PAUL KIRK: Okay, we’re all together. Good evening and welcome to you all to this Kennedy Library tribute to the very best of human beings, R. Sargent Shriver. For those whom I have not yet introduced myself, I’m Paul Kirk, and joining me in the welcome to you are the Kennedy Library’s Board of Directors, its chief executive officer, John Shattuck, the director of the Library, Deborah Leff, and the staff who do so much to make sure this public/private partnership thrives in honoring the memory of President Kennedy.

I welcome you also on behalf of our sponsors, whose generosity make these events possible. Our lead sponsor is the Bank of America, generously supported by Boston Capital, the Lowell Institute, and the Corcoran Jennison companies. And not least, our media sponsors who inform the wider audience of what you folks enjoy by your attendance. They are the Boston Globe, Boston.com and WBUR, which is broadcasting this event this evening and rebroadcasts our forums each Sunday evening. Let’s give our sponsors a warm vote of thanks, they’ve been great to us. [Applause] They help us to ably, I think, fulfill the educational mission of this library.

In today’s age of meanness and negativism in our politics, division and demonization in our public life and cynicism and spin about our precious values and belief, we are reassured that the world can be a better place when we listen to the words of our guest of honor spoken in a commencement address to Notre Dame’s graduating class of 1961. “I am convinced,” he said, “of faith in democracy, the belief in a civilization based on the God-given dignity of the individual human being, the readiness to sacrifice, to enable a civilization to live
and grow, to work hard alongside other human beings in need of what we and we alone can give them: hope, skill, and a knowledge of the dignity of man under the Fatherhood of God.”

Forty-four years ago, Sarge Shriver chose those words to describe the mission of the Peace Corps, but it takes only a moment’s reflection to realize that those words also provide a penetrating look into the very soul of Sargent Shriver. That straightforward expression of deep belief defines Sargent’s core values, shared by Eunice and now their children. And it explains in clearest form their extraordinary and unselfish careers of service to humankind. If you think about it, his personal credo connects all the dots: United States Navy, Chicago Catholic Interracial Council and the Board of Education, the Peace Corps, the Job Corps, Vista, Head Start, Legal Services, United States Ambassador to France, the Democratic Party’s nominee for Vice President, candidate for President of the United States, and not least, the most noble of all volunteer missions, the Special Olympics. Continuing leadership and service to others for causes larger than himself. And the world is a better place because of Sargent Shriver.

Tonight at the nation’s memorial to President Kennedy, three particular qualities referred to in his inaugural address seem particularly appropriate for this occasion--I paraphrase, “The energy, the faith, the devotion to service that Sarge and Eunice Shriver bring to this endeavor of life itself will continue to bring light and hope, inspiration and esteem, to millions throughout the world. And for that, we and they will forever be grateful.” Another grateful friend and relative of Sargent Shriver is a fellow who’s a great supporter of this library and foundation, Senator
Kennedy, who sent this letter to the Friends of the Library Foundation from which I’ll read. “I wish very much that I could be with you all this evening to join in this eminently well deserved tribute to Sarge and all he’s done so well over the years to carry forward the great goals of President Kennedy and hold his ideals high here in America and throughout the world. Sarge’s idealism is legendary and so is his creativity, his extraordinary enthusiasm and his bottomless commitment to all those who need our help the most. He married the boss’s daughter half a century ago, and the rest is history. What an incredible half century it’s been. Few, if any, couples have ever made a greater difference to more people than Sarge and Eunice have.

“When President Kennedy took office, he put Sarge in charge of making the Peace Corps a reality, and what a brilliant job Sarge did. As Jack liked to say, he’d rather send in the Peace Corps than the Marine Corps, and Sarge was his Peace Corps commandant who always got the job done, establishing new beachheads of hope and opportunity in lands that had never known them before. LBJ respected Sarge so much that he gave him a second hat to wear, and Sarge was equally brilliant in launching the Office of Economic Opportunity as the heart of our War on Poverty.

“As all of you can tell, we love Sarge and our family, our brother-in-law became our brother. We admire him immensely, and I’m so sorry to miss this opportunity to say so in person. With great respect and best wishes to you all for the holidays and 2006 as ever, Ted Kennedy.” [Applause]
We have two very special things that are going to happen here tonight. First of all, we expect that our guest of honor and Eunice will join us somewhere during the course of the program. It’s a special honor for this audience, and I know for the Kennedy Library and Foundation. Secondly, we’ll have a film which I will refer to after I first have the pleasure of introducing this cast of all stars who have assembled to pay tribute to Sarge. Lew Butler, former Director of the Peace Corps in Malaysia, former Assistant Secretary of the United States Department of HEW, now chairman emeritus of the Ploughshares Fund to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. Also, chairman emeritus of California Tomorrow, which promotes inclusion in the changing demographics of California.

Harris Wofford, Associate Director of the Peace Corps from 1962 to 1966, author of the book, bestselling book and selling in the bookstore out here, *Kennedys and Kings*. Senator Wofford in 1993, with the encouragement and guidance of Sarge Shriver, worked with President Clinton’s task force whose leader was Eli Segal in both drafting and passing the National Community Service Trust Act. Eli went on to lead AmeriCorps and Harris went on to serve as CEO of the Corporation for National Service. Eli is now a distinguished member of our Board of Directors and so the Shriver influence continues.

