Sargent Shriver

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CHRISTMAS 1975

Christmas --- a time of drawing together, closeness, celebration -- but most especially a time of the family, parents and children giving, sharing, rejoicing. But in the midst of our fortune and our joy I hope we will remember that we are not only a nation of families but also a family of nations in which families are poor, hungry, and sick. If our thoughts and our generosity turns to them on this day, we will be celebrating Christmas in the best and truest way. 125 years ago, Charles Dickens wrote:

> "Now the tree is decorated with bright merriment and song and dance and cheerfulness. And they are welcome. But I hear a whisper going through its branches. 'This in commemoration of the law of love and kindness, mercy and compassion. This in remembrance of Me.'"



MERRY CHRISTMAS,

Sargent Shriver

Eunice Kennedy Shriver

Bobby Timmy Maria

Mark Anthony

Maria Johnson

SHRIVER for PRESIDENT

PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE CONFERENCE ON

RELIGION AND THE PRESIDENCY

by

SARGENT SHRIVER

20 January 1976

1976

Shriver for President Committee
National Headquarters:
818 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mailing Address:
P.O. Box 2000
Washington, D.C. 20001
Phone: (202) 333-9000

Leveo V. Sanchez
Treasurer

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

The Honorable William McC. Blair, Jr.
Co-Chairperson
Clarie Collins Harvey
Co-Chairperson
Dr. Mildred Otenasek
Co-Chairperson
Arthur Rooney, Sr.
Co-Chairperson
Chesterfield Smith, Esq.
Co-Chairperson
Jill Wine Volner, Esq.
Co-Chairperson
Mrs. Donald A. Petrie
National Secretary



Place
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SHRIVER for PRESIDENT

P. O. Box 2000
Washington, D. C. 20001

SHRIVER for PRESIDENT



MRS. MS. MR.	PHONE (Include Area Code)
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Ca

September 20, 1975

Shriver
Gen.

BIOGRAPHY OF SARGENT SHRIVER

"When God designed Shriver", columnist George F. Will wrote recently, "He left out second gear."

Those who have known and worked with Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., over the years are the first to agree with Will's assertion that their friend "Sarge" does everything at "full throttle".

Whether managing the Chicago Merchandise Mart, presiding over the Chicago Board of Education, helping elect and put together the administration of John F. Kennedy, launching and directing the Peace Corps, heading the Office of Economic Opportunity, serving as Ambassador to France, or running for Vice President of the United States, Shriver has confronted the imposing challenges before him with the energy, imagination, competence and integrity that most Americans still identify with the Presidency of his late brother-in-law.

It is these same qualities that prompted a cross section of some 200 citizens to band together in the name of the Shriver For President Committee. "The people of this country are looking for a positive leader who can unite us and move us forward", said Chesterfield Smith, the Florida attorney who earned a reputation as the conscience of America's legal profession for his outspoken presidency of the American Bar Association during the dark days of Watergate. "In my judgment, he has a unique capacity for leadership which will enable this country, at this critical time, to accelerate its movements toward a full realization of the historical aspirations of Americans."

Smith took on the Co-chairmanship of the Citizens' Committee with Clarie Collins Harvey of Jackson, Mississippi, past National President of Church Women United; Dr. Mildred Otenasek, Democratic National Committeewoman from Maryland; Arthur Rooney, Sr., owner of the Pittsburgh Steelers; William McCormick Blair, Jr., former Ambassador to the Philippines and Denmark, and former Director of the Kennedy Center; and Jill Volner, former Assistant Watergate Prosecutor and now a Washington attorney.

The Committee filed with the Federal Elections Commission on July 15 to begin raising funds for the campaign. Encouraged by the success of these initial efforts, Shriver announced his candidacy on September 20 in a Washington press conference.

Shriver lives in Rockville, Maryland with his wife, Eunice, and their five children, Robert, Jr., 21; Maria, 19; Timothy, 16; Mark, 11; and Anthony, 10.

Shriver was born in Westminster, Maryland, on November 9, 1915. He attended parochial schools in Baltimore, Maryland, Canterbury School in New Milford, Connecticut, and worked his way through college, graduating cum laude from Yale University in 1938. He graduated from Yale Law School with his LL.B. in 1941.

After working briefly from 1940-41 with the New York law firm of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam and Roberts, Shriver served for five years in the Navy aboard submarines and battleships during the Second World War. He ended service as a Lieutenant Commander in 1945.

Upon his return to civilian life, Shriver worked briefly as an editor's assistant at Newsweek Magazine and then, in 1946, joined the staff of Joseph P. Kennedy. He edited the letters of Kennedy's eldest son, Joseph, Jr., who was killed in the war, managed Kennedy's huge Chicago Merchandise Mart, and, with Kennedy's daughter, Eunice, conducted the 1947-48 National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency in Washington.

Shriver married Eunice Kennedy on May 23, 1953, and, together, they have spearheaded the programs of the Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation in such areas as mental retardation and medical ethics. The Foundation supports major medical research, treatment and educational centers throughout the Nation, and conducts the Special Olympics recreational and sports programs for retarded youth in the United States and six foreign countries.

From 1955 to 1960, Shriver served as President of the Chicago Board of Education, winning community respect for his successful efforts to strengthen the curriculum and equalize educational opportunities in one of the nation's largest school districts.

He left the Merchandise Mart in 1960 to join the Presidential campaign of his brother-in-law, John F. Kennedy. Shriver worked as a political and organization coordinator in the early crucial primaries of Wisconsin and West Virginia. He later served in the Washington Presidential Headquarters as liaison between the campaign headquarters and the Democratic National Committee. During the general election campaign, Shriver directed activities in such areas as business, agriculture and civil rights.

After President Kennedy's election in November 1960, Shriver was asked by the President-elect to organize and direct a task force which recruited some of the top executives in the Kennedy adminstration.

President Kennedy then selected Shriver to organize and direct the new Peace Corps. As its Director from 1961-65, he sent thousands of trained volunteers to help the people of other nations help themselves to better living conditions and a better quality of life. Shriver

personally visited and worked in more than 50 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In 1964, President Johnson asked Shriver to begin a new mission as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. It was through this organization that Shriver directed the first concentrated effort made by the United States Government to attack the problems of the poor and the disadvantaged. Among programs created and initiated under his leadership are VISTA, Head Start, Community Action, Foster Grandparents, Job Corps, Legal Aid, Indian Opportunities and Health Services.

From 1968 to 1970 Shriver served as Ambassador to France, gaining recognition as one of the United States' most skillful and effective diplomats. Upon his return to the United States, he took on the Chairmanship of Congressional Leadership for the Future, traveling to 29 states to speak and work in support of 89 Democratic candidates for the House and the Senate.

Since 1970 Shriver has specialized in international law and foreign affairs as a partner in the New York and Washington law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman. His business responsibilities, like his earlier governmental service, have taken him throughout the world, including many visits and a major lecture tour in the Soviet Union.

On August 8, 1972, he was nominated as Senator George McGovern's running-mate in the unsuccessful Democratic presidential effort against then-incumbents Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

Shriver is a member of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America; a Director of the Board of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; member of the Children's Lobby; a member of the Bankers' Club of America; member of the Navy League and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Chairman of the International Patrons of the Israel Museum.

Shriver's awards include: Veteran of the Year, 1956; James J. Hooey Award (Catholic Interracial Council of New York), 1958; Lay Churchman of the Year, 1963; National Father of the Year, 1964; Notre Dame Patriotism Award, 1965; National Brotherhood Award, 1966; AFL-CIO Philip Murray-William Green Award, 1966; and Hannah G. Solomon Award, National Council of Jewish Women, 1972.

He has also received 24 honorary degrees including those from Kansas State University, University of Notre Dame, University of South Carolina, Boston College, Yale University, Duquesne University, Fordham University, Jewish Theological Seminary, Yeshiva University, University of Liberia, Chulalongkorn University (Bangkok), Brandeis, Wesleyan, University of Pittsburgh and New York University.

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SPEECH BY SARGENT SHRIVER TO THE

THIRD CATHOLIC HEALTH CONGRESS

NEW YORK CITY - OCTOBER 29, 1975

I welcome this opportunity to address this Third Catholic Health Congress of the Archdiocese of New York. The achievement of this archdiocese in establishing and maintaining the largest Catholic hospital system in the world is remarkable. The $250 million investment in this system of 14 hospitals and 4,000 beds, of 4,500 physicians and 10,000 health workers, represents an unparalleled investment by private philanthropy on behalf of the public good. And it is not inappropriate to recall at this moment that one-fourth of all the hospital beds in this nation were created, and are maintained and serviced, under Catholic auspices.

Confronted by these imposing statistics, and facing what I know to be a distinguished audience of experts, I asked myself what I could say that would have a deeper meaning than just another political speech.

I concluded that I should devote my remarks to those things that have the deepest meaning for us -- things that somehow touch upon the values which we hold.

I speak to you, not as a health professional, but as an amateur; a consumer of your services and your skills, as a user of the outer expression of your internal values.

From that point of view, my first observation is this -- if ever there was a need for Catholic hospitals in the last century, there is an even greater need for them today. As we approach the time of national health insurance programs and as we see a growing perception of health care as a basic human right, there is an even greater need for Catholic hospitals -- and other hospitals based on religious thoughts.

One of the most distinguished Protestant theologians alive today once said to me: "No matter where I live, or where I do my scholarly work, Sarge, I want to die in a Catholic hospital." His sentiment is not unique. For myself, let me say, if I cannot die at home, I, too, would like to die in a Catholic hospital. No form of human service more clearly expresses a commitment to values than the rendering of comprehensive health and hospital care. Voluntary hospitals, and especially religiously oriented hospitals, should set the standard for such care. For certainly the expression of values is needed in what has become the second largest industry in the nation.

The almost inevitable impersonality of public institutions, their massive size, their separation from an integrated mission concerned with the total spiritual and physical well-being of family and community, make the role of Catholic voluntary hospitals more important in 1975 than before.

Throughout history, there has been one, common strand running through the perception of religious communities in the health field. It has been the belief that health care offers particular opportunities to bear witness to certain values. We read in the New Testament that Christ was often involved in works of healing, whether of the lame, the blind, the deaf, or even the dead. His deeds were not simply deeds of power -- they were deeds of compassion. And so it seems to me that ours must be. We must remember that we must care first and always: And that cure we will, if cure we can. But where we cannot cure, we will still care. Because first comes compassion, and only then comes competence . . . . the first is a virtue and the second is only a skill. The witness, in the image of Christ, is, first and foremost, a witness to compassion.

Now it is no great secret to you that there is a national debate as to whether we shall even be permitted to give witness to these values at all. In a system in which malpractice is adjudicated on the grounds of whether it conforms to standard practice in the community, how shall we judge individual witness to values? This may not, indeed does not, affect standards for taking out an appendix, but how does it affect a subject like euthanasia? Where is there room for individual conscience as medicine not only gains the power to cure the standard diseases, but also to technologize the body? The Good Samaritan may well have counted himself lucky that his deed of mercy was not scrutinized for technical medical conformity to community standards -- indeed, I seem to remember that the standard practice was not to be a Good Samaritan in the first place. Certainly he had no license to practice -- probably not even an E.C.F.M.G.

Let me touch briefly on some of the value issues which are coming increasingly into public discussion these days.

Historically, we have tried in the health field to provide a good birth, a good life and a good death, insofar as it was in our medical power to do so. Our actions were based on the premise that human life came from God and returned to God. It is, I think, quite clear that this basic premise is no longer uniformly held. Indeed, far from it. It is from this discontinuity in the premises that there flow those myriad problems which today we call bioethical. If there is no God, and all is between men, then how shall we reconcile such a community of men with the one, to which you and I belong, which believes in a transcendental God?

If death is considered the ultimate disaster, if birth is no better than entry into a life without meaning, if guilt is but a biochemical reaction and bears no link to evil, if sloth is a disease of neuromuscular end-

ings and a result of electrical discharges in the brain, then how shall we use technology in this vast field of compassionate relationships, hitherto known as medicine? Does it even matter?

The eminent pediatrician, Robert E. Cooke, once wrote that medicine today is being expected to produce "a discomfort-free society." In 1934, Aldous Huxley -- in his book "Brave New World" -- proposed the same with his drug, soma. The premise of this approach to life is that there is no role for suffering, that beauty can be recognized without knowledge of ugliness, kindness without knowing cruelty, that all human perceptions are absolute, not comparative.

You know where these problems come to the fore. We can describe a fetus in the womb anatomically, but the debate is rampant on what value to attach to that anatomy. Alive, newborn children can be measured as defective in many statistical senses, but people differ on what values, or disvalues, to place on such defects.

The dying process varies from individual to individual, but there is little agreement on what ways of dying are tolerable or intolerable. There is no doubt that through medical research, great benefits can accrue for mankind. Yet here the debate exists, on which benefits justify which costs. I do not mean financial costs alone, but costs in human dignity. The questions are age-old. Do ends justify means? Can man ever be treated as object only and not as end also, as Kant asked?

These are the facts. These are the problems. The question is, what to do about them. Of one thing I am personally convinced. It is that the deeper the divisions in our value perceptions run, the less they lend themselves to the imposition of one perception over another by law. The issues are issues of values, not of chemical or biological facts. They are subjectively perceived, not objectively quantified. The subjectively perceived is difficult to legislate unless there is consensus on the perception.

What does this mean in practice for the likes of you and me? It means in your case that you must physically continue, and it seems to me that you are obliged morally to continue, bearing witness to your values. The nation is never well served when people do not speak out for their values or bear witness to them through their actions. I therefore have little sympathy for those who speak of closing Catholic, or any other denominational, hospitals.

What would it mean for me if I were to become President of this nation? It would mean firstly, that I would be sworn under the Constitution to uphold the laws of this nation, and that I would do so.

But I think it would further place on me the moral obligation to do all in my power to minimize these divisions in value perceptions among our people.

This I would pledge to do and this I think I could begin to do. There is, I believe, a broad consensus in the nation on the fact that abortion is not an ideal. No one undergoes it for the pleasure of it. It becomes then our task to provide alternatives. We must make a high priority of gaining fundamental knowledge in reproductive biology to provide foolproof family planning alternatives to abortion. We must ensure that women do not get fired from their jobs just because they are pregnant. We must ensure that they receive pregnancy disability benefits if they are disabled in pregnancy. We must provide life support systems, which give women all the services and advice they need to go through pregnancy. We must invest in research -- embryological, metabolic, genetic and environmental research to treat the structurally, and functionally, less fortunate, rather than to abort them. We must re-encourage the older ways of dying, at home, rather than being dumped and abandoned in institutions -- however euphemistically they are named.

Let me simply stress for you one fact. The bioethical debates have been with us for close to a decade. Yet these are precisely the areas in which government has been the least active while the need is obvious.

Let me return, then, to your role as the nation's largest grouping of Catholic hospitals and health professionals. I spoke of promises and opportunities. I believe they are abundant in New York.

More than a decade ago, because it saw the problems coming, the Kennedy Foundation gave its first grant in the field of bioethics to the Newman Center at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. In 1967, the Foundation extended its interest by supporting the distinguished Methodist theologian, Paul Ramsey of Princeton University, in his bioethical studies at Georgetown University Hospital. His seminal books, The Patient as a Person and Fabricated Man, developed during this time.

Then, in 1971, we established two major bioethical programs at Harvard and at Georgetown. They are respectively called the Kennedy Interfaculty Program at Harvard and the Joseph and Rose Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bioethics at Georgetown. Both centers do research, render service and teach courses. I was delighted to see your distinguished director, Mgr. Cassidy, last winter as a participant in the intensive bioethics course at the Kennedy Institute at Georgetown. Only last month, several members of the Kennedy Institute staff served as faculty for the first joint meeting held by the National Federation of Catholic Physicians Guilds and the National Association of Catholic Hospital Chaplains.

As Chairman of the advisory board to the Kennedy Institute at Georgetown, I have been afforded the opportunity not only to help its program develop, but often to see the fruits of its work in manuscript form months before publication. I have read them all with great interest. Broad-minded academicians have been tolerant and have on occasion accepted my suggestions.

I wish to stress to you the very wide perspective from which these centers operate. Their staffs have scholars of all faiths and of none. Among the Georgetown staff, there have been Catholics, Mennonites, Quakers, Jews, Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, Unitarians, and Seventh Day Adventists. They have worked in law, canon law, theology, philosophy, demography, and biology. What has joined them has been the realization that medicine is not a biological technology alone. Biology is descriptive -- it cannot be prescriptive. Human life is not just about man the biological, or man the social -- it is also about man the value-seeker.

Here we are in New York with Fordham University and St. John's, with Einstein Medical School and Yeshiva, with Union Theological and Jewish Theological. Here is a vast hospital system, largely grounded in the three great traditions of Judaism, Catholicism and Protestantism. I said I realized your burdens, but also your opportunities. What splendid opportunities exist to begin to form those groupings which are needed to examine and bring to the fore the value issues involved in the medical enterprise.

The task may seem immense and overwhelming, but let us think back to those who began the first Catholic hospital in New York and see where we are now. The need is for vision and courage, qualities you display daily in your work. They are the qualities shown by a Cardinal Cooke, when, in the middle of prophets of doom and gloom, he establishes a task force on health care, not just to man the ramparts, but to keep the hospitals going up while people say the city is going down.

They are the qualities shown by a frail woman, Elizabeth Seton, who was born in 1774, who married and raised a family, who knew the Protestant tradition and the Catholic, who organized and mobilized in the field of health and in the field of values, and who was proclaimed the first native-born American saint.

Debates on values often seem divisive, for values are strongly held. But the fact that they may be divisive is no reason to be silent on values, for if we are, then someday there may be none. I am, as you know, a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Just as I have reflected with you on what I think your role might be, I have had to reflect upon my own. It seems to me it could be expressed in a general philosophy. It is this: Where differences in value-perceptions exist, among various sections of the American people, it seems to me that it is the task of a president to stimulate their examination, not to avoid them. For only if we fully understand the premises on which a value system is based, can we begin to see how men of good will can be brought together at least in their understanding of each other. One's understanding of one's fellow man is half the battle towards civility. One's understanding of one's fellow man's feelings on such value issues as abortion, genetic engineering, euthanasia, medical experimentation, psychosurgery, and other medico-technical matters is our only hope to devise

programs which offer alternatives to seemingly irreconcilable differences in value perceptions. Such alternatives are not created in one day or one year, but neither were your health facilities. I can assure you of only one thing. If I am elected President, I shall at least take the first step toward reconciliation between conflicting value systems by fostering alternatives to the ethically divisive.

In the meantime, I urge you to continue to bear witness to your values, for without values, much of life, and therefore of medicine, would be meaningless. It is in that perspective that I wish you good fortune, and above all, fortitude. With fortitude can come leadership and leadership is what Catholic hospitals should provide. You have done it in the past, as witness Mother Seton. May we see many more like her in the future.

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SARGENT SHRIVER ON THE ISSUES

Shriver - Gen.

ON THE ECONOMY

Sargent Shriver will put Americans back to work with tax cuts to create jobs, not destroy them. He will have a job program matching unmet needs with people out of work. He will have a monetary policy encouraging responsible growth without rekindling inflation by placing limits on the forces producing spiraling prices. He will combine government stockpiling and regulation to control extreme fluctuations in economic life, and will plan for the future by bringing in all sectors of society to put America's economy back on a growth course.

ON ENERGY

Shriver will push for new legislation putting the burden of proof on the oil giants to show why it is in the public interest for them to control distribution and alternative sources of energy. He will mount an aggressive program of energy conservation, with tax incentives, new guidelines for the construction and operation of buildings and mandatory standards for automobile mileage. He favors immediate strip-mining legislation and effective ways to limit emissions from coal-burning plants. He believes disposal techniques, reactor hazards and environmental safety must be fully and publicly resolved before turning to a nuclear solution to energy shortages.

ON CONSUMERS

Shriver supports the creation of an Agency for Consumer Advocacy. He will appoint to regulatory agencies persons not beholden to the industry they regulate. He believes the FTC should require disclosure of key product information on competing brands; that the ICC and the CAB should deregulate railroads and airlines selectively; that the FDA should grant approval for new pharmaceuticals before they go on the market; that the courts should allow consumer class action suits; and that informal complaint settlement techniques should be utilized through small claims courts and/or arbitration.

ON HEALTH

Shriver believes this country needs a national program of pre-paid health care, providing universal coverage at a price everyone can afford. The Federal Government must support training of health personnel and provide financial incentives to bring quality health care to underserved areas. Hospitals must cooperate to increase efficiency and eliminate duplicative expenditures. A pre-paid reimbursement program will bring pressures of the market to bear on the soaring rates of hospital services.

ON FOOD

Shriver's program will guarantee reasonable food prices, at a fair return to farmers, with the promise of stable food and farm prices for years to come. He will create a federal reserve program to protect consumer and farmer from the wild gyrations of an unchecked market. He will formulate an export policy to assure that Americans' needs are filled without forcing consumers to bear the burden of sales to foreign buyers. His international food policy will be designed to serve the world community in times of famine, while providing food for all Americans at the lowest possible prices.

ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

Shriver is for a strong national defense but he believes we can cut the defense budget and actually improve our national security by using more efficiently the high-cost manpower in the voluntary army, by not buying budget-breaking new weapons systems, by cutting waste, and by bringing our military forces in line with realistic commitments abroad. However, the United States must depend on full employment rather than a reduced defense budget as the primary source of funds for domestic needs. He

supports arms control to enhance our security at reduced expense and to remove the excuse for buying expensive, dangerous weapons as bargaining chips. He will strengthen our conventional forces by an aggressive program to improve tactics, training, and leadership, and he will reverse the Republican practice of buying weapons so expensive that we cannot afford to equip properly our troops with the arms they need.

ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Shriver will pursue a careful, progressive policy of detente with Communist countries, including meaningful arms control of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, and restrictions on qualitative improvements in strategic arms. Shriver will preserve the military balance in the Middle East and full support of Israel while seeking a comprehensive, long-term peace agreement. He believes we must play a more positive role with our European and Japanese partners in resolving international recession, and also turn away from a pattern of confrontation and grudging negotiation with the governments of the Southern Hemisphere.

ON CRIME

Shriver will encourage, with federal assistance and personal leadership, states and localities to place a concerted effort on the control of violent street crime. He advocates spending more time on serious crimes by going after the violent criminals and the corporate profiteers, instead of the drunks and the speed-limit violators. He will improve the criminal justice system with better administration of police forces, the courts and the correctional institutions. He will direct the Department of Justice and the federal law enforcement and regulatory agencies to concentrate on the control of white collar crime.

ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Shriver supports ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. In the Federal Government he will set an example to the nation by assuring equal pay for equal work, enforcing anti-discrimination and affirmative action rules, establishing day care centers, setting flexible work schedules, and using talented women in government jobs at all levels. He will seek reform of the Social Security system to place men and women on an equal footing and fight against discriminatory laws and credit practices to assure equal treatment of the sexes.

ON THE ENVIRONMENT

Shriver's priorities include a dedicated conservation program, long-range planning of land use and coal reserves, strictly enforced federal standards for air and water emissions, and comprehensive research and development of alternate energy sources. He will encourage public participation in assessing the dangers of nuclear accidents, radioactive contamination, and waste disposal before making commitments to nuclear power.

ON FAMILY LIFE

Shriver's presidency will focus on strengthening the family by assuring useful work and a decent minimum income for families facing economic collapse; eliminating the family-destroying system of welfare; altering housing, tax and other policies to allow families to live together; setting flexible work schedules; providing after-school centers for children of working parents and life support centers for families and individuals in times of crisis.

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

Candidacy Is Declared By Shriver

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sargent Shriver, laying claim to "the legacy" of his late brother-in-law, President John F. Kennedy, yesterday declared his candidacy for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination.

In an announcement replete with the trappings of Kennedy campaigns of the past, Shriver pledged to restore the hope of all those drawn by President Kennedy into public life and millions more around the world "for whom the memories John Kennedy are still an inspiration to their minds and their hearts."

Plagued even before his announcement with speculation that he would be no more than a stalking horse for Sen. Kennedy, Shriver was asked whether he would pull out and support his brother-in-law if Kennedy had a change of heart and decided to run, after saying he would not.

"Somebody said, 'Wouldn't everybody?' " Shriver shot back, not smiling.

"Common existence at home starts with putting the government—as the expression of our common will — on the side of the consumer, the taxpayer, the individual and the community," Shriver said. "But it must protect the conditions in which they can remain both free and independent.

Kennedy family members — Shriver's wife, Eunice, and the Shrivers' four children; Ethel Kennedy, widow of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, and two of their sons — were front-and-center, and cheering support-

See SHRIVER, A6, Col. 1

Shriver Declares Candidacy

SHRIVER, From A1

ers packed the Mayflower Hotel ballroom to hear Shriver launch what he promised would be "a people's campaign."

Conspicuous by his absence was Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) who was in Massachusetts. Shriver said his brother-in-law had already "given me advice and encouragement" but had told all other Democratic presidential candiates "he would remain neutral, and I frankly don't expect him to go back on his pledge to help me."

On a lengthy Shriver-for-president Committee list disclosed with the speech, however, Sen. Kennedy's wife, Joan, was listed, along with matriarch Rose Kennedy, Shriver's mother-in-law, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, and sister-in-law Patricia Lawford and Jean Smith. Kennedy brother-in-law Stephen Smith, who has been a key figure in past Kennedy campaigns, was not listed.

The latest references to the stalking-horse problem clearly nettled Shriver, but his unabashed claiming of the John Kennedy legacy in behalf of the family as well as all Kennedy supporters just as clearly demonstrated that he regards his family tie on balance to be a major plus.



Sargent Shriver looks toward his wife, Eunice, cente

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See SHRIVER, A6, Col. 1

Shriver Declares Candidacy

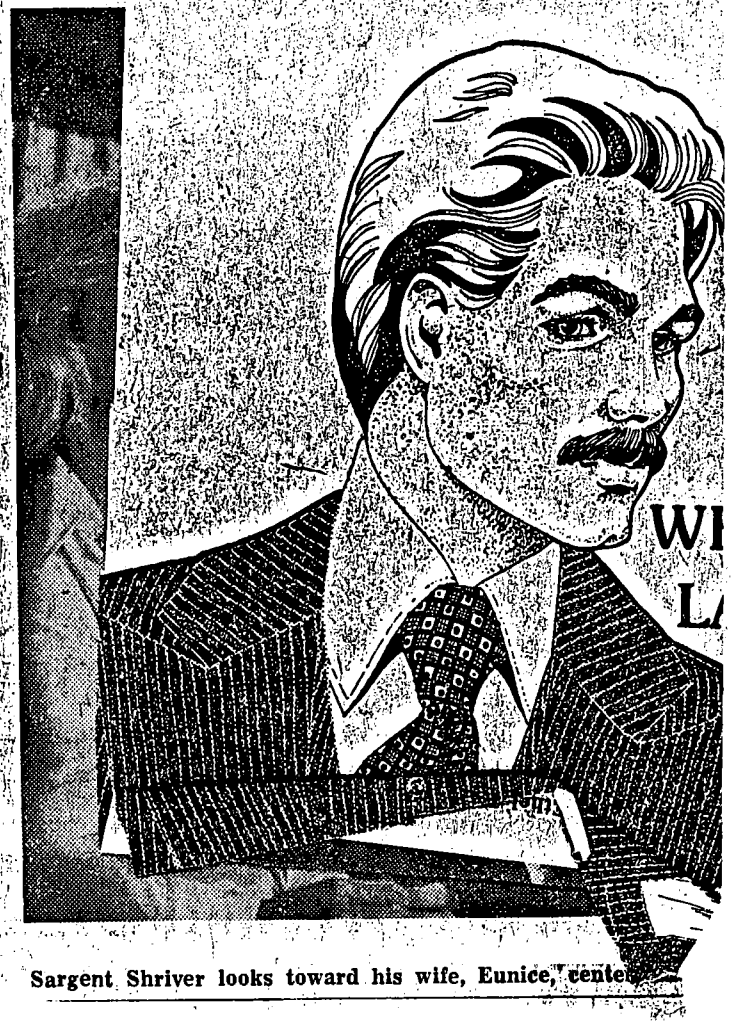
SHRIVER, From A1

ers packed the Mayflower Hotel ballroom to hear Shriver launch what he promised would be "a people's campaign."

Conspicuous by his absence was Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) who was in Massachusetts. Shriver said his brother-in-law had already "given me advice and encouragement" but had told all other Democratic presidential candiates "he would remain neutral, and I frankly don't expect him to go back on his pledge to help me."

On a lengthy Shriver-for-president Committee list disclosed with the speech, however, Sen. Kennedy's wife, Joan, was listed, along with matriarch Rose Kennedy, Shriver's mother-in-law, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, and sister-in-law Patricia Lawford and Jean Smith. Kennedy brother-in-law Stephen Smith, who has been a key figure in past Kennedy campaigns, was not listed.

The latest references to the stalking-horse problem clearly nettled Shriver, but his unabashed claiming of the John Kennedy legacy in behalf of the family as well as all Kennedy supporters just as clearly demonstrated that he regards his family tie on balance to be a major plus.



Sargent Shriver looks toward his wife, Eunice, center

CURSES, BOILED AGAIN . . . Sarge-watchers are digging up an old story from the last time Shriver campaigned—for vice-president in 1972. Seems Sarge, accompanied by a local pol, was hustling up votes among the steelworkers and dockers in the Sparrows Point area of Baltimore. Sarge slummed into a local bar, shook some hands, and ordered a round on him. Bonhommie was rampant and all hands thought Sarge was a jolly good fellow as the bartender lined up a long row of boilermakers for the boys. "What'll you have, Buddy?" asked the Keep of Sarge. "Uh, Courvoisier," said Sarge. The whole place stopped.

wash Star 10-14

Shriver Enters 1976 Presidential Race

BY ROBERT SHOGAN
Times Political Writer

WASHINGTON—Laying claim to the political legacy of John F. Kennedy, R. Sargent Shriver formally declared his candidacy for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination Saturday.

Shriver now seems to be the closest facsimile of a Kennedy available to the Democrats for 1976. And, in his announcement before an enthusiastic crowd of well-wishers, he swiftly served notice to his rivals that he intended to take full advantage of his ties to the Kennedy family through marriage and political service.

With his wife, Eunice, and his sister-in-law, Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy, at his side, Shriver asserted that the best remedy for the nation's problems was in leadership "that summons the best in us, as we remember John Kennedy did."

To the cheers of his supporters, Shriver said: "His legacy awaits the leader who can claim it. I intend to claim it."

Although his Kennedy connection will certainly help generate support for Shriver, it also stirs suspicions that Shriver may just be conducting a holding operation for his brother-in-law, Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, who has pledged to remain a neutral noncandidate.

When asked at a press conference after his announcement whether he would drop out of competition if Kennedy suddenly changed his mi and ran for the nomination, Shriv replied:

"As somebody said: 'Wouldn't e erybody?'"

But Shriver insisted that he w not "a stalking horse" for Sen. Ke nedy.

"He doesn't need a stalking hors he said. "He is the most appealin experienced, attractive political ca didate we have in the party."

He said he regretted Kennedy's r fusal to run but added, "My belief we ought to take him at his word."

The 59-year-old Shriver brings the presidential campaign an impre sive national reputation earned a former director of the Peace Cor and the poverty program and as th



he Kennedy connection: Shriver decides to run

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

ere come the Kennedys once again, with ther-in-law Sargent Shriver announcing a sidential candidacy that will be Kennedy-ented in philosophical approach and in its ch for support.

The Kennedy connection will be Mr. river's biggest asset — and his greatest rden, too. He must convince Democratic ters that he is, indeed, a serious candidate d not someone to keep the campaign alive til Senator Kennedy is ready to jump in.

Mr. Shriver, the Democratic vice-presiden- candidate in 1972, succeeding Sen. Thomas Eagleton on the McGovern ticket, is essing that he is running in his own right d that he believes that Senator Kennedy will ntinue to refuse to be drawn into consid-ation.

There is ample evidence that he is correct in s assumption. Mr. Kennedy's family, in-ding his wife and mother, are counseling ainst him getting into the contest.

And Mr. Kennedy still has the burden of appaquiddick on his shoulders — a load he ows will be greatly intensified if he should nominated.

