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DTH Contributor

Sanford: a Southern candidate campaigns among Northerners

Three U.S. Presidents—Andrew Jackson, James Polk and Andrew Johnson—were born in North Carolina.

Now a North Carolinian, Terry Sanford, is trying to become number four.

Most people give him about the same chance as a snowball in hell. But Sanford says he's a serious candidate. "I've got far too much to do in this world to be out on some foolish venture," he says.

Who is Terry Sanford, anyway? What kind of man is he? What makes him tick? And why in the world does he think he can be President?

To answer these questions, I flew to New Hampshire, site of the nation's first presidential primary and traveled with Sanford and his staff on a two-day campaign swing.

I arrived in the small town of Keene just after noon Thursday, Oct. 16. The only other passenger on the rickety twin-engine plane drove me to Keene State College, where Sanford was scheduled to speak at 2 p.m.

Although Sanford was once governor of North Carolina (1961-65) and is now president of Duke University, my driver had never heard of him and wasn't impressed when I told him that Sanford is running for president.

After I arrived at the college, the first five people—including a receptionist—I spoke to also hadn't heard of Sanford, much less knew that he was to speak on campus in an hour.

A girl at the student union main desk didn't know about Sanford either, but she handed me a campus schedule. "Did you know that President Ford came by here last week?" she asked as I glanced at the schedule. "He was supposed to stop, but we were all crowded in the street, and his car kept going, the bum."

At the bottom of the schedule was a small notation: "Presidential candidate speaks at 2 p.m. in the Conference Room." There was no name, not that it mattered since he was apparently unknown to most students there.

What is there to know about Sanford? He's not a charismatic, flashy politician who draws crowds like a magnet. His quiet wit and Southern charm come across better at cocktail parties than political rallies.

Born in the watermelon-growing town of Laurinburg on Aug. 20, 1917, Sanford was one of four children. His father worked in a hardware store; his mother taught school. Later, he worked his way through UNC—first as an undergraduate, then as a law student—delivering the *Daily Tar Heel* and waiting on tables in the University cafeteria.

After brief stints as a U.S. Army paratrooper and a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Sanford entered politics. He was president of the North Carolina Young Democrats Club in 1949-50, a member of the North Carolina Senate in 1953-54 and director of W. Kerr Scott's successful candidacy for the U.S. Senate in 1955.

Then came his governorship and appointment as Duke University's sixth president in 1969.



At left, Sanford chats with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada. Above, he walks in his yard. Right, he holds football at the UNC-Duke football game last Saturday. Sanford is an avid fan of the Duke Blue Devils.

"Everything I've done, I've done right," he says, looking back on his accomplishments. "There's nobody who could run a state the way I ran one, and there are few who could run a university like I do."

Sanford's only real political defeat came after he became a Democratic presidential candidate in March 1972, when George Wallace trounced him in the North Carolina primary—the only primary Sanford entered—by 107,000 votes.

Sanford announced his second presidential bid on May 29. A life-long Democrat and a liberal, he wants basic changes in U.S. government and society. More money should be spent on education and the environment, he says, and the government should guarantee jobs and medical care for everyone. Sanford also thinks military spending should be cut drastically.

But few of the New Hampshire college student knew any of this about Sanford when he arrived at the Keene State College conference room.

When I approached, he automatically grabbed my hand and shook it enthusiastically. Then, recognizing a fellow North Carolinian, he released the firm grip, and his campaign grin vanished.

Sanford's grin makes most everyone smile. Perfect strangers say he's got a kind of charisma and maybe a hometown-boy look. But only when you've been around him a while do you realize it's all in his grin.

He spoke to approximately 35 students in the conference room for only a few minutes—just long enough to plug his campaign motto—"I think it's time to reinstate the American revolution"—then

called for questions. He's far from being a dynamic speaker. His slow Southern drawl often lulled the New Hampshire audiences, who may have expected a footstomping, podium-slammng, shouting politician. George Wallace once commented about Sanford: "Have you ever heard him make a speech? He'll bore your ass off."

Aware of this weakness, Sanford seldom spoke for more than 15 minutes at one time in New Hampshire. He preferred to answer questions, on a one-to-one basis, directly and quietly.

Likewise, he began a quiet conversation with several students when he finished his talk at Keene. "I don't want to bore you with what I think," he said. "I'd lots rather hear what you young people are thinking."