Reverend Bryan Hehir, North America’s most thoughtful theologian; Professor of Religious and Public Life at the Kennedy School, former head of the Harvard Divinity School, former Joseph P. Kennedy Professor of Ethics at the Georgetown University School for Foreign Service, and President of our Catholic Charities here in Boston.
Mark Shields, native of Weymouth, graduate of Notre Dame, United States Marine Corps, Robert F. Kennedy for President, 1968, political director of Shriver for Vice President 1972, Ed Muskie, Jack Gilligan, Mo Udall. You know Mark’s politics, and I love him for it. [Laughter] A key man on the Capitol Gang, syndicated columnist and provides us all with wit and his political wisdom on the Jim Lehrer News Hour.

Scott Stossel, Senior Editor of Atlantic Monthly, commentator for NPR, the BBC and CNN, and the author of the recent well renowned biography, Sarge: The Life and Times of Sargent Shriver. And Scott will be signing his book, which is for sale in the gift shop in the Library following this forum.

Tim Shriver. All the five Shriver children are heirs and practitioners of their parents inspirational values and legacies. And Tim does more than his fair share in carrying out that legacy as President and CEO of the Special Olympics.

Chris Matthews, moderator of this evening’s discussion, graduate of Holy Cross, advisor on trade development with the Peace Corps in Swaziland, and best known to a nationwide audience as host of MSNBC’s Hardball. Let’s give a Kennedy Library welcome to this distinguished panel. [Applause] Now, to show you what kind of life Sargent Shriver has had, here is a clip from a documentary produced by his daughter, Maria Shriver, a documentary and the director of which is Bruce Orenstein, who spent weeks doing research in the Kennedy Presidential Library’s audiovisual archives. Sargent Shriver’s extraordinary papers are available for
research in this library, and we’re honored by that fact. So let’s have a look and remember.

[VIDEO]

CHRIS MATTHEWS: Well, it’s a great honor to be here on this amazing occasion and, of course, the Shriver family is represented by Tim next to me. And I just want to start off with an icebreaker. Mark Shields and I do this kind of thing a lot, and he had a great idea. His question was how did you first meet him? My question was the one that President Kennedy said was the reason people read biographies like Scott’s, to answer the question what was he really like? And I’ll start with Mark.

MARK SHIELDS: On which question? What was he really like? [Laughter]

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes, that's how we do it here, the last question, the last one.

MR. SHIELDS: So I have 15 seconds and then we go to John McCain?

MR. MATTHEWS: No, we go back to me.

[Laughter]

MR. SHIELDS: I was a latecomer to Sarge Shriver. I met him in 1972. I had been, as Paul Kirk mentioned, political director for Senator Muskie, President
Muskie.  [Laughter]  I’d taken him single-handedly from 77 percent in the polls down to nine.  But Sarge got the assignment to replace Tom Eagleton on the McGovern ticket, and he knew it was an uphill fight.  And those of you who’ve never been involved in a national campaign, the only thing I can compare it to is it’s like an organ transplant without benefit of anesthesia. It upsets all preexisting relationships because it is all consuming of one’s energy, time and attention.

And Sarge Shriver not only plunged in with a joy and the intensity and the passion that obviously he brought to so many more important endeavors, perhaps, than the campaign of ’72, but the thing I cherished about him in that campaign, his honest respect for ideas.  I mean, ideas to Sarge had no gender, they had no sex, they had no race, or age.  He just loved ideas.  He was promiscuous about ideas, he just enjoyed ideas, and he thrived on them.  And it didn't make any difference where they came from, which I think was a marvelously egalitarian aspect of his intellectual interest and enthusiasm.

But of all the candidates I’ve ever known, and Paul was nice enough to just list a few of them that I’ve ever worked with, I’ve never known any who had a better, more loving, more caring relationship with his family and the love of his children than Sarge Shriver.  It was just wonderful.  I was with him 18 hours a day, seven days a week for three months on that campaign, and it was a wonderful thing to behold.  Not simply his love for his wife, which is legendary, but the love he had for his children, his children had for him and the comfort they provided for each other under a very difficult, difficult time.
MR. MATTHEWS: Tim, before your father gets here, what's he like?

TIM SHRIVER: I thought you’d ask me when I first met him. [Laughter] Well, I’d echo Mark’s comments. I think one of the interesting things about my dad, though there are so many, and there are so many great friends here and I’m tempted, even though you didn't give me the chance, to recognize a lot of them, but I won't. So many of you have been great friends of his and still continue to be. I think, you know, one of the interesting things for a panel like this is his relentless question, which is what's next? You know, he is a consummately, non-reflective, self-reflective person. He’s fascinated by ideas, as Mark said, fascinated by what's going to happen next. Not at all really interested… It was so tough for Scott to do his job because my father is not at all focused on what happened last year or not to mention last decade, but consumed, even… Most of my siblings and I were together over Thanksgiving and everybody’s engaged in… Somebody asked me, what's it like to be the son of Sargent and Eunice Shriver, and the answer is it’s exhausting. [Laughter]

Maria’s leading the National Conference… Why am I the only one here, you might think? Why isn’t, like, somebody else here? Well, Maria’s leading the National Conference on Poverty with John Edwards. Mark is testifying today in Kentucky in the state legislature on rural poverty. Bobby is meeting with a group of companies this weekend to try to raise $10 billion for AIDS relief in Africa. Anthony just had a party for a thousand people at his house two nights ago to fund the expansion of Best Buddies, which is a program for people with intellectual disabilities and friendships. I mean, it is exhausting. There is no end in sight to
the amount of energy and enthusiasm that he asks of us. And, of course, gets spontaneously, not because it’s a duty or responsibility or guilt oriented, but because it’s fun.