Mr. Shriver showed himself to be a hard-working campaigner two years ago, even though there was little evidence that he was able to lift a McGovern candidacy already sinking by the time he came on board.

Mr. Shriver speaks and shakes hands like a Kennedy — which means especially well. Like all Kennedys he moves easily and with acceptance among minorities.

If the Kennedy "magic" in vote getting is still alive — and if it can be transferred to Mr. Shriver — Mr. Shriver could well win the nomination, many argue.



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Sargent Shriver — will his Kennedy connection be an asset or a burden?

Senator Kennedy's own position will be that of "neutrality," but it appears that Mr. Shriver is counting on some Kennedy support.

Before his fill-in role as No. 2 man to McGovern in 1972, Mr. Shriver was the first director of the Peace Corps under President Kennedy and of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) under President Johnson. Mr. Johnson selected Mr. Shriver as ambassador to France in 1968, and President Nixon kept him in that post in 1969.

The special Shriver-Kennedy appeal is already surfacing: He was able to announce that he had qualified for federal matching funds by raising the minimum of $5,000 in contributions of $250 or less in each of 20 states.

Polls have shown for years that there are millions of Democrats just waiting to get behind a Kennedy for president.

Doubtless in the presidential primaries, particularly in Massachusetts, this will be a tremendous help to Mr. Shriver.

But how much of a help in the rest of the U.S.?

It will not assist Mr. Shriver too much if the Democrats perceive him mainly as a "stalking horse" for Senator Kennedy.

And it will not help overcome the antagonism among many Democrats, particularly in the South (and the Bible Belt), now directed toward Senator Kennedy because of Chappaquiddick.

Chicago Tribune, Thursday, September 18, 1975 Section 1



R. Sargent Shriver is expected to announce Saturday that he will run for President. Kickoff even twill be a party for 1,000 persons.

Shriver hosting campaign bash

By Jim Squires
Chief of Washington bureau
Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—More than 1,000 persons are expected to travel to the nation's capital Saturday to kick off the Presidential campaign of R. Sargent Shriver, the 1972 Democratic Vice Presidential nominee.

Shriver, 59, brother in law of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy [D., Mass.] and a former Chicagoan, will host a reception at his spacious Maryland estate, Timberlawn, following an official announcement in the morning.

CHICAGO IS expected to send 95 representatives to the Shriver party, according to Tom Brophy, Illinois coordinator for the Shriver Presidential Committee.

A campaign spokesman said that more than 1,000 persons, including personal acquaintances, volunteer campaigners, and members of the press, have been invited.

THE RECEPTION at the candidate's home should guarantee widespread press coverage of Shriver's campaign opening, an event made commonplace by the number of Democratic candidates announcing for the nomination, one Shriver supporter said.

Campaign strategists hope it will serve as a rallying point for Shriver supporters from the 1972 campaign and the personal following the candidate developed when he headed the Peace Corps and the Office of Economic Opportunity in the 1960s.

Sen. Kennedy and other members of the Kennedy family, along with Shriver's 1976 campaign committee, are expected to be on hand.

THE TIMING of Shriver's announcement is designed for maximum press impact in Washington, which is usually quiet on Saturday mornings.

A spokesman for Shriver said refreshments will be served at the reception expected to last "as long as there are people present."

The cost of the party will be charged against Shriver campaign expenditures under new campaign finance laws. While none of the other announced candidates have held post-announcement receptions of this magnitude, some have been hosting lavish cocktail parties for supporters for several months.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen [D., Tex.], for example, has hosted large parties, and Sen. Henry [illegible] ... created [illegible] ... operative ...

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1975

hriver Enters the '76 Presidential Race

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

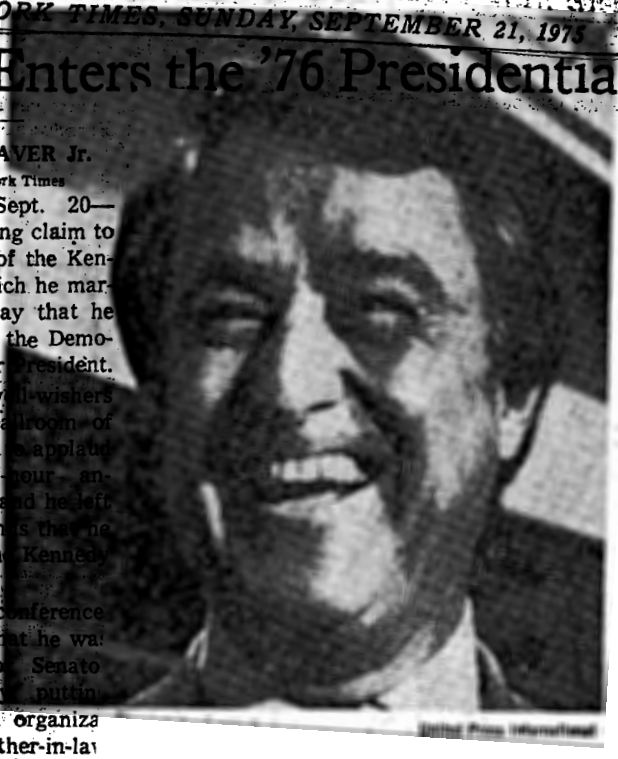
WASHINGTON, Sept. 20—rgent Shriver, laying claim to e political legacy of the Kendy family into which he mared, announced today that he as a candidate for the Democatic nomination for President.

More than 500 well-wishers rowded into the ballroom of he Mayflower Hotel to applaud Mr. Shriver's half-hour announcement speech, and he left o doubt in their minds that he ntended to run as the Kennedy candidate in 1976.

Later, at a news conference Mr. Shriver denied that he wa a stalking horse for Senato Edward M. Kenned putting together a campaign organization so that his brother-in-la could take it over later if h decided to run.

"I'm not a stalking horse," he declared. "He doesn't need

Continued on Page 27, Column 1



Sargent Shriver in Washington yesterday after he announced he will seek Democratic presidential nomination.

'Still an Inspiration'

Among the 200 names on the committee list were many former Government officials associated with John and Robert Kenedy, plus a quota of athletes (Arthur Ashe and Rosevelt Grier), actors (Carol Channing, Cloris Leachman and Paul Newman) and singers (Neil Diamond and Mo Downey.)

Mr. Shriver made no attempt to cloak his reliance on the political heritage of the Kennedy family. He closed his announcement with a tribute to John F. Kennedy.

"His legacy awaits the leader who can claim it," he declared to applause. "I intend to claim that legacy, not for myself alone but for the faith that John Kennedy brought into being, for the millions whom he called to public service, for the billions around the world for whom John Kennedy is still an inspiration.

Although Mr. Shriver made the usual disclaimer of liberal orientation within the party, his entry in the race further crowded the field on the Democratic left, putting him in potential competition with, among others, Representative Udall and Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, a potential candidate.

In response to a question, he said he had not yet decided which Presidential primaries to enter, giving rise to speculation that he might skip the New Hampshire primary, where Udall, Carter and Harris organizations are already in place.

Mr. Shriver spoke against "centralized, rigid, unresponsive bureaucracy" and declared that "Government must abandon those tasks that individuals, families and neighborhoods can do for themselves."

In the area of foreign policy, he said that "seeking dominion, we have meddled too much abroad . . . Our interventions abroad came from fear, Cold war fears, which led to fear of change in some places, escalated until we opposed change in all places. That's not the American tradition."

After the ceremony, Mr. Shriver held a reception at his suburban Maryland estate and then visited the Baltimore city fair. Tomorrow he will appear on NBC "Meet the Press" program and fly to Cleveland to speak at a Democratic picnic.

SHRIVER IN RACE FOR PRESIDENCY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

a stalking horse. All the candidates agree that if Senator Kennedy wanted the nomination he could get it. I think he is the most able, talented, attractive candidate the party has."

Mr. Shriver added: "It was a source of sadness to me that, for his own reasons, he has decided he will not run. But I think we ought to take him at his word, let him alone and get on about the business of selecting a President."

Mr. Shriver became the seventh man to seek the Democratic nomination. The others are Senators Lolyd M. Bentsen of Texas and Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma and former Governors Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Terry Sanford of North Carolina.

Federal Funds

He was the first, however, to couple his announcement with the assertion that he had already obtained enough contributions to qualify for matching Federal funds of up to $5-million per candidate that will be available for primaries for the first time next year.

To qualify, a candidate must raise at least $5,000 in each of 20 states in amounts of $250 or less from each contributor. Mr. Sriver said that 920 people had given him $186,352 so far.

The scene was redolent of the Kennedy family's political activities over the last 15 years and more. Ethel Kennedy, the widow of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, sat on the platform next to Mrs. Shriver, the former Eunice Kennedy.

Listed as members of the Shriver for President Committee were Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, the Senator's mother; Mrs. Edward M. Kennedy; Patricia K. Lawford and Mrs. Stephen Smith, sisters of Senator Kennedy, and Mrs. Aristotle Onassis, widow of President Kennedy.

NATIONAL REPORT

Shriver enters 1st primary

From Sun-Times Wires

MANCHESTER, N.H. — Sargent Shriver announced Monday that he is entering New Hampshire's earliest-in-the-nation presidential primary and "was in the race to stay" for the Democratic nomination.

Shriver, 60, his party's unsuccessful vice-presidential nominee in 1972, announced at a press conference before about 30 supporters and his wife Eunice that he would not withdraw if his brother-in-law, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), should enter the race.

Shriver said he is convinced that Kennedy will not run, adding: "Truthfully, I'm in the race to stay."

Shriver said, if elected, he would extend federal help to help New York City avoid bankruptcy. Referring to President Ford's decision not to help the city, he said it "may be good politics to run against New York, but it's not good national leadership for the President of the United States."

Shriver said he would enter enough primaries to show his strength, but doubted that he would enter all the primaries. He said aides in Florida were to decide whether he would enter the early Southern contest.

Krigstein said.

Krigstein said the FDA has maintained "a cloud of suspicion" over the less expensive drugs by publishing a list of 193 drugs that may not be chemically equivalent to recognized brand-name drugs.

Washington Post 9/17/75

Press Secretary Drayne Resigning

Kennedy Aide to Join Shriver

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's press secretary for the past 10 years is resigning to join the presidential campaign of Kennedy's brother-in-law, Sargent Shriver.

Richard Drayne, 37, a veteran of national politics, announced yesterday he is leaving the Massachusetts senator to handle "issues and general strategy" for Shriver, who will formally announce his candidacy on Saturday.

Drayne's move is viewed as yet another indication that Kennedy, who has often disavowed national ambitions for 1976, will concentrate on his own Senate re-election campaing next year.

Drayne said he would delay his shift until Kennedy can find a replacemnt as press secretary, noting that the assistant press secretary, Lauretta Cubberley, had left last week for a new job with the Public Broadcasting System. Kennedy's chief advance man, Jim King, resigned earlier this year to take a post in Massachusetts.

Drayne, who traveled extensively in the late Robert F. Kennedy's 1968 presidential campaing, is the third veteran professional to join Shriver's campaign staff.

The 1972 vice presidential candidate has Richard Murphy, a former Democratic National Committee aide and convention planner, as his campaign manager, and Don Pride, former press secretary to Gov. Reibin Askew of Florida as his press secretary.

D103 Election 76

Victor Zorza

A Shriver Candidacy?

A Soviet hint that the next President of the United States may now be visiting the Soviet Union turned out to be a reference to Sargent Shriver, Senator Edward Kennedy's brother-in-law. Shriver is seen as a possible candidate by some of the Democrats who have never reconciled themselves to Kennedy's decision to stay out of the race. The Russians, too, were among Kennedy's most ardent supporters, for they hoped that he might keep the Democratic nomination from Senator Henry Jackson, whose election they would regard as leading back to the cold war. So when Russians in Washington began asking what chance Sargent Shriver had to get the Democratic nomination, just as he was departing for a major tour of the Soviet Union, it seemed a good question to look into.

Shriver himself says that he has been getting letters urging him to run in next year's presidential primaries. He usually tells the letter-writers that he appreciates their interest and confidence in him, but is not making a decision "now."

Senator Kennedy says, "I know people have talked to him about it" and have "urged" him to run. Kennedy explains that he "couldn't" say now that Shriver would not run, "under certain circumstances."

Kennedy reacts with some vexation to the inevitable suggestion that Shriver would merely be a stalking horse for his own candidacy, that Shriver would collect the votes in the primaries and would then transfer them to Kennedy. Even President Ford, to say nothing of several important Democratic governors and many other party stalwarts, foresees the possibility of a deadlocked Democratic convention which, in the absence of a candidate with a clear majority, might draft Kennedy as the party's presidential nominee. But it might not be so easy to arrange a brokered convention. A solid block of Shriver delegates at the convention could provide a Kennedy base for some such deal.

"I can never stop political speculation," Kennedy says, with a weary tone in his voice. "I cannot help it if he runs." If Shriver makes a decision to do so, "he would certainly be running on his own." Kennedy leaned forward in his chair, trying to add emphasis to his words. "If I were going to run, I would be a candidate. I would not have a stalking horse." But, he insisted, he was not going to run.

Shriver's aides, too, insist that if he runs, he will be his own candidate. Having talked to both men in an attempt to probe their minds and feelings, I believe them. There is just that touch of asperity, barely perceptible, in what Kennedy says about Shriver, to suggest that he is less than happy about his political ambitions. An old family rivalry, some might say, or resentment at the political complications which the Shriver factor might add to Kennedy's own plans—whatever these might be.

But even if both men have no interest in a stalking horse, a good deal of the support which Shriver might attract would derive from the hope that a vote for him might ultimately turn out to be a vote for Kennedy. Certainly Shriver would have to be, in the first place, an attractive candidate in his own right to make any impression in the primaries. Those who have studied his performance as McGovern's Vice-Presidential running mate in 1972 conclude that he has many of the qualities needed for a successful campaign—the stamina, the ambition, the inspirational quality, and, perhaps most important of all, the ability to enjoy campaigning and to thrive on it. The McGovern connection also provides the link to the party's left, which is not enthusiastic about any of the candidates now in the field.

Shriver's supporters argue that, compared with the other candidates, he is in a unique position to rebuild the coalition which brought John F. Kennedy to the White House. He could be attractive not only to the left but also to the party's opposite pole, the conservative workers and middle class who deserted the Democratic ticket in droves in 1972. The party bosses, the organization types who are distrusted and discounted by the left, might rally to Shriver more readily than to some of the other candidates, his partisans maintain. They cite as an example the fact that Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, still in control of a powerful party machine, has let it be known that he would support a Shriver candidacy if Kennedy really refuses to run.

There is some evidence, too, of support in the black community and, at the other extreme, in the business community, with which Shriver has developed close working links through his law practice. The Mississippi Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Aaron E. Henry, who is held in high regard by some black activists, has sent out a circular letter urging support for a Shriver candidacy. Shriver's association with the Peace Corps under Kennedy, and with the anti-poverty program when he headed the Office of Economic Opportunity, provides him with a potential cadre of highly motivated political workers, many of whom now occupy key positions in their communities. Their letters, too, show that they would be ready to throw themselves with enthusiasm into a Shriver campaign.

In preparing for his Soviet visit, during which he will be speaking to Soviet elite audiences, including officials at policy making levels, about the future of U.S.-Soviet relations, Shriver brought together a team of speechwriters and experts who have worked in key positions for such presidential candidates as Senators McGovern, Mondale, and Muskie. The impression one gets from some of these comparatively young but politically hardened professionals is that Shriver is capable of inspiring enthusiasm as well as loyalty. They believe that his political ideas are likely to have a much wider appeal.

But these ideas have not been clearly formulated or presented so far, apart from the important foreign policy speech which he is delivering in Moscow today. He has been to the Soviet Union more than a dozen times on business trips, and has evidently impressed the Kremlin sufficiently to have got the invitation for the present political visit. But the answer to the question the Russians are asking—whether he is potentially a serious candidate—cannot be based on the views of his supporters, as this column is based. It cannot as yet be based on the views of his opponents, because he has not declared himself, and therefore he has none.

The latest Gallup poll which tested the "name recognition" factor puts Shriver well ahead of Jackson and several other candidates, actual and potential. This is a powerful base on which to build a campaign, because it means that Shriver does not need to struggle to be recognized by the public as the others do. He can go straight ahead to the next step to seek public attention for his policies, when he is ready to present them. The Moscow visit could begin the process of identifying him in the public mind as a man who is able to deal with foreign leaders, and who is treated by them as a major figure.

The Moscow visit serves as a trial balloon. It is bound to get Shriver discussed as a presidential hopeful, and this will help him to decide whether he should run in the primaries. And if he does run, but does not quite make it, there is always the Kennedy option at the convention.

Shriver Denies He's Decided To Seek Presidency in 1976

By Jules Witcover and Richard M. Cohen
Washington Post Staff Writers

Sargent Shriver, the 1972 Democratic vice-presidential nominee and brother-in-law of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), yesterday denied reports that he has decided to seek his party's 1976 presidential nomination.

"It just isn't true," Shrvier said. "I have not made any decision to run. I don't even have a finance committee, or a political honcho. It would be really ludicrous of me to run without any fundamental foundation or basis to make such a statement viable. I am considering it."

The denial, in a telephone interview with Shriver, who is vacationing in the Florida Keys, came two hours after Kennedy told The Washington Post that Shriver had informed him in Kennedy's office on June 4 that he would run.

"He told me he was going to run and I wished him well," Kennedy said.

Kennedy said he and Shriver discussed some of the issues and problems that Shriver would face, including Shriver's concern that as a candidate he might be taken by many as a stalking horse for Kennedy—running as a stand-in for him.

Kennedy said he told Shriver that if he wanted to run he should not allow that concern to deter him. Kennedy also assured his brother-in-law that he himself was firm in his decision not to be a candidate in 1976.

Apprised of Kennedy's flat statement, Shriver said, "I'm sorry if there's any confusion in anybody's mind. But I haven't made any decision. He may have gotten the impression I was going to run. I don't want to leave you with the impression Teddy is telling some kind of fib."

What he did tell Kennedy, Shriver said, was that inasmuch as Kennedy was determined not to be a candidate, he (Shriver) was going to seriously consider making the race. Since that meeting, Shriver said, he has been sounding out friends and political associates about whether he should run, and what kind of support he might expect.

What actually happened at the meeting with his brother-in-law, Shriver said, was that he went there to encourage Kennedy to reconsider his own decision against running. He told Kennedy, he said, that in traveling around the country he found most Democrats he talked to thought Teddy would by far be the best candidate" for the party in 1976.

In response," Shriver said, I got the unequivocal impression that there was no possibility he would run. I expressed my regret about that. Obviously, if he is definitely out of it, it makes it more interesting to me. But I did not say I had decided to run."

Shriver said that if Kennedy were to decide to run, both he and his wife, Eunice, the senator's sister, would liketo help. If he was interested in running, my wife would be for him and so would I."

Shriver's denial came after he had conferred by phone with his wife and she had talked to her brother by phone. Kennedy was in New York last night to speak at a dinner and unavailable for further comment.

One declared candidate, Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen (D-Tex.), reported he has raised the required $5,000 in contributions of $250 or less in 20 states to qualify for federal matching money under the new federal campaign law. Bentsen said he has raised more than $450,000 and he becomes the third candidate to have qualified. The others are Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) and Democratic Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama. A spokesman for Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) has said Udall will qualify for the matching funds in a couple of weeks.

Shrivers: gen.

THE WASHINGTON POST Sunday, July 6, 1975

owland Evans and Robert Novak

argent Shriver's Campaign Operation

lthough still denying he has de- ed to run for the Democratic presi- tial nomination, Sargent Shriver s actually signed up his first major paign operative: Manhattan lawyer former Deputy Secretary of De se Cyrus Vance.

hriver's greatest worry is that his didacy, now tentatively set for an- ncement by Labor Day, won't be en seriously by party leaders. To imize that wholly realistic fear, will not announce until he has kpiled a complete campaign organ- ion from fund-raising to media.

ance, a one-time protege of former sident Lyndon Johnson, has private- greed to become a top-level legal financial campaign aide whose t assignment will to be make the nedys' brother-in-law and 1972 ocratic vice presidential nominee ly eligible for matching federal paign funds at the earliest possible

he eligiblity formula in the new paign-finance law is $5,000 in each 0 states, in individual contributions o more than $250 each. Four Demo- ic contenders have now passed that

river last week also asked Min- olis economist Walter Heller, Pres- Kennedy's top economic adviser, ke command of his economic plan- for the coming presidential cam- n, with special attention on new to raise investment capital for rican business. Heller, a full-time omics professor at the University innesota, may say no on grounds does not have that much time to to politics.

casting about for an economic er, Shriver has stressed this par- nt objective: to avoid getting t in the mishmash of confusing, listic economic programs which Sen. George McGovern of South ta much of his credibility as Dem- ic presidential nominee in 1972.

addition to Vance and Heller, ver has had long political and omic talks the past six weeks with other possible recruits, includ- Richard Nixon's 1972 economic sman and adviser Pierre Rinfret, an unconventional and highly-regarded private economic consultant in New York. Rinfret has no present plans to work in Shriver's campaign.

The reality of a Shriver presidential campaign took root after he and his wife, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, got a green light from the head of the Kennedy family, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. The green light meant that Kennedy, despite contrary views widely held throughout the party, has no intention of breaking his "no-draft" pledge, no matter what happens at the Democratic national convention next summer.

Intimates of both Kennedy and Shriver say the senator will be strictly neutral about Shriver's campaign.

Shriver's real concern is to avoid being dismissed by party leaders as a lightweight whose first venture into elective politics came when McGovern picked him to fill the vice presidential vacancy in 1972 after half a dozen earlier choices turned McGovern down.

A footnote: Some party leaders tell us that Shriver's chief asset in a burgeoning Democratic field without any stars is the fact that he never held public office and is not perceived by voters as a "politician"—an opprobrious word in post-Watergate America.

•

The fury within Ronald Reagan's inner circle over Paul Haerle's decision to be co-chairman of Gerald Ford's presidential campaign in California goes back to a private little chat between Haerle, now Republican Party chairman in California, Reagan and top Reagan operative Mike Deaver, in early 1973.

Haerle wanted the post of Party Vice-Chairman, and he went to Reagan to ask the then-governor's help. Reagan gave it "unconditionally," with no questions asked.

But Deaver, sitting in the governor's office with Reagan and Haerle pointedly told Haerle that if Reagan ever ran for any elective office in the future he hoped that Haerle would support him. There was only one conceivable office that would have interested Reagan, who was then starting his seventh year as governor, and that was the presidency.

Haerle's reply to Deaver was: "absolutely." But a little more than two years later, now ensconced as party chairman, Haerle agreed to take a top spot in the Ford campaign despite the possibility that Reagan may run against the President for the Republican nomination.

Footnote: An effort planned by Reagan loyalists to discipline Haerle at last weekend's meeting of the Republican state executive committee fell flat. As state chairman, Haerle himself has appointed a majority of the executive committee, giving him majority control.

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The Montgomery Advertiser FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1975

Shriver Is Demos' Martha Mitchell

John D. Lofton Jr.

WASHINGTON — Like Al Capp's character in Li'l Abner, Joe Btfsplk, who is always under a black cloud, wherever Sargent Shriver goes and whatever he does, he is surrounded by confusion.

The current flap involving Shriver has to do with whether he'll run for president in 1976. First, there was a report that he was being pressured to make the race by what he called "a considerable number of reasonably astute political figures." Then brother-in-law Sen. Edward Kennedy, after meeting with him, said Shriver told him he would run. Not so, said Shriver two hours later.

In the most recent report, Shriver said it was his conversation with Kennedy — in which the senator said he would not be running — that made him, Shriver, decide to run.

But regardless of what Sarge ultimately decides to do, the one thing that can never be true is the report in the Chicago Sun-Times that in the coming months Shriver will surface as a "serious Democratic presidential aspirant." No way. Sargent Shriver will never be a "serious" anything.

George McGovern's seventh choice for vice president is the Democrat's Martha Mitchell. He is a combination of Prof. Irwin Corey and Capt. Kangaroo. Shriver is the only person being mentioned for president who I'm afraid might start an atomic war, not because he would chose to push the nuclear button, but because he might accidentally sit on it.

THE FORMER Peace Corps director was the Mr. Malaprop of the 1972 campaign. His was the only plane where, when the Secret Service agents moved into action for the candidate, both his staff and members of the press played "The Halls of Montezuma" on kazoos. Shriver was the master of the glittering goo-gooism, the incomprehensible overstatement and, on occasion, he even invented words. In one instance, he forgot who he was running with.

In Minneapolis, Shriver told his audience that on election day "the choice of the century will be between a hollow brain and a hollow program — the New Federalism of the Nixon Administration as compared to the new American alliance proposed by George McGovern."

In September 1972, papers all across the country carried a photo or Shriver slapping his forehead in embarrassment after telling a labor group: "We will carry California for Nixon and Shriver.

Before a group of students, Sarge brought his rhetorical blunderbuss to bear on all Republicans, accusing them of being pro-business, and, quoting from that great classic "Rub-a-Dub-Dub," having done nothing for the "butcher, the baker or the candlestick maker."

IN A New York supermarket, blaming high prices on the GOP, Shriver told a woman shopper that bacon had gone up 100 per cent, adding that she probably already knew this, though. Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams quickly took Sarge aside and informed him that the lady was the wife of a prominent rabbi.

Attacking Nixon's concept of justice, Shriver accused the president of destructive "politicization" of the process, which sounds bad, but one can't be sure since there's no such word.

In the 1972 campaign, Shriver was a practitioner of the oldest of the old politics — saying one thing in one part of the country, another thing in another area. In Little Rock, Ark., he praised Confederate Gens. Robert E. Lee and Jeb Stuart as "great Americans." The next month, in Rockford, Ill., he referred to 'those who fought for the South as "traitors."

McGovern's running mate denounced Nixon's so-called Southern Strategy as "nothing more than warmed-over Reconstruction." But if the strategy was what its critics said it was — a favored treatment for the South over other areas of the country — it would have, in fact, been the opposite of Reconstruction.

Explaining his candidacy in the last election, Sargent Shriver said: "Nixon represents the Tories. I represent the rabble." If this is so, my heart goes out to the mob. Even rabble deserve better.

For Shriver It Is Like 1972: Whether and When to Announce His Candidacy for President

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 22—On election night, 1972, Sargeant Shriver's friends serenaded the defeated Vice-Presidential candidate with a parody of "I Can't Get Started."

"I've Camus'd and I've Sartre'd"

went the song for the former Ambassador to France, "but I can't get started at home." Mr. Shriver is having much the same problem with the 1976 Presidential campaign, which he still seems determined to enter. When The Washington Star reported last week that the first Peace Corps director had finally decided to run, Mr. Shriver responded in The Washington Post that nothing was definite.

Among the people he puzzled in this process was his brother-in-law, Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, who commented on the first "go" story, "He told me he was going to run and I wished him well." But when Mr. Shriver changed that to "no go," Mr. Kennedy recalled only the "clear impression he will run."

And indeed a handful of younger Democratic organizers that Mr. Shriver has approached for help say his mind seems made up. He is fancying a coalition of support, they say, ranging from such an archetypal "regular" as Alexander E. Barkan of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to Alan Baron, a reform pamphleteer.

Mr. Shriver is said to be picturing New York's April primary as a logical launching site—and picturing himself as the Liberals' most promising alternative to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

●

Vice President Rockefeller has made two substantial additions to his staff—from California and Pennsylvania, as it happened, two states that will have among the largest delegations at the Republican nominating convention next year.

Raymond P. Shafer, who will help out the Vice President in "intergovernmental relations," was Governor of Pennsylvania from 1967 through 1970 and chairman of President Nixon's Commission on Drug Abuse. Among his incidental credentials: He was an eating-club friend of President Ford's at the Yale Law School in the late nineteen-thirties; and he gave a nominating speech at the 1968 convention for "an extraordinary human being, the man most qualified to be President of the United States, the man for our time, Nelson Rockefeller."

John G. Veneman, who lost the Republican primary last year running for the office of Lieutenant Governor in California, is a former Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. He will be Mr. Rockefeller's chief personal adviser on containing the cost of Democratic social programs, from food stamps to national health insurance.

Mr. Shafer was one of 30 former Governors whom former Governor Rockefeller invited to a stag dinner at his home on Foxhall Road here last week. Not on the guest list was Mr. Averell Harriman, who became the former Governor of New York when Mr. Rockefeller defeated him in 1958.

●

A Ronald Reagan challenge against President Ford for the Republican nomination next year has seemed less likely and less menacing since the Mayaguez affair and Mr. Ford's success in having vetoes sustained against the Democratic Congress. Two other longshot Republican challenge possibilities have apparently faded into wistful wisps.

●

Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee said his Presidential ambitions of last winter were "dormant," which probably means he is thinking of 1980. And in London, Ambassador Elliot L. Richardson all but put himself out of the running with a typically ornate response to an interviewer. "In the circumstances," he said, "I see no realistic prospect that I would be playing an active role on my own behalf in 1976."

●

The half-hour television program "Republicans Are People, Too," which the Republican National Committee paid $124,000 to produce and broadcast earlier this month, brought in only $4,600 in contributions to party headquarters. Yet the party is insisting that the prime-time network experiment was a hit of sorts.

"We may have hit the bottom of the Nielsens," says a spokesman, "but we still hit three and a half million homes for half an hour. Of 505 letters we received on the program, 450 were positive—and that's a very favorable rate." The second and last of the current series will got out over the NBC network on July 1 with the theme that "Republicans are people who care about other people."

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Sarge Shriver and the Kennedy connection

Virtually every one of the current crop of Democratic presidential hopefuls had some connection with the brief presidency of John F. Kennedy. According to Kennedy's personal secretary, Evelyn Lincoln, then-North Carolina governor Terry Sanford was being considered as a replacement to Vice-President Lyndon Johnson prior to the ill-fated trip to Dallas. Morris Udall was elected to the Congress when his brother Stewart vacated the seat after being appointed Kennedy's Secretary of the Interior. Candidates Harris, Bayh and Carter all share a similar fresh face, anti-old guard, generally progressive theme and style of campaigning that the late president displayed so well.

But none were as close to Kennedy as R. Sargent Shriver. In May of 1953 he married Kennedy's sister, Eunice, and for much of his adult life has been involved in either the business operations of the Kennedy family or has played a role in their political undertakings.

The Shrivers, a Roman Catholic family, first arrived in Maryland in 1693. Born in Westminster, Md. in 1915, R. Sargent Shriver was the son of a banker with financial interests in New York and Maryland. He traveled widely in Europe prior to World War II, graduated from Yale in 1938, and after receiving a law degree from Yale in 1941, served a brief stint with a New York law firm. Shriver spent World War II on battleships and submarines in both the Atlantic and Pacific; in 1945 he returned to civilian life after attaining the rank of lieutenant commander.

Pursuing a career in journalism rather than law, Shriver became an assistant editor for *Newsweek*, but in 1946 was recruited by Joseph Kennedy to edit the letters of his son, Joseph, Jr., who had been killed during the war. Taking on other duties for Kennedy in his business empire, he became, in 1948, the assistant general manager of the Kennedy-owned Chicago Merchandise Mart—the largest commerical building in the world.

He played an active role in Chicago's community affairs, was appointed to the school board in 1955, and a year later became its president, the youngest school board leader in a major city at that time.

In 1960 Shriver devoted his full attention to the candidacy of his brother-in-law, working in the critical primaries of Wisconsin and West Virginia. In the general election he ran the civil rights section of the Kennedy campaign. It was in that capacity that he urged Kennedy to call Mrs. Martin Luther King at the time her husband was in jail in Georgia for civil rights activities—an act which is credited by some as having influenced enough black votes into the Kennedy column to have tipped the scales away from Vice-President Nixon in some major states.

After the Kennedy victory Shriver ran the team that recruited the top administrative talent. The cabinet that he helped to select served the longest of any in this century. On March 4, 1961, he was appointed director of the recently established Peace Corps. His effort as head of that program has probably been the highlight of his career in public service. Bringing to the job an enthusiasm and zest that characterized the "New Frontier", Shriver was able, by his salesmanship and hard work, to sway congressional and public skeptics of the program, and to deal effectively with foreign nations and leaders.