College students provide much of Sanford's support. Most of his campaign members are in their middle 20s.

His youthful backers exhibit the same kind of gritty determination as their candidate. Many of them, like Bill Bost, New Hampshire campaign coordinator and deputy New England coordinator, were among a group of Duke and UNC students who drafted Sanford into the 1972 presidential campaign.

"I've never been as sick as the night of the North Carolina primary," Bost said, referring to Sanford's loss to Wallace.

Now Bost and two other aides were rushing Sanford out of Keene for a 30-minute drive to the isolated village of Rindge, home of Franklin Pierce College.

An extremely large speakers' platform was set up in the school's field house. The platform was draped with American flags

and seemed too elaborate for Sanford Democratic president hopeful and former governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter, spoke from the same platform the week before, and several other candidates were scheduled to visit the college.

Again Sanford spoke only briefly before calling for questions. His voice carried poorly in the drafty building, and he seemed irritated when he couldn't hear some questions. Several students shuffled in their seats and finally walked out, clomping over the wooden floor.

No one said much in the car as we left Franklin Pierce. No one except Sanford, who seemed determined to keep everyone's spirits high. As we passed a lake below the college, Bill asked him, "Do you think you could get a lake like that built at Duke?"

"I've already got one," Sanford said, pausing. "At Camp David."

Sanford and his three aides in the car began talking excitedly about the next stop—the opening banquet of the New Hampshire Educators Association convention. The stop hadn't been scheduled, but an office of the association suggested that Sanford stop by. Sanford was slated as the main speaker for the award banquet the next day.

He thought the group would be receptive, since he is known as a strong supporter of education.

But those at the convention weren't waiting with open arms. As Sanford entered the motel banquet room, a man asked him which school board he belonged to.

The reception inside the banquet room was hardly better. At least 350 people were crowded into the room, some standing and

looking at Sanford. None seemed to know Sanford.

The candidate stood talking to an aide and another man as he was ignored by the crowd. Finally, the man talking to Sanford grabbed a microphone and told the crowd that Sanford was attending the banquet. "Maybe some of you can speak to Mr. Sanford," he added.

The crowd began talking again. No one spoke to Sanford, and he left quietly.

Even Sanford seemed discouraged after that stop. In the car, he sat silently and nodded off several times, only to be awakened when someone spoke. Once he jerked awake and blurted, "We've got to know what this group wants to hear."

He was referring to a Common Cause group at St. Anselm's College in Bedford, Thursday's last stop.

At the college, 30 people sat in an assembly room with space for at least 100. "Oh, that's really a packed house," Sanford muttered. Bost tried to console him, saying that everyone was home watching the World Series.

Sanford looked weary as he stepped to the podium before blazing television lights. The questions lagged, and Sanford's answers trailed into tangents.

After less than an hour, the audience began shuffling. "Well, there's a great baseball game on TV, and it's in the second inning," Sanford said, sounding relieved. "So I'd better stop."

As we left, an aide tore a small poster from a cluttered bulletin board and handed it to Sanford. He read it silently, then aloud, barely smiling: "Terry Sanford, former governor of South Carolina, speaks."

Like most politicians, Sanford's

campaigning didn't end when the speeches were over. His Holiday Inn room in Manchester Thursday night faced the educators' hospitality suite, and he spent half the night mingling with laughing, boozing strangers.

Thursday's experiences would have discouraged most people enough to take an early flight back home, but Sanford beamed with optimism Friday morning in Exeter at a breakfast for potential supporters.

He joked with the eight people there—of 20 invited—about football, Southern grits and Gerald Ford. One giggling woman grabbed Sanford before leaving and announced that she hadn't heard such interesting breakfast conversation in her more than 30 years of marriage.

The pace picked up even further when Sanford traveled to Phillips Exeter Academy, an exclusive prep school for Harvard University, for a speech. He had expected an informal talk with a few young political enthusiasts, but instead, approximately 700 excited students were jammed into a modern auditorium.

His speech was interrupted with applause when he said President Ford is wrong for not aiding New York City. "I think it's unthinkable that the President is going to let the financial capital of this country and the world go down the drain," Sanford said.

The students listened intently as he explained his stand on marijuana legalization: "I think it ought not to be legalized. But I think small use of it should be decriminalized. I think young men and women should not be sent off to jail just because they smoke it. If so, a lot of young people in America today would be in jail."