But his question over Thanksgiving, to get to your last point, or your first question, was always when people were talking about what they were up to, was always, “What can I do?” And my dad turned 90 in November, and his memory is pretty much gone, sadly, but that spirit, that's what… I always say to myself I'm terrified of what it would be like to have my inner life exposed to the rest of the world. But my dad’s inner life is now exposed because he doesn’t have any editor any longer, and it’s just as genuine and authentic and positive and optimistic as you could hope, which is a great gift and a joy.

MR. MATTHEWS: Lew?

LEWIS BUTLER: Well, I think everybody knows what a great man he was. I'm not sure people realize what an impact he had on all of us as individuals that worked with him. I mean, there are people here like Bill Josephson who know this far better than I do. You know, I showed up in 1961. On paper, I’ve got no qualifications whatever to be sent over to Malaysia to try to set up the Peace Corps. I have to run to get a map to make sure I knew where the place was. And he basically said, “Go out there.” I said, “Well, what are we supposed to do?” He said, “I don't know. Do what you can and if you screw up, you’ll be out of there and we’ll find somebody else.” [Laughter]
But it was absolutely wonderful. On a personal level, it totally changed my life. But I remember when I got back and I walked to the White House with Sarge, going over to see Bill Moyers who by that time was in the White House, and we were coming across Lafayette Square and I remember saying, I said, “Sarge, if it weren’t for you I’d be the worst, unhappiest corporate lawyer in America.” And that was true. He gave so many of us a chance to do something, we didn't really know what it was, but he gave us a chance to do things that we never would have had the chance for again. And with it, this unbelievable sense of optimism that you’ve heard about. And fun. I mean, did you ever have more fun? No.

**MR. MATTHEWS:** Father?

**REV. BRYAN HEHIR:** I first met him when I got a call from him and he said, “I have three lectures to give at Notre Dame and I could use a little help with them.” As I remember, he never told me when he needed the text. So on a Saturday morning at the rectory, I got a call from the famous Jeannie Main who said, “Mr. Shriver would like the text this weekend.” Well, to say the text was a thought in my mind would be to compliment it. And I spent a very intense weekend on those first three cuts. He had other people obviously working with him, but that was the beginning.

What was he really like? I think at least from my limited perspective, I came late, a little later than Mark. This was ’74 when I had first gone to Washington. But what struck me, of course, and we’ll come to this, he was obviously to everyone who ever knew him, a man of profound faith. There was no question about that and
other people are going to speak to this. But the other side of that was he was the supreme rationalist. I mean, it always seemed to me that he was convinced that no matter how complicated the problem was, how big it was, if you put enough smart people in the room over dinner you ought to be able to get it together and finish it up by breakfast. And there was this sense, I think it was the conviction about ideas, this sense that the human mind just was made to conquer the earth and anybody who doubted that, he really didn't want to spend much time with them.

**MR. MATTHEWS:** Senator?

**HARRIS WOFFORD:** Well, I have to make up for letting him down once. By the way, I came to Sarge late, too, in 1959. If you read Scott's wonderful book, rich and fresh, you’ll see that it’s late, 1959. I was giving a talk on the Civil Rights Commission’s report where I’d been counsel to Father Hessberg in Chicago, at the City Club, and I apparently in passing had said something about how the Civil Rights Movement needed the Gandhian dimension and mentioned something about symbolic action like Gandhi’s. And he got up from the audience, I had no idea who he was and he said, “Professor,” I was at Notre Dame then, he’s the only one that ever called me professor. And he said, “Could you say a little more about what the Gandhian dimension could do to help break the vicious circle of race in the school system of Chicago?” And I gave the best answer I could, which wasn’t very good. And he came up afterwards with his card and he said, “Here, I'm the head of the school board of the city of Chicago and we have a real problem that we’ve got to solve, and would you please write me a letter with some more ideas on that?”
And I went home and I thought that was a very appealing invitation, and two weeks later I hadn't written it. And I get this letter from him saying, “I'm still waiting to hear from you.” And before I could answer it, he calls on the phone and said, “Could you and your wife go over to the football game at Notre Dame?” And for two hours he probed whatever there was there to find in me. And then he said, “All right, would you come down for two or three days and meet the superintendent of schools and give us some help on this? We need help.” And I went down, and it was fun, fun, all of it with him was fun, and his people showed me a lot of the facts and we talked.

And the interesting thing, in passing, is that every one of those key education people who had been working under his presidency of the school board not only believed he was going to be governor of Illinois and showed me the editorial in the Chicago Tribune saying he was the only good candidate for the democrats, they all said, “But you know, he is going to be President of the United States.” And I have to say that after five years in action with him in the campaign of 1960 and in the talent search and in the building of the Peace Corps with Bill Josephson and on the fringe of Edgar Mays’ work with the War on Poverty and every campaign he was in… Here he comes! [Applause]

MR. MATTHEWS: The guest of honor, Sargent Shriver, sir. It’s all good so far. Everything is good. It’s dynamite. Thank you, sir.
MR. WOFFORD: Chris, the punch line I was about to deliver, Sarge, was that after five years in action with you, five years in action in the early ‘60s, I came to agree with your friends on the school board of Chicago and the superintendent and others that for me, there wasn’t anyone I wanted to see as President of the United States more than Sargent Shriver. And secondly, I said I had let you down on one occasion.

SARGENT SHRIVER: What?

MR. WOFFORD: I’d done a little help on two speeches you were going to give to the New York World’s Fair. One was to the Vatican exhibit opening the Pieta, and the other was to the Israeli exhibit opening, the Anne Frank exhibit. And we had two different speeches, and I gave the wrong one to you for the wrong place. [Laughter] I got them corrected in time, but in fact your speeches were challenging in a way that it would have been wonderful if you’d given the Anne Frank speech to the Vatican and the Pieta speech to the Israelis.