In his tenure in that post, he visited over 50 nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America and traveled over half a million miles.

In 1964, Shriver was asked by President Lyndon Johnson to lead the War on Poverty. Under his guidance such programs as VISTA, Head Start, Community Action, Job Corps and Legal Aid were implemented. In 1968 Johnson appointed him the American ambassador to France, a post at which he remained during the first two years of the Nixon

CONTINUED

Eunice Kennedy Shriver — when you're in a big family 'you have to hustle all the time'

Eunice Shriver—at jet speed

The 'Katharine Hepburn' of the Kennedys puts diligent work before personal ambition

By Louise Sweeney
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

One sandy day in Hyannisport, Cape Cod, in 1975, during Sargent Shriver's last run for the presidency, he announced he was going to Indianapolis to campaign. His wife, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, announced *she* was going to swim.

Profile

So she and a friend from Ireland, Dot Tubrity, splashed into the ocean. "They were out swimming around," remembers Ethel Kennedy, Mrs. Shriver's sister-in-law, "when Eunice said, 'Maybe I really ought to go to Indianapolis.' " The problem was, the plane was leaving in seven minutes.

Mrs. Shriver raced into the house, grabbed a few things, and they made a dash for the plane. But when they got to the airport, says Mrs. Kennedy, "Eunice realized she'd forgotten to put a dress on, so she said to Dot, 'Would you take your dress off, I'll need it. You can change behind the car.' So Eunice wore the dress over her bathing suit on board the plane, then on to the speech and reception in Indianapolis.

"Eunice," says Ethel Kennedy, "likes to do things on the spur of the moment."

Meeting the wife of the Maryland Democrat who wants to be president is just that abrupt. Eunice Shriver's door slams open and she shoots out, trailing a sort of jet exhaust, beginning the conversation in mid-paragraph, then sweeping the inverviewer into the robin's egg blue office where she runs the Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. Foundation in Washington, D.C.

In an interview Mrs. Shriver does not so much answer a question as pounce on it. She is a tall, slender woman with a certain wiry grace, a woman who paces the floor, thumps the table, runs her fingers through her lion's mane of brown and blonde hair as she talks. There is a Katharine Hepburn quality about her walk and about her talk, the voice low, cultured, and salted with the characteristic Kennedy r's: "Americar" and "Chinar."

Among the remaining of the original nine Kennedy children she now is the oldest, her face more seasoned than pictures would suggest. The eyes are a soft blue, while she has the bold bone structure and flashing teeth that are the family signature. This day, she is wearing a tan, black, and green somber-striped sweater over black pants, a startling pair of scarlet Argyle sox, and scuffed Guccis.

"I don't particularly want to be in the White House," she admits. "I'm very happy doing what I do. And if I [illegible] the White House I would be really interested in coming to do what I do, which is working . . . That's a very answer, I guess, but I was trying to answer in terms ambition."

No White House ambitions for Mrs. Shriver, whose executive vice-president is the driving force behind Kennedy Foundation's work for the retarded and the special olympics she instituted for the handicapped.

She says of the retarded and handicapped children are helped: "I'm very, very full of admiration for [illegible] and of amazement and wonder at the human spirit, what accomplishes. We talk about great feats of war and all but what could be more exciting than all these children think the courage they have, all the spirit, the human spirit, is forever eternal.

"People are always saying, what use are the retarded on welfare, using up all our funds, and yet, where else there every day a greater example of the triumph of the human spirit over adversity than these people?"

Kennedy family friend Lemoyne (Lem) Billings suggests that it was Eunice's special closeness to and compassion for her retarded sister Rosemary that spurred her to "open up opportunities for the retarded, the last 20 years, bring them out of the closet" and into society.

"Eunice isn't materialism-oriented at all, "says Ethel Kennedy, who describes her as "hopeful, steady, delightfully unpredictable." A sociology major at Stanford University, she worked with juvenile delinquents in prison reform before turning to retardation.

She is an Ipswich clam about what she likes, but it is safe to say she is fond of Sean O'Casey, skiing, collecting (religious art, American antiques, and decoys) making chocolate chip cookies, sailing, tennis, swimming, Frisbee. And that her childhood heroine was Amelia Earhart. Her mother, Rose Kennedy, writes of her matchless "energy, initiative and drive." Another Eunice watcher calls her "a ticking time bomb."

As the middle child of nine, Eunice Shriver remembers, "When you're in a big family you have to hustle all the time. But I think that's a good quality to instill in your children, for whatever they have to get." She and Sargent Shriver, former Peace Corps head and Ambassador to France, have five children.

They met at a dinner party in New York, when her sister Kathleen took her across the room to talk to "this delightful man" from an old Maryland family who had worked his way through college and law school. Six years later they were married. "I thought he was very attractive," says Mrs. Shriver. A pause, a low laugh, "And still do."



By Ken Regan

Politics by Perry

By James M. Perry
FROM INDIANOLA, MISS.

THE ROMAN Catholic hierarchy in the state of Iowa, says Sargent Shriver, who is himself a Roman Catholic, "stuck it in my guts."

Shriver ran a disappointing fifth in the caucuses on Jan. 19 in Iowa, behind Carter, Bayh, Harris, and Udall.

"In Iowa," says Shriver, "the Catholics did not vote for Shriver." They didn't vote for him, he says, because his position on abortion was misquoted

Analysis and Opinion

and misrepresented and because former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, a Baptist, subtly shifted his position on abortion. Carter was the big winner, with 27.63 per cent of the vote.

"What Carter did in Iowa," says Shriver, "raises a serious question. Carter is the fellow who says he'll never tell a lie, who says he'll never even leave an inaccurate impression. Well, he surely left a different impression in Iowa than he did with, say, the National Women's Political Caucus.

"I think Jimmy Carter may have won a battle in Iowa, but I think he lost the war."

We'll see about that. Here in Mississippi, another caucus state, Carter is supposed to be ahead—again. By the time you read this, you'll know, because Mississippi Democrats are caucusing Jan. 24. Shriver expects to run fourth here, behind Carter, Wallace, and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas.

The Abortion Issue

What Shriver really worries about, though, is what will happen to him in his first big primaries—New Hampshire on Feb. 24, Massachusetts (the Kennedy fiefdom) on March 2, and Illinois (where Shriver lived and worked for 15 years) on March 16. Specifically, Shriver fears he will lose Catholic votes he expected to win in all those three important states because of the abortion issue.

He is angry and deeply frustrated.

"The truth is," he says, "that I've done more over the last 10 years on this issue than anyone else in or out of public life in America. I held, with my wife Eunice, the first conference on abortion in this country, in 1968. It was sponsored by the Kennedy Foundation. The papers from that conference were published as a book, *The Morality of Abortion*, and we paid for it.

"We opened a Life Support Center at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, to help young mothers keep their babies. We got Senator Kennedy to introduce legislation to appropriate $30 million to start a national network of life-support centers.

help people, and I come down against it. I say it's a pragmatic, practical consideration. It would take as long as 10 years to get it through. Even then, a significant number of large states never will act to limit the scope of the Supreme Court's decision. They'd still have abortions.

"Besides, I hesitate to run as a candidate for President of the United States calling for a change in our Constitution. That's up to Congress and the people. It's not the President's business."

Shriver and the other candidates in Iowa were asked their positions on abortion by the church. Shriver says he outlined his position carefully, but that by the time it was released by the church to the newspapers it had been garbled.

"My position," he says, "was seriously misquoted in the newspapers."

He sent a protest to the bishop in Des Moines, who replied, Shriver says, by saying he'd do what he could to straighten it out in the short time that remained before the caucuses convened. Yet, on Sunday, the day before the caucus, "a sheet of paper was affixed to the parish bulletin in every parish in Iowa. It supported Carter. They stuck it in my guts."

In Massachusetts, he says, he will be more careful to make sure his position is understood. He will also go out of his way to make sure people realize what Jimmy Carter is up to.

"In Iowa," says Shriver, Carter "was talking out of both sides of his mouth. He was even quoted as saying he favored a statute to tone down the Supreme Court's abortion decision. That's deception. He knows and we all know—or should know—that you can't pass a statute to restrict abortion in defiance of the Supreme Court."

A Controversy Is Born

(Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, says that Carter and one of his supporters, who is a Catholic priest and a right-to-life activist, had a long discussion of Constitutional amendments a week or more before the caucuses. Powell says Carter told the priest he opposed amending the Constitution—and that he also opposed, as a matter of personal conviction, abortions. The talk then turned to the idea of some kind of law or statute, and Carter said he might be able to go along with that, if he could be sure of its Constitutionality. Carter was quoted to that effect in a right-to-life publication, and the controversy was born.

(Powell says he went to both of the daily newspapers in Des Moines with a statement that he thought would clear things up. Neither paper was interested in publishing it. In the statement, Powell says, Carter tried to overcome the idea he had misled proabortionists and prolifers. He said a more complete statement will be issued within a week or so. Anyway, Powell says, Carter's victory in Iowa was so sweeping—he carried 78 of the 99 counties, with 4 still undecided—that the confusion over his position on abortion couldn't be crucial.)

If Shriver can't win Catholic votes, he can't win the nomination. His appeal to Catholic ethnics always has been powerful; it is the principal asset in his campaign. If he loses that appeal, he loses everything. It is no wonder he is so concerned.

And if Carter can appeal success-

Shriver Falls Victim to His Own Church



fully to both proabortion and right-to-life Democrats, we might as well hand him the nomination now.

It is, I think, too bad that Shriver has come against such a hard rock so early in his campaign. I rather think he has been saying some sensible things. Anyway, you can't help but like the man, even if he does wear silk stockings and garters, even if he does take five or six showers a day.

Patrician From Maryland

More than any other candidate, he is himself. By that I mean I can't imagine a Lloyd Bentsen ever saying anything that wasn't cool and restrained. He is never unpredictable. Jimmy Carter, I begin to think, is smarter, maybe even trickier, than any of us anticipated. I can't imagine him saying anything out of his carefully controlled character either.

But here is this beautifully tailored Shriver, a patrician from Maryland, an in-law of the Kennedys, a former ambassador to Paris, and sometimes he talks like a street punk.

"I went up against General de Gaulle," he told a largely black audience here in Indianola, "and let me tell you he was a tough cookie."

And he has this curious habit of adding *non sequiturs* to his speeches. He told the black folks in Indianola he had *Indian chiefs* on his organizing committee. "And you know what," he said, "two of the chiefs are *Republicans*." He stops and thinks. "You know, I never heard of a Republican Indian."

To this same audience he boasts that he's a Southerner too. He was in Alabama not long ago at a meeting in the Raphael Semmes Hotel. "They thought I was a Yankee," he says, "but then I told them that Raphael Semmes was my cousin." Semmes, it should be noted, was an admiral in the Confederate Navy in the Civil War. Once Shriver gets going, you can't stop him. "Why," he told his audience of now plainly puzzled blacks, "you can look it up in the Baltimore phone book. There's a Semmes Shriver there, and he's my cousin."

I suppose Shriver was speaking to another audience. His trouble in Mississippi, it is said, is that almost all of his supporters are black. He was trying to win a few white friends. Cousin Raphael Semmes was part of that effort, I suppose.

An International Lawyer

Of course he has checks to cash. He is a Kennedy in-law, and he did organize the Peace Corps, an ornament to his brother-in-law's Administration. He did take on the War Against Poverty, even if he didn't win. He was the ambassador to France and he is today an international lawyer with important connections in Russia.

He boasts—he is not at all shy about plugging his record—that he's had more executive experience than all of the other candidates put together. Then he reminds his audience that the President is the *Chief Executive*. He boasts, too, that he's had more experience in foreign affairs. "Why," he says, "I can pick up the phone," and he pretends to do just that, "and call the Kremlin!"

Here in Indianola, an old black woman stood up. "Listen to God, Sargent Shriver," she said. "He'll help you. He'll give you a miracle, and you'll be President."

If the Roman Catholic Church continues to listen to Jimmy Carter, that slick-talking, peanut-farming Baptist from Georgia, it really will be a miracle.

Shriver shows some fiscal sense

CHICAGO TRIB



George F. Will

WASHINGTON — It is still unclear which Democratic pretender has the highest substance-to-water ratio, but on one telling issue — economic policy — the most interesting statement has come from Sargent Shriver. The most agreeable and, frankly, surprising feature of Shriver's 9,000-word pronouncement is the measured tone and moderation — you might say incipient conservatism — of its major prescriptions.

Such things are, of course, relative. But considering that this is a document baked in the oven of a campaign and that Shriver springs from the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, the document is encouraging evidence of a candidate's willingness to talk something like sense even though sensible thoughts are not always conforting.

True, Shriver includes the de rigueur rhetoric about "administered prices" by "vested interests" being a "ripoff" of the people. But you have to include some such rhetoric just to get Democrats' attention, even if you know, as Shriver surely does, that "administered prices" are an insignificant component of inflation.

Shriver goes on to blame recent inflation on "three factors: food prices, fuel prices and the international devaluation of the dollar." Shriver is, as Democrats generally and understandably are, reticent about the relationship between inflation and the expansion of the money supply to finance government deficit spending. But he does mention it obliquely when he criticizes the Federal Reserve Board for what he consideres a suspicious election-year expansion of the money supply that perhaps overstimulated the economy in 1972.

But more important than such rhetoric are the first words of the document's most practical section, the policy proposals: "(This) program begins with an attack on inflation. Inflation affects every American. It seems the most intractable of our problems, both intellectually and institutionally. . . . It now contributes to unemployment by replacing consumer confidence with anxiety."

THIS IS AN APPEALING instance — very nearly unprecedented among liberal Democrats — of putting first things first. More precisely, it is a candid acknowledgement of the unpleasant fact that inflation, which causes unemployment, is at least as pressing a problem as unemployment. In fact, a 1-per cent increase in one or the other has approximately the same effect in depressing consumer confidence, which is one fuel of economic growth.

Even when Shriver approaches those subjects that are, all too frequently, occasions for sweeping and demagogic declarations — subjects like the independence of the Federal Reserve Board and wage and price controls — his proposals are becomingly modest.

His strongest recommendation for the Fed is coterminous terms for its chairman and the President. And he says the Fed "must" remain independent.

ON CONTROLS, he wants the Council on Wage and Price Stability "strengthened," but he stops conspicuously short of proposing to make the council's meddlesomeness more muscular. He would have the council "study and spotlight" some developments, "monitor and focus attention on" others. But he says flatly that the council should not have power to set wages, prices and profits: "Rather, the council would depend on informed public opinion to support its actions."

Finally, while the dizzier members of his party flirt with the idea of government "planning" the economy, Shriver calls only for a "true national compact" to encourage "cooperation" among all sectors of the economy. That misty idea will not stand between conservatives and a good night's sleep.

Shriver campaigns a la francaise

By Robert Turner
Globe Staff

NASHUA, N.H. — Sargent Shriver, speaking in French that was described variously as "so-so" and as having an "r, just like (they speak) in France," entertained about 140 persons at the annual dinner of a Canadian-American Amicale Club here last night.

Pausing only occasionally to correct his pronunciation or remember his vocabulary, Shriver spoke in French for 20 minutes, making a campaign pitch and recounting anecdotes from his tour as ambassador to France in 1968-1970.

Shriver said French President Charles De Gaulle told then President Nixon that in Shriver's case "the good man made a good ambassador."

Shriver changed it slightly to say that he hoped "un bon homme peut faire un bon President." (A good man can make a good president.)

Shriver also said his wife, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, who accompanied him to the dinner, was the only woman to receive the French Legion of Honor when she was given the award by deGaulle.

Shriver was received warmly by the crowd at the McNulty and Foley function room. "I think he went over well," said Paul Pinet, a director of the club. "He seemed to be enjoying himself."

Pinet said the club dinner normally only has about 80 persons in attendance. "We loaded this thing — to be honest. We wanted to fill the hall."

The club is a men's club formed to encourage the use of French in the community and especially in local Catholic schools. A number of students and nuns were invited.

Although there are many persons of French Canadian descent in Nashua, most of them are third or fourth generation, and there is no large French-speaking community here, as there is in other parts of New Hampshire.

The dinner was the first overt effort by any of the presidential candidates to pay special attention to the Canadian-American vote in the state.



Democratic presidential [illegible] shakes hands with guest at Nashua dinner. [illegible] ders)

In 1972, that element created some difficulty for Sen. Edmund Muskie when the Manchester Union Leader printed the letter which reported Muskie as having used the word "canuck" to describe French Canadians. The letter which turned out later to have been falsified. Shriver said last night that the incident had not been a factor in his decision to campaign.

"I thought it would be useful for them to know that I am sensitive to things having to do with French culture, with the French people, with the French language. It was a gesture of friendship—of respect and good will."

Shriver Insists He's Not Running Against Wallace

8/9/75

By MARCIA KUNSTEL
Advertiser Staff Writer

Democratic presidential aspirant Sargent Shriver said here Friday he's not running against George Wallace. But he won't run with him either.

Shriver, who has not formally announced his candidacy but is rounding up organizations across the country, said he is not running against Wallace or any other candidate, but against appeals to the divisiveness of "racism, sexism and sectionalism."

The number two man on the Democratic ticket in 1972, Shriver repeated earlier comments that he would not run on a 1976 ticket with Wallace, or with former California Gov. Ronald Reagan.

Shriver, who sandwiched the Montgomery press conference between organizational and publicity meetings in Georgia and Mississippi, said his aim not only is bringing together the people of this nation, but promoting more international cooperation on problems such as energy and food shortages.

"Bringing us together doesn't include having George Wallace on the ticket," he said, "because I think he brings people apart."

Shriver admitted Wallace does focus on important issues, and has a "talent to express the people's dissatisfactions."

But, he said, a candidate must do more than that, and Wallace has not come up with ways to deal with those dissatisfactions.

An important part of dealing with some of the nation's major problems is taking a more global approach to solving them, Shriver said, admitting that might not be politically realistic in a time when the public appears turning inward nationally, but holding that is the right approach.

Shriver said he likely will make a formal announcement of his candidacy in September, and currently is building campaign organizations in the states. Support groups have been lined up in about 45 states, he said.

The biggest problem so far, he said, is not having a professional staff to aid his campaign, as do current officeholders who use official staff "paid for by you taxpayers."

"So I don't start out even with everybody else," he said.

Shriver said he has discussed his candidacy with and been encouraged by his brother-in-law, Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

The Montgomery Advertiser

FRIDAY, JULY 18, 1975

Special Coll. Files

Shriver



Shriver Announces Intentions to Lawyers

Shriver Tells State Bar He's Presidential Hopeful

MOBILE, Ala. (AP) — R. Sargent Shriver, 1972 Democratic vice presidential nominee, said Thursday he plans to announce his candidacy for president in September.

Shriver, speaking at a meeting of the Alabama State Bar Association, said, "I do intend to become a candidate."

However, he said, "I am not now a candidate. I am not equipped with the staff necessary to be an announced candidate." But he said his formal announcement should come in the next few months.

Commenting on the possibility of a draft to nominate Sen. Edward Kennedy, his brother-in-law, Shriver said the Massachusettes Democrat would not accept the Democratic nomination.

"I wouldn't be running myself if I thought he was going to run," the former ambassador to France said.

Shriver discounted Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace as a running mate saying: "If I am nominated, I will pick someone to run with me who will help unify the American people.

"Truthfully," he added, "I do not think his (Wallace's) record is one of bringing people together."

Shriver said it is "obligatory" not to pick a vice presidential nominee whose health is "a matter of concern." Wallace, whose legs are paralyzed, was the target of an assassination attempt during the 1972 presidential campaign.

Earlier Thursday, American Bar Association President James Fellers of Oklahoma City told delegates that Alabama has done well with its state court reorganization.

And now it's time, Fellers said, for the Alabama state bar to adopt the ABA's proposed standards on judicial conduct and ethics.

He suggested that there be more training for lawyers and judges.

Chief Justice Howell Heflin of the Alabama Supreme Court is scheduled to address the association's closing meeting Saturday.

Shriver

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The Montgomery Advertiser

Shriver 'Okays' Carter, But Still Nixes Wallace

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Democratic presidential aspirant Sargent Shriver said Thursday he could accept former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter as a runningmate but not Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

"I do not believe a person whose principal strength is in marshalling one group of people against another should be president or vice president," he told a news conference prior to a luncheon hosted by former Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen Jr.

Shriver made the comment at the beginning of a two-day swing through Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi which he said was to test the response of southerners to his potential candidacy.

Shriver, 59, has registered with the Federal Elections Commission but said he will delay a final decision on his intentions until September.

The former Peace Corps director, who was George McGovern's runningmate in the 1972 presidential race, said he has heard that southerners felt McGovern wrote off the South in that campaign.

"I'd like to make it clear right now that Shriver has no intention of writing off the South," he said.

Shriver also said Sen. Ted Kennedy, D-Mass., his brother-in-law, "has assured me he will not be a candidate under any circumstances."

Shriver said he believes former California Gov. Ronald Reagan may be able to beat President Ford in some of the primaries.

Ford, he said, is giving the country "Nixonism without Nixon."

"Almost without exception Gerald Ford is following every policy of Nixon's except Watergate," said Shriver.

Shriver said he sees as Ford's "Southern stragegy" his selection of Bo Callaway as campaign chairman and Callaway's statement that Nelson Rockefeller is an albatross.

Shriver said he sympathizes with Rockefeller who is being left to "twist slowly in the breeze."

Shriver was met at the news conference by three members of the National Organization for Women.

Shriver

The Washington Post

Monday, August

argent Shriver at Full Throttle



is 5 p.m. and, as usual, Sargent ver is feeling that the lark's on wing and the snail's on the thorn. e is going to play tennis, and then for President.

hen God designed Shriver, He left second gear. Shriver does every- ıg at full throttle, and when cam- gning he will eat or drink or dance ethnic specialty at any hour. This is no small matter. There are more winner-take-all sta primar- . Next year there will be about 400 imaries in 30 or more states. From w on stamina will be the one neces- ry attribute of the athlete who sits Lincoln's chair.

Shriver's political philosophy is un mplicated: eschew evil, do good, be in before breakfast. He will be 60 in ovember, but looks 45; the last dozen ispiriting years didn't happen to im, physiologically or philosophically.

These years have left many Ameri- ans listless, in no mood for a Presi- dent who would clap the nation on its slumped back and exhort it to shape up. Shriver is a born back-clapper.

This day he sprinted past lunch, and now he is inhaling a hero sandwich, which he does without slowing the flow of conversation that may include, at any movement, a promise to "get the country moving again."

Much more than his brother-in-law, Ted Kennedy, Shriver evokes the revved-up, wheel-spinning early days of the New Frontier. He embodies the political sensibility of 1961.

This does not mean Shriver is dated, but that he is the candidate for those people — and they may be legion — whose pulses quicken to the remembered cadences of President Kennedy's evangelical inaugural address. It is altogether right that the Democratic Party should produce in Shiver an evangelical candidate, to discover how many people still call Camelot their political home, and think they can go home again.

Because of his convictions, and the pluck he showed in walking the plank with George McGovern in 1972, Shriver has impeccable liberal credentials. This gives him an advantage over suitors in the courtship of the Democratic left.

The proliferation of primaries has magnified the power of the ideologically intense minorities who are inflamed and organized during the primary season, when the more moderate majority of the electorate is not paying much attention to politics. These minorities — Democrats to the left and Republicans to the right of their parties—are gifted at nominating unelectable candidates, like Barry Goldwater and McGovern.

Democratic candidates whose liberal credentials are not impeccable are constantly tempted to pander to the left so relentlessly that they can never get back to the center, where elections (unlike nominations) are won. Shriver will not need to do that.

He has a proper moralist's intensity, which gives him that mysterious quality—call it the "earnestness factor"—necessary for wooing liberals. McGovern had earnestness seeping from every pore, but he lacked a redeeming sense of fun. Shriver has that sense, and it keeps him from seeming suffocatingly pious.

In 1972 Shriver became only the fifth Catholic (after Al Smith, John Kennedy, Edmund Muskie and Thomas Eagleton) to run on a national ticket. the stigma of [illegible]. And if he modulates his liberalism as may be able to appear, at least to those anxious to see him so, as a Catholic Ike.

Certainly his previous public service—head of the Peace Corps and the poverty program and ambassador to France—enables him to look more like a dutiful staff officer than a politician.

Shriver's most interesting face is his religious seriousness. It sets him apart in the political profession, many members of which seem to have no inner life beyond an almost heathen enthusiasm for getting on. He reads—he even underlines—theology books and journals.

He is believable and affecting—the descendant of Maryland gentry, sitting in his Washington law offices—when he says that he thinks life is "a vale of tears, a struggle" for most people most of the time.

It is not yet clear what President Shriver's administration would do about that. But his administration would not be gripped by the quietism that is one possible response to the Christian belief that all achievement is but straw in the eternal bonfire.

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Victor Zorza

Candidate file

A Shriver Candidacy?

A Soviet hint that the next President of the United States may now be visiting the Soviet Union turned out to be a reference to Sargent Shriver, Senator Edward Kennedy's brother-in-law. Shriver is seen as a possible candidate by some of the Democrats who have never reconciled themselves to Kennedy's decision to stay out of the race. The Russians, too, were among Kennedy's most ardent supporters, for they hoped that he might keep the Democratic nomination from Senator Henry Jackson, whose election they would regard as leading back to the cold war. So when Russians in Washington began asking what chance Sargent Shriver had to get the Democratic nomination, just as he was departing for a major tour of the Soviet Union, it seemed a good question to look into.

Shriver himself says that he has been getting letters urging him to run in next year's presidential primaries. He usually tells the letter-writers that he appreciates their interest and confidence in him, but is not making a decision "now."

Senator Kennedy says, "I know people have talked to him about it" and have "urged" him to run. Kennedy explains that he "couldn't" say now that Shriver would not run, "under certain circumstances."

Kennedy reacts with some vexation to the inevitable suggestion that Shriver would merely be a stalking horse for his own candidacy, that Shriver would collect the votes in the primaries and would then transfer them to Kennedy. Even President Ford, to say nothing of several important Democratic governors and many other party stalwarts, foresees the possibility of a deadlocked Democratic convention which, in the absence of a candidate with a clear majority, might draft Kennedy as the party's presidential nominee. But it might not be so easy to arrange a brokered convention. A solid block of Shriver delegates at the convention could provide a Kennedy base for some such deal.

"I can never stop political speculation," Kennedy says, with a weary tone in his voice. "I cannot help it if he runs." If Shriver makes a decision to do so, "he would certainly be running on his own." Kennedy leaned forward in his chair, trying to add emphasis to his words. "If I were going to run, I would be a candidate. I would not have a stalking horse." But, he insisted, he was not going to run.

Shriver's aides, too, insist that if he runs, he will be his own candidate. Having talked to both men in an attempt to probe their minds and feelings, I believe them. There is just that touch of asperity, barely perceptible, in what Kennedy says about Shriver, to suggest that he is less than happy about his political ambitions. An old family rivalry, some might say, or resentment at the political complications which the Shriver factor might add to Kennedy's own plans—whatever these might be.

But even if both men have no interest in a stalking horse, a good deal of the support which Shriver might attract would derive from the hope that a vote for him might ultimately turn out to be a vote for Kennedy. Certainly Shriver would have to be, in the first place, an attractive candidate in his own right to make any impression in the primaries. Those who have studied his performance as McGovern's Vice-Presidential running mate in 1972 conclude that he has many of the qualities needed for a successful campaign—the stamina, the ambition, the inspirational quality, and, perhaps most important of all, the ability to enjoy campaigning and to thrive on it. The McGovern connection also provides the link to the party's left, which is not enthusiastic about any of the candidates now in the field.

Shriver's supporters argue that, compared with the other candidates, he is in a unique position to rebuild the coalition which brought John F. Kennedy to the White House. He could be attractive not only to the left but also to the party's opposite pole, the conservative workers and middle class who deserted the Democratic ticket in droves in 1972. The party bosses, the organization types who are distrusted and discounted by the left, might rally to Shriver more readily than to some of the other candidates, his partisans maintain. They cite as an example the fact that Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, still in control of a powerful party machine, has let it be known that he would support a Shriver candidacy if Kennedy really refuses to run.

There is some evidence, too, of support in the black community and, at the other extreme, in the business community, with which Shriver has developed close working links through his law practice. The Mississippi Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Aaron E. Henry, who is held in high regard by some black activists, has sent out a circular letter urging support for a Shriver candidacy. Shriver's association with the Peace Corps under Kennedy, and with the anti-poverty program when he headed the Office of Economic Opportunity, provides him with a potential cadre of highly motivated political workers, many of whom now occupy key positions in their communities. Their letters, too, show that they would be ready to throw themselves with enthusiasm into a Shriver campaign.

In preparing for his Soviet visit, during which he will be speaking to Soviet elite audiences, including officials at policy making levels, about the future of U.S.-Soviet relations, Shriver brought together a team of speechwriters and experts who have worked in key positions for such presidential candidates as Senators McGovern, Mondale, and Muskie. The impression one gets from some of these comparatively young but politically hardened professionals is that Shriver is capable of inspiring enthusiasm as well as loyalty. They believe that his political ideas are likely to have a much wider appeal.

But these ideas have not been clearly formulated or presented so far, apart from the important foreign policy speech which he is delivering in Moscow today. He has been to the Soviet Union more than a dozen times on business trips, and has evidently impressed the Kremlin sufficiently to have got the invitation for the present political visit. But the answer to the question the Russians are asking—whether he is potentially a serious candidate—cannot be based on the views of his supporters, as this column is based. It cannot as yet be based on the views of his opponents, because he has not declared himself, and therefore he has none.

The latest Gallup poll which tested the "name recognition" factor puts Shriver well ahead of Jackson and several other candidates, actual and potential. This is a powerful base on which to build a campaign, because it means that Shriver does not need to struggle to be recognized by the public as the others do. He can go straight ahead to the next step to seek public attention for his policies, when he is ready to present them. The Moscow visit could begin the process of identifying him in the public mind as a man who is able to deal with foreign leaders, and who is treated by them as a major figure.

The Moscow visit serves as a trial balloon. It is bound to get Shriver discussed as a presidential hopeful, and this will help him to decide whether he should run in the primaries. And if he does run, but does not quite make it, there is always the Kennedy option at the convention.

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SARGENT

PEOPLE & THINGS

No Time for Sargent

By FRANK L. SCHNEIDER



SARGENT SHRIVER
He Wants to be Our Leader

Sargent Shriver is out of the compound again, off and running and this time for PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Where does he rush to first? Why to see us folks way down South here in Noo Awlins, ya'll! For added flair he stopped briefly at the Superdome for picture taking, wisely avoiding any conflict with Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Baily circus clowns who are to appear there later.

Guess what he's going to do first IF he is elected. He's going "to give the government back to the people." Is he going to give us Mandrake the Magician too?

Anyone cut from the fabric of the NEW FRONTIER and the GREAT SOCIETY should be able to come up with a better gimmick than that. But Sarge always had a sense of humor.

One of the funniest stories making international circles was the one that took place in Paris, when Sarge was our ambassador to France. Sarge arranged to have a mini-gala at his mansion there to honor Labor Leader George Meany. Anybody who was anybody in Paris was there. All of them but Sarge.

They had all received engraved invitations and were there sipping drinks wondering where the host was. Time went on and Meany and the French were visibly disturbed that Shriver hadn't greeted them after an hour had passed. Did they all come on the wrong day?

No. They came on the right day. Sarge dashed into the reception hall, in white shorts and tennis racket in hand, bolting up the stairway to change. As he did some of the dignitaries left. He has yet today to explain his bizarre behavior. But labor remembers, Sarge.

When he wanted to be vice-president Sarge came down South to see us folks. In Baton Rouge he boasted how his great uncle had fought with Robert E. Lee and how he was "brought up" loving the South and its culture and its way of life. Southerners, he said, knew how to take care of aggressors, enemies and "whoever else is around." Blacks in Louisiana were stunned that he ignored issues and snubbed their vote potential.

They must remember Sarge in Lafayette. Workers for McGovern-Shriver stood for hours waiting for his plane to land to greet him but the plane flew over their heads, skipping them so that Sarge could shake hands at the governor's mansion instead. He's really funny.