Although exuberant about the Exeter stop, less than an hour later Sanford paced nervously outside the New Hampshire educators' meeting, remembering his cool reception at their banquet the night before. His nervousness increased during a languid lunch and nearly an hour of acceptance speeches by educators receiving awards.

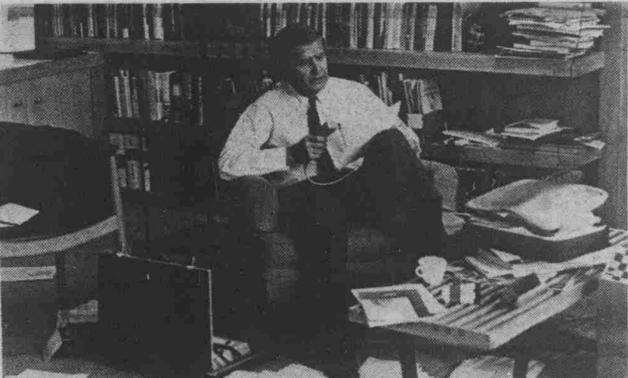
"I was sore, I was sore as hell with them for messing around so long," Sanford said later. "I could have just said, 'I've got to go; I'll see you later.' But instead I said to myself, 'You just go in there and give 'em hell,' and I did."

During his speech, he shouted to the educators, "We're not talking about teachers; we're talking about children. We're not even talking about a profession; we're talking about the future of America. That's what I want to talk about; that why I believe in education..."

The 150 educators jumped to their feet and applauded as Sanford left the room.

So the New Hampshire trip ended much better for Sanford than it began. "I believe we've finally got some interest generated in New Hampshire, something we can build on," he said flying home.

He sat quietly, sipping a Bloody Mary and listening to a tape of his speech to the educators. When the tape ended, he stared listlessly. His face strained and his usually bright eyes were clouded and red. After several moments, he said—almost urgently—"You know, sometimes I think I really get them. Then other times there's nothing."



Terry Sanford dictates in his rather cluttered Duke office. Sanford has been president of Duke University since 1969.

The 1976 campaign

Or how to run when everyone else is running too

Four years ago, a former North Carolina governor and current Duke University president decided he had as much ability to be president of the United States as any other presidential candidate, so he announced to a disinterested nation his own candidacy for that high office.

But before he could be humiliated by the entire country, his effort was killed in his home state's primary by another Southern candidate, George Wallace.

So went the brief 1972 presidential candidacy of Terry Sanford. But after licking the wounds of that defeat, Sanford has crept back into the 1976 presidential dogfight.

This time things are different, Sanford says. "I wasn't a serious candidate in '72; I'm a serious candidate now."

Sanford entered the 1972 presidential race less than a month before the March North Carolina primary, after students from Duke and UNC collected 25,000 signatures—two and a half times the number required on a presidential petition—urging him to run for president.

Although Sanford campaigned hard across North Carolina during the three and a half weeks before the primary, state voters hardly took his efforts seriously. Wallace received 51 per cent of the votes while Sanford got only 39 per cent.

Since then he has had little doubt that he would run for president in 1976.

"This time I wasn't going to be late getting into the campaign," he says.

On May 29, he became the sixth candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. Since that time, the field of Democratic contenders has grown to 11: Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz.; former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter; former Sen. Fred R. Harris, D-Okla.; Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash.; Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Tex.; Sen. Birch Bayh, D-Ind.; Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp; R. Sargent Shriver; Alabama Gov. George Wallace; and Sen. Hubert Humphrey, D-Minn., who won't run in the primaries but says he would accept the party's nomination.

All of the candidates are more seasoned politicians than Sanford, and more have money and support. Sanford hasn't held a public office in 10 years, and his North Carolina governorship gained him relatively little national attention. Only 14 per cent of the nation recognized his name in a Gallup Poll in late 1974.

But Sanford is quick to note that 1972 Democratic nominee George McGovern was known by only 5 per cent of the public at a

similar point in his presidential campaign.

Although Sanford's campaign is only getting started, he doesn't think he is behind the other candidates. "And if I am, so what? We've got plenty of time to get our organization into play. That's better than having spent time and money spinning our wheels."

Sanford had originally planned a personal presidential campaign, with handshaking and baby-kissing, but he has altered his campaigning some since a New Hampshire visit in June. One afternoon he stood outside an insurance company in Portsmouth to

primaries, he might travel around the country seeking support from uncommitted convention delegates. Then if the Democratic National Convention in July 1976 deadlocks, these delegates might turn to him.