MR. MATTHEWS: We have Scott now, the biographer.

SCOTT STOSSEL: Well, I came later to Sarge than anyone here, and the honest truth is my first encounter with him was over the telephone. And at the time, I had just turned 27 years old and I was working for a liberal public policy publication called *The American Prospect*. And the receptionist calls and said, “Oh, there’s a Sargent Shriver on the line for you.” And I have friends who like to play practical jokes on me and they would call and say it was Shaquille O’Neal or Al Gore, so I
just assumed it was either one of them. Or we would occasionally get politicians calling and they were always pitching lame articles that we’d have to turn down, so I assumed it was going to be one of those two things. So I picked it up and no, sure enough, it was Sarge on the line. And he said, “Well, you don’t know me and I don’t know you, but I got your name from someone. And my family’s been trying to get me to write a memoir and I need somebody to help me do it, and I want somebody… “From this point forward, sort of everything about this process I now see in retrospect was incredibly representative of the way that Sarge’s mind works. Because first of all, he said, “I want somebody to collaborate with me who’s younger than I am, who represents a sort of generational contrast. And I don’t want this to be about the past.”

So we sort of talked on the phone and I agreed to send him some clips, which I did, and he evidently liked me, had me down to come meet with him in Washington. And it was weird, because I went down to the Special Olympics headquarters and all he wanted… He would get very excited talking about the future. He’d talk about he had this idea about a Declaration of Interdependence, and he had all these ideas for the future. But I kept trying to focus on, “Well, are you really… To write a memoir or to sit down and collaborate on a biography, you need to sit down and reflect and look backwards.” And he kept bringing other people into the room. He’d bring Timothy in and he’d say, “Timothy, tell him about what I’ve done.” Or he’d bring some of his colleagues and say, “Tell them about what… “And he’d leave. [Laughter]
And, finally, there was a point where Timothy started yelling at him and they had this kind of family fight, right? Tim is sort of saying…

**MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER:** Overstating it. [Laughter]

**MR. STOSSEL:** “Sarge, you need to decide what you're going to do.” And anyway, long story short, I went home and I wrote a letter to Sarge saying, “I'm enormously flattered that you’ve approached me about this, but you kind of need to decide what it is that you want this book to be, and are you really committed to doing it?” So I thought that would be the last I heard from him, but he wrote me a nice letter saying, “I take everything you’ve said to heart and I’ll get back to you.”

In the interim, I got a more exalted job where I was working, had taken over as executive editor, and I got a call in the spring and it was Sarge saying, “Well, I’ve decided I want to do this, and I want you to help me.” And I said, “Well, I'm really flattered, Mr. Shriver, and I would love to do this, you're a hero to me, but I don’t think I have the time to do it.” And he said, “Well, just come down to the Kennedy compound for the weekend and hang out and get me started.” And I thought, “Well, hanging out at the Kennedy compound for the weekend would probably be fun.” So I said yes.

And of course, I know in retrospect he clearly knew what he was doing because anyone who once you get absorbed into the Shriver orbit, you can’t escape. [Laughter] And I remember distinctly that first morning we sat down looking over the bay and we talked for probably about five hours and I took notes. And in the
course of that conversation, we sort of ranged all over the place and we talked about the founding of the War on Poverty, and we also talked about his experiences in World War II. And both were just so unbelievably fascinating, such great American stories and things that it's clear to me had never been told. And by lunch time that day I thought, “Okay, I have to do this project.” And so from that point forward, I was signed on. I think this was probably his… Subsequently as I went through and did a lot of the research, I realized that he was always pulling people off of ski slopes or off the pulpit or whatever and they would come join him and then they’d never leave.

I spent a lot of time… It was interesting being here in the Kennedy Library because I logged a lot of quality time with the Xerox machine upstairs. And this is also sort of indicative of the Shriver mode of organization. I worked with the archivist and they said, “Well, we have a lot of great material up here and it consists of 170 cubic feet of material.” And I thought, “Well, that sounds like a lot,” but I didn't really know what it meant. And what it means is it was 170 of those file boxes just full of stuff that had actually been carted out of the attic, I think, in Hyannisport and it was a treasure trove because there were confidential Peace Corps memos and memos from the War on Poverty and correspondence between Sarge and Eunice. But it also had Timothy’s third grade papers…

MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER: Report cards.
MR. STOSSEL: Report cards, Maria was doing political work. And all of it was covered with rat droppings, so I went on the internet, was researching hantavirus and things like this. Anyway, that's how I got involved.

MR. MATTHEWS: I’d like to talk about, ask you, you really know the subject about Sarge Shriver. You know, in the Kennedy family, which is our great political family in this country, Sarge Shriver has never been credited with being the best of the politicians. But yet, when I look at the '60 campaign, the most dramatic, ennobling moment of the campaign was when President Kennedy, then Senator Kennedy, called Mrs. King to console her on her husband’s situation. He’d been arrested and hauled off into some backwater jail in Georgia. And that act, and the later successful use of that act politically was probably the key turning point in the—Could you talk about that story a little bit? I think it’s an amazing story.

MR. WOFFORD: Well, the short version is the whole civil rights section that was under Sarge and the campaign was frustrated because a very strong statement by Senator Kennedy opposing the arrest of King and sentencing for four months was drafted and he liked it and was ready to release it. And the Governor of Georgia learned about it, was probably informed about it in advance, and said it would be catastrophic, “I’ll get him off,” in vulgar form he said, “if you don't issue a public statement.” And Senator Kennedy called me and said, “We want to get King out, number one, don’t we? It isn't the politics of it that we want to get him out, of course.” And so we were frustrated then. What could Kennedy do to show his… The beautiful Kennedy showing the passion on this that they… And
compassion they felt. And Lou Martin and I were talking-- we were Sargent’s deputies on the civil rights part of the campaign-- and I said, “Well, what if this great Kennedy were supporting, we just call Mrs. King.” I don't think I would have said anything more than the idea and Lou Martin said, “That's it, that's what he should do.” And so we called Sarge, we tried to get through to Senator Kennedy, but I’d gotten him in trouble about two weeks before on the same field of action, and they didn't take my call.