Explaining how as director of President Johnson's antipoverty program he could ignore the poverty stricken people residing on Lady Bird's Alabama farmlands, Shriver explained in his usual manner. It was tragic, he said. But, he told us, that fewer than 60 per cent of the inhabitants in that county had ever gone to college. And so that explained that.

He was director of the Peace Corps, a demanding position that carried him and Eunice to the far corners of the globe. But his grand ambition has always been an elective post. He wanted to be vice-president, or the governor of Maryland or Illinois. Once he explained that he couldn't run for governor of Illinois (men must have been dancing with their wives in Chicago on hearing that one) because it was "untimely." "You see," he said, "my brother-in-law might run for president and he is Catholic. And I'm a Catholic and so is Bobby and Teddy. So that would mean Catholics running for both the presidency and the governor of Illinois so I'd say it would be untimely in 1964." Makes sense.

You've got to remember that both Sarge and Eunice have wonderful senses of humor. She has been described as the wittiest of the Kennedys.

This is what witty Eunice did in 1972 when Sarge was going to Detroit to open his vice-presidential campaign headquarters.

As he was departing the compound at Hyannis Port, she jumped from poolside, threw a little dress over her wet bathing suit and plopped herself in his limo. And that's how she appeared at the opening of headquarters for her husband's campaign. Funny? The next day she appeared at the mayor's office for a news conference in the same little dress.

Sarge is a terrific campaigner. Once in Pittsburgh when he wanted to be vice-president, he danced an Italian tarantella, rushing wet-headed and breathing heavily from there to nibble on some sauerkraut in the Polish section. Later he dashed off to sample soul food. Still later, feverish and sweating he greeted some financial supporters at a Jewish club.

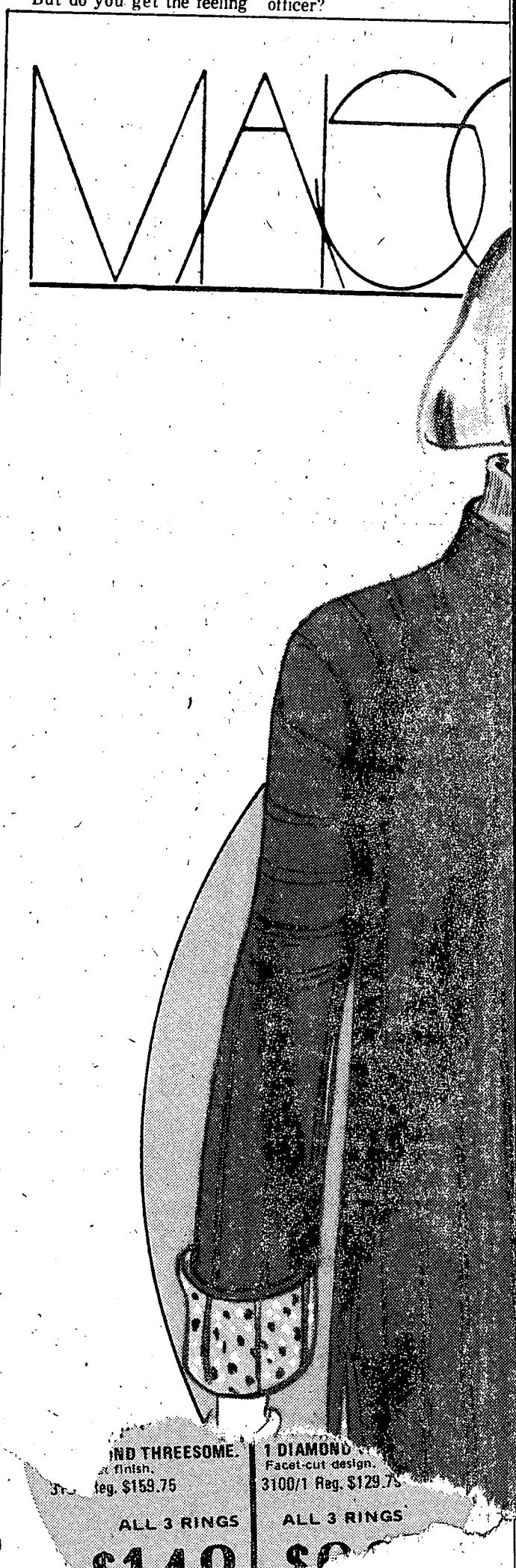
Surely he'll be back in Lafayette for some crayfish bisque because he'll be trying twice as hard this time around. This time he's going for the BIG ONE.

But do you get the feeling that somehow Sargent will always be a non-commissioned officer?

Few Phones in S. Africa

CAPE TOWN, South Africa (AP) — South Africa, a nation of almost 25 million people, had 1.9 million telephones installed throughout the country by the end of March, Post Office officials have told Parliament.

Most of the existing phones have been installed in the offices and homes of the nation's white minority of four million.



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Shriver on NPR Tonite
6:30 - 8

LECTURE PAPER BY SARGENT SHRIVER
GIVEN BEFORE THE INSTITUTE OF USA IN CANADIAN STUDIES
OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE USSR*

March 22, 1975

CO-EXISTENCE AND COMMON EXISTENCE

INTRODUCTION:

We confer today as citizens of nations physically distant and ideologically distinct. Yet we are drawn together not merely in brief dialogue, but by similar chords of memory and strong bonds of the moment, by our history and our circumstance.

Though we have met at many brinks, we have never made war against one another. And during the time of Facist aggression, we fought alongside each other.

Though we have and hold to separate visions, we are alike the heirs of great and consequent revolutions. The farmers of Lexington fired the first shot of America's revolution -- and it was heard around the world. The workers of Petrograd stormed the Winter Palace in the October Revolution -- and that storm raised a new wind across the world.

We are both places of many races, of vast resources, of continental expanses. We have the power to end the human presence on earth -- or the human poverty of earth. We can light the sky with a nuclear fire -- or set in orbit the man-made stars of shared space exploration. We can exhaust our energies or explode our armories over the issues which divide us -- or we can improve security and society by pursuing the interests which unite us.

The choice of detente should be obvious, but there are those who would choose otherwise. There are some in my country, and probably in yours, who say detente is dying. There are some in both countries who would like to kill it, and resume trying to bury the other side. For them the setback on trade offers a pretext to turn back from the journey to peace.

We must also understand that unilateral efforts to exploit momentary disadvantage for perceived national gain undermine the foundation for detente. Neither of us will either disintegrate or convert to the other's system; both of us must survive together. Detente must not be deployed as a new weapon in yesterday's war; the veiled pursuit of conquest, idealogical, economic or military, will restore cold war confrontation, squandering for transient ends what may be our last, best hope for peace.

Cold war, too, has its casualties. Our economies are wounded. Domestic advances are defeated. We manufacture more weapons instead of more housing; we teach our sons how to kill enemies instead of how to cure disease.

That is the way it was; it is a way we cannot take again. To do so would deny the process and promise of history. Many Americans have believed that they were ordained by God in history to become a model for all mankind. You have believed that Communism was similarly ordained by history as God. Events have not settled the propriety of either claim, but history has set a priority: that together we must make a detente, so that by perfecting our co-existence, we may achieve a common existence.

* At the invitation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

For many years, co-existence has meant that though we should not be enemies in a world war, we are adversaries in a world wide contest to vindicate our respective systems -- that in trade and aid, production and planning, value and culture, we must be competitors.

Common existence recognizes that co-existence by itself is now insufficient -- that though there are proper areas of competition, there are inescapable and increasing imperatives of cooperation -- that the Soviet Union and the United States must change with the world we inhabit -- and that this world will be neither habitable nor hospitable, for ourselves or for others, unless we invest less in rival endeavor and more in shared enterprise.

A revolution owned by no particular ideology now summons us to transcend the oppositions of our ideologies. It is a global revolution which permeates all knowledge and pervades all relations between nations and among peoples; commerce, diplomacy, and warfare will not be the same again. We cannot deflect that revolution, for even a combination of the strongest powers could not work a shared will on every question. Condominium is a cliche, an impossibility, an unreality. We have no right or way to dominion. And we have no means of isolation. Others have nuclear power or potential; other peoples are more than equal in some resources and raw materials; other states can poison the air, fish out the oceans, overpopulate the planet, or release unnatural and uncontrollable bacteria. We cannot stand apart even when we stand together.

No single reason of detente secures a generation of peace, let alone co-operation. Despite the best progress of negotiation, real differences of policy and principle will continue. We will not persuade you to become capitalists -- and you will not talk us into Communism. But while we each remain what we are, we can both enlist in a larger cause. We must not only make the world safe for diversity; we must also make a safer world by a degree of unity.

A century ago Kierkegaard wrote: "The individual no longer belongs to his God, to himself, his beloved, to his art, or his science ...." Today no nation belongs to any one God or science, or solely to its citizens or ideology. By circumstance we belong to a still separated but now seamless world. In such a world, the shaping of a common existence is the precondition of a secure existence -- and perhaps of any existence at all.

The purpose of these remarks, and of my visit to many parts of the Soviet Union, is to discuss the rationale of common existence, and to outline some ways in which it can be realized. I will talk first of the basis of detente, of the historical evolution of co-existence and the current movement toward a bilateral common existence. Then I will speak of the basis of negotiation, of certain ground rules which seem to me essential to the maximum progress of Soviet-American bargaining. Here I will respond to the question of how the American political system operates. The foundations of detente could crumble unless we build well; and we will not build well upon a quicksand of myths about each other's internal structures, methods of decision, and modes of thought. Finally, I will urge the expansion of common existence from a bilateral to a global dimension in areas such as nuclear energy, environment, economics, trade, nutrition and human rights.

THE BASIS OF DETENTE

I

Historical context defines the limit of choice: Even when men break with the past its record is their reference point. So it was for Marx when he wrote the Manifesto and for Jefferson as he labored over the Declaration of Independence. The direction of our future relations begins with the road we have already travelled.

After your Revolution, the first phase of Soviet-American co-existence was marked by ambivalent feelings of unconcern and attention, hostility and fascination. Neither nation was a present danger to the other. Bolshevik leaders were

intent on internal consolidation and their external focus was largely on Europe. America's brief intervention in Siberia was half-hearted; its true purpose was not counter-revolution, but to restrain Japan.

For a generation, there were no diplomatic relations between us, but there were many contacts between our peoples. American engineers, experts and business firms contributed to the development of the Soviet Union. Russian ideas and politics were studied and debated in the United States. Recognition in 1933 did not realize all the hopes either nation held; partly this was due to American isolation from the European and world problems of those days, and our preoccupation with domestic reform.

In that first phase of co-existence, we had the luxury -- or at least we thought we did -- of leaving our relations to a casual intercourse. Americans denounced or admired or ignored the Soviet Union; some were encouraged and others were disillusioned by its example -- and nothing in the real world seemed to be changed by any of these reactions. Similarly the United States was not a primary concern of your foreign policy; our role then seemed secondary to the resolution of the European crisis -- upon which the reality of the world in fact and fundamentally did depend.

But the war which came made our relations what they have been ever since -- of central relevance to us, of vital relevance to mankind.

We both entered the war the same way -- as victims of surprise attack. We each suffered a day of infamy. The Soviet people paid a terrible price to defeat Facism; blood poured out from the Arctic to the Crimea in a river of resistance which swept the Nazis back to Berlin. The annals of your heroism and sacrifice still move Americans; the story of Leningrad's nine hundred days under seige was recently among the most widely read books in the United States. And we are proud of our part in the struggle -- of our material aid to you and other allies, of our sons who fought and died on the run to Murmansk, in Africa and Europe, and across the Pacific.

As the war made our relations a dominant factor then and for the future, it brought us to a second phase of co-existence. Clearly it showed us the perils of separation; without our alliance, victory would have been at best a matter of many more years and deaths. Less obviously, the war raised occasions of suspicion -- you criticized the delay of the second front; we questioned Soviet ambitions and actions in Eastern Europe.

These contradictory elements -- divisive suspicion and the perils of separation -- were carried into the post-war period. Their relative influence shifted constantly. Moments of brinkmanship alternated with spirits of Geneva and Camp David. But behind every spirit, there was still suspicion. At each brink, men saw -- if only at the last instant -- the peril of stepping over. The proportions of suspicion and recognized peril would be reset by perceptions or events; the Cold War would intermittently be thawed or colder; and thus our co-existence would continue.

You assumed we wanted to destroy you; we assumed you wanted to destroy us; we both sought with nuclear weapons to deter that danger. Our consciousness of this terrible bond was raised in the experiencing of recurring crisis. An intensifying sense of the life and death power of each nation over the other -- which could slip past the best controls and intentions of either nation -- was the seedbed of efforts during the 1950's and 1960's to achieve what is now known as detente. The process has brougnt two American Presidents to the Soviet Union and Chairman Khruschev, Chairman Brezhnev, and Premier Kosygin to the United States. There have been disruptions -- the conflict in Vietnam and the invasion of Czechoslovakia. There have been distempers -- stirred by the effects in America of the wheat sale and by the breakdown of the trade agreement. But these episodes are dwarfed by the force of the nuclear bond which pulls us away from the co-existence of suspicion and peril toward the co-existence of detente.

II

The co-existence of detente does not rely on the wishing away of suspicion; it substitutes safeguards for suspicion. It will not end the peril overnight; it will ease the peril over time as step by step additional safeguards make possible additional restraints.

At least implicitly, detente represents a decision in both nations to disenthrall ourselves of certain notions. Peril and suspicion once seemed bearable because each side expected relatively soon a collapse or disintegration on the other side. Theorists of containment held that your system would be strained and then overthrown by internal dissatisfactions; theorists of Communism argued that the Western system would be subverted by internal contradictions. Both Kennan and Stalin were wrong. Both systems are still alive and strong. Human foresight is imperfect, but as far as the future can be seen, it does not seem that either system will be found on the ash-heap of history. Of course things will change; Americans and Soviets will seek changes in their own societies and welcome at least some changes in the other society. But most Americans do not believe you will disappear or convert. And neither will we.

Yet in the last year, some commentators have announced the onset of the long-predicted decline of Western capitalism, perhaps even Western civilization. The signs of disarray have been undeniable: The deepest recession since the Great Depression has struck most market economies. Inflation has devalued currencies. The energy crisis has shifted balance-of-payments positions, shaken the stability of the banking system, and raised the prospect of unmanageable resource transfers. And as the market economy faltered, its political leaders fell; Prime Ministers were driven from office in Germany, Japan and England; for the first time, an American President was forced to resign.

Surely the West is troubled. Sadly our institutions were slow to respond. Complacency on our part would be a mistake. But so would any premature celebration by others of our collapse.

In fact, our problems are the result of strength, not weakness. Since 1945, the West has experienced an unprecedented prosperity. Per capita income in the United States is $6500 a year, and some European countries exceed even that performance. There has been no relapse to trade wars; international wars have tamed the excesses of an earlier period. This progress led consumers to expect more in less time than most systems could supply over a long span of time. We were profligate in our use of energy and other raw materials. The consequence was a general inflation; and because of economic interdependence, the inflation of each country reinforced the inflation of every other.

The West could have better anticipated and moderated the side-effects of success. But the West would not have chosen to forego that success in order to prevent those side-effects. Indeed the gains of the last three decades have brought the market economies to a point where they can adjust effectively, despite mistakes, delays and lack of foresight.

Perhaps the best evidence of our basic soundness has been our response to the energy problem. Twelve months ago, in the face of an oil shortage and rising prices, few ventured even cautious optimism. The pessimists, and there were many, foresaw an apocalypse of the marketplace. Instead, oil consumers are adapting; effective programs of conservation are reducing the energy problem to a manageable factor in a functioning economy. Energy demand has been cut by the laws of both the marketplace and the government. The major nations are consuming 3 to 12% less oil than last year.

What we are witnessing is not the beginning of the West's decline, but of its recovery. Inflation is receding. So governments are turning to policies of stimulation. As they take hold, recession will be reversed; prosperity will be re-established.

In the United States, an economic policy will emerge from the "creative tension" between the White House and the Congress, the Republicans and the Democrats. And in the years ahead, I believe, America will move on to measures of economic reform unequalled since Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. We are meeting the crisis, but we will not master it until we apply principles of planning to the practices of our economy. We must reconcile our structures of production to the permanent reality of resource scarcity. We will do what we must, as the West always has. New international arrangements, such as flexible exchange rates, are already in force. The financial system has not been bankrupted, but strengthened. National planning -- for example, to convert some auto production to mass transit -- is a near term prospect.

I believe you should welcome the resilience of the West, and its adaptability. Communists and Capitalists once thought: What's bad for them is good for us, and vice versa. But what's bad for either of us can become a danger to both of us and all the world. The dissolution of any system leads to irrational behavior; societies, like individuals, "do not go gently into that good night." Indeed the truth is the opposite of past assumptions; peril and suspicion are even more unbearable when disintegration seems imminent on either side.

Each of us also has a positive stake in the survival and prosperity of the other. Our goods can maximize your growth; our food can nourish your citizens; our technology can improve your productivity. Without that improvement, capital investment requires the Soviet consumer to carry a heavier burden of sacrifice. Similarly, our industry will prosper more if we can sell more to you; our resource base will expand as we purchase more raw materials from you; your advanced techniques of coal gassification, thermonuclear fusion, and power transmission can multiply our energy reserve.

Neither economy needs the other in an absolute sense, but both economies can benefit from a sharing of their respective superiorities. Separately, prosperity is not impossible; mutually, we can gain a greater prosperity at lesser cost.

We can also enhance our economies by ending our arms race. The more we are free from a competition in weapons of destruction, the more capital we will free for tasks of domestic construction.

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have led to negotiated controls on our nuclear forces. But we should not rely on negotiations alone. While we support the Vladivostok Agreement, we should not permit its ceilings to become the floors of our arsenals. Our aim must be to end the arms race, not ratify it up to a point. This depends not just on our negotiating plans, but on our defense policies. Either country could take the first step of further restraint by reducing its military spending in a specific, clearly observable area and calling for the other side to follow. If the response was positive, and I think it would be if the initiative was perceived as genuine, each step could lead to another and then another, reversing the momentum to multiply weaponry, setting in motion a new, self-sustaining mechanism of disarmament. For a cycle of munitions competition, based on worse case assumptions, we could substitute a cycle of munitions cutbacks, based on proof by corresponding deeds.

Taking the first step would not threaten either nation's security. When we each can overkill the other many times, the difference between that many and more is a difference in number of weapons which would not make a difference in time of war.

And reciprocal cutbacks would not replace negotiations, but improve their prospects. As resources were shifted from warfare to the peoples' welfare, they would mount further pressures for the maximum progress of SALT. Segments of the defense establishment, in my country and here, will always find or invent some reason to resist even minimum agreements. The surest counter to these militaristic impulses will be publics who know the penalties of the arms race because they are experiencing the benefits of arms restraint.

Their preferences can become an additional incentive to restrict counterforce

capabilities. If the SALT process is to be irreversible, qualitative controls become indespensable. Otherwise, we will race against reason again, up another escalatory spiral of mutual suspicion, each higher step hewn by a more sophisticated, more expensive instrument of death.

The danger lies not merely in qualitative changes in our strategic forces; it lies also in changes in the quality of our strategic thinking. Some analysts now argue that only the means to launch a limited nuclear attack will deter the opponent from doing so. But if both countries start thinking that such an attack is thinkable, the thought may father the deed. Acceptability amplifies the possibility. A limited strike is less likely if the expected response is massive retaliation. But a limited strike is more likely if there are new rules -- if we or you anticipate a limited retaliation, followed by negotiation.

In addition, both sides now conceive of a nuclear engagement solely when the survival of the nation or an ally is at stake. Counterforce creates a nuclear option on a wider range of issues, less essential than survival. It permits those who weary of bargaining and compromise to seek settlements, or speed them, by having a little atomic war -- which would of course leave a lot of human beings a little dead.

It is conceivable that qualitative improvements could permit a first strike at the price of a relatively minimal retaliatory blow. The maintenance of our multiple deterrents discourages any quest for that capacity because it makes it costly and probably futile. But assume for a moment that the capacity became a reality. An anti-submarine breakthrough might occur. The command and control systems for bombers might be knocked out.

In this situation, someone might contemplate a limited nuclear exchange. It may be fantasy and it surely would be folly, to gamble that a limited assault would not lead to all-out war. To act on the conceit that we could contain such escalation would surpass any blunder in the history of human blundering. Most, though surely never all, of the opponent's second strike forces could be neutralized. But in the absence of a basic political crisis, would it be worthwhile to cripple the other side by sacrificing merely two cities -- say, Moscow and Leningrad, or New York and Chicago? Even if one of us could get away with it, the world is not a gaming table; the object is not to come out a little bit or even a lot ahead, to give up ten million lives to take twenty or even a hundred million.

During a recent discussion in Washington, someone argued that the mere fact of nuclear advantage would lead to its use. Averill Harriman was there, blunt and sensible as always. He listened, looked around the room, and then replied: "There are two kinds of people in the Soviet Union and the United States -- sane people and insane people. Sane people understand that neither nation will attack the other because it might seem to have some marginal advantage. Sane people understand that both sides would lose. I consider myself a sane person. If anyone in this room considers himself insane, I wish he would speak up."

There were no volunteer lunatics that night, and I suspect there are none here. Yet nonsense and insanity are often masked by technical expertise and terminology. The irrational often comes with a rationale. But no matter what formula some may devise, we must insist on the sense and sanity of our true situation: It is not in either nation's interest to attack the other, unless its own or an ally's existence is the issue; neither nation could ever win enough even in an unequal nuclear exchange; both nations have an interest in stoppering the nuclear bottle, not in drilling new holes for the genie to escape.

But sanity is not just the absence of insanity. Sense is not merely the avoidance of nonsense. As we spurn the suicidal dangers of conflict, we must seize the societal advantages of co-operation. We have seen this with a sharpening clarity in recent years -- and so we have sought not merely the detente of nondestruction, but a detente of mutual gain in commerce, science, and national efforts to raise standards of life.

Our progress has been real and worthy. But as we move forward, we experience

misunderstandings; we encounter questions which involve the rest of the world. In perspective, these should be seen as the inevitable tensions of a relaxation of tension, the complexities which follow the resolution of simpler matters. When the gears are engaged, they make a grinding noise. But to finish the journey, we must face the harder problems of our negotiating situation and the wider implications of our common existence.

THE BASIS OF NEGOTIATION

Winston Churchill stated the imperative of negotiation succinctly: "It is better to jaw, jaw than to war, war." But jawing, no less than warmaking, has its discordances. Distinct political systems with differing traditions must define a basis of negotiation. That basis must include a degree of shared purpose and an understanding of some inevitable divergence. We cannot demand that either system imitate the other in order to negotiate with each other. Just as the longest journey begins with a single step, so the process of negotiation must begin with starting points. Let me suggest several of them.

I

First, we must avoid the temptation to take any advantage which is available, even at the cost of disadvantage to the other side. The Soviet government drove a good bargain for American wheat in 1972. But a bargain that is too good may not be the best choice. Partly as a consequence of the wheat deal, the Washington Post -- which urges and supports detente -- has called for export controls on food. This incident illustrates a truth: Negotiations that repeatedly hurt us economically would not help you in the long run. A new weariness about trade would narrow the channels of commerce. We would sell less to each other. We could not buy as much as we needed, when it was needed. Nor could you.

At least in the United States, there has been a long-standing myth that our diplomats are easy marks for the supposed cleverness of everyone else -- Europeans, Orientals, Russians, whoever currently sits across the table. Kissinger has eased, but not erased, this perception. Americans remain psychologically prepared to conclude with Will Rogers that their country "always wins the war and loses the peace." And if Americans ever think they are victims of detente -- or if you ever suspect that you were tricked into a trade agreement which is depleting your resource base, progress will be slowed and could be reversed -- in arms control as well as economic and scientific co-operation. Suspicion will again and at least for a while outweigh the perils of separation; detente will be succeeded by renewed dangers.

Yet no negotiator can represent two sides. Every negotiator will make mistakes -- yours as many as ours. In the nature of things, some agreements will be better for you, others for us. But all the negotiators should aim not to beat their counterparts, but to benefit both countries. The more balanced the benefits over the long term, the more benefits we will be able to achieve in less time.

II

The second temptation is to warp the instrument of co-operation into weapons of coercion. But if we cannot overthrow each other's systems by war, then we certainly do it by peace. Russia and America cannot follow Clausewitz to their bargaining table and make detente an extension of military competition by other means. Americans would not barter their principles for a load of ore -- and we should not expect Russians to trade theirs for a brace of transistors.

Detente will become impossible unless both sides accept the limits of its possibilities. Co-operation does not constitute a mutual endorsement of Communism and Capitalism; it is a recognition of intersecting interests which are consistent with separate ideologies. We can make agreements in the common interest even as we disagree on some issues.

Americans will protest when a Solzhenitsyn is arrested; they will picket the Soviet Embassy when a Panov is denied permission to emigrate; they will be outraged when a Soviet army enters Czechoslovakia. Similarly, Russians will denounce American policy in Vietnam -- as many of our own citizens have; you will arraign us in Pravda for the vestiges of racial discrimination -- which the New York Times also does; you will point to the overthrow of Allende -- which our Congress is publicly investigating. Such criticisms are relevant to what is criticized, not what is shared: The urge to live, and therefore to control the weapons of death; the quest to discover new sources of energy and new cures for disease, and therefore to learn from each other; the yearning to prosper, and therefore to trade resources and technology. The criticisms do not mean that we are anti-Soviet or you are anti-American. Each area -- of agreement and disagreement -- has its own atmosphere.

III

The third temptation is to weary of negotiations because the respects in which our systems differ lead us to negotiate in different ways.

There is much we as Americans do not understand about you and about your system, and the problems of bargaining with you. And there is much you find perplexing about us. You wonder how it can be that a trade arrangement is altered once our Congress proceeds to address the issue, or how a strategic arms accord can spark dissent in the American Senate. When we explain that our constitutional structure mandates a process of consultation and consent beyond the Chief Executive's decision, many of you react with the incredulity of one who has been tripped by an obviously empty technicality. "After all," many in Russia seem to ask, "doesn't the power structure in the United States speak through its President? Can't we assume that the American President speaks with authority when he announces an official compact with another nation in solemn public proceedings?"

To put the matter directly, we have deliberately paid the price of substantive disorder for the sake of procedural openness and regularity -- in a system which disperses authority so that the abuses of one center of power might be checked by countervailing power; so that each group has a meaningful chance to express opinions, to be counted in the calculus of decision. This may seem an unwieldy process, viewed from without; even from within, it often looks awkward; but it is always flexible and fluid. In the American system, political participation and representation serve, although imperfectly, to assure the continuing responsiveness of government to the multitude of men and forces that demand a hearing.

The preservation of such responsiveness, and of the forms of political action that underlie it, are at the heart of our values as a nation. They are inscribed on constitutional parchment and institutional stone. They are treasured as priceless beyond any of the particular policies they may provide or prevent. It is a heritage which yields to the force of no law, the will of no man. The shifting tones of personality and place, the clamoring demands of circumstance, the ceaseless cries for the prudence and judgement of the moment -- all these are too fleeting and ephemeral, too insecure against the test of time, to be permitted dominion over the constitutional structure which alone, we believe, can assure the permanence of change.

We have held from our beginning to this faith in constitutionalism. Tempered by our experiences with the British Crown and by disillusion with our own early legislatures and executives, we have always been suspicious of power and

have insisted on openness to new forces and ideas. Charles Beard's economic interpretation of the American Constitution once persuaded many scholars to credit that single explanation, but it was discredited long ago. Instead a far richer picture of the American Revolution as a largely moral assertion, mixed of course with other motives, has emerged. Recently a cartoon appeared in the New Yorker magazine which showed one pilgrim leaning over the edge of a vessel which looked like the Mayflower and telling another: "Religious freedom is my immediate goal... but my long-range plan is to go into real estate." There is some slight truth in that, as there is in any recognition of the ways in which idealistic claims may mask material aims. But there is more falsity than truth; ours has been a constitutional history unusually faithful to procedure even at the expense of policy.

In the time of our constitution's framing, the perpetuation of slavery was a majoritarian policy. Three quarters of a century later, the majoritarian procedure brought the abolition of slavery. The people's views had changed. The fundamental structure of American government permitted new voices to be heard and the will of a new majority to be heeded.

My country has relearned recently and painfully the practical virtues of openness to all voices. For years, we fought a war in Asia against rising opposition at home; the opponents were scorned at first and then berated; but they were right and finally we are ending our involvement in a war that is wrong. Last year, we saw a once-popular President forced from office because he failed to heed the principle that all official authority must be contained so that the people may be king.

Some Soviet analysts have suggested that Richard Nixon tempted the wrath of American militarism by moving too far, too fast, toward detente -- that the threat of impeachment was a punishment for the progress of SALT. Most Americans are startled by this interpretation. Detente did not bring Nixon down; on the contrary, it may have stayed his leaving; nearly until the last days, he exploited the pervasive support in America for peace in an attempt to hold his place in power. If Richard Nixon is remembered at all well by history, or at all fondly by his fellow citizens, the reason will be his contribution to the completion of co-existence.

And when history blames him, as his fellow citizens did, it will be because he transgressed constitutional axioms which survive time and temper, which are superior to any policy. He lost his power because he abused our domestic ideals and misused our domestic institutions. Even Presidents who make a detente are not permitted to cover up crimes. In our system, no leader is allowed to take our rights no matter what he may offer in return. That was the lesson of Watergate. It was not revenge for detente, but justice notwithstanding detente.

Of course, democracy in practice in the 20th Century is more complex than the shining light which brightened the eyes of our founding fathers in the 18th Century. A nation which grants a voice to all must stand guard always to protect against the accretion of such awesome private wealth and power as may purchase the voice of those who have nothing else left to sell. To critics, it may appear that this is the real American system -- that a potent ruling class pulls the strings as the people, poor puppets, predictably respond.

The appearance is an illusion. In the 1950's, books like C. Wright Mill's The Power Elite described an America under monolithic rule, and that interpretation was reinforced by a succession of defense and economic officials drawn from corporate boardrooms and law offices. But when political scientists in the 1960's sought more systematically to determine who governs in America, they were struck with the difficulty of sustaining any single answer. In the end, persuasive evidence accumulated for the proposition that no power elite, no single class dominates the United States. Minorities do rule -- not the minorities of class and wealth -- but a shifting majority of many minorities, of temporary coalitions among distinct interest groups. Such coalitions appear, disappear, and reappear. Even within each group, there are differences which must be continually accounted and conciliated. No nation whose labor movement has boasted leaders as diverse as Phillip Murray, Walter Reuther, and Harry Bridges -- Cesar Chavez, Leonard Woodcock, and

George Meany -- can accurately be called monolithic. But no nation that has rallied as ours has in times of crisis -- of great depression or global conflict-- can be said to suffer from its pluralism.

No group always wins in America; no one always wins in life. This is a lesson we teach our children in school. It is a hard lesson to accept when one sees so much to be done, but it is the lesson history has taught Americans. Among us, it is not enough to be right; it is essential to persuade enough others that you are right, for only in this way, we believe, can we guard against the greater wrongs of civil strife or repressive control. We have chosen the middle ground of democratic consent, where everyone sometimes gains and sometimes yields, even those on whom fortune has smiled most brightly.

So America has no single, fixed power structure -- or person -- with the authority to bargain and bind without review. When a President or Secretary of State negotiates an agreement, he does not speak with finality for other parts of government and all constituencies. Woodrow Wilson's League as much as Richard Nixon's trade pact was a shattered memorial of that reality. But the reality does not mean that history must be repeated. It does mean that the context of negotiation will be defined by setbacks as well as successes; that the failure of the last trade agreement will redefine the framework of the next; that more Americans may seek, and settle for, future agreements which ratify co-operative interests without requiring a resolution of other, clashing views.

To deal with us, you must understand the American process and be patient for the sake of progress. We, too, must come to a clearer understanding of you -- that the Soviet Union is committed to substantive more than procedural ends, that our valuation of procedure as central and almost sacred, even at the sacrifice of policy, confounds Soviet expectations.

