned in the dullness of his style."

Mr. Shapp seems to grow on people, however. "After he's talked for a while," said Louise Taylor, one of his Florida coordinators, "you realize that he's the only candidate telling

The Governor, who says that he got Pennsylvania out of debt before his first term was up in 1974 and instituted such social programs as free public transit for the elderly, impresses voters with his comprehensive economic proposals and his blend of fiscal prudence and social liberalism.

## A Detailed Plan

He has put forward a detailed plan for overhauling what he calls a bloated, mismanaged Federal bureaucracy and using the money saved to produce full employment, revamp the railroads and expand social programs for the elderly, the poor and the handicapped.

Mr. Shapp's style may be dull, but he is often able to undercut his challengers and critics gently, using a storehouse of knowledge that he has gathered on a variety of issues.

This quality emerged recently on a late-night radio show in Miami with Alan Courtney, who is known for his outspokenness.

"What do they call you, anyway, Mr. Utopian Governor?" Mr. Courtney asked. "You talk about all this fancy education for everyone, but when I was a boy, you didn't go past eighth grade, and if you had some guts, you could work your way up as far as any college person. It's the same today, don't try to tell me different."

"Oh, I don't doubt you're informed about what you're talking about," said Mr. Shapp, who often sounds like a minister giving muted counsel to a parishioner. "My father left school at 12, and he began as an apprentice to a tinsmith. But, you see, there are no tinsmiths any more. There are no apprentices. A boy without a high school education walks the streets."

## Banters With Workers

On a recent tour of the Pratt-Whitney Aircraft Company in West Palm Beach, he approached some workers who were assembling a rocket engine. "Hi, I'm Milton Shapp, Democratic candidate for President," he said with some embarrassment.

"I don't vote," said one man in overalls. "I'll probably be unemployed by then, and I won't have the gas to get to the polls."

Another man said, "I lost money on you, bud. I bet against the Pittsburgh Steelers."

"How much do I owe you?" Mr. Shapp asked, handing him some change. "Will this cover it?"

The men laughed and then talked with the Governor about the unemployment problem. As he left, they promised him their votes.

Although Mr. Shapp is counting on wooing the Jewish vote on several more trips to Florida, there are some who are cautious about his chances.

"I've heard a lot of people say, 'Why, he's a Jewish Harry Truman,'" said Irma Rochlin, who is on Mr. Shapp's state advisory committee in Florida, "but then they will turn right around and tell me that of course they will have to vote for Jackson or Carter."

"Either they are grateful to Jackson for his early unwavering stand on Israel, or they

think that Carter is the only one who can stop Wallace. The Jewish vote is going to go to the candidate they think can win—and it is a rather sad fact that Jews never think one of their own can win."

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