So I called Sarge the next morning and I said, “Well, we had a great idea last night, but we couldn't get through.” And Sarge being bold and fast, said, “What do you mean it’s too late? Just hang up and let me get in the car and hope I don't get arrested. He’s at O’Hare.” And he went out there and then later called and said, “I waited until Ted Sorenson had gone off to work on a speech and Salinger went off to talk to the press,” and I won’t tell what he went through, the others all left. And finally, he was alone with Senator Kennedy. And he said, “You’ve been trying to figure out what to do. She’s six months pregnant, she’s scared her husband’s going to be killed. He was dragged away to the state penitentiary, why don’t you just call her?” And he said Kennedy thought for a couple of minutes, had a great smile on his face and said, “Do you have her number?” And he had her number and got her on the phone.

And a little later in the day, on the way to Detroit, I think, Salinger was saying, “Did you do anything after I left you this morning?” And Kennedy said, “Oh yeah, I called Mrs. Martin Luther King.” And all hell broke loose and Bob Kennedy learned he had not cleared with anybody and said, “You bomb throwers in the civil
rights section, Shriver, Martin, Wofford and company, you’re finished for the rest of the campaign.” [Laughter] Then 24 hours later, Bob Kennedy himself brought into action wanted to finish the job, and he called a judge in Georgia. Mike Wallace did a piece on this. At the end of it, he talks to the judge who Bob called and quotes the judge as saying, “Kennedy’s message was sheerly political about ‘I won’t be able to carry Massachusetts if you don’t get,” in vulgar words, “King out of jail.’” And Mike Wallace ends the coverage of this by saying, “And so you see, Kennedy’s call was mere politics.” And of course, it doesn’t show that at all, it shows that he was a healthy, great American with mixed motives who was willing to do the right thing, fast, and he did it. And I think that quality of John Kennedy and Sargent Shriver is often lost in the great tributes paid to the Kennedy machine.

MR. MATTHEWS: And it also dramatically changed loyalties between the party.

MR. WOFFORD: Well, I didn't want to make the case for all the differences it made. But let’s be modest about it. A hundred thousand votes, the Peace Corps idea I think alone probably moved a hundred thousand votes.

MR. MATTHEWS: Really?

MR. WOFFORD: Kennedy’s win in the debate with Nixon moved probably half a million votes. So yes, it was quite a… It did cover… Teddy White said he counts about six states that it made the difference.
MR. MATTHEWS: Sometimes doing the right thing helps. That's all I'm saying. Go ahead, Scott.

MR. STOSSEL: Eisenhower himself attributed the phone call to King for tipping the election, it was close enough.

MR. WOFFORD: And Nixon did, too.

MR. MATTHEWS: And Jackie Robinson left the Nixon train crying because Nixon didn't do anything. Let me ask you about religion, Father. And I want you to start… I’ll start with a layman. Mark, I want you to talk about religion and politics because it’s such a big issue in our country today. What role do you think Sarge’s religion played in his public life?

MR. SHIELDS: Well, your point about today and religion in American politics, too often it seems in American politics today the face of religion is contorted in rage and fury, some clergy against civil union somewhere. And Sarge’s religion, I always felt about him, his religion defined his political values, his politics did not define his religion. And I think the latter is too often the case in contemporary American politics. And religion has been enormously important in American politics. I mean, talk about Sarge’s work with the Catholic Interracial Council, but I think it’s important for contemporary liberals to remember that it was the Reverend Martin Luther King, and it was the Reverend Andrew Young, it was the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, and it was evangelical Anglicans and Methodists and Quakers who led the fight for abolition, which is the greatest victory of the
worst shortcoming and tragedy in this country, slavery of one human being by another.

But in Sarge’s case, you saw the indications if you were around him. He goes to daily mass; he carries with him a rosary which is well worn; he reads constantly religious writings and philosophical writings. But to me, it was an understanding beyond the Gospel of St. Matthew, which is, and I have it here simply to refresh my own recollection, it said, “I was hungry and you gave me food. I was thirsty and you gave me drink, a stranger when you welcomed me, naked and you clothed me. Ill and you cared for me, in prison and you visited me.” To which the listeners respond, “Lord, when do we see you hungry and feed you, are thirsty and give you drink? When do we see you a stranger and welcome you, and naked and clothe you? When do we see you ill or in prison and visit you?” And the answer, which has inspired and energized Sargent Shriver well into his ninth decade, now his tenth, and I say to you, “Whatever you did, for one of these, the least brothers of mine you did for me.”

And this was Sarge’s faith. But he understood there was more than the traditional Catholic mission of feeding the poor and sheltering the homeless, which is admirable, necessary and crucial. But it was providing them with the tools for themselves, to create those institutions which would bring justice to their lives, a sense of economic justice and opportunity and to expand that. And so his faith motivated him, I always felt, at every turn, animated him. And it was the gospel of good news, it was an optimistic faith. It was always one that we can do better,
that's been expressed by my colleagues here. But I was impressed by it, I was touched by it and I’ll always cherish it.

MR. MATTHEWS: Father?