The full consequences of this fundamental difference of conception -- between procedural and substantive notions of the right -- defy any brief analysis and go far deeper than current negotiating postures. But this much, at least, is apparent: In bargaining with a procedurally-oriented, pluralist society, you should be under no illusion that your case need be made only to a ruling elite through one representative. Before it can prevail, the case must persuade a much wider constituency. And in dealing with a substantively-oriented power which mistrusts a fidelity to procedure as an excuse for self-interest, we should be under no illusion that our case need be made only in terms of honoring commitments and preserving established structures. If it is to convince, our case must be cast in terms of the substantive interests of the other side.

It will be easier for both nations to negotiate without false hopes or undue cynicism once each nation recognizes that its problems with the other are almost mirror images of the other's problems with it. The differences of bargaining rooted in the divergence of systems should incline us not to abandon negotiations, but to intensify them. For only in this way can we experience each other enough to work together despite our separate attributes, to recognize how agreements can be made and when we can expect them to be kept. Like the content of negotiation, the context of negotiation requires concessions -- so that while we will not adopt one another's perspectives as our own, we will see the landscape as it looks through both sets of lenses, and will take the steps which are within the vision of both world views.

THE EXPANSION OF COMMON EXISTENCE

I

Intersections of interest provide the basis for detente. Intersections of insight can strengthen the basis of negotiation. Such intersections do not represent a convergence of our societies, but crossing points of problem and purpose, where we can achieve results without resolving variances of ideology.

But common existence is more than a two dimensional relationship of the United States and the Soviet Union. Its final shape and space are set in the third dimension of the wider world, where the particular intersections of our bilateral relations in turn intersect the concerns of the entire human species. Every nation's fate is part of a single world destiny. So now we must seek the truly common existence of all rather than the mere co-existence , or even the common existence, of great powers.

In an earlier time, our countries expanded their territory, each of us moving in opposite directions -- Russia eastward and America westward -- toward the same Pacific Ocean. Now we must seek the expansion of common existence -- not by moving in opposition to other nations, but toward the same goal of international co-operation -- not to acquire territory or establish a tyranny of great power diplomacy, but to help make the order of independent states equal to the interdependent realities of the current situation. Just as our common existence does not require an ideological or institutional convergence, so the expansion of common existence does not demand the extinction of differences among men and countries. Rather it rests on shared necessities which are consistent with different political choices, and increasingly essential to having and keeping any chance to choose.

This generalization is an abstraction from many facts of international life. Few topics better exemplify the urgency of an expanded common existence than the question of nuclear energy. Recently a film screened in my country demonstrated with chilling precision and persuasiveness how a college student, drawing solely upon scientific information in the public domain, could design and construct an atomic bomb with a small amount of plutonium from a nuclear energy facility. This bomb, if produced and exploded, could kill over 100,000 people. Sufficient plutonium could be stolen by a group or even an individual; a growing number of governments could simply divert it from the peaceful uses for which they obtained it in the first place. Nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists or in the arsenals of unstable regimes would certainly be exploited as instruments of extortion, and might casually be used as implements of warmaking and revengetaking.

This danger knows neither the bounds of governmental structure nor the borders of national sanity, fragile as even those constraints are. Without stricter international and domestic controls over access to fissionable materials and stronger prohibitions against proliferation, the nightmare of nuclear blackmail, or the ultimate nightmare of global conflagration, could be visited upon us despite any and all progress along the lines of SALT and Vladivostok.

The destructive potential of insufficiently controlled nuclear development and dissemination is just one of a family of structurally similar problems. In such cases, we must learn to reduce chaos and contain risk without trying to dictate the policies, or even resolve the disputes, of third parties. In such cases, the overriding fact is that our two nations are involved more in a game against nature than in a game against each other, or other nations. And in all such cases, only a perception that transcends our bilateral relations can make either of us secure against a loss, not to the other, but to forces that go beyond us both.

II

Our linked destiny is also deeply imbedded in the delicate sphere of the world's threatened ecosystems.

Internally, each of our nations has manifested a new awareness of environmental issues. Each has enacted significant legal constraints upon the heedless plunder of land, air and water resources; Tass reports that you have allocated "every tenth ruble" to a major program of environmental protection. And bilaterally, our nations have entered into a far-reaching agreement for co-operative research in eleven areas ranging from pollution control to earthquake prediction.

Yet, much more is required, not only in the form of joint efforts to improve

our respective environments, but also in the form of international initiatives to forge an environmental consciousness and responsibility the world over. Neither of us can suggest such an initiative alone, for then either of us would be accused of callous indifference to the needs of less developed economies. But together we can speak the same truth: After a process of development heedless of natural systems, there will be little use for canals which salinate fields instead of irrigating them; there will be small reward from an industrialization which makes the air itself an agent of death; none will gain in the long run by subverting the natural systems which sustain the existence of all.

The advanced nations have already done vast damage. After the recent voyage of the Ra, Thor Hyerdahl reported a new discovery which confirmed the worst fears of scientists, voiced over many years: There was a man-made sea of pollution quite literally overlaying the ocean. Globules of tar deface the Atlantic from Europe to America. Yet men still make the ocean, the womb of all life, their largest garbage dump, while plundering its reserves of life. It is alarming that world fish yields, for the first time in history, have actually fallen over the past two years. Nor is the air which circles our planet any more immune from the poisons of careless technology. The ozone which may be destroyed by one nation's fleet of supersonic planes is the ozone which could have protected every nation's people from cancer-inducing radiation.

By supporting the United Nations Environment Programme, your government and mine made a commitment to international environmental cooperation. But both of us must go further than either has yet shown a willingness to go. Particularly when our own immediate interests are at stake, neither nation has adequately remembered the future all men are fated to -- that ours is indeed a "spaceship earth"; a frail vehicle with finite resources of nourishment and regeneration, with no airlocks for anyone against another's fouling of the atmosphere, no watertight compartments to prevent flooding from a polluted ocean; a world whose physical frontiers have been reached, and, in many ways, exceeded. We cannot expect others to be responsible if we do not accept our responsiblities. We cannot ask them to take a long-range view when we are short-sighted -- when the Soviet Union resists proposals at the Bucharest Conference to limit population growth -- or when the United States postpones scheduled environmental protections.

Instead, let us move in a common effort of many nations to reclaim the seas, to monitor regional and global pollution and inadvertent weather modification from all sources, to share information on the testing and dissemination of potentially dangerous new synthetics, to provide advance notice and discussion of experiments and activities which could have irreversible adverse effects, and to take other measures that fully recognize the extent of our dependence upon a bounded and wounded earth. Together we will protect our planet -- or separately, at first a relative few of us, then more, then millions, and finally generations, will perish amid its pollution.

The scientific community took some first steps away from this ecological brink at an international conference this February in Asilomar, California. Molecular biologists and geneticists from the Soviet Union and the United States met with their counterparts from other nations to propose a worldwide system of restraints and safegurads on further research in genetic engineering. The participants suggested methods to limit experiments which threaten to unleash microorganisms of potentially devastating toxicity to man. Limits of this sort can be made effective only at the international level; hard as it is to stay the impulses of experimentation, it becomes virtually impossible when the scientists of one nation can say that the others will do the experiment anyway. The resolve of Asilomar represents a bare beginning. As the wonders of science and technology transform the moral as well as the physical landscape, only multilateral standards can preserve the opportunities of this process for mankind, while preventing the mutilation of the very meaning of man.

III

Some environmental damage cannot be predicted, because it has already happened; some of it cannot be undone, because no power on earth can make a new earth.

We have spent resources as though they were endless, and the result is a threat to world resource shortages. At least for the "short run", which might be too long, individuals and even nations may have to live without certain necessities of modern life.

And the shortages caused by overconsumption have been deepened by underproduction and overpricing. States which control raw materials have contrived shortages through coordinated efforts. Private firms in some industries have pursued a similar course. Colllusion between producer countries and corporations enlarges the power of both to underproduce and overprice at the expense of everyone else.

Once again the lesson is the necessity of a global common existence. Though we cannot make a new earth, we can make new mechanisms to forecast trends on world production and consumption of primary products. Such planning can only be effective on an international scale. Even the best forecasts for a single country provide an incomplete -- and sometimes even a distorted -- outlook for prices, demand, and supply.

All economic systems -- developing countries, socialist states, and market nations -- are essential elements of resource planning. Many developing countries are key producers, or potential producers, in areas of shortage; many of them are part of an effort to create artificial shortages. The socialist and market economies are both major consumers and sources of raw materials.

The United States and the Soviet Union occupy a special place in this pattern of commerce. We are the most nearly self-sufficient nations in the world, yet we each rely on a few key imports -- the United States especially for oil, tin, and bauxite, the Soviet Union for food. By contrast, most other countries are either large net sellers -- Canada, Australia, and the Arab States -- or large net buyers -- Western Europe and Japan -- in the world marketplace. So our two continental economies have a unique opportunity to advance our own national interests in ways which would promote world economic stability. Within an exclusive international context, a combination of new planning methods and market mechanisms could maximize the long-term efficiency of food and raw material consumption and minimize the rate at which resources are depleted.

The creation of inclusive arrangements will require adaptation and binding commitments. The arrangements will fail if we insist on ideological rigidities of planning or laissez-faire. Monitoring systems must operate over geographical as well as ideologocal boundaries. Commodity agreements must govern specific products. An international agency for indicative economic planning, open to all countries and with appropriate voting rights for each, could provide a new framework for conservation, specific negotiation, and the development of production techniques.

The Soviet Union's demand for some commodities, particularly food, is obvious. Its ability to supply others, such as oil and gas, is also obvious. Now your country can reassert the role of global economic leadership which it took at Bretton Woods in 1944. You remained outside the trade structure of the world community throughout the Cold War. But in an era of detente and shortages, Soviet interests in the area of trade intersect the interests of non-Communist economies.

Those shared interests would be fostered if ways could be found for your government to participate in institutions such as the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. We welcome the fact that you are considering observer status at the current multilateral trade negotiations -- and we hope this is a forerunner of more active involvement in the near future. In 1945, the major international trading institutions were founded with an overrriding goal -- truly universal membership as a

basis for maximum world prosperity. The founders were thirty years ahead of time. But now it is time for an expanded common existence in global commerce. It should include the Soviet Union on terms and in a manner consistent with your needs and system.

IV

One poignant crisis cannot wait out the evolution of common existence across the entire range of commerce. Today, a third of the world is hungry; half a billion people are at the edge of famine. Although the crisis has yet to be universally conceded, the evidence has mounted beyond the point of rational denial. The food shortage is not a rumor started by thousands of dying children, or millions of malnourished parents. Coming to terms realistically with that shortage is in our interest as nations which cannot permanently endure as secure islands in a sea of starvation. It is in the interest of us both as nations with their own real, if rarely admitted, problems of malnutrition. And surely it is in the interest of us both, and of the world as a whole, that our two countries join with others to shape and support an international organization to disseminate agricultural technology, collect statistical information on projected food shortages and food supplies, and gather a global food supply.

Consider my country's past decisions to withhold land from agricultural production; note our frequent misuse of food as an instrument of international politics; observe your country's reluctance to release agricultural data on grounds of national security; recall your understandable suspicion that the release of detailed information on food production could swell the profits of grain traders rather than filling the stomachs of the hungry. All of these do not mandate an acceptance of things as they are, but the commitment of both nations to the emerging structure of agreements based on the recent World Food Conference in Rome. The structure must be carefully constructed, so every member state can exercise appropriate control, and vital information can be accumulated and assessed in ways fully sensitive to the need for confidentiality and fully alert to the risks of exploitation. No nation should stand aside while most nations are working to design a viable world food system. We have competed with one another for nuclear superiority; now let us co-operate with many others for the sake of food sufficiency.

The question of hunger represents a special case of a more general and no less planetary issue: How are the basic rights of human beings to be assured in a time of scarcity and conflict? When the issue is cast in that way, we can call upon a common ideal which can make us natural if paradoxical partners in support of a worldwide common existence. Your revolution and ours differed in many things, but they claimed at least one great and same aspiration: Not merely to overthrow the existing order of colonialism or autocracy, but to lift the ancient yoke of human oppression. We have taken opposed paths from our beginnings, each insisting on our fidelity to the aspiration with which we both began. Americans have accused you of abandoning that aspiration legally and politically; you have accused us of abandoning it economically. These accusations and counter-accusations will continue; as I have suggested earlier, our ideals of politics and government are not on a converging course. But both of us have come remarkably close to agreement on a substantive ideal -- that every person has a right, though we may conceive its content differently, to the basic means for survival and self-realization. For the first time in history, it may indeed be possible to affirm seriously the universal existence of some such right -- to say, and truly mean, that the preconditions of a decent life are each person's due in the world.

We are in little danger of underestimating the difficulty of achieving the sort of substantive agreement such standards would require, much less the difficulty of implementing any standards agreed upon. The danger, rather, is that we may underestimate the importance of trying.

Hundreds of millions of people will not stare down into a mass grave of starvation and then quietly die. The world will not move easily, or peacefully,

toward extinction. Maybe it is too much to ask of nations that they do the right thing simply because it is the right thing to do. But here the right thing is the only rational choice. If not out of compassion, then because we have a stake in global security, let us at least attempt to make effective the emerging consensus that living, living decently, is each man's most inalienable right.

V

One last element is important: A lowering of barriers to the exchange of ideas in the international arena. Though you may reject our nation's ideals of free expression, let us agree that impediments to the unfettered flow of truth may be obstacles to the mutual search for practical solutions. Occasionally higher values are served by limiting access to data; no one in his right mind would advocate the publication of blueprints for a plutonium bomb. But the most effective methods to control plutonium theft and thus to limit the danger of clandestine proliferation cannot be devised if the engineers who think about them cannot share ideas with one another. Solutions to our agricultural problems cannot be certain if data bearing on levels of production and patterns of distribution are treated as national secrets. Ways of producing energy with less fouling of our common nest cannot be invented and perfected if the scientists who seek to understand the workings of ecosystems cannot enter into dialogue with their colleagues in other lands. At times, both of our nations have overclassified, overprotected, and overcontrolled intellectual products and exchange. In the recognition of mutual fault, and in the realization of a mutual interest in rectifying our errors in this respect, there may lie a basis for acknowledging and ultimately protecting a procedural right as fundamental as the substantive rights on which we seem to agree -- a right to think and communicate on questions of basic scientific importance to the human condition.

As common existence comes to be experienced over time, each of us will have less reason to feel threatened by others. With the quelling of fear, there may come an abatement of restraints on expression beyond the scientific realm. But that is a more distant and perhaps more parochial hope, one which could easily slip into unrealistic musings. There is no necessity for us to believe that you may be convinced to accept the value we place upon political liberty. Nor is there any necessity for you to believe that we may be convinced to accept your view that such liberty in a capitalist state is a trick and an illusion. As I said at the beginning of these remarks, a safer world requires a degree of unity, not an identity of systems.

CONCLUSION

In 1815, the Congress of Vienna initiated a period of brilliant diplomacy; political bargains by skillful negotiators preserved the order and systems of Europe. But the security of the status quo permitted the old regimes to perpetuate vast social injustice. The last century of continental peace was a long season of human suffering. The statesmen of that century scorned the basic needs of the people. The workers produced, but others profited. The people aspired, but others ruled. The causes of instability were shackled, but not solved. And this condition of suppression the statesmen called a structure of stability. It prevailed for awhile, as such structures usually do; then it failed all at once, as in the end suppression always will. The discontented of many nations rose up, and their rising overwhelmed the sophisticated arrangements of the power balance, and engulfed those who governed within it. The diplomacy of Metternich and his successors was tactically brilliant; it was also and inevitably a strategy of self-destruction.

Today, the heirs of revolution could become the new incarnation of the old regimes. The United States and the Soviet Union could retreat behind fortress

walls of megatonage and relative economic might. We could even feel safe in our fortress, as others once did in theirs -- the Kaiser, the Czar, the Austrian Emperor. And one day a revolutionary tide would sweep over the walls and sweep away all who were inside. We cannot predict how it would happen; we could insist that we have the power to hold off that day of reckoning. So did Nicholas and Franz Josef and Wilhelm.

This, I believe, need not be our fate because we are not condemned to it. We could choose it, but we can choose otherwise. As the heirs of revolution, we know its signs; we recognize its claims; we can ride with it, rather than stand against it. We can make the troubles of our world the foundation stones of a worldwide common existence.

Perhaps the memory of the blood we shed together against Facism can provide the most fitting metaphor for our future. We fought as one to defeat a common enemy. Now Providence, which you call history and I call God, calls us to join together again, this time with all men, to defeat the most ancient and most recent enemies of mankind: The tyranny of hunger and disease and the poverty of a world stripped bare.

Shriver Leads In Poll Surprise

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL
LOCAL NEWS
PAGE 5, PART 1 MONDAY, NOV. 3, 1975

By KENNETH R. LAMKE

Sargent Shriver emerged as the surprising first choice for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination in a poll of Milwaukee area voters taken for The Milwaukee Sentinel.

Shriver, the 1972 Democratic vice presidential nominee, won 27% of the vote on the ballot which listed 10 Democratic contenders.

Alabama Gov. George Wallace was second with 24%, and Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington placed third with 23%.

On the Republican side, President Ford outpolled Ronald Reagan, 63% to 37%.

The poll was taken in conjunction with The Milwaukee Journal's annual Consumer Analysis survey of Milwaukee, Washington, Ozaukee and Waukesha Counties. The political question was separate from the Consumer Analysis survey.

While the consumer survey is based on a scientifically selected sample, the sample for the political poll did not conform to the highest standards of scientific polling for various reasons.

Therefore, the results of the political poll must be qualified. Still, the poll should be generally valid and of interest.

The responses to the Consumer Analysis survey are being tabulated and analyzed, and those results will be available in a book to be released next March.

The results of the political poll:

Candidate	Total Vote	Per Cent
REPUBLICAN		
Gerald Ford	755	63%
Ronald Reagan	437	37%
DEMOCRAT		
Sargent Shriver	248	27%
George Wallace	221	24%
Henry Jackson	208	23%
Morris Udall	66	7.3%
Birch Bayh	61	6.7%
Fred Harris	29	3.2%
Jimmy Carter	17	1.8%
Milton Shapp	8	.8%
Lloyd Bentsen	6	.6%
Terry Sanford	2	.2%

Write-in votes were cast for Republican Senators Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) (2), and Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R-Conn.) (1).

Democrats receiving write-in votes were Senators Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts (16), Hubert Humphrey of Minneosta (8), Edmund Muskie of Maine (5), William Proxmire of Wisconsin (4), Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin (1) and Frank Church of Idaho (1).

Actor John Wayne received one vote and former Milwaukee Mayor Frank Zeidler, the presidential candidate of the Socialist Party USA, got 2 votes.

The names listed on the poll ballot were chosen in an attempt to duplicate the ballot for the Wisconsin presidential primary election next April 6.

Under Wisconsin law, all active candidates for president, as determined by a state committee, are listed on the Wisconsin ballot, whether or not they actually campaign in the state.

Ford is an announced candidate and Reagan is expected to announce soon, so their names should appear on the Wisconsin ballot — even though Reagan may not campaign much here.

Nine of the ten Democrats on the poll ballot have already announced their candidacies, and Wallace is set to announce in November.

Kennedy, Humphrey and the others who received write-in votes have said they are not candidates and do not plan to run in the primaries, so they most likely will not be listed on the Wisconsin primary ballot.

The first place finish of Shriver is surprising because he announced his candidacy only recently, has no political organization in Wisconsin and had not even appeared in the state to campaign at the time the poll was taken.

By contrast, Udall, the Arizona congressman, and Harris, the former senator from Oklahoma, have torn around the Wisconsin countryside perhaps 10 times each since announcing their candidacies about a year ago. They both have worked to build grass roots organizations here.

But the poll seems to show that the hard work of Udall and Harris has not paid off in general name recognition.

Shriver, on the other hand, probably did well on the poll because people at least know who he is.

A recent nationwide Gallup poll showed Shriver trailing in name recognition behind only such Democratic personalities as Kennedy, Humphrey, Wallace, Muskie and Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.), the 1972 Democratic presidential candidate.

The position of Udall and Harris seems similar to that of McGovern in Wisconsin at this time four years ago. McGovern was here often, building an organization but was not widely known. Muskie then was considered the front runner.

McGovern later won the 1972 Wisconsin presidential primary election.

Jackson's close third place finish among the Democrats in the poll should encourage his supporters, since the senator has not made a major effort here, choosing to concentrate on the New York State primary, which will be April 6, the same day as Wisconsin's.

The meager showings on the poll of Sen. Bayh of Indiana, former Georgia Gov. Carter, Gov. Shapp of Pennsylvania, Sen. Bentsen of Texas and former North Carolina Gov. Sanford are not surprising in view of their relative obscurity and lack of campaign effort in Wisconsin.

Bayh, Carter and to a lesser extent Bentsen are thought to have a chance to do well in some of the 30 odd state primaries that will occur next year, however.

Ford's margin over Reagan does not seem unexpected. The president from Michigan has been generally rated ahead of Reagan in the Midwest.

Ford has been a frequent visitor to Wisconsin over the years and has been in Milwaukee twice recently as president, once before the poll.

In the Consumer Analysis survey, about 4,000 questionnaires mailed to Milwaukee area households were returned between Oct. 1 and Oct. 23.

A probability sample of 40 community areas was used. For example, if Shorewood had X% of the households in the four county area, Shorewood households received X% of the 4,000 questionnaires.

Within the areas, households were selected on a random basis from street address directories and census maps.

Questionnaires were returned in person to the survey office, where respondents received a bag of groceries and other products as a reward for their participation.

The survey analysts say that the 3,002 returned questionnaires constitute a statistically significant sample.

When the questionnaires were returned, the respondents were handed the political ballot and asked to fill it out in private and drop it in a box in the survey office.

Because not all respondents were handed a political ballot, and because some who got them didn't return them, just 2,484 political ballots were returned.

Moreover, 39 ballots were returned unanswered, and 346 ballots contained votes for more than one candidate.

These 364 ballots were discarded and not counted in the results.

Respondents were told on the ballot to vote for only one candidate because that is the situation voters face in the polling booth.



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THE SUN

BALTIMORE, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1975

R. Sargent Shriver

An Honest, Experienced Candidate with Style

By THEO LIPPMAN, JR.

The walls of R. Sargent Shriver's law office in the Watergate complex are covered with photographs and drawings of his immediate family and some of the world's great men he has come into contact with in his years as a business, government and political figure. There is also a restored photo of his grandfather and several aunts and uncles at the Carroll county family home in 1865 or 1866.

I opened an interview with Mr. Shriver the other day by asking him about the picture. He launched into a long account about his family's progress in its 200 years in Maryland.

He knew the details and was obviously proud. Since he grew up in Baltimore and still has close relatives here, and since I was a writer for the local paper, it seemed natural. His love of and interest in family history was obviously the sort of thing that would go over big in the old home town.

I played the game and asked him easy questions about "roots" and the importance of family. He gave all the right answers, with fervor.

But to my surprise, when I remarked that it obviously was important to him, else why would the picture be on the crowded wall, he suddenly said, "Don't read too much significance in it. I have lots of pictures. My secretary is also an interior decorator. She picks out the pictures to go on the walls and changes them from time to time."

If the presidential election had been held at that moment, and Mr. Shriver had been a candidate, I would have voted for him. That sort of candor has been missing in politicians for a long time. If Sargent Shriver is that honest about that sort of thing, he'll probably be honest about everything.

• • •

As one of nine already announced candidates for the Democratic party presidential nomination, that is exactly the sort of public perception that Shriver is counting on to help him win the nomination. He believes there is not much difference on issues among the Democratic hopefuls. It is the difference in the men themselves that will count.

"In looking at a person to be President," he explains, "I think it is time we looked at the total person, their character, their vision, their track record, because the problems that the President is going to face in the next four years or eight years are not the problems that are current. So it is a good idea to look at the total guy and to determine after such a look whether this fellow has got the competence or the experience or the style, if you will, something like that, that's a bad word; the competence, the experience, the uh, the uh the *gifts* of a chief executive, of a President of this country.

"Now if you compare my record on those counts with the other people, I think I compare very favorably."

Here Mr. Shriver went into a recounting of his experience in foreign affairs—ambassador to France (anecdotes about DeGaulle), head of the Peace Corps (negotiations with heads of states, actual treaty drafting), partner in a firm specializing in international affairs (he's been to Russia 17 times in the last three years).

"In that area there's nobody among the candidate who's even close, who even has the slightest proximation really to my experience in that area."

That's one thing. Second, he has actual experience as an executive, president of the Chicago School Board, manager of the Merchandise Mart in that city, head of the old Great Society agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity.

As he puts it, he is the only active candidate who has experience in doing what Presidents do: managing bureaucracies, proposing legislation then working with Congress to get it enacted.

"Jimmy Carter was a governor," he adds as an after thought. "Lloyd Bentsen was successful in private business. But I'm the only one who's been successful in private business, in local government, and in national government in the executive."

There is only one thing more important than competence and experience, Mr. Shriver believes: "I think the *first* thing people are interested in in a President is that he is honest and be a man of integrity and character. I think there is no question about my honesty or about my integrity or about my character."

He's right about that. This does not mean there are not questions about other important aspects of the Shriver candidacy. One is whether a man of 60 who has never campaigned for elective office on his own before (he was the Democratic National Committee's choice to substitute for Thomas Eagleton as vice presidential nominee in 1972) really has what it takes to win votes.

True politicians don't usually wait till that late in life to take the plunge. The best explanation for this may be that as a Kennedy in-law, Mr. Shriver has had to stand aside for his three famous brothers-in-law.

Another question is whether Mr. Shriver is serious. That word that Mr. Shriver stumbled over earlier in our interview—*style*—is one most people would probably free-associate with *Kennedys*. "Are you embarrassed by that word?" I asked him at the end of the interview.

"No, it's not that I'm embarrassed by it," he answered.

"But I think it has come to mean a sort of superficial, surface manner, rather than reflecting a substantive purpose. I don't want that. I don't want to convey that impression. The word carries that connotation, rightly or wrongly, of manner rather than of substance. I think wrongly. I don't think that was true of Jack Kennedy. If he hadn't had the substance, if he hadn't had the brains, the savvy, the toughness, in addition to style, he'd have been a disaster. He then would have been truly just one of the Beautiful People, you might say. He and Jackie, the ideal Camelot couple, you know? The fact is that Jackie Kennedy is a woman of significant substance and Jack Kennedy was a man of, I won't say profound but approaching profound substance."

• • •

The people who know Sargent Shriver best say he is also a man who approaches being profound, a man of real substance, better read, more thoughtful than any other presidential aspirant on the scene today. A genuine liberal, Catholic intellectual.

But his money, his good looks, his success, his "Kennedy connection," his manner of attacking issues with a supersalesman's enthusiasm, his glibness . . . all these things conspire to create an impression of . . . of *style* both in the Camelot sense and in the bad sense he perceives the word has come to contain.

For obvious reasons, Mr. Shriver enters the race with the greatest claim of any Democrat on the legacy of John Kennedy. It would be ironic then if part of that legacy became, if not an embarrassment, at least a hindrance to him. I suspect Sargent Shriver has the gifts as well as the style of a chief executive, and I suspect his campaign may turn on his proving that the two are not mutually exclusive.



Shriver for President Committee
National Headquarters:
818 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mailing Address:
P.O. Box 2000
Washington, D.C. 20001
Phone: (202) 333-9000

Leveo V. Sanchez
Treasurer

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

SPEECH BY SARGENT SHRIVER TO THE

THIRD CATHOLIC HEALTH CONGRESS

NEW YORK CITY - OCTOBER 29, 1975

I welcome this opportunity to address this Third Catholic Health Congress of the Archdiocese of New York. The achievement of this archdiocese in establishing and maintaining the largest Catholic hospital system in the world is remarkable. The $250 million investment in this system of 14 hospitals and 4,000 beds, of 4,500 physicians and 10,000 health workers, represents an unparalleled investment by private philanthropy on behalf of the public good. And it is not inappropriate to recall at this moment that one-fourth of all the hospital beds in this nation were created, and are maintained and serviced, under Catholic auspices.

Confronted by these imposing statistics, and facing what I know to be a distinguished audience of experts, I asked myself what I could say that would have a deeper meaning than just another political speech.

I concluded that I should devote my remarks to those things that have the deepest meaning for us -- things that somehow touch upon the values which we hold.

I speak to you, not as a health professional, but as an amateur; a consumer of your services and your skills, as a user of the outer expression of your internal values.

From that point of view, my first observation is this -- if ever there was a need for Catholic hospitals in the last century, there is an even greater need for them today. As we approach the time of national health insurance programs and as we see a growing perception of health care as a basic human right, there is an even greater need for Catholic hospitals -- and other hospitals based on religious thoughts.

One of the most distinguished Protestant theologians alive today once said to me: "No matter where I live, or where I do my scholarly work, Sarge, I want to die in a Catholic hospital." His sentiment is not unique. For myself, let me say, if I cannot die at home, I, too, would like to die in a Catholic hospital. No form of human service more clearly expresses a commitment to values than the rendering of comprehensive health and hospital care. Voluntary hospitals, and especially religiously oriented hospitals, should set the standard for such care. For certainly the expression of values is needed in what has become the second largest industry in the nation.

The almost inevitable impersonality of public institutions, their massive size, their separation from an integrated mission concerned with the total spiritual and physical well-being of family and community, make the role of Catholic voluntary hospitals more important in 1975 than before.

Throughout history, there has been one, common strand running through the perception of religious communities in the health field. It has been the belief that health care offers particular opportunities to bear witness to certain values. We read in the New Testament that Christ was often involved in works of healing, whether of the lame, the blind, the deaf, or even the dead. His deeds were not simply deeds of power -- they were deeds of compassion. And so it seems to me that ours must be. We must remember that we must care first and always: And that cure we will, if cure we can. But where we cannot cure, we will still care. Because first comes compassion, and only then comes competence . . . . the first is a virtue and the second is only a skill. The witness, in the image of Christ, is, first and foremost, a witness to compassion.

Now it is no great secret to you that there is a national debate as to whether we shall even be permitted to give witness to these values at all. In a system in which malpractice is adjudicated on the grounds of whether it conforms to standard practice in the community, how shall we judge individual witness to values? This may not, indeed does not, affect standards for taking out an appendix, but how does it affect a subject like euthanasia? Where is there room for individual conscience as medicine not only gains the power to cure the standard diseases, but also to technologize the body? The Good Samaritan may well have counted himself lucky that his deed of mercy was not scrutinized for technical medical conformity to community standards -- indeed, I seem to remember that the standard practice was not to be a Good Samaritan in the first place. Certainly he had no license to practice -- probably not even an E.C.F.M.G.

Let me touch briefly on some of the value issues which are coming increasingly into public discussion these days.

Historically, we have tried in the health field to provide a good birth, a good life and a good death, insofar as it was in our medical power to do so. Our actions were based on the premise that human life came from God and returned to God. It is, I think, quite clear that this basic premise is no longer uniformly held. Indeed, far from it. It is from this discontinuity in the premises that there flow those myriad problems which today we call bioethical. If there is no God, and all is between men, then how shall we reconcile such a community of men with the one, to which you and I belong, which believes in a transcendental God?

If death is considered the ultimate disaster, if birth is no better than entry into a life without meaning, if guilt is but a biochemical reaction and bears no link to evil, if sloth is a disease of neuromuscular end-

ings and a result of electrical discharges in the brain, then how shall we use technology in this vast field of compassionate relationships, hitherto known as medicine? Does it even matter?

The eminent pediatrician, Robert E. Cooke, once wrote that medicine today is being expected to produce "a discomfort-free society." In 1934, Aldous Huxley -- in his book "Brave New World" -- proposed the same with his drug, soma. The premise of this approach to life is that there is no role for suffering, that beauty can be recognized without knowledge of ugliness, kindness without knowing cruelty, that all human perceptions are absolute, not comparative.

You know where these problems come to the fore. We can describe a fetus in the womb anatomically, but the debate is rampant on what value to attach to that anatomy. Alive, newborn children can be measured as defective in many statistical senses, but people differ on what values, or disvalues, to place on such defects.

The dying process varies from individual to individual, but there is little agreement on what ways of dying are tolerable or intolerable. There is no doubt that through medical research, great benefits can accrue for mankind. Yet here the debate exists, on which benefits justify which costs. I do not mean financial costs alone, but costs in human dignity. The questions are age-old. Do ends justify means? Can man ever be treated as object only and not as end also, as Kant asked?