But he knows better than to count on such a longshot. Sanford will have to go through the primaries like the rest of the candidates. Most important, he has to win the North Carolina primary. "If I don't win my home state, I can't compete anywhere else," he says.

In North Carolina, Sanford will be



Will he accept the vice-presidency?

Sanford has said repeatedly that he would rather be president of Duke University than vice president of the country. "I think the reasons are obvious," he explains. "At Duke I'm my own man. A vice president has to be the willing tool of the President, and I just don't see any point in my place in life to take on that role." Sanford begins a one-year sabbatical from Duke on Jan. 1 to devote his full attentions to his presidential campaign.

shake hands with the employees leaving work. Of approximately 300 workers who passed him, only 30 bothered to shake his hand.

So there'll be no mere visits to supermarkets and sidewalks to shake hands, Sanford says. "I just can't believe that a person would vote for me just because he shook my hand. And if he would, well, I don't deserve that vote anyway."

Sanford's major campaign problem remains what it was in 1972, letting people know who he is and that he is serious about running.

To build recognition, Sanford's campaign is laid out like dominoes, relying on a good showing in one state primary to attract voters in the next. Currently, he's concentrating on New Hampshire, Massachusetts and North Carolina, sites of the first three primaries.

He hopes to compete in 20 of the 33 primaries. If he does not do well in the

opposed by his old nemesis, George Wallace. So far, Sanford has attempted to create a classic confrontation between himself and Wallace—a David and Goliath battle-to-the-finish.

"I think it's a positive campaign against a negative campaign," he explains. "Therefore, when Wallace and I meet, it will be a contest of opposites."

This do-or-die publicity may backfire, however. If Jimmy Carter enters the North Carolina primary—which is likely—Sanford would no longer be the only liberal alternative to Wallace. He and Carter would compete for the moderate and liberal votes, while Wallace swept his standby conservatives.

But Priscilla Hartle, president of the North Carolina Young Democrats' Club, said in a recent interview that she thinks North Carolina Democrats will turn to Sanford, even if Carter enters the primary.

Ben Utley, executive director of the state

Sanford speaks on issues

Unemployment:
"We've never said it was the policy of this country that we'll manage the economy so everyone can get a job... We've said we want to manage the economy so the dollar stays sound, even if it means throwing millions of people out of work."
Speech, Keene State College, Keene, N.H., Oct. 16

Education:
"The federal government has not provided its share of the cost of education and has exceeded its share of interference. Education is an American hope not fully realized because it has not been adequately supported financially. I would fight for additional funds."
Announcement Speech, Washington, May 29

Military spending:
"We can make an immediate reduction totaling at least 15 per cent of our defense budget. Over the next few years, we should be able to whittle away at that budget until we are spending only about half, at most, of our public expenditures on military items."
News Conference, Washington, July 2

Amnesty:
"I think the time has come to forget all the details and just wipe the slate clean. I'd let everybody come home."
Speech, Des Moines, Iowa, June 10

Womens' rights:
"I'm credited with appointing more,

women to boards and commissions and jobs than any governor. I did appoint a woman for the first time to the (N.C.) Supreme Court... I am and always have been for ERA (Equal Right Amendment)."
Panel Discussion, New York, May 17

Israel:
"I support Israel not because it is in the best interest of the United States—which it is... The United States can be friends with the Arab States, and in my opinion we must be friends with the Arab States—but not at the expense of Israel's life."
Speech, Miami, June 7

Foreign aid:
"Far better that we give food to hungry people than that we give military materials to the rulers of those hungry people in order to keep them down."
Speech, Nebraska City, June 9

Gun Control:
"I don't think it's possible to have a gun-control law in this country that's going to satisfy anything near a majority of the people. I would take action on two levels, national and state."
Speech, Bedford, N.H., Oct. 16

Welfare:
"It locks people up into a welfare type of life and doesn't let them make anything of their lives."
Speech, Exeter, N.H., Oct. 17

Government housing:
"We build our own ghettos; we're not satisfied to let them spring up by themselves."
Speech, Bedford, N.H., Oct. 16

Socialized medicine:
"I don't think much of socialized medicine, because it takes away too much of the initiative. I do believe in changing our medical program so that medical care is a right and not a privilege for those who can pay for it."
Speech, Bedford, N.H., Oct. 16