SARGENT SHRIVER: Very good! [Laughter]

MR. WOFFORD: Well, Mark, you passed. I'm not sure I'm going to make it, but Sarge okayed your speech.

REV. HEHIR: My pastoral experience, 40 years in the priesthood, are that you’re continually humbled by the faith of lay people, that you meet and minister to people that are holier than you are, more serious in a sense about their faith than you perhaps are, and reminded of how far you’ve yet to go. And Sarge and Eunice Shriver fit that description. To know them up close or up close even for a short time, is to know a unique quality of faith. Sarge’s faith, it always struck me, was clarifyingly simple in its basics and expansively complicated in its extension.

That is to say, there was a way in which he was just grounded and rooted in the most basic sense of faith. It was about prayer and piety, it was about regular participation in the sacraments and a kind of fundamental conviction that if you didn't pray every day, you were going to lose your way. I mean, it was just very, very straightforward.
But the other side of it was that it wasn't simplistic. The other side of it was a conviction that the vision of faith should be able to penetrate the most complicated problems in the world, give them direction, give them purpose, particularly in the sense of the problems that needed to be fixed, that hurt people’s lives, that devastated life either physically in warfare or through the fact of poverty. So you had both a kind of fundamental conviction that would be expressed at mass and then an all-day effort to take that conviction and translate it into the secularity of the world.

**REV. HEHIR:** [inaudible] …did not interest him very long. What interested him was how belief and God and faith could be translated into making a difference in the world and the moral edge was what you felt every time he talked about his faith.

**MR. MATTHEWS:** Lew?

**MR. BUTLER:** Well, this discussion just reminded me of something I literally hadn't thought about for 40 years. There's this biblical kind of aspect to what Sarge did. One day in 1962, he came to Malaysia and we flew to a place called Kota Baru, and there was a Peace Corps nurse working, running a leprosarium. You know, and all I knew about leprosaria or leprosy was from the Bible and it had ceased to exist somewhere about 200 years ago, but here they were. And Sarge walked in to see this nurse and talk to her. And it’s important to remember, Sarge wasn’t just the head of the Peace Corps, or the boss, he was the personification of its ideals.
So he comes up to this lovely woman and says, “You know, what you're doing is so important and,” it reminded me of the inaugural speech about “Ask not,” downstairs. It was just one of those beautiful moments. Father, you could have sworn him in as a priest right then. But it was a gorgeous thing to do and complete reflection of his religion.

**MR. MATTHEWS:** Tim?

**MR. WOFFORD:** Could I just add one thing just quick? Translate what Father Bryan just said. The daily life, which if you don’t do it, you lose your way. It’s no secret he goes to mass practically every day, most of his life he has done, at least my years with him. I don't know any day that I was there in his presence overnight somewhere that he didn't go to mass the next morning. And he long ago said, “I'm a mass addict.” And so that may well be, Father, one of the ways that he didn't lose his way.

**MR. MATTHEWS:** Tim?

**MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER:** I want to try to encourage us all to shift to the future, or at least to the present, not to say that the past doesn’t have lessons. But I think the big… One of the distinguishing features of the faith of both of my parents is that for them faith is a huge idea. I mean, you're talking this is big. Faith is what gets you from where you are to the big picture, and people I think tell many, many stories about my dad. Scale, if you have a good idea, we’ve got to get
it to the world, and we’ve got to get… Everybody’s got to get involved in this right away.

The idea to me that comes from the inner conviction that a pursuit of a life of faith and hope and love is the real thing. It’s a big idea. If you can fall in love with changing the world, you can do it. You can actually go big. You can get everybody involved. You can get Catholics and Jews and Protestants and Muslims and Buddhists and Hindus. We can do the whole thing. And that's the energy that I think, in a way, is so tragically missing from the discussion today about faith and politics, about religion and politics. It’s no longer about what the big idea is that can bring us together; it’s no longer about peace; it’s no longer about reconciliation; it’s no longer about inviting Americans to say what can we do to bridge the gaps that divide us between the different world views, the Muslim world or Europeans and Americans. Or even with our own country. And what can we do to bridge that gap because that is the aspiration of the common humanity. That's what brings us together, that's what invites us to think we can make a difference. Because we actually do have something in common, because we actually do come from the same God, because we actually do aspire to create the same justice around the world. So what can we do to bring that value to the American context now?

And I, for one—I'm trying to talk as fast as Chris Matthews, but it’s not working—[Laughter]

**MR. MATTHEWS:** No, it’s okay. It's inspirational. And you got to learn to interrupt.
MR. SHRIVER: I learned that at an early age, I have four siblings. Don’t worry, that I know how to do. But it just puzzles me to no end that it seems like the political dialogue of today seems absent from that invitation to each of us, to locate our deepest aspirations in the public sphere, to invite us to think that that which we feel most deeply, which isn’t fundamentally our faith commitments, commitments to ultimate meaning and value, that those commitments have a role in the public discussion.

I mean, what is… I don't know, to me it just seems that rudimentary that prayer in public schools, okay, but is that what's going to change the world? Is that what's going to solve the problem of ages? Is that what's going to dig wells for people that are getting dirty water? Is that what's going to provide alternative energy fuel sources? Is that what's going to educate kids in urban environments? Is that what's going to bridge the gap between people of different cultures and ethnicities? Is that what's going to create a dialogue between our worlds and our religions? I mean, we’ve spent so much time talking about the difference between how we approach prayer in school. I don't know. To me, the frustration of being raised by parents that are so gifted at understanding their own faith commitments, as Father Hehir said, and locating them not politically as religious issues but politically as spiritual challenges, is the absence of such a dialogue or the absence of such inspiration today.