These are the facts. These are the problems. The question is, what to do about them. Of one thing I am personally convinced. It is that the deeper the divisions in our value perceptions run, the less they lend themselves to the imposition of one perception over another by law. The issues are issues of values, not of chemical or biological facts. They are subjectively perceived, not objectively quantified. The subjectively perceived is difficult to legislate unless there is consensus on the perception.

What does this mean in practice for the likes of you and me? It means in your case that you must physically continue, and it seems to me that you are obliged morally to continue, bearing witness to your values. The nation is never well served when people do not speak out for their values or bear witness to them through their actions. I therefore have little sympathy for those who speak of closing Catholic, or any other denominational, hospitals.

What would it mean for me if I were to become President of this nation? It would mean firstly, that I would be sworn under the Constitution to uphold the laws of this nation, and that I would do so.

But I think it would further place on me the moral obligation to do all in my power to minimize these divisions in value perceptions among our people.

This I would pledge to do and this I think I could begin to do. There is, I believe, a broad consensus in the nation on the fact that abortion is not an ideal. No one undergoes it for the pleasure of it. It becomes then our task to provide alternatives. We must make a high priority of gaining fundamental knowledge in reproductive biology to provide foolproof family planning alternatives to abortion. We must ensure that women do not get fired from their jobs just because they are pregnant. We must ensure that they receive pregnancy disability benefits if they are disabled in pregnancy. We must provide life support systems, which give women all the services and advice they need to go through pregnancy. We must invest in research -- embryological, metabolic, genetic and environmental research to treat the structurally, and functionally, less fortunate, rather than to abort them. We must re-encourage the older ways of dying, at home, rather than being dumped and abandoned in institutions -- however euphemistically they are named.

Let me simply stress for you one fact. The bioethical debates have been with us for close to a decade. Yet these are precisely the areas in which government has been the least active while the need is obvious.

Let me return, then, to your role as the nation's largest grouping of Catholic hospitals and health professionals. I spoke of promises and opportunities. I believe they are abundant in New York.

More than a decade ago, because it saw the problems coming, the Kennedy Foundation gave its first grant in the field of bioethics to the Newman Center at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. In 1967, the Foundation extended its interest by supporting the distinguished Methodist theologian, Paul Ramsey of Princeton University, in his bioethical studies at Georgetown University Hospital. His seminal books, The Patient as a Person and Fabricated Man, developed during this time.

Then, in 1971, we established two major bioethical programs at Harvard and at Georgetown. They are respectively called the Kennedy Interfaculty Program at Harvard and the Joseph and Rose Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bioethics at Georgetown. Both centers do research, render service and teach courses. I was delighted to see your distinguished director, Mgr. Cassidy, last winter as a participant in the intensive bioethics course at the Kennedy Institute at Georgetown. Only last month, several members of the Kennedy Institute staff served as faculty for the first joint meeting held by the National Federation of Catholic Physicians Guilds and the National Association of Catholic Hospital Chaplains.

As Chairman of the advisory board to the Kennedy Institute at Georgetown, I have been afforded the opportunity not only to help its program develop, but often to see the fruits of its work in manuscript form months before publication. I have read them all with great interest. Broad-minded academicians have been tolerant and have on occasion accepted my suggestions.

I wish to stress to you the very wide perspective from which these centers operate. Their staffs have scholars of all faiths and of none. Among the Georgetown staff, there have been Catholics, Mennonites, Quakers, Jews, Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, Unitarians, and Seventh Day Adventists. They have worked in law, canon law, theology, philosophy, demography, and biology. What has joined them has been the realization that medicine is not a biological technology alone. Biology is descriptive -- it cannot be prescriptive. Human life is not just about man the biological, or man the social -- it is also about man the value-seeker.

Here we are in New York with Fordham University and St. John's, with Einstein Medical School and Yeshiva, with Union Theological and Jewish Theological. Here is a vast hospital system, largely grounded in the three great traditions of Judaism, Catholicism and Protestantism. I said I realized your burdens, but also your opportunities. What splendid opportunities exist to begin to form those groupings which are needed to examine and bring to the fore the value issues involved in the medical enterprise.

The task may seem immense and overwhelming, but let us think back to those who began the first Catholic hospital in New York and see where we are now. The need is for vision and courage, qualities you display daily in your work. They are the qualities shown by a Cardinal Cooke, when, in the middle of prophets of doom and gloom, he establishes a task force on health care, not just to man the ramparts, but to keep the hospitals going up while people say the city is going down.

They are the qualities shown by a frail woman, Elizabeth Seton, who was born in 1774, who married and raised a family, who knew the Protestant tradition and the Catholic, who organized and mobilized in the field of health and in the field of values, and who was proclaimed the first native-born American saint.

Debates on values often seem divisive, for values are strongly held. But the fact that they may be divisive is no reason to be silent on values, for if we are, then someday there may be none. I am, as you know, a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Just as I have reflected with you on what I think your role might be, I have had to reflect upon my own. It seems to me it could be expressed in a general philosophy. It is this: Where differences in value-perceptions exist, among various sections of the American people, it seems to me that it is the task of a president to stimulate their examination, not to avoid them. For only if we fully understand the premises on which a value system is based, can we begin to see how men of good will can be brought together at least in their understanding of each other. One's understanding of one's fellow man is half the battle towards civility. One's understanding of one's fellow man's feelings on such value issues as abortion, genetic engineering, euthanasia, medical experimentation, psychosurgery, and other medico-technical matters is our only hope to devise

programs which offer alternatives to seemingly irreconcilable differences in value perceptions. Such alternatives are not created in one day or one year, but neither were your health facilities. I can assure you of only one thing. If I am elected President, I shall at least take the first step toward reconciliation between conflicting value systems by fostering alternatives to the ethically divisive.

In the meantime, I urge you to continue to bear witness to your values, for without values, much of life, and therefore of medicine, would be meaningless. It is in that perspective that I wish you good fortune, and above all, fortitude. With fortitude can come leadership and leadership is what Catholic hospitals should provide. You have done it in the past, as witness Mother Seton. May we see many more like her in the future.

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The dying process varies from individual to individual, but there is little agreement on what ways of dying are tolerable or intolerable. There is no doubt that through medical research, great benefits can accrue for mankind. Yet here the debate exists, on which benefits justify which costs. I do not mean financial costs alone, but costs in human dignity. The questions are age-old. Do ends justify means? Can man ever be treated as object only and not as end also, as Kant asked?

These are the facts. These are the problems. The question is, what to do about them. Of one thing I am personally convinced. It is that the deeper the divisions in our value perceptions run, the less they lend themselves to the imposition of one perception over another by law. The issues are issues of values, not of chemical or biological facts. They are subjectively perceived, not objectively quantified. The subjectively perceived is difficult to legislate unless there is consensus on the perception.

What does this mean in practice for the likes of you and me? It means in your case that you must physically continue, and it seems to me that you are obliged morally to continue, bearing witness to your values. The nation is never well served when people do not speak out for their values or bear witness to them through their actions. I therefore have little sympathy for those who speak of closing Catholic, or any other denominational, hospitals.

What would it mean for me if I were to become President of this nation? It would mean firstly, that I would be sworn under the Constitution to uphold the laws of this nation, and that I would do so.

But I think it would further place on me the moral obligation to do all in my power to minimize these divisions in value perceptions among our people.

This I would pledge to do and this I think I could begin to do. There is, I believe, a broad consensus in the nation on the fact that abortion is not an ideal. No one undergoes it for the pleasure of it. It becomes then our task to provide alternatives. We must make a high priority of gaining fundamental knowledge in reproductive biology to provide foolproof family planning alternatives to abortion. We must ensure that women do not get fired from their jobs just because they are pregnant. We must ensure that they receive pregnancy disability benefits if they are disabled in pregnancy. We must provide life support systems, which give women all the services and advice they need to go through pregnancy. We must invest in research -- embryological, metabolic, genetic and environmental research to treat the structurally, and functionally, less fortunate, rather than to abort them. We must re-encourage the older ways of dying, at home, rather than being dumped and abandoned in institutions -- however euphemistically they are named.

Let me simply stress for you one fact. The bioethical debates have been with us for close to a decade. Yet these are precisely the areas in which government has been the least active while the need is obvious.

Let me return, then, to your role as the nation's largest grouping of Catholic hospitals and health professionals. I spoke of promises and opportunities. I believe they are abundant in New York.

More than a decade ago, because it saw the problems coming, the Kennedy Foundation gave its first grant in the field of bioethics to the Newman Center at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. In 1967, the Foundation extended its interest by supporting the distinguished Methodist theologian, Paul Ramsey of Princeton University, in his bioethical studies at Georgetown University Hospital. His seminal books, The Patient as a Person and Fabricated Man, developed during this time.

Then, in 1971, we established two major bioethical programs at Harvard and at Georgetown. They are respectively called the Kennedy Interfaculty Program at Harvard and the Joseph and Rose Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bioethics at Georgetown. Both centers do research, render service and teach courses. I was delighted to see your distinguished director, Mgr. Cassidy, last winter as a participant in the intensive bioethics course at the Kennedy Institute at Georgetown. Only last month, several members of the Kennedy Institute staff served as faculty for the first joint meeting held by the National Federation of Catholic Physicians Guilds and the National Association of Catholic Hospital Chaplains.

As Chairman of the advisory board to the Kennedy Institute at Georgetown, I have been afforded the opportunity not only to help its program develop, but often to see the fruits of its work in manuscript form months before publication. I have read them all with great interest. Broad-minded academicians have been tolerant and have on occasion accepted my suggestions.

I wish to stress to you the very wide perspective from which these centers operate. Their staffs have scholars of all faiths and of none. Among the Georgetown staff, there have been Catholics, Mennonites, Quakers, Jews, Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, Unitarians, and Seventh Day Adventists. They have worked in law, canon law, theology, philosophy, demography, and biology. What has joined them has been the realization that medicine is not a biological technology alone. Biology is descriptive -- it cannot be prescriptive. Human life is not just about man the biological, or man the social -- it is also about man the value-seeker.

Here we are in New York with Fordham University and St. John's, with Einstein Medical School and Yeshiva, with Union Theological and Jewish Theological. Here is a vast hospital system, largely grounded in the three great traditions of Judaism, Catholicism and Protestantism. I said I realized your burdens, but also your opportunities. What splendid opportunities exist to begin to form those groupings which are needed to examine and bring to the fore the value issues involved in the medical enterprise.

The task may seem immense and overwhelming, but let us think back to those who began the first Catholic hospital in New York and see where we are now. The need is for vision and courage, qualities you display daily in your work. They are the qualities shown by a Cardinal Cooke, when, in the middle of prophets of doom and gloom, he establishes a task force on health care, not just to man the ramparts, but to keep the hospitals going up while people say the city is going down.

They are the qualities shown by a frail woman, Elizabeth Seton, who was born in 1774, who married and raised a family, who knew the Protestant tradition and the Catholic, who organized and mobilized in the field of health and in the field of values, and who was proclaimed the first native-born American saint.

Debates on values often seem divisive, for values are strongly held. But the fact that they may be divisive is no reason to be silent on values, for if we are, then someday there may be none. I am, as you know, a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Just as I have reflected with you on what I think your role might be, I have had to reflect upon my own. It seems to me it could be expressed in a general philosophy. It is this: Where differences in value-perceptions exist, among various sections of the American people, it seems to me that it is the task of a president to stimulate their examination, not to avoid them. For only if we fully understand the premises on which a value system is based, can we begin to see how men of good will can be brought together at least in their understanding of each other. One's understanding of one's fellow man is half the battle towards civility. One's understanding of one's fellow man's feelings on such value issues as abortion, genetic engineering, euthanasia, medical experimentation, psychosurgery, and other medico-technical matters is our only hope to devise

programs which offer alternatives to seemingly irreconcilable differences in value perceptions. Such alternatives are not created in one day or one year, but neither were your health facilities. I can assure you of only one thing. If I am elected President, I shall at least take the first step toward reconciliation between conflicting value systems by fostering alternatives to the ethically divisive.

In the meantime, I urge you to continue to bear witness to your values, for without values, much of life, and therefore of medicine, would be meaningless. It is in that perspective that I wish you good fortune, and above all, fortitude. With fortitude can come leadership and leadership is what Catholic hospitals should provide. You have done it in the past, as witness Mother Seton. May we see many more like her in the future.

For Release: 11:00 A.M.
Saturday, September 20, 1975

Contact: Don Pride
Linda Cook
202/333-9000

ANNOUNCEMENT STATEMENT

OF

SARGENT SHRIVER

Mayflower Hotel
Washington, D.C.

September 20, 1975

I am happy to announce my candidacy for President of the United States. I seek an open nomination openly arrived at, earned in the primaries and local caucuses and state conventions. I want to tell you why I am running and why I am asking people to join in running with me.

It may be hard for some to believe, but it is not lust for elective office or power. I know too well, and in ways too personal, the sadness and isolation associated with the Presidency. So I do not approach this campaign in a spirit of compulsive ambition or naive exhiliration.

The reason I am running is simply this: Given what I believe; what I have worked for throughout the last 30 years; what I see happening in this country and the world, and what I want to see happen; and given the lack of leadership to deal with our problems at home and abroad -- I could not stand aside.

Every candidate for the office of the Presidency in recent memory has believed that his was the critical hour. So, it is difficult to find language undebased by the rhetoric of the past to express how I feel about where we are as a people today.

But we know -- all of us in this room and the millions of Americans who are not here -- that this time is different. There are many reasons, but none more compelling than this: for only the second time in this century, the forward movement of America has been reversed; we have retrogressed as a society. And it is this sudden, overwhelming reversal of momentum, that has generated the vast crisis of confidence we face today. We face problems of the character that confronted FDR, but none of his successors. Not since the Great Depression has America stood in fear of the future.

Is it any wonder that we have lost our way? Beliefs fundamental to American society have been confounded -- the beliefs:

- that America fights only in just wars -- and wins because our cause is right;
- that all Presidents are righteous men worthy of public trust;
- that all who seek work in this country can find it;
- that continuous economic growth is our natural heritage;
- that, alone among countries, the American economy has the strength to prosper in isolation.

I could go on, but you know the litany.

How do we find the way forward? There are clear choices to be made.

The Republicans propose their favorite solution: -- blame the Government for everything. They claim somehow to get rid of Government. And then, they say, we will return to normalcy. Rely on free markets, and everything will be again the way it was before ... But we all know that's not true.

We know many markets are not free. The price we pay for food and gasoline, for a hospital bed or for heating oil, has climbed almost beyond sight, not because of competition but because a few people and a few organizations wield great economic power, and because Nixon and Ford have both permitted huge sales of wheat to Russia before making sure there's enough at home to feed America at reasonable prices.

In the name of the free market, the Administration has vetoed price controls on oil, while trying to stop an education bill that will have no effect on prices. The Republican strategy has been to fight inflation by putting people out of work. But the insecurity of double-digit inflation hasn't been stopped by unemployment, by forcing men and women to suffer the indignity of no work while our society suffers from lack of what work alone can provide.

The Administration's strategy has given us the worst depression since Herbert Hoover's. Worse, it hasn't even managed to keep prices down. American families deserve a better break than that.

Some Democrats say there's nothing wrong that more money and more programs in Washington won't cure. We need only rely on government, and all will be well.

In my judgment, this approach and the Republican approach are both dead wrong. In the words of Adlai Stevenson, "let's talk sense to the American people." Let's discuss the realities we all can see rather than repeating outdated phrases. What are those realities?

Mankind has entered a new era. Our philosophic, religious and political beliefs can still provide the framework for our activity in the years ahead. But the problems we now face are different in nature, not just in size, from those we faced before. They will not respond to the old shibboleths and nostrums. Nationalism, jingoism, great power chauvinism, individualism, old-fashioned liberalism, populism, conservatism -- none of these alone is sufficient for the future. Instead we must seek a common existence, rooted in our common humanity, which faces worldwide problems requiring common solutions. And, the first place where we must bring our common efforts to bear on our common human problems is here at home.

Common existence at home starts with putting the government -- as the expression of our common will -- on the side of the consumer, the taxpayer, the individual and the community. Government must abandon those tasks that individuals, families, and neighborhoods can do for themselves. But, it must protect the condition in which they can remain truly free and independent.

We have learned -- through welfare waste, through schooling that doesn't educate, through houses we can't afford,

through products that don't last -- that government and corporate bureaucracy are no substitute for self-reliant individual effort. But we have learned also -- through medical tragedy turned into economic disaster, through joblessness that persists even while prices soar -- that the self-reliant individual and family can be reduced to myth if government, while "getting off people's backs," does not remain on their side.

I'm opposed to centralized, rigid, unresponsive bureaucracy; I worked to combat that kind of bureaucracy in business, as head of Chicago's School Board, and later in Washington and in the Foreign Service. In the Peace Corps, in Headstart, in Legal Services for the Poor, in Foster Grandparents, we created the least bureaucratic public enterprises in modern governmental history. But a purely negative approach to government will get us nowhere. Only a governmental policy actively working for the small and the personal can turn this country away from the large and the anonymous; only a national commitment to the human scale can restore a sense of community.

Such a commitment means many things:

To the millions of Americans who want work and cannot find it, my commitment is <u>jobs</u>. The independence of Americans and their families depends on work, and there is much work to do. As Bob Kennedy said:

> "It is the shaping impulse of America that neither faith in nature, nor the irresistable tides of history, but the work of our hands,

matched to reason and principal, will determine our destiny."

To the tens of millions who see the fruits of their work consumed by uncontrollable inflation, my philosophy is limits on the forces that produce spiraling prices. To talk of "free markets" as the solution to inflation in fuel is a fraud. A market dominated by a handful of giant oil companies is not free. And, the domination of other markets by concentrated private power must be ended.

To the many whose hopes are suddenly shattered by economic collapse or unanticipated need -- whether in health or education, whether victims of crime or of misfortune -- my philosophy is to provide a net beneath which we will not let one another fall and above which we will encourage all to rise. Each paying his fair share of the cost, all of us should be able to turn to the community when faced by risks too large for anyone to bear alone. We need financially sound programs of health insurance, and ways of extending taxes downward to provide credits to those who have too little income, while fairly taxing those who have much. By prudent combinations of government stockpiling and regulation, we can control the most extreme fluctuations in economic life -- maintaining a stability in food, fuel and other basic prices that will enable people to plan their lives without fear of uncontrollable financial disruptions.

To the millions of families who see their children fail and their neighborhoods collapse, the meaning of this philosophy is reunion -- reunion with the most basic sources of our national strength. Anti-neighborhood practices like red-lining and block-busing must be reversed. Anti-family practices like forced separation of parents on welfare must be ended. Discrimination against working women must be stopped. And, we need flexible work schedules to permit parents, fathers and mothers both, to care for their children. Finally, we must find ways to redesign our housing, tax, and other policies to allow families to live together, rather than in generational ghettos.

I do not pretend to have all the answers. But we can find answers together only if we are guided by some vision of where we want to go; it is a vision of freedom, of fairness, and fulfilling work that shapes the policies I favor.

Those policies cannot stop at the water's edge. Domestic and foreign affairs are inseparable. A century ago Kierkegaard wrote: "The individual no longer belongs to his God, to himself, his beloved, to his art, or his science..." Today no nation belongs to any one God or science, or solely to its citizens or its ideology. By circumstance, we belong to a still separated but now seamless world. In such a world, the shaping of a common existence is the precondition of a secure existence -- and perhaps of any existence at all.

We have ignored this truth too long. Seeking dominion, we have meddled too much abroad, as we have interfered too deeply in the lives of our citizens. Our indiscriminate interventions abroad came from fear. Cold War fears which led to fear of change in some places escalated until we opposed change in all places. That's not the American tradition.

We can best fight for the freedoms in which we believe by ceasing to act like international Tories -- the Redcoats of the 20th Century. We are the descendants of the men who fired the shot heard round the world. But when our arms and aid go to reactionary tyrants abroad, when our food is used for politics instead of hunger, when we move toward closer relations with the racist regimes in Southern Africa, when the CIA lawlessly subverts governments abroad, when our military and intelligence establishments use dangerous drugs in unethical experiments at home, is it any wonder that foreigners, once our friends, conclude that our values have collapsed?

And when our government for so many years acted as if the regime in Saigon was as worthy of support as our friends and allies in Europe, Japan and Israel, is it any wonder that our citizens began to wonder if commitments of any kind make sense?

Abroad, as at home, our challenge is to redefine the role of government. And the first step is to recognize our commitment to a common existence.

Our founders made a declaration of independence. Ours must be a declaration of interdependence. The United States must play a more positive role with our European and Japanese partners in resolving international recession. And, we must turn away from a pattern of confrontation and grudging negotiation with the governments of the Southern Hemisphere.

We were once a symbol of hope not because we manipulated events abroad but because we embraced ideals that moved nations and shook the world. We can be a symbol of hope again.

The irony of America today is that we have everything to achieve our objectives: we have the people and the resources -- no nation has freer, better people or richer natural resources -- we have the highest political, religious and philosophical traditions; we have everything we need today ... but leadership.

The test of leadership now, as it was for Lincoln, is to reach and bring into action the better angels of our nature. No poll can prove this, but I am convinced that people's cynicism about politicians rises and falls with the politicians' cynicism about people. There are many frustrations in modern life, even in the best of times, which a demagogue can invoke. He may win some passing applause and perhaps even votes, but if he releases the worst instincts of people, we will reap the whirlwind.

How do we decide who will lead the American people? The truth is that no one man or woman is qualified to lead single-handedly. From the experience of 30 years in public and private life, I know it is vital to do as much listening as talking, as much questioning as answering. For the American people are the greatest teachers of all. What we will need is a rallying together, a mutual struggle, not just a commitment to a candidate but a commitment to one another.

So I look forward to a people's campaign. And I am grateful to the many who are here to start with me, including planeloads and busloads of friends and associates who have known me most of my life; people committed to justice and community, regardless of region, race, religion, and all the conventional divisions of left, right and center.

Finally, I am fortified by my family -- by my mother, who has seen 23 presidential campaigns, by my wife, Eunice, and our sons and daughter, by my brother Herbert, by Rose Kennedy and Ethel Kennedy and Jackie, by Jean, and Pat, and Joan, and by my most admirable sister-in-law, Willa Shriver of Baltimore. In peace and war, in public and private life, they know the demands and duties, the joys and sorrows of the kind of course I am taking, and they have encouraged me to take it.

When my own family came to Maryland over 250 years ago, they came with dreams that millions of Americans have come to share. Those dreams nourish me today. They will inspire all of us in the days and months ahead.

Whenever Washington lacks positive direction, it has been remarked, you may be sure that something is struggling to be born in the nation. There is a wind coming. It can be a good wind or an ill wind; it is up to us, together, to set its direction.

Let us remember there is no conservative or liberal remedy for the sickness of the national spirit. The cure will come from honest, truthful leadership that summons the best in us -- as we remember John Kennedy once did. His legacy awaits the leader who can claim it.

I intend to claim it, not for myself alone, but for the family that <u>first</u> brought it into being, for the millions who joyfully and hopefully entered public service in those days in order to produce a better life for all, and to those billions of unknown, uncounted human beings whom I have seen all over the world -- in Asia, South America, Western Europe and the Soviet Union -- for whom the memory of those days and of John Kennedy is still an inspiration to their minds and a lift to their hearts. That's what we must all be proud of once again.

FOR RELEASE: 10:00 a.m.
January 7, 1975

CONTACT: Washington, D.C.
D. Drayne or Linda Cook
202/333-9000
Boston, Mass.
C. Kastelnik 617/523-155

Chip - please file on

SHRIVER ANNOUNCES PLAN TO SHARPLY REDUCE

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION

Presidential candidate Sargent Shriver today made public an economic program which could bring unemployment below five per cent within a year and a half of becoming President, reduce inflation to just over six per cent during the same time period, and increase real income 22 per cent over four years.

Shriver issued the comprehensive, integrated, pragmatic economic package at a news conference in Boston. Saying that Americans are deeply troubled about the state of the economy, Shriver said: "For only the second time in this century, Americans stand in fear of the future."

"That fear," he added, "will not be removed by predictions of prosperity around the corner, presidential declarations that the recession is over, or visions of light at the end of the tunnel."

Shriver said that his proposals have been studied carefully by a number of economic experts. Based on statistical projections, these would be the results of his plan:

Three and one half million more Americans back to work with national unemployment down from 8.3% now to 4.9% by mid-1978.
Inflation -- down from 8.1% now to 6.3% by mid-1978
Spendable income (real income after taxes) -- up 22% over four years

Applying Shriver's proposals to Massachusetts yields the following figures:

Massachusetts and Boston unemployment down from 12.1% now to 5.9% in mid-1978
Inflation in Boston down from 7.7% now to 7.3% by mid-1978

Shriver's overall program examines in depth the American economy today and how it must be improved. It includes specific programs dealing with inflation, unemployment, energy, food, tax reform, international economic policy, the elimination of excessive governmental intervention, and structural reform of our economic policy.

The principal focus of his program is the simultaneous fight against inflation and unemployment. Shriver listed detailed proposals in both of these areas, including the following:

--a public job program of 1.6 million jobs.
--stimulation of private sector employment.
--a continuation of last year's tax cut, without cutbacks in needed public programs.
--low interest rates for small businesses.
--stockpiling of food reserves.
--stockpiling of petroleum reserves.
--development of alternative sources of energy.
--permanent price-wage guideposts.
--reform of the antitrust laws.
--tough program for conserving energy.

"In this campaign, on issues of farm policy, busing, foreign policy and the economy, I have stressed answers that seek creative collaboration among all Americans. These are enormously difficult and complex issues. I believe we can find solutions that recognize and involve all Americans and unite our people in common purpose. That is the task of leadership and my commitment as America enters its Third Century."

A copy of the Shriver program is attached.

PAPER BY SARGENT SHRIVER
PREPARED FOR RELEASE IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

7 JANUARY 1976

PUTTING AMERICA BACK TO WORK:

NATIONAL RECOVERY AND POLICIES FOR A SOUND ECONOMIC FUTURE

INTRODUCTION

Americans are deeply and justifiably troubled about the state of the economy. This anxiety goes beyond any set of statistics -- unemployment rate, the Consumer Price Index, the cost of gasoline and bread, the interest rates. Poll after poll has found the American people, for the first time since such surveys have been made, pessimistic about their future. They think that tomorrow will be worse than today. The promise of America has been eclipsed. For only the second time in this century, Americans stand in fear of the future.

That fear will not be removed by predictions of prosperity around the corner, presidential declarations that the recession is over, or visions of light at the end of the tunnel. We have been that way before. As Will Rogers once said of the Hoover Administration, "There has been more 'optimism' talked and less practiced than at any time in our history."

The critical questions which underlie the anxiety in America today must be addressed honestly: what is the economic reality today? What are the causes of our dilemma? How do we put America back to work without more inflation? Can we stabilize or even reduce food and energy prices, and, if so, how? What is the proper role for government regulation? How should we respond to the international economic reality? What steps should we take to ensure that **all** pay their fair share of the cost of governing America? Can we get business, labor, consumers, farmers and government to cooperate in achieving and maintaining economic recovery? What structural changes are necessary for our economy? These are not easy questions. But they are questions America as a nation must face and answer today.

THE ECONOMY TODAY
I

The American economy is sick.

The purchasing power of the average American is no higher today than in 1967 -- almost a decade ago. It has declined by 5% since 1972. The value of each American's dollar has declined by over 25% since the Republicans took office. We are still experiencing by far the highest rates of both unemployment and inflation since the Great Depression. In 1974, the percentage of American families living in poverty increased. And it has increased again this year.

The United States continues to face the specter of a double-digit economy: double-digit inflation combined with double-digit unemployment. Despite the modest gains anticipated in 1976, some forecasters expect an even deeper recession by 1977 or 1978, with little, if any, increase in price stability.

Over $200 billion of U.S. productive capacity is standing idle. At that rate, we are wasting much more than the entire gross national product of all but six countries in the world. And it costs us $17 billion in unemployment compensation, $20 billion of lost private investment, $52 billion in Federal tax revenues and more than $20 billion desperately needed by inflation-squeezed cities and states.

The level of U.S. unemployment is unprecedented since the 1930's. It exceeded 9% last spring. It still stands at 8.3% -- unacceptably high by any standard.

More tragic is the human cost of mass unemployment. The fact is we have almost as many people unemployed today as in the Great Depression. Official statistics say that nearly eight million Americans are unemployed. But millions more go unrecorded, because they are too discouraged even to look for jobs, and many older Americans, who would have preferred to keep working until age 65, are forced into early retirement with reduced benefits in Social Security. As usual, joblessness hits minorities harder; 36% of black teenagers are unemployed. And three and one-half million Americans between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four are without work and losing faith in America just as they set out to participate in its future. We are compromising our future, as we waste our present.

The Administration has admitted that its policies offer little chance to reduce unemployment below 7% of the labor force until mid-1978. Rather than face its failure, the Administration has redefined its goal -- unemployment of 5%, or even more, is to be the "full employment" target. That's bad enough -- but present and projected policies will not even meet that goal.

Planned, massive unemployment has not overcome inflation. Consumer prices are still rising at annual rates of about 8%. All components of our cost of living are on the increase -- not just food, fuel or any single sector. Prices are rising in anticipation of prices rising, so the expectation of inflation creates a self-reinforcing upward cycle. Fearing price rises which take necessities out of reach, many consumers are afraid to spend except for their most urgent needs. By diminishing the demand required to support job-creating economic growth, rampant inflation may actually sustain unemployment. If consumers aren't buying, many workers won't be working.

Inflation's resurgence comes as a particularly bitter blow, because the Administration persisted so long in restraining the economy just to stop inflation -- an approach which has now been demonstrated as fundamentally in error. The Ford economic policy is an abject failure even on its own terms.

The Administration's energy policy has deepened unemployment and inflation. President Ford has done his best to raise oil prices -- with import tariffs, proposals to place a floor under the oil price, and conciliation of big energy companies. Indeed, higher energy prices are the hallmark of the Ford energy program; it's a form of rationing where the rich who can pay more use more, and the poor who can't pay do all the conserving. The Administration, moreover, has done little to achieve meaningful conservation or increased supplies of energy materials. No progress has been made toward reducing our vulnerability to another Arab embargo. No security stockpiles have been created, and since 1972 our imports of oil have gone up 9% and this despite the experiences of the embargo, the energy crisis and economic recession.

The absence of a coherent food policy adds both to inflation and recession. No food reserve has been built to protect us against the crop shortfall which will eventually occur, somewhere in the world, in almost every year. All-out production of our own farmers has been discouraged by the application of export controls caused by the absence of reserves to cushion the impact of foreign purchases during short crop years.

Misguided government contributes to the problem. Many government programs involve huge waste because the incentive for bureaucrats in Washington is to spend -- not to save or manage better. Billions are spent to subsidize vested interests -- such as the shipping industry and exporters -- with questionable benefit to the public interest. Billions are lost through regulation which protects industry rather than the public. Government is not doing its job when unregulated intra-state air fares are 50% cheaper than regulated air fares, when food shipped at rates not subject to Interstate Commerce Commission jurisdiction cost 40% less to ship, when countless bureaucrats catalogue the innumerable freight rates now on file. Sheltered from competition, regulated companies have little incentive to innovate or cut expenses, but the cost to the economy, to every American, is substantial -- an estimated $20 billion a year. The sheer complexity of regulatory proceedings often ensures that the largest and most wealthy firms have their influence felt.

Excessively concentrated business intensifies both inflation and unemployment. Throughout this prolonged recession, prices of many products never fell even though sales of these same products declined precipitously. But prices rose sharply at the first signs of recovery, despite massive idle capacity -- almost one-third of the equipment of some of the price-raising industries. "Administered prices" rip off American consumers for the profit of vested interests. The lack of competition in key sectors of our economy has removed a vital spur to technological innovation. Beyond the direct economic effects, concentrated and unaccountable private power undermines confidence in the basic structure of our economy and deepens feelings of unfairness.

Roller-coaster monetary policy is another significant cause of our economic plight. Excessive expansion of the money supply in the election year of 1972 helped bring double-digit inflation. Excessively tight money in recent years has hindered recovery. And by keeping the cost of money high, monetary policy has fed inflation as well as crippled the housing industry.