And I'm frankly puzzled by it, because I’ve never in my 46 years seen a time at which our country seemed more open, in which average citizens seem more eager
for an opportunity to connect to a large public purpose than at this time. Of course, I wasn't as alive and conscious in the early ‘60s as I am—Well, I was alive, but I wasn't quite as sentient as maybe I am now. But anyway, it’s just an invitation for us to think, maybe as a group here, as to what is missing from our current dialogue? I mean, Mark has been articulate about this in many environments publicly, and other people up here, too. And many of you in the room. Why we haven't been able too galvanize a big vision. I mean the only vision up here, I suppose, is we all believe in the Red Sox. [Laughter] And I for one… But think about it. It’s actually, I mean, it’s not a crazy point. People believe, I believe I'm going to be the next general manager of the Red Sox, so some believe beliefs that don’t come true—Larry’s here, so I'm pitching for the job—[Laughter] But anyway, I wonder. [Applause]

MR. MATTHEWS: Tim’s just shown that the vision we want and the approach we want may, in fact, be genetic. [Laughter and applause]

MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER: Once again, I get no credit on my own, but thank you. Just pre-programmed.

MR. MATTHEWS: That's all it is. Let me get back to something. You two guys know a lot about, Lew and Harris, Senator, and you were my Senator in Pennsylvania.

MR. WOFFORD: We're waiting for you to run for office.
MR. MATTHEWS: Let me ask about how you do what Tim said, because I know it was done because I remember the ‘60s. And there was a lot of excitement in the ‘60s, of course, starting in the ’60 campaign. But also a lot of trouble in the ‘60s. I always remember the best part, there's a lot of awful things, obviously, that happened. But the great thing was, and I want to ask you how it was done, either one of you can start. How did this guy translate a speech given at the University of Michigan about the Peace Corps at 2:00 in the morning or something, into this actual institution that somebody like me could join? And how did he make that transformation work? Lew? Or do you want to go, Harris?

MR. WOFFORD: Well, I woke up the day after the inauguration not having any job, payroll having ended. Sarge also, whatever payroll he got ended too. He was in a somewhat different state, my wife would have said, for paying the mortgage. And he called up and he said, “Well, at the inaugural parade Kennedy said, ‘What do you think of this idea about the Peace Corps? I’d like you to look into it and see whether it really makes sense.’” And before long, Bill Josephson in the audience, is one that was in the task force. And I’ll give you a flavor of an answer. He went to the State Department on early occasion to talk with AIDs people, not the AIDS, but the AID, the Agency for International Development, and said, “How long would it take to get volunteers of the Peace Corps, get an AID program from the idea to the reality on the ground somewhere?” And they answered something like this: “Well, Mr. Shriver, it probably is 2 ½ years you’ve got to count own. The pipeline for something like this is very long, and you have to start very carefully and very small and at least count on 2 ½ years.” As Sarge left the State Department, he said something like, “We are going to have 600 volunteers in six
countries at least in six months.” And that’s why I say make it big, be fast, and be bold.

MR. MATTHEWS: Lew?

MR. BUTLER: Well, you know, the way he did it was one person at a time, and I don't know, these were 20 hour days and a thousand telephone call days, as far as I can figure out. But I was one of them. I was in bed at 6:00 in the morning, Saturday morning in San Francisco and the phone rings and the voice says, “This is Sargent Shriver.” And I'm asleep, and I sort of knew who that was. I had gotten a hold of the President’s pal, Red Fay, who had been in PT boats with the President, and said, “Red, you know, I'm interested in this thing.” Well, so Shriver calls. I don't know how many hundreds of those calls he was making. He in fact said, “You know, we’re just getting started and talk to me in six months.”

Well, about four months later, when he was recruiting all of us and went over to the State Department to meet him and he says, “Wait a minute. Are you that guy that Red Fay made me call?” [Laughter] But that's what he did. And it was with volunteers in groups. But just the sheer energy of launching this thing. And of course, he’d married the two most unlikely groups of people in the world, you’d get the professional bureaucrats, which you had to have because you had a budget and all that kind of stuff. And then you had some of the wild hairs that came from outside that knew nothing about government and were constantly doing the wrong thing, excuse the language. I remember coming back…
MR. MATTHEWS: What's a wild hair?

MR. BUTLER: I don't have many.

MR. MATTHEWS: It's an old phrase.

MR. BUTLER: But I came back and I was so ignorant, we all were, but marrying these two groups of people. And Bill Moyers said, you know, “How does Peace Corps Washington look from overseas?” And I remember saying, “I can’t believe this. Piss poor.” [Laughter] But Sarge stimulated this agitation and as I said, it made it fun.

MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER: Can I just make one quick—one sentence comment? The common thread you hear in these people here today, but in all these narratives, is someone asked. You know, everybody says, “I picked up the phone and he asked me.” You know volunteers were asked, right? President Kennedy said, “I'm asking you to join.” I mean, it’s not rocket science. People will say yes if you ask. I find it—Again, I don’t want to sound like I'm carping on it, but why isn’t anybody asking us to do anything? [Applause] I don’t get it.

MR. MATTHEWS: Scott, just fill in the ellipses here, how did he get from the mandate from the President, President Kennedy, to start this thing and make it really begin to start?
MR. STОСSЕL: Well, the general point I was going to make was that—the political knock on Sarge throughout his career was always that he, or one of them, was that he was too naively idealistic, and the emphasis on the naïve, but also on the idealism. And Mickey Kantor has a quote. He says, “Well, if this is what naïveté gets you, let’s have more of it.” And part of it literally was, he came in, if you hired… If President Kennedy had picked a career bureaucrat or someone who had a history of electoral political life, they sort of would have known what was not possible. Shriver came in and literally didn’t know what wasn’t possible. And so he would go from department to department, from the Bureau of the Budget and the different cabinet departments and they would say, “Well, this can’t be done.” He says, “Well, I don't know that this can’t be done,” and he would just do it.