The absence of tax reform drains confidence in our economic system. An equitable tax system could bring in billions more revenue from Americans who can well afford to pay their fair share but aren't doing so now. In combination with more efficient government, reform can liberate large sums for housing, health, education, welfare and environmental programs or tax cuts for low and middle income families. Most important, tax reform is essential to restore the confidence of the American people in the democratic process. Is it any wonder that many in America question the fairness of our system when 622 persons with adjusted gross incomes over $100,000 pay no taxes; when seven millionaires pay no taxes; when eight large companies, including Ford and Lockheed, pay no taxes and five of them even receive tax credits; and when Texaco can pay the U.S. Government only 2.3% taxes on nearly $1 billion net profits?

The lack of an international economic policy reflects a failure to recognize that the United States has become fully integrated during the last ten years into the global economy. Exports and imports have doubled in the last decade and now constitute over 14% of the GNP. This high percentage is almost as large today as that of Japan and the European Common Market. One out of five jobs in our manufacturing industries and one of three acres of our farm land rely on export sales to other countries. One-third of the profits of our corporations come from their activities overseas. We are dependent on other countries for nine of the thirteen most important industrial raw materials, such as tin, bauxite and zinc. Yet there is no effective U.S. effort under way to stabilize the international monetary system, head off the threats to world trade which are active both in this country and abroad or to deal effectively with the issues raised by multinational corporations.

Finally, the absence of any systematic planning for the economic future of the United States dooms us to repeated shocks and tragic, needless waste. There is no effort to bring together business, labor and public officials to face the future and prepare for it. There is no sharing of the strengths and concerns of the different sectors of our economy. America was totally unprepared for shocks such as the oil embargo and crop failures, both of which were predicted by experts well in advance. America is still unprepared for the future.

THE BASIC CAUSES
II

How did the American economy reach this state? Has our system failed? Or is it our leadership that is to blame?

Some of the problems are fundamental. This is true in the international arena, particularly for the critical energy sector, where the United States has simultaneously become more dependent on other countries and less able to dictate the course of world events. The era of cheap energy and squandered resources is at an end. Shifts in the composition of our labor force make it harder to achieve full employment without higher rates of inflation than have been experienced in the past. Structures for sustained and systematic injection of the public interest into the decision-making process of those industries which are not responsive to normal market forces are vital. Changes are needed

to restore competition in major sectors. The economy has been run down so far that full recovery will not be immediate.

But there are no signs of fundamental decline in our national productivity or ability to compete in the world. We are not condemned to "stagflation." We need not accept massive unemployment in a misguided effort to stabilize prices. We are not fated to perennially huge budget deficits, caused by deep recession, which frustrate needed efforts to respond to fundamental human needs -- in health, education, environment, transportation and urban redevelopment. Physical limits need not preclude growth -- if we take action to protect the environment and conserve non-renewable resources.

Bad management -- and bad policies -- have compounded problems that could have been kept under control. Both monetary policy and government budgets have lurched from excessive expansion to choking tightness. Food production was held down to win farm votes with high food prices, when world shortages were already apparent. Massive wheat sales to the Soviet Union were encouraged with no concern for the American consumer and with a secrecy that benefitted mainly the grain traders here and abroad. Nothing was done to head off the energy crisis; the Administration actually encouraged OPEC by itself seeking to raise the price of oil still further through the imposition of high tariffs. The exchange rate of the dollar was held up too long, and then devalued too far. Price-wage controls were lifted at the worst possible time. There has been no effort to check the excesses of big business, to achieve meaningful tax reform, or to plan for the future. The public interest is deemed synonymous with private gain.

This catalogue of failures is overwhelming. Just compare the Republican record since 1969 with the record of the last two Democratic Administrations:

UNEMPLOYMENT

Kennedy/Johnson	Nixon/Ford
1961 - 7.0%	1969 - 3.4%
1969 - 3.4%	1975 - 8.3%
Unemployment cut in half	Unemployment more than doubled

DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Kennedy/Johnson	Nixon/Ford
1961 - 15.8 weeks	1969 - 8.4 weeks
1969 - 8.4 weeks	1975 - 15.8 weeks
Nearly cut in half	Nearly doubled

INFLATION

Kennedy/Johnson	Nixon/Ford
Up 18%	Up 49%

FOOD PRICES

Kennedy/Johnson	Nixon/Ford
2.4% increase per year	7.7% increase per year

GASOLINE PRICES

Kennedy/Johnson	Nixon/Ford
Up 20%	Up nearly 100%

FEDERAL DEFICIT

Ford FY 1976 budget deficit: $70-75 billion

Ford FY 1977 budget deficit: $60 billion

PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE LIVING IN POVERTY

Johnson	Nixon/Ford
36% improvement	4% improvement

Though the errors of the last seven years have caused deep-rooted problems, there is no cause to abandon hope. We can do better; we can recover.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES
III

The United States has never had a comprehensive national economic policy. But not since the Great Depression has it faced the breadth and depth of economic ills which beset it today. We can no longer afford to attack these problems with piecemeal and short-term approaches -- or ideological blinders. Nor can we afford one economic policy in the White House, a second in the Congress, and a third at the Federal Reserve.

The program presented in these pages features major proposals to deal in an integrated manner with all facets of our economic problems. It will not eliminate inflation or unemployment overnight. But it will sharply reduce both within a few years. And, by restoring confidence in the competence, clarity and purposefulness of American economic leadership, its immediate impact would be an enormous psychological benefit as well. It is a program for a stable and sound American economy to begin our third century of independence.

This economic program is based on seven policy principles.

First, our economic policy must be structured for the long haul. It is now abundantly clear that none of our economic problems -- inflation, unemployment, energy, food -- is transitory. Each will be with us indefinitely, unless decisive action is taken. Short-term decisions, such as the Nixon Administration's abrupt abolition of price-wage controls, must be avoided.

Second, economic policy can be effective only if it is comprehensive and integrated. All aspects of our economy must be viewed together and meshed both in planning and execution. Each individual sector, such as food and fuel, must be dealt with as part of the whole.

Third, an effective program must be balanced. It must deal decisively with both unemployment and inflation. It must encompass both tax reform and the need to provide adequate investment capital. It must both reduce excessive government and create new government programs where needed to deal with urgent problems. It must both view the United States as an integral part of the world economy and avoid letting foreign policy dictate domestic economic policy (as has occurred in food). And it must recognize that long-term environmental degradation is not in our economic self-interest.

Fourth, the program must be pragmatic. It can neither pay homage to "free enterprise" where free markets do not exist, nor can it look to big government to solve all problems. Ours is a mixed economy. We must use that mix to our benefit -- rather than fight it, in pursuit of outworn slogans and ideological uniformity or purity. Effective cooperation between government and the private sector must replace the hostility which each frequently feels toward the other. Indeed, competition between government and private industry would be healthy.

Fifth, the program must be fair and honest. It must serve the public, not the vested interests. It must be fair to all our citizens, as well as responsive to their needs. It must help restore faith in our institutions, if it is to restore confidence in our economy. An economic policy for our nation can work only if it is fair to all our citizens.

Sixth, our economic policy must be democratic. All sectors of our society will be affected. All must play a role. Only through a true national compact can we bring wages, prices and profits into balance. Only through full and frank give-and-take can we check the excesses of both business and government and reform our tax structure to achieve equity for all Americans.

Seventh, an American economic policy must be one agreed to by the U.S. government as a whole. President Ford's disastrous treatment of the Congress as irrelevant to the economic policy of the United States has kept any economic policy from being effective. His mistakes must not be repeated.

POLICY PROPOSALS
IV

A. Inflation

The Shriver economic program begins with an attack on inflation. Inflation affects every American. It seems the most intractable of our problems, both intellectually and institutionally.

Inflation has reached levels where, contrary to theory, it now contributes to unemployment by replacing consumer confidence with anxiety. But planned unemployment, the core of the Administration's policy, does not stop inflation -- indeed, by diminishing productivity, unemployment may exacerbate inflation.

Inflation exploded in the early 1970's primarily because of three factors: food prices, fuel prices, and the international devaluations of the dollar -- all fed by an excessively expansionary monetary policy timed to promote Nixon's re-election. Capricious price increases by heavily concentrated industries have now emerged as a major contributor to inflation.

This program will deal comprehensively with all factors, as must any program to cure the cancer of inflation.

1. Food

-- Maximum production in the United States can be achieved by renouncing use of export controls in favor of an export policy which provides adequate supplies for the domestic market, encourages long-term arrangements with foreign customers, reserves food for humanitarian aid, avoids any new acreage limitations and assures realistic support levels for farmers in surplus years. These supports must reflect production costs and world prices. As a minimum I would set the 1976 price support levels at $5 a bushel for soybeans, $3 a bushel for wheat, and $2.30 a bushel for corn. And the government should not be allowed to resell these crops for less than 150% of these price supports.

-- Sizable grain reserves should be created, at both the national and international levels, to avoid short-term price rises from crop failures anywhere. To ease global food insecurity, the United States should heed the call of the World Food Conference to participate fully in the international food reserve program. Reserves will help reduce the pervasive expectation of continued inflation. The American consumer will know that prices will not climb simply because food supplies run short.

-- The United States should take the lead in global food management by pressing for the release of all data on acreage under cultivation, crop conditions and crop yields. We should encourage all nations in this effort, including the Soviet Union and China. If they hesitate, we should pursue all diplomatic and information channels to overcome their reluctance or fears.

-- Sharp increases in production in other countries should be encouraged through technological and financial help to (i) bring new land into cultivation and (ii) raise productivity, which in many countries is only 10-25% of the U.S. level.

2. Energy

-- We must begin a tough program of conservation -- a program that provides investment incentives for energy efficient home and industrial improvements, develops national energy conservation guidelines for buildings and industrial processes, mandates automobile mileage standards at a saving of 1 million barrels of oil per day at 27.5 mpg by 1985 (as required by the new Energy Policy and Conservation Act), commits our government to expanded rail and mass transit programs, encourages the recovery of energy and raw materials from municipal, agricultural, and industrial wastes, and requires disclosure of the real energy costs of consumer goods. The United States ranks lowest among western industrialized countries in energy conservation. We can afford that unenviable distinction no longer. And in many cases, we can better afford to conserve our limited resources than to pay the high cost of developing marginal new oil production.

-- Creation of at least a 90-day U.S. stockpile of petroleum and top-priority pressure on other countries, through the International Energy Agency, to do the same is essential to eliminate vulnerability to cartel actions. There would then be less need for rationing and no conceivable rationale for such inflationary-recessionary devices as tariffs on imported oil or floor prices for all energy sources. But we would be in a position to negotiate long-term supply agreements, so that we would not again be faced with massive and unexpected price increases and embargos. This policy would enable us to conserve, rather than deplete, limited domestic supplies.

-- Increased domestic production of oil and gas without inflationary price rises should be sought, not by instant decontrol which would allow OPEC to set the price we pay for domestic oil, but by establishing a ceiling price, indexed to the cost of production, and moving towards that ceiling gradually so as not to set back economic recovery. Natural gas prices should continue to be controlled at prices that will provide equity for the consumer and incentive for production.

-- Legislation is needed to require the energy companies to disclose to the public, honestly and in detail, the extent of our proven reserves of oil and gas.

-- Although estimates vary, our oil and gas reserves are clearly limited. But our coal reserves, most of which belong to the public, could last us for several hundred years. America holds 40% of the world's coal supply. We have enough low sulphur coal to last us 100 years, and we have the technology for coal gassification and for cleaning high sulphur coal. A national program for clean coal could result in greatly increased production which will be required to make the necessary conversions before oil and gas run out. But energy policy has floundered and failed to fashion this crucial transition program for our energy future. The federal government must make the commitment now: to a program of conversion of utilities and industrial boilers to coal, in compliance with clean air standards, to research and development assistance for industry to commercialize the gassification processes and to land reclamation techniques which will make coal an environmentally sound and economically feasible energy alternative.

-- Alternative sources of energy, including solar power, geothermal, and other essentially renewable resources, must be developed by a sustained, massive commitment by this nation. Indeed, the ultimate economic future of the world requires the replacement of fossil fuels with new energy sources. This job cannot be left to monopolistic private industry. NASA, an agency of proven competence and expertise, should be directed to develop solar and other technologies to the point of economic feasibility.

-- We should halt this Administration's persistent push toward an unbalanced energy program, driving us toward heavy dependence on a plutonium-based option for our future economy. Before wedding our energy future to nuclear power, we must first resolve the hazards of plutonium reactor safety, and nuclear sabotage, theft or terrorism in the proliferation of nuclear materials. We are on the brink of making decisions in all our energy policies that may irreversibly affect the lives of our children and could even threaten the survival of our civilization -- without any adequate exploration of alternatives.

-- A federal purchasing agency should be created for imported oil, to bring down its price by weakening the alliance between OPEC and the multinational companies.

-- A yardstick public energy corporation should be considered to explore offshore and public land resources and, where necessary, compete with the energy giants.

-- A new leasing policy is needed, so that the public participates in profits from the private development of coal, oil and gas resources located on public lands or the outer continental shelf. We should use net profit leases under which the government retains a share of the profits of any energy resources found. By eliminating the present system of heavy front-end bonuses, this approach would encourage competition, since smaller companies, which do not have access to the major capital markets, could bid for leases against the energy giants. Public resource leasing policy must not sacrifice the environment to our energy needs. Before opening up additional public lands for leasing, we should enact strong strip-mining legislation such as the bill vetoed by President Ford. And vigorous government regulation, coupled with strict liability for the developers, must accompany private development of offshore oil reserves.

3. Prices, Wages and Profits

-- Price-wage-profit guideposts and jawboning must be instituted on a permanent basis. They worked under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. More formal controls worked even under President Nixon, despite his best efforts to discredit them. Particular attention would be paid to heavily concentrated industries and benchmark wage settlements. Interest rates should also be covered. There need be no rigid rules, large bureaucracies or comprehensive controls. But there must be an ongoing capability to inject the public interest into decisions of national economic importance. And the President should have standby authority to institute sector by sector controls.

-- Antitrust laws must be reformed. We need a new law which would put the burden of proof on the energy giants and other leading companies in concentrated markets to justify their power in terms of public interest. If that justification cannot be provided, the companies should be broken up. In addition, there is good reason to believe that divestment of some foreign subsidiaries of U.S.-based multinational enterprises could provide effective competition for their present parents in the U.S. market.

-- The provisions of the Clayton Act prohibiting interlocking directors in competing firms should be strictly enforced. The nation badly needs a statutorily articulated policy on conglomerate mergers of the type that have led to enormous concentrations of economic and political power in the hands of a small number of huge firms. A statutory solution is needed

both to enable businesses to know, without guessing at their peril, what conglomerate mergers are permissible, and to prevent giant corporations from gaining competitive advantages from the raw economic power that comes with size when that size is not associated with increased economic efficiency. We also need to change the provisions of the estate and gift tax laws that put strong pressures on the owners of small businesses to sell out to larger firms and to amend the income tax laws that make it so attractive for corporate giants to swallow up and depersonalize the innovative little companies that are the strengths of so many smaller communities.

-- Emphasis must be placed on increasing competition in those industries where additional capacity is needed to assure supplies in future periods of rapid growth, and where bottlenecks have appeared in recent years, such as steel and aluminum. The investment tax credit and other incentives to increase capacity should be used selectively to promote this objective.

4. The International Value of the Dollar

-- An effective international monetary system is needed, a system which will avoid both excessive weakness of the dollar or excessive strength, which could require subsequent sharp devaluation, as in 1971-73. To this end, we must coordinate intervention in the international exchange markets by national central banks. An effective international monetary system would also be desirable to reduce the reliance on the U.S. dollar as a reserve currency in international finance. This would alleviate the instability created by some $200 billion "Eurodollars" which overhang the market for our currency and which weaken our competitiveness in world markets.

-- Effective control of inflation, under my program, will itself strengthen the dollar -- and that, in turn, should reduce inflation still further. Avoiding export controls on domestic food would help the dollar, as well as increase our own farm production. Hence, the proposed program will be self-reinforcing and could create a "virtuous cycle" of price stability and increasing confidence to replace the current "vicious cycle" of inflation and despair.

5. New Approaches to Fighting Inflation

We should explore new ways of using Federal expenditure policy to restrain inflation as well as decrease unemployment -- for example, by coupling increased revenue sharing with reductions in state and local sales and other regressive taxes. These reductions, in turn, would lead directly to lower prices for consumers, if effectively monitored. This proposal offers promise during the present period when we suffer from high inflation and high unemployment at the same time. A dollar reduction in the prices or payroll taxes consumers must pay represents a dollar returned to the economy. Tax stimulus of this form reduces the prices we all pay, works to combat unemployment, and helps to provide tax fairness at the same time.

B. Unemployment

An effective program to combat inflation will assist an effective program to combat unemployment. But we must have also an effective program to combat unemployment in order to check inflation. For example, we cannot expect labor to accept wage guideposts in the face of declining real wages, unless it is assured of full employment. Unemployment and inflation must be attacked simultaneously.

1. Government fiscal policy must stimulate sufficient demand to assure full employment.

-- The expansion could be achieved through a variety of changes in spending programs and tax policy. Tax reform, elimination of a number of useless current programs, and better government management would provide more revenue to finance needed human programs or further tax cuts.

-- The extension of last year's tax cut should stand without cutbacks in needed public programs. It is bad economics to reduce public expenditures when the economy continues to need their stimulative effects. It is bad moral policy to make those who are most dependent on government programs -- the aged, the poor and the unemployed -- pay the price of restoring price stability, even if it would have that effect. We will need to monitor the economy closely and consider deeper tax cuts, if necessary, to achieve a strong and sustained recovery.

-- Expansionary budgets in the short run are the only way to reduce the federal deficit in the longer run. The huge current deficits are due almost wholly to the recession. Each one percent reduction of unemployment cuts the Government deficit by almost $20 billion. Only through fiscal expansion today can we get the Federal Government out of the red tomorrow.

2. Public jobs are needed to meet critical public needs, to employ those who will find it hard to find jobs even in a full-employment environment and to reduce the lags which inevitably slow the impact of aggregate fiscal policy on the economy.

-- The public job program should provide about 1.6 million jobs in 1977, 1.3 million in 1978 and fewer in subsequent years as general recovery proceeds. The net budgetary cost would begin at $5.5 billion and decline thereafter.

-- There is plenty to be done in America today. A major focus of this public job program would be a national effort to restore and revitalize our nation's railroads. This massive, labor-intensive

effort would not only put many Americans back to work on a project that benefits all Americans, but the end result would also be cleaner air, energy savings, and reduced urban congestion.

-- All public jobs would be for socially useful purposes. We are still using parks, roads and post offices built under similar programs in the 1930's -- our only national experience with a similar level of unemployment. As in the 1930's, pressing needs of our society today could be met through public projects, such as rebuilding our obsolete railroad track beds, vital public services, such as health and the environment, or in local energy-saving projects like home solar heating research and installation. Our housing industry has been hard hit by unemployment. Until this vital industry is restored, some of its unemployed craftsmen should be given work on public energy-saving projects like insulating public buildings.

3. Private Sector Employment should be stimulated through a combination of investment and job-creating incentives. Whenever we can get a private employer to create a new job for an unemployed worker, we have accomplished more at a lower cost to the public than we could by putting the same worker on the public payroll.

-- Investment incentives would aim at selected industries, with direct links to new investment in job-intensive activities. Across-the-board subsidies where payoff is marginal or dubious, such as tax breaks for all exports or for all minerals exploitation, would be eliminated.

-- Tax credits for job creation should supplement investment incentives so that employers are encouraged to put people, not just new machines, to work. One proposal which deserves serious consideration involves a tax credit with a sliding scale to encourage hiring the hardcore unemployed. This credit would be given for each new job created for presently unemployed workers who would be eligible for this program after being certified as unemployed by the employment service. To qualify, the employer would have to retain the employee for at least six months. The credit would be phased out over an eighteen-month period and would not be available if existing employees were displaced, or if the turnover rate among certified employees was substantially in excess of the norm during each six-month period. Guidelines under this program should be adopted to assure adequate job training and retention. Training and re-training of employees, many of whom are forced to find a job in a new industry or new field or work, must be a key part of this program. Because of the reduction in unemployment payments and the increase in personal income tax revenues that would result, this program, in terms of Federal revenues, would largely pay for itself.

-- Capital shortages must be avoided. Industry must be treated fairly, if it is to play its role in the national compact centered on new price-wage-profit guideposts. The way to avoid capital shortages is a resumption of vigorous economic growth, which will eliminate the deficits in the Federal budget by increasing tax revenues and cutting unemployment compensation payments -- reducing the role played by the Government in the capital markets. Without recession, investment would be $50 billion higher in 1974-76, which is equivalent to a half-year's worth of investment at current levels. No technique, tax or otherwise, could increase investment that much in three years. Secretary Simon's specter of capital shortages should not be allowed to stifle the economic recovery which will provide the principal source of capital necessary to finance our future development.

-- Small business does face a serious problem in raising equity capital, and there are steps which should be taken to alleviate these difficulties. One is lower interest rates, which would make equity financing more attractive to investors. Another is to amend the securities laws (along lines similar to those suggested in the Federal Securities Code presently being drafted under the auspices of the American Law Institute) to lower the substantial barriers, created by the securities laws as they now operate, to the raising of private equity capital by small businesses.

4. Monetary policy must be sufficiently expansionary to support recovery and subsequent stable growth. Monetary policy is managed by the Federal Reserve System, which must remain independent. Nevertheless, consistency with national policy can be assured, without politicizing the federal reserve system, by the following measures:

-- Clear, announced targets for monetary growth which, through active discussion among all sectors, are made consistent with the overall needs of the economy. In 1976, for example, the target should be at least 9 percent. The object of such targets is to keep interest rates low enough to assure economic recovery and, in particular, to assist the housing industry which has been devastated by Republican monetary policy. Any money supply target which is insufficient to accomplish this objective should be revised upward, rather than rigidly maintained.

-- Shorter terms for members of the Federal Reserve Board.

-- Co-terminous terms for the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and the President of the United States.

-- Representation on the Board of all major sectors of the economy and women and minorities. Independence does not justify the present closed club.

-- Restoration of the "Quadriad," which includes the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board along with the three top economic officials of the Administration, as the primary decision-making body on national economic policy.

C. Tax Reform

There is probably no better way to glaze the eyes and lose the attention of the typical American than by a discussion of taxation and tax reform. We have become weary and cynical about it all. Yet the average person has a vital stake in how tax monies are raised. Second in importance only to how the government spends its money, is how it raises it. Bad taxation is unfair and harmful, and it can dilute or destroy the good effects of many beneficial government programs aimed at sustaining the health of our people and our economy.

American families who depend on work for their livings and who earn up to $15,000 a year -- in other words most people -- pay as large a share of their incomes in taxes as people of substantial wealth. Payroll taxes, income taxes, local sales taxes and other excise taxes, and property taxes alone eat up to 30% of their total incomes, taking away this large part of the earnings of families even below the poverty line, as well as those of moderate means.

With so much at stake, why is citizen interest lagging? The answers are clear. Our tax system is so fiercely complicated that it defeats all reasonable efforts at understanding it. While most people know that the tax system is riddled with special allowances, exemptions and privileges for the well-to-do and for selected business, industrial and investor groups, they do not understand the costs to themselves. Worse, they do not perceive that correction of these abuses would help the average person. Indeed, many believe that tax reform or changes in the system might even hurt them by making burdens heavier. That skepticism is understandable; it is based on long and disheartening experience. Decades of talk about tax reform and repeated legislative proposals have done nothing to halt the constant growth of the tax burdens on low and middle income groups, but very little has been accomplished in closing gaping loopholes through which wealthy persons and businesses regularly escape all or much of their tax obligations.

This ever-growing inequity in taxation can and must be halted. What is needed is public awareness of what is required and what is possible followed by insistence upon electing a new national Administration and a Congress that will be fully supportive of and responsible for enactment of far-reaching reforms. The stakes are high and real for every citizen -- tax justice and $15-$20 billion in revenue.

Tax reform must be comprehensive, closing the large number of loopholes and eliminating the unjustified tax expenditures developed over the years. Some of the more significant reforms which I favor are:

-- Closing the loopholes in the corporate tax system. Although corporate profits are subject to a nominal tax rate of 48%, the effective rate has fallen to 35%. A main reason is the proliferation of devices that permit large corporations to circumvent taxes -- mineral depletion allowances, current deduction of intangible drilling costs and mine exploration and development costs, accelerated depreciation and the special benefits given Domestic International Sales Corporations, to mention a few. They should be phased out, and the DISC giveaway ended. And, the tax deferral of most overseas income should be replaced with a system of current taxation of such income.

-- The special rate for capital gains should be reduced by repealing the 25% alternative capital gains rate which only benefits upper income taxpayers, increasing the maximum to at least 42% (by strengthening the minimum tax) and taxing unrealized capital gains at death, rather than allowing such income to escape any taxation as under the present system. Special provision should be made to avoid liquidity problems for family businesses and family farms.

-- The burden of regressive payroll taxes should be sharply reduced. The payroll tax used to finance Social Security has now grown to account for more than one-quarter of total Federal revenue. Because of the flat rate, which applies only to the first $15,300 of earned income, every dollar earned above $15,300 goes untaxed for social security purposes. That means high-income individuals pay only a tiny fraction of their income in payroll taxes, but low- and middle-income earners bear the full rate. The payroll tax ought to be made more progressive. This can be accomplished in a variety of ways -- for example, raising the ceiling on taxable income and allowing exemptions or credits similar to those provided in the Internal Revenue Code. Consideration should also be given to increasing Federal general revenues for the Medicare program.

-- State and local governments should be given the option of issuing taxable bonds. Under the present system, interest on these securities is exempt from taxation, creating an indirect Federal subsidy in terms of lost tax revenue which reduces the interest cost paid by states and municipalities. But the subsidy is both inefficient and inequitable, because the value to the bond holder -- in most cases, a high income taxpayer -- exceeds the benefits to the bond issuer. So, the system costs the Treasury more than it saves state and local governments. That loss could be reduced if the Federal Government were to provide a direct interest subsidy payment to the states and localities, assuring greater taxpayer equity as well as increased efficiency. However, making all municipal securities taxable would run undue risks for the financing of local government, particularly at the present time. Thus, we should start with the option system.

-- The tax rip-offs which enable wealthy doctors, lawyers, Wall Street brokers and other high income individuals to shelter themselves from the impact of Federal income tax by investing in luxury apartments, cattle, oil and gas drilling and professional sports must be eliminated. This can be accomplished, as the Ways and Means Committee proposed, by preventing the artificial losses thrown off by these investments from being used to offset income from other sources.

-- The estate and gift tax system should be strengthened by unifying both taxes and increasing the effective rates. No longer should it be more blessed to receive than to earn.

Finally, we should review all deductions to determine those which should be replaced by credits and, ultimately, whether a flat across-the-board credit of, for example, 25%, should be substituted for those deductions. Of course, some deductions -- for example, charitable contributions -- present special justifications, which must be carefully considered. Most tax deductions (other than those which measure actual income) are tax subsidies. Yet, they benefit most those least in need, since high-bracket taxpayers save more by reducing their income subject to taxation than low-bracket taxpayers. For example, a state tax payment of $100 costs the highest income group only $30 after Federal taxes. The same payment costs a low-bracket taxpayer $86. Tax credits equalize the subsidy regardless of income. A tax credit system could produce substantial revenue gains, as well as tax fairness.

D. International Economic Policy

Several aspects of the international economic policy needed to promote our domestic economic objectives have already been mentioned:

-- creation of international food reserves;

-- assistance to increase food production throughout the world;

-- creation of oil and other commodity stockpiles in all major importing countries;

-- international surveillance over the international money system; and

-- reduction of the international role of the dollar.

In addition, the United States should promote rapid progress in the ongoing Multilateral Trade Negotiations to further liberalize world trade by reducing non-tariff barriers to world trade, as well as assuring low tariffs. A billion dollars worth of exports generates approximately 65,000 jobs. The United States should insist on full reciprocity in trade negotiations. Such equal liberalization by all major countries will increase American employment, because our exports have a higher labor content than our imports.

We should follow up decisively on the proposals made at the recent Special Session of the United Nations to stabilize world commodity trade by negotiating a series of international commodity agreements and stabilizing the earnings of producing countries. This will reduce the risks to our economy of arbitrary price increases and supply cutoffs by producers of raw materials seeking to emulate OPEC and reduce U.S. unemployment by building foreign markets for our products.

We must adopt a wholly new policy toward multinational enterprises. These firms cannot be expected to pursue the national interests of the United States. They have their own interests to promote and defend. But they do promote economic progress and will remain under attack from many quarters until we are able effectively to supervise them in the national and even global interest. Such an approach should include the elimination of current subsidies, such as the deferral of taxation on foreign earnings until they are repatriated (as recommended above) and the provision of government insurance covering non-commercial risks associated with foreign investment, the institution of procedures to weigh the benefits and costs of particular investments, and the creation of new international rules and institutional arrangements to both make the world safe for multinationals and multinationals safe for the world.

E. Elimination of Excessive Government

By setting minimum as well as maximum prices, by prohibiting entry into regulated industries, and by protecting the concentrations of economic power they were set up to control, current regulatory policies contribute to our economic woes. It is time to put government on the side of the consumer and not the industries it is supposed to police. In some cases, that means replacing agency power and administered prices with competition. In others, it means strengthened regulation in the public interest and administrators drawn from consumer groups.

President Ford calls for wholesale, indiscriminate deregulation. But that is no more preferable than the sort of regulation Republican appointees have provided -- half of whom in the last five years came from the very industries they were named to regulate. Our history has made all too clear the need to monitor big business. Therefore, a balanced position requires our commitment to four principles:

First, when health and safety or environmental quality are at stake, wholly unregulated private power cannot be trusted to subordinate self-interest to the public interest. So continued regulation in these critical areas is a necessity.

Second, where there is a risk that market competition cannot hold prices as close to costs as consumers have a right to expect, economic regulation is necessary to set ceilings on prices and profits. Much of the communications industry and the private portions of the electric power industry, for example, tend toward "natural monopoly" and must continue to be regulated.

Third, we must eliminate agency power to set price floors or prevent price decreases on behalf of any industry possessing substantial market power. This is the area in which deregulation clearly makes sense.

And fourth, in some industries, the ability of competition to improve efficiency and benefit the consumer has increased over the years. Rules that made sense when railroads were a monopoly, for example, have become obsolete since trucking and transportation have provided competition. Here, too, the role of regulation should be modified and decreased, and the role of anti-trust enforcement increased.

As President, I would take the following steps to implement these principles:

-- Propose legislation to remove the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to set minimum prices and prevent price decreases, eliminate ICC power to prevent entry into the transportation industry and abolish ICC service regulations. Experts estimate that such a program could save consumers $8 billion a year. It could also aid in the long-overdue effort to revitalize the nation's railroads.

-- Propose legislation to remove the Civil Aeronautics Board's power to reject fare decreases. At the same time, I favor an end to the CAB's role as a promoter of the aviation industry. Let the CAB work on behalf of the American people for a change.

-- Seek reversal of maritime subsidies and legal preferences.

-- Encourage competition between government and the private sector as in energy. I would set up a high-level government-industry commission to identify new areas where such competition would be beneficial.

-- Drastically expand the use of competitive bidding procedures for government procurement. Currently, about 60% of Defense contracts are signed without competitive bidding, despite the fact that Pentagon studies show that such bidding reduces costs by up to 25%. Such procurement policies should also be employed in other areas, such as drug purchasing for VA hospitals.

-- Appoint representatives of consumers and other public interest groups to the regulatory agencies.

F. Institutional Reform

These policies can be instituted and implemented only by structural reform of our machinery for making economic policy. We must be able to forecast, systematically, the range of possibilities for our economic future, discover problems before they become crises, point the way toward solutions, and actively engage all sectors of our society in pursuing them. A comprehensive policy does not require comprehensive planning, but it does require comprehensive forecasting, analysis and action. The three-man Council of Economic Advisers, with its staff of twenty professionals, is no longer adequate for an economy of $1.5 trillion.