And part of this, you were talking about the 20 hour days, it’s this sort of endless reserve of energy that he has that comes from either an excess of serotonin or directly from his faith, I think. It’s inescapable. But basically, he took… In effect, he took a few lines in really what were initially a few throw away lines in the speech in Michigan, a bunch of reports that people had written up and went in an astonishingly short period of time, we're talking like six weeks between the inauguration and when they actually issued the Executive Order that started the Peace Corps, into designing it, staffing it, and then within six months after that, having people actually in the field. And to get to that point, he not only had to recruit volunteers, train them, figure out how you're going to train them, how you're going to vet them, how you're going to deal with their parents who are worried they’re going to get slaughtered by wild animals or natives, how you're going to convince these people in these third world countries, and again, this is in a
Cold War context where everyone in the sort of underlying countries is assuming this is sort of part of the Cold War chess game.

And people just kept saying, “This can’t be done,” and he kept doing it. And another example, again, I think it was Edgar May, who’s in the audience, talks about, Sarge had this ability to… Anyone he came into contact with he would expand the horizons of the possible. And partly it was from kind of an ignorance or a naïveté about what the limits were. And so things like red tape and bureaucratic in-fighting, he just ignored them. And so when they were talking about starting Head Start and he went around and talked to a bunch of experts and they said, “Well, maybe if you proceed really, really aggressively you can maybe get 10,000 kids into a pilot program in a year.” And Sarge went back to his meeting, or somebody else brought that back to the meeting and Sarge sat back and he said, “No, I want 500,000 kids in Head Start by this summer.” And he did. I mean, this is an order of magnitude times five. So it was sort of this ability to expand the horizons of the possible and this sort of ignorance of what limits were. And so again, I would repeat what Mickey Kantor says, “If this is naïveté, let’s have more of it.”

MR. MATTHEWS: Mark?

MR. SHIELDS: Chris, I’d just like to offer a note of dissent from what Tim said. I think he’s been too harsh on our contemporary political leadership. [Laughter] I mean, just last Friday, the Republican Congress passed two more tax cuts. You know, I think you have to admire their tenacity in trying to close the very
dangerous and explosive gap between the super rich and the rich. [Laughter] And the leader of the Democratic Party is deeply concerned about the epidemic of flag burning, as you can see, and she's introduced legislation to address that. So I think you're being too harsh, Timmy.

But I do want to say that the question that Sarge asked is a question that American political leaders at their best have asked, and that is from the second inaugural in 1937, “The measure of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much, but whether we provide enough for those who have too little.” And you contrast that to am I better off than I was four years ago, are you better off? Not we. And with Sarge, it was never the me generation, it was always about we. Apologize for the ungrammatical structure, but it was we. And everybody was part of we, and there was nobody left out of we. And I think that's what is missing. I think individualism is rampant in both parties in the sense of communitarianism (sic) that Sarge embodied and FDR did at his best, is what is absent.

MR. MATTHEWS:  Let’s talk about a real dynamic, and I'm looking at them now, Eunice Shriver and Sargent Shriver. You can start. There is a dynamic here that from my distance I’ve appreciated, from your distance must be manifest. Talk about the role that Sarge would have played if there hadn't been a Eunice? Or more positively, why was he able to play his role because of her? Is that too tricky for you?

MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER:  Well, I wish they weren't here.
MR. MATTHEWS: They're right there.

MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER: I see that. [Laughter] You're out there ... (inaudible) with that one. I mean, my mother’s obviously one of the most gifted askers, if you take this idea of asking being… You know, my mother started a camp for children who in those days we used to call mentally retarded, now people with intellectual disabilities. Started a camp in 1963. Reopened the camp in 2004 because she was frustrated that there was not enough activity in Washington, D.C. for young people with intellectual disabilities. So Camp Shriver, which took a 31 year hiatus during which time, by the way, Special Olympics grew to include two million athletes and 160 countries around the world with both of them helping to lead that, reopened.

Now, the interesting thing is not, again, the huge—I was referring before to the huge—but my mother’s capacity to go to the micro level and to empathically understand the experience of isolation as a mother, as a father, as a brother, as a sister, of someone who’s isolated. That visceral power, that emotional kind of force of nature, if you will, that my mother has been in one field, but really in the whole, when you think of the whole, when you think of what it means to work for a community of inclusion, when you think of what it means to overcome differences, when you think of what it means to advocate for equality. The idea of equality, which everybody thinks is just such an obvious idea, and yet there’s 160 million people with intellectual disabilities in the world today who never will go to school, and nobody seems to think anything of it, as though we were championing
equality with a complete, total blind spot right in front of us and didn't care. That experience of that injustice, that discrepancy, that radical kind of wrongness, has been my mother’s engine, I think, of ingenuity and creativity, that relentless desire to make it happen in a way that would make a difference on the ground for someone who feels that pinch. Some mother who feels that isolation, who feels that it’s not okay to be proud of her child. That very intimate experience of rejection, and that very intimate experience of changing that rejection to acceptance I think has been her engine.

My dad, of course, has been able to see and watch her and go, “My God, look what Eunice has done.” I mean, everybody’s heard that toast, but it’s been going on for 50 years and it is still, I'm proud to say and I suppose not being self conscience, saying a great love affair and a great gift to us, me and my siblings, but also a great gift to the country. [Applause]