Similarly, the Council on Wage and Price Stability must be strengthened and given an expanded mission. To begin with, the Council should:

-- study and spotlight price, wage, profit, salary, and interest rate increases out of line with market forces;

-- review collective bargaining settlements, releasing estimates of labor cost increases, so business will not be able to blame price increases on wage gains not justified by the facts and so consumers can understand the sources of increased prices. Specific wage standards would not be invoked, unless expressed in legislation;

-- develop criteria relating price increases to market forces and investigate suspicious price behavior;

-- encourage competition and reward anti-inflationary policies; and

-- monitor and focus attention on inflationary government decisions and policies -- in procurement, regulation, personnel and other areas. The government should not be shielded from the Council's spotlight, any more than business or labor.

While I do not believe the Council should have the power to set wages, prices and profits, it must have subpoena power and authority, on a temporary basis, to suspend price, wage and dividend actions. The membership of the Council would be drawn from labor, business and consumer groups. Its authority would derive not from power to enforce decisions; except in the case of the temporary suspensions and subpoenas mentioned above, the Council would have no such power. Rather, the Council would depend on informed public opinion to support its actions.

TOWARD A NATIONAL COMPACT FOR AMERICA

V

As the economy recovers, maintaining growth, full employment and price stability will require structural innovation to encourage cooperation rather than confrontation among different participants in the economy -- government, business, labor, farmers, and consumers.

All Americans stand to gain from a true national compact in which restraint by all sectors in pressing claims for higher prices, wages or profits is rewarded by tax cuts and other Federal action like price supports for farmers and food reserves for consumers.

There is an urgent need to insure the real income of American workers against the ravages of inflation. The steps which I have advocated in this paper would provide a significant measure of protection. As we approach full employment, we will need to lessen the danger of inflationary price and wage actions which cheat all Americans. But workers cannot be asked to run

the risk that moderation at the negotiating table will not be reciprocated by restraint when decisions are made in the corporate boardrooms. Rather than rigid price and wage controls, I favor policies which insure the American worker against that risk by guaranteeing tax relief sufficient to restore purchasing power lost because of high prices. If government has to pay that price, then it will have the incentive to make sure that business acts responsibly.

CONCLUSION

Mankind has entered a new era. The problems we face are different in nature, not just in size, from those we faced before. They will respond neither to outworn promises built on the empty hope that somehow we can return to a simpler life, nor to the unimaginative invocation of stagnant ideologies. Some promise us the sky; others say we can do nothing. I reject both.

In this campaign, on issues of farm policy, busing, foreign policy and the economy, I have stressed answers that seek creative collaboration among all Americans. These are enormously difficult and complex issues. I believe we can find solutions that recognize and involve all Americans and unite our people in common purpose. That is the task of leadership and my commitment as America enters its Third Century.

SHRIVER for PRESIDENT

818 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

October 24, 1975
Contact: Don Pride or
Linda Cook
(202) 333-9000

For Release: Saturday a.m.
October 25, 1975

Calling for a "new vision and new leadership" in America's farm policies, presidential candidate Sargent Shriver today issued a five-point program to end the food price spiral.

"Farmer and consumer alike have been sacrificed to the non-policies and free-market fixation of Nixon, Ford and Butz," Shriver said. "My programs will enlist the common concern of both groups in a common cause."

The Democratic presidential candidate cited the 62 per cent increase in food prices since the Republicans took office in 1969 and said, "It's time to bring new vision and new leadership to the farm and food policies of America. That is my pledge in this campaign, and it will be the commitment of my presidency."

Shriver's position paper, issued in connection with his appearances today at Iowa State University (2 p.m.) and the Iowa Jefferson - Jackson Day Dinner (6:30 p.m.) in Ames, made these proposals:

1. Increased price supports at levels which are realistic in terms of real production costs and world prices.
2. A new federal reserve program to "facilitate storage of basic agricultural products in times of surplus and to sell in times of shortage, whether caused by crop failures or by high export demand. Such a program would take the wild gyrations out of food and farm prices. By setting the price at which grain is added to the reserve at a realistic support level, this system would establish a floor below which farm income could not fall. And by setting a ceiling price above which reserves would be released to the market, the system would set a cap on prices consumers would have to pay."
3. Creation of an independent Food Reserve Board, answerable to Congress and with authority in agricultural policies similar to the Federal Reserve Board's intended role in influencing the direction of the nation's economy. "What's needed," Shriver said, "is a greater degree of independence -- independence from politics in the decision of how much food to accumulate, how much to release to the market and when to release it. The mission of this new FRB would be to formulate and pursue a consistent food reserve policy -- one farmers could rely on, and one that would protect consumers at the same time. It would operate within limits and under standards set by Congress, and with a membership including both farmer representation and a voice for consumers."
4. Establishment of an export policy to replace the "non-policies" of the Republican Administration. "This policy," Shriver said, "would set minimum and maximum quantities for all major foreign buyers, so that fluctuations in demand will be smoothed by requiring importing nations to accumulate stocks in times of high world production." To assure adequate domestic supplies, the U.S. would make known worldwide its domestic requirements and foreign commitments and would take the lead in creating with other exporting and importing nations an international reserve -- as called for by the World Food Conference in Rome.
5. Enactment of legislation to shift the burden of proof onto the shoulders of those "wielding concentrated or irresponsible economic power. Wherever those interests fail to justify their structures and practices to fair-minded men and women, they must be broken up or subjected to whatever controls are needed to create prices people can afford under marketing principles people can accept."

Summarizing his plan, Shriver said, "Above all, what this nation and the world need is a commitment to a common existence -- a sharing of benefits and burdens between groups that cannot succeed or even survive unless they perceive their mutual concern and learn to act in concert rather than in divisive competition."

818 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

October 24, 1975
Contact: Don Pride or
Linda Cook
(202) 333-9000

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE POLICY STATEMENT

BY

SARGENT SHRIVER

If the Nixon-Ford-Butz years have accomplished nothing else--and there's a lot to be said for that point of view--they've brought farmers and consumers closer together in the search for stability. It hasn't been by design. The potential alliance of those who produce and those who eat represents a reaction to policies which have made life harder for both the producers and the eaters. Those policies have:

- increased retail food prices by 37% between 1971-1974, by 14% in 1974, and by a projected 10% this year. Food prices are 62% higher today than when the Republicans took office;
- run down our food reserves, so that those reserves today--at a time of surging world demand--reached the lowest level since World War II;
- slashed "Food for Peace" shipments, so that those shipments reached the lowest level - 1/5 the volume of prior years--at a time of international famine;
- called for all-out production while closing access to major foreign markets without warning, forcing surpluses to back up to depress farm prices;
- cut farm income in 1974 and 1975, leaving an expectation of bankruptcies this year; and
- polluted our grain exports through mismanagement and fraud in our inspection agencies.

The litany could continue -- but you know its conclusion: Farmer and consumer alike have been sacrificed to Secretary Butz's free market fixation. Somehow, the Soviet grain authority managed to qualify as a free market force -- Adam Smith would have loved that! So, for the last seven years of food and agricultural policy, we've had an Administration committed to the view that the best government is no government -- no government for the grain exporters, for the food middlemen, for the giant agri-business combines and for Marxist state-trading authorities.

Old myths die hard. Secretary Butz opposed a long-term grain deal with the Soviets until his opposition left Secretary Kissinger so embarrassed that President Ford finally made it clear just who is running our agricultural policy -- that's right, the Secretary of State. Because the White House hasn't released the text of the proposed agreement, it's premature to offer final comments. But, the history of the negotiations reveals the abject failure of the Administration's non-policies in the food and agriculture areas -- and its betrayal of the farmers.

Despite our bare cupboard reserve program and the great grain rip-off of 1972, it is clear that the Ford-Butz team was prepared to "play it again, Earl." Farmers were urged to produce without limit. Promises were made of unlimited -- and unregulated -- access to overseas markets -- mainly the USSR. Those promises could not be kept -- because food consumers would not stomach another 1972, and because Jerry Ford couldn't swallow the political consequences of continued food price inflation. One promise has been kept -- Butz will <u>not</u> increase assistance for farmers forced to carry whatever surplus may remain. Nor does he think that government should act as a buyer of last resort -- or any resort. The farmers may be left holding the surplus bag if the Russians have -- as some believe -- already bought from others what we were negotiating to buy from us. And, there is some reason to believe that Kissinger's insistence that grain be linked to a useless oil agreement delayed conclusion of the pact. The negotiations were a missed opportunity in another respect, too: They failed to secure a Soviet undertaking to implement the Rome Conference's call for an international grain reserve system and world-wide production data. In the days ahead, we will want to pay particular attention to the interests of our traditional trading partners in relation to this agreement. I am for grain sales to the Soviet Union on a long-term basis. But that country should not be given preferred access to our market over Japan and other regular customers in times of short supplies. We will want to study the agreement with great care to make certain it does not have that effect.

The collapse of the Nixon-Ford-Butz food and agricultural non-policies have brought us to this incredible situation: Among American farmers -- the most productive in the world -- concern with overproduction is growing at a time of mounting world demand for American grain. If that concern ripens into production cutbacks -- as it threatens to do -- the American consumer, no less than his foreign counterpart, will suffer.

That is the way it promises to be if Ford and Butz remain in office. There is a better way. It lies in recognizing the points of common concern -- the intersections of interest -- which farmers and consumers share. That shared interest is what a Shriver Administration would serve. And, beyond identifying that community of concern, my Administration would implement programs which link both groups in a common cause.

The points of common concern are clear. Farmers and consumers are neither neutral nor necessary enemies.

To the farmers of America, I say this: I know you want to produce the best and largest crops at the least cost and that you and your families have devoted your lives to doing just that. Cutting back crops to keep prices up violates your most fundamental beliefs. As an Iowa farmer put it: "I want to do well while doing good."

Doing good means full production -- for world as well as domestic markets. Doing well means assurance of a reasonable income in bad years, as well as promise of a better income in good years. Yours is a risky business. You confront not only the unpredictable forces of nature, but also world, as well as American, economic uncertainties. Managing family farms with an average investment of hundreds of thousands of dollars, you are exposed more even than most Americans to the ravages of inflation because you depend more than most on high priced oil, petrochemical fertilizers and other fuels to operate your sophisticated and costly equipment. More dependent than any other American industry on foreign markets, you are internationalists, rightly sensitive to any governmental effort to restrict access to overseas markets. You do not seek high food prices in the supermarkets of America, but you rightly demand your fair share of America's bounty. That goal cannot be achieved by standing in splendid isolation from your fellow citizens or by supporting policies which put the government on the side of everyone but farmers and consumers. I ask you to join with me and America's consumers in the search for solutions which reconcile your need for income stability with the consumers' concern for price stability.

To the consumers of America, I say this: The last eight years have been a disaster for all of us. Between 1971 and 1974 alone, retail food prices increased by 37%. You pay today 35 cents for a loaf of bread that used to cost 25 cents. These prices rose 14% more last year, and some predict that 1975 will be another double digit year. In 1973, soaring food prices meant that a family of four with an annual income of $7,280 had to spend at least 45% of its disposable income to maintain a modest diet. That's almost $1 out of every available $2 for food -- and this in the greatest agricultural country in the world. Even worse, soaring food prices have coincided with a falling economy, so the American worker in 1974 suffered -- for the first time in 16 years -- a real decline in income -- the largest per capita drop since the Depression. For only the second time in this century, millions of Americans -- workers as well as the unemployed -- are haunted by the fear that they will not be able to give their families a decent diet.

American consumers do not want to deny farmers the opportunity to earn a good living. Without that opportunity, prices can only increase as suppliers decline. But consumers rightly demand an end to roller coaster food prices, and some reasonable assurance of price stability for the future. And consumers and farmers alike resent, bitterly, the high profits of middlemen and other distributors -- the only people in the food picture who seem impervious to economic instability. In 1974 -- an unbearable year for farmers and consumers -- the cost of bringing food products to market increased by 20% -- the largest annual jump in our entire history. I ask you, too, to join in the search for a better way.

To our foreign customers and to the legions of hungry people who look to American farmers for their survival, I say this:

America will meet her commitments to her traditional customers and will seek to meet the needs of others. But the game must be played under fair rules open to all -- rules which assure advance information about your needs and which establish long-term arrangements allowing American farmers to meet those needs without starving, or squeezing, American consumers. And those rules must bar the obscene practice of using American food for political ploys -- to support corrupt regimes, while millions starve, and tens of millions go without needed medicines or housing or education just so they can afford to eat.

What, then, should we do to accomplish reasonable food prices, a fair return to farmers and -- most of all -- stable food and farm prices?

If we are to expect farmers to produce in abundance, we must protect them against surplus production. While adequate in theory, the present price support system has been made obsolete in practice by an Administration which has irresponsibly refused to increase most support levels in five years. Supports today don't even cover last year's production costs. They must be increased to levels which are realistic -- in terms of real production costs and world prices.

But what about lean years, when production lags behind demand? How do we protect the American consumer against double digit food price inflation and assure price stability at the market place? To provide this protection I advocate a new federal reserve program to facilitate storage of basic agricultural products in times of surplus and to sell in times of shortage, whether caused by crop failures or by high export demand. Such a program would take the wild gyrations out of food and farm prices. The very existence of reserves would help to break the inflationary expectations that dominate consumer thinking today -- the expectations that prices will go up because prices always go up. By setting the price at which grain is added to the reserve at a realistic support level, this system would establish a floor below which farm income could not fall. And by setting a ceiling price above which reserves would be released to the market, the system would set a cap on prices consumers would have to pay.

Farmers have traditionally opposed food reserves because they have been used to drive prices down to levels too low to support farm families. Political expediency has been allowed to dictate such reckless dumping, with the understandable result that many farmers come to believe that reserves are used only to accomodate whatever constituency may hold sway over those in charge.

So what we need is a mechanism for managing food reserves in a way that farmers have reason to trust -- a way that takes politics out of the grainery. When our country faced a similar need in the management of money, we created an authority independent of the political branches of government -- the Federal Reserve Board. The independence of the Fed was crucial to the survival of banking and of our economic structure. Today, that independence has gone too far; Arthur Burns exercises almost limitless power and should be subjected to new restraints. But in the agricultural area, what's needed is a greater degree of independence -- independence from politics in the decision of how much food to accumulate, how much to release to the market and when to release it. The price would be set by the Board within a Congressionally specified floor and ceiling. To provide that independence, I would propose legislation to create a Food Reserve Board, answerable to Congress but not to the Department of Agriculture, the State Department, or the White House. The agency I have in mind would be the creature neither of a Butz, nor of a Kissinger, nor of a Ford -- nor of a Shriver -- but the servant of the only interests that should count when food is at stake: The interests of those who live by its production and of those who pay to consume it. The mission of this new FRB would be to formulate and pursue a consistent food reserve policy -- one farmers could rely on, and one that would protect consumers at the same time. It would operate within limits and under standards set by Congress, and with a membership including both farmer representation and a voice for consumers.

By stimulating production and by protecting consumers against skyrocketing food prices, these policies should make a major contribution to achieving stability for farmers and consumers alike. But they will

not succeed at acceptable cost to the taxpayers unless we are committed to expanding our food exports. Exports are vital not only for the farmer, but for the consumer who will otherwise bear the burden of supporting farm income through higher prices or higher taxes. In 1974, almost 21.5% of our corn crops, 41.8% of our soybean production, and a whopping 55% of our wheat crops were sold abroad. These crops could not have been sold on the domestic market without driving prices below levels acceptable to farmers or, under the reserve program I propose, calling upon the government to support the cost of storing massive amounts. But, although exports are vital and must be maintained, the American consumer must never again be forced to subsidize foreign sales.

Access to American grain supplies must instead be assured on a basis consistent with maintaining reasonable food prices at home. That objective can be accomplished by establishing an export policy in place of the stop and go non-policies of the Republican Administration -- non-policies which rob consumers, farmers and our trading partners alike. The policy I advocate would set minimum and maximum quantities for all major foreign buyers, so that fluctuations in demands will be smoothed by requiring importing nations to accumulate stocks in times of high world production. Our Government's approval would be needed for a country to buy more -- or less -- than the agreed amounts. To assure adequate domestic supplies, the United States would announce to the world its domestic requirements, as well as its commitment to foreign customers and less developed countries. We would make it clear that those supply requirements would be met by whatever management devices are required.

As an essential element of our export policy, the United States should take the lead in creating with other exporting and importing nations an international reserve program for grains -- as called for by the World Food Conference. Such a reserve would serve not only the interests of the participating countries but also our moral obligation to the hungry.

These policies would not displace the free enterprise system. Rather, they would put that system to work for people by taking the shocks out of supermarket purchases and farm sales. But we must recognize that the system will not work if farmers and consumers are pitted against each other in a struggle which can end only in losses for both. The compact between farmers and consumers which I propose guarantees neither group everything it might wish. As in any partnership, there are risks to be shared and hard choices to be made. The accomodation of conflicting interests which I propose means some give and take by all. The reserve system puts a ceiling on the prices consumers must pay in bad crop years, just as it sets a floor under the prices farmers will get in surplus crop years. I believe American farmers and consumers will accept this.

To cement the new alliance between farmers and consumers, we must also focus attention on those trends in equipment manufacturing, food processing and agricultural marketing that work against the interests of producers and families alike. When, according to the Federal Trade Commission, supermarkets enjoy a 16% return on investment, when monopoly in the manufacture of farm machinery costs farmers a quarter of a billion dollars each year, when monopolistic meatpacking robs consumers of a half a billion dollars annually, when bread prices rise nearly 17% at the same time flour prices fall 25%, and when shoppers continue to be misled by labeling and advertising that distorts the truth about nutrition, it doesn't take an expert to conclude that manufacturers and middlemen need to be brought into line -- and fast. It's not enough to talk about vigorous antitrust enforcement in litigation that will take years and may consume millions of dollars. In food, as in fuel and

medical care -- and in every industry that is vital to daily survival -- legislation is needed that would shift the burden of proof against those wielding concentrated or irresponsible economic power. Wherever those interests fail to justify their structures and practices to fair-minded men and women, they must be broken up or subjected to whatever controls are needed to create prices people can afford, under marketing principles people can accept.

What all of this adds up to is a specific instance of that principle I described on the day I announced my candidacy: Above all, what this nation and the world need is a commitment to a common existence -- a sharing of benefits and burdens in a community of interest between groups that cannot succeed or even survive unless they come to perceive their mutuality of concern and learn to act in creative concert rather than divisive competition.

We have long talked about turning our swords into plowshares. But the truth is: We have yet to make the most of the plowshares already available. When the world's most resourceful farmer, working the world's richest soil with the world's most advanced agricultural technology are manipulated by politics, subordinated to middlemen, and pitted against both consumer needs and the realities of hunger and malnutrition, we can be sure the fault lies not with those who produce our food but with those whom we have elected to high office. It is time to bring new vision and new leadership to the farm and food policies of America. That is my pledge in this campaign; it will be the commitment of my presidency.

1976

Shriver for President Committee
National Headquarters:
818 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Mailing Address:
P.O. Box 2000
Washington, D.C. 20001
Phone: (202) 333-9000

Leveo V. Sanchez
Treasurer

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

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Shriver Staying in Race; Vows to Do Best in Illinois

NY Times

3/4/76

By LUCINDA FRANKS
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, March 4—Sargent Shriver, despite predictions that he will do as poorly in the Illinois primary March 16 as he did in Massachusetts this week, said today that he was not withdrawing from the campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Ranking insiders within the Shriver campaign organization reported yesterday that he would withdraw soon but they were apparently overruled by a rival faction today, and Mr. Shriver announced to a news conference here that he would remain in the Illinois contest and do "the best I can."

Aides said he had held a meeting today with Mayor Richard J. Daley that left him "encouraged." They said that he and his wife, the former Eunice Kennedy, would campaign here this week and next and that some of his advisers told him his chances were good.

Political observers, however, had a different opinion. They said he had virtually no chance of gaining the support of the Mayor, whose delegate slates are running committed to Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d, an avowed noncandidate. If Mr. Daley gives him any help, it is thought to be out of courtesy to Mr. Shriver, who was president of the Chicago school board.

There is a split in the Shriver camp—one side wanting the candidate to withdraw gracefully now and the other urging him to fight on. Mr. Shriver, a determined optimist, has for now taken the latter advice and expressed willingness to use his own money (his campaign coffers are almost bare) if there is a fraction of a chance of him being able to continue in the race. Nevertheless it is generally agreed among veteran political observers that for all intents and purposes Mr. Shriver's race has ended.

Deterioration Factors

A number of factors that conspired to cause the deterioration of Mr Shriver's candidacy—lack of a workable strategy and a professional organization, the absence of a political power base, and a shortage of funds.

Some political observers think that Mr. Shriver could have perhaps overcome his difficulties if he had had more time. Indeed, in the final days of the Massachusetts campaign, there were indications that he was catching on to some of the tricks of being a candidate. His speeches were punchier and more professional and new radio advertisements during the last week were considerably more effective than earlier ones.

Why did he wait until last September to plunge into the race? The reason might have been his downfall: Senator Edward M. Kennedy. Mr. Shriver said he had to wait until his brother-in-law decided definitely not to run — otherwise he not only would not have received Kennedy support (which he got in only a token fashion anyway), but the Kennedys would also, according to his wife, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, have made things difficult for him.

In a sense, the clue to Mr. Shriver's basic failure can perhaps be found in that very first decision—as long as he felt forced to delay his campaign because of his brother-in-law, he was never really, from the start, his own man. Nor was he able to convince the public of his independence.

At first, he was called a stalking horse for Senator Kennedy and then when it became apparent that his campaign was in trouble, he became regarded by some as the poor cousin of the family—the ingenuous husband of Eunice that even the Kennedy family would not take seriously.

Ethel Kennedy held a few fund-raisers for her brother-in-law, an assortment of Kennedy children did some campaigning, and in the final days Rose Kennedy and Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis did radio advertisements. But the important Kennedy operatives, such as Stephen Smith, another brother-in-law, and Mr. Kennedy himself, who remained neutral, were simply not around.

When Mr. Shriver began to assemble his campaign late last summer, he had no political power base to draw from, except for loyal troopers from his days as head of the Peace Corps and the Office of Economic Opportunity. It was the first time he had run on his own for office, and his short stint as the Vice-Presidential nominee in 1972 did not yield him much experience.

Loyal Amateurs

Thus, although the people picked for the campaign this year were fiercely loyal, most were amateurs in comparison with the top national political professionals working in some of the other Democratic campaigns.

It showed. Early on, things began to fall apart. Communications were poor. More than once, for example, his headquarters put out the word that he would make a major policy announcement and when the press had gathered, Mr. Shriver would enter late and surprised, with no announcement in hand. On the official schedules, his days would be planned to the minute (one day he was to leave a station at 11:49) and they were seldom followed.

"There was just no direction in the campaign," said Pat Baldi, a deputy campaign manager. "No one was in control."

"It was just a whole mishmash," agreed Mr. Shriver.

In addition, Mr. Shriver did not act like a professional politician. When he was good, he was very good. He could elicit enthusiastic responses, but he would also make the wrong speech to the wrong people (to a group of impoverished blacks in Mississippi, for example, he stressed that he was on a first-name basis with most European diplomats) and he had a propensity for making gaffes.

The keynote of Mr. Shriver's campaign was his diverse experience—from helping blacks and Chicanos through directing the campaign against poverty to being Ambassador to France.

"All he succeeded in doing is creating a little deja vu," said one veteran of Kennedy campaigns.

"People want someone to stand up and say this is right and this is wrong, and Sarge waffled," he added, "the only reason to be for Sarge Shriver is that if you knew him and his tremendous integrity—in the end, that just didn't come across."

S Times

Mary McGrory

3-1-76 Star

Shriver Family Day: Focus Wasn't on Him

BOSTON — Shriver family day at Faneuil Hall was the culmination of Sargent Shriver's Massachusetts campaign. And like the campaign, it had identity problems.

For one thing, the music was Mexican, and so was the dancing. That didn't set too well with the "Danny Boy" crowd that was out in force.

"Don't they know any jigs?" asked an irritated Hibernian. "We don't have any Mexicans here."

For another, Shriver was introduced by Cesar Chavez, the Chicano West Coast farm-labor leader, who is not very large in these parts. He was wearing a white coat-sweater, and he spoke somewhat more of Bobby Kennedy than of Shriver, and more about California than of Massachusetts.

CHAVEZ WAS brought on by Robert Wood, a former New Frontiersman, who is now president of the University of Massachusetts. He paid a "nonpartisan" tribute to the candidate. He is a Udall supporter who had been commandeered by Eunice Kennedy Shriver.

Shriver, elegant in a dark pinstripe suit, seemed drained of his usual exuberance and enthusiasm. He made a 35-minute speech which seemed a shade grandiose for a man who came in last in New Hampshire. Unaccountably, he dwelt on the role to be played by his vice president — "he will prepare a position paper for the president every week."

His early prospects in the Kennedy homeland have faded. His initial claim of the Kennedy heritage outraged the political — as distinct from the sentimental — family following. He has been left with the misty-eyed constituency of cultists. Brother-in-law Teddy, as every Bostonian over the age of 8 knows, is not part of what he called "the lively political family that encouraged me to run for president."

Shriver in this ultra-political city is considered a nice guy who is doomed to the usual fate of the breed. He introduced nine members of the new generation: four of his own five children, one of Bobby's, two of Patricia Kennedy Lawford's, one of Jean Kennedy Smith's.

The Kennedy-collectors in the hall were delighted. They longed for Rose, they missed Teddy, they mourned Jack, but the stage was full of handsome promises of restoration.

"WITH THAT gang up there," observed a doting matron from Fall River, "one of them is bound to make it." Like most of the audience, she seemed to feel that Sarge has little chance.

Then Eunice came on, and she brought a touch of the real thing. The mood abruptly changed from nostalgia to fight. She is the spitting image of her brother, the dead president, and her platform manner is similar. She got to the podium in two strides, gripped the lectern with both hands, nodded briskly, mouthing thank-yous, as the applause rose, indicating she wanted to get down to it.

She fixed a commanding eye on the assemblage. "Most of you went to church this morning," she said, her voice somewhere between challenge and accusation. She and her family had been to St. Stephens in the North End; she was reminded of two figures who had changed the world, "St. Paul and Mary, the mother of god."

She relented a bit. "I'm not saying Sarge is St. Paul," she said, and there was laughter mixed with relief. She had been speaking with such ferocity that she had to be believed no matter what she said.

She rapped out instructions, Kennedy-style. "Get 10 friends, get them to the polls. Do something to help us."

THE CROWD leaped to its feet, with cheers and tears."

"It's born in her," said a woman. "It's born in all the Kennedys."

Her daughter was with her, Instamatic camera in hand. She carried around the filmed evidences of her devotion. Her jewels were snaps of Jackie and Caroline at Jackie's half-sister's wedding in Newport. She thought it unfair that Shriver was not regarded as a true Kennedy in some quarters.

"Jackie always was, even when she was Onassis," she protested.

Like most others, she was not focusing on the candidate. His in-laws continue to obsess in this melancholy season of revelations of a Kennedy playboy presidency.

"I WISH they would leave him alone in his grave," said grey-haired Bridget Farriher, who was born in County Clare and reveres the family, "I just don't believe it."

And a Fall River beautician said, "I don't believe half that stuff. They are very sociable people. How could that happen in the White House?"

The proceedings had been managed by Polly Fitzgerald, who 30 years ago organized the family teas that had helped set Jack Kennedy on the road to the White House. She is a grandmother now, her red hair touched with grey.

"Anyway," she said a little wistfully, as the cultists moved with many backward glances from the hall, "it's been great fun."

The balance for Shriver

More than a month ago a poll taken by Democrats in Massachusetts showed R. Sargent Shriver leading the field of presidential candidates in the Massachusetts primary. He was favored by only 18 percent of the people, but he held a six-point spread over Gov. George Wallace in second place and a healthy lead over most of the pack.

That was before much of the primary activity, but it says something about the Shriver candidacy.

He began with a certain edge over the other candidates. He was the vice presidential running mate on George McGovern's ticket in 1972, which may have its pluses and minuses, but in Massachusetts at least the balance is probably in Shriver's favor. He is at least known.

Further, he is the brother-in-law of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, and, although this, too, has its advantages and disadvantages in this state, it is probably a help to Shriver.

The disadvantage is that there is a persistent question: "Are you a stalking horse for Kennedy?"

Shriver is careful not to renounce what the Kennedy connection can mean in Massachusetts, and at the same time he makes it clear that he is running on his own.

In Worcester on Jan. 13, Shriver said he announced his candidacy only after talking with Kennedy and being convinced that the senator would not run.

Then he added: "I think it's a fabulous family, but I'm happy to have a record that antedates my marriage." Shriver is married to Eunice Kennedy, whom John Kennedy once called the brightest member of the family.



SEN. KENNEDY

Shriver has also been referred to as the Catholic candidate. This is a result of his position on the abortion issue.

He is not numbered in the antiabortion group. His position on abortion is much like Kennedy's, but, unlike Kennedy, Shriver has not been forced to vote on programs which support abortion, and he has chosen to emphasize in this campaign the position that there be alternatives to abortion — the saving of fetuses.

"Right now women do not have that choice," he said. "The only way out is abortion, and I think it is worth making alternatives available."

He would have the Federal government finance life-support centers where educational, medical and counseling services would be available.

He also talked about advancing reproductive biology so that orthodox Jews and Catholics would be provided with a morally acceptable contraceptive.

He said there are sterilization programs in India and he worries about the possible licensing of child bearing.

He admits that the subject of abortion comes up quite frequently in his audiences.

Shriver has a less well-mapped course for the economy. It is not that he lacks program recommendations. It is that he would first see an economic recovery before he would make a commitment to put programs in operation.

He would provide the money for maternity care and for busing alternatives such as magnet schools. He has proposed a "homemakers benefit fund," to give Social Security benefits to parents who stay home, tax credits for child care to parents who stay at home, subsidies for the care of elderly relatives who remain in the home and changes in welfare regulations so that payments can go to families with a working father at home if his earnings fell below a certain level. At the same time he supported a continuation of last year's tax cut.



SARGENT SHRIVER

Shriver said then: "Everything is predicated on our economic recovery program. I'm not proposing spending money that we do not have, but if you follow a program like my program you'll have the money."

On the tax side of the ledger, Shriver would include less liberal capital gains, a redistribution of Social Security taxes, which he said would raise $20 billion a year, not enough, he acknowledges, to pay for his programs without broad economic recovery.

He would do this by spurring both public and private sector employment and holding down inflation through wage and price "guideposts." "Which ones would fall into place first I don't know," he said.

He points to his experience at running Lyndon Johnson's poverty program, John Kennedy's Peace Corps, his ambassadorship to France, his public and private negotiations with foreign governments and his presidency of the Chicago school board as differences between him and the other candidates.

Is he going to win Massachusetts?

"Sure," he says.

Robert Healy is executive editor of The Globe.

Shriver, aides discuss finances

Presidential candidate R. Sargent Shriver last night held a high-level strategy meeting in Boston to put some life into fund-raising efforts for his campaign.

Shriver met at the Parker House with some 30 political financiers from around the country only a day after Federal reports in Washigton showed the Shriver campaign had a cash balance of only $11,-793 at the end of last year.

Michael Kantor, Shriver aide and Los Angeles attorney, said the fund-raising session explored ways of raising about $100,000 still needed for the Shriver effort in Massachusetts and an estimated $500,000 needed for the Illinois primary.

Among those invited to the Parker House meeting were two longtime associates and fund-raisers for Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), Shriver's brother-in-law. They were Gerard Doherty, a Boston attorney, and Robert Fitzgerald of Boston Kennedy's cousin.

Others invited were Phil David Fine, Gerald Dunfey, Abraham and Antonis Chayes and James Roosevelt.

In addition, fund-raisers from San Francisco, New York, Louisville, Ky., and Los Angeles also were present.

Aides to Shriver said the meeting was one of a series held throughout the country. They said, however, that the session was not an emergency one. But one adviser, Richard Drayne, added: "We're not rolling in bucks. That's no secret."

Said Kantor: "We need another $300,000 in Massachusetts. But it really is Illinois and beyond."

An aide to Kennedy last night said Fitzgerald had notified Kennedy's office he would be attending the Shriver meeting. Kennedy has remained neutral, although members of his family actively are supporting Shriver.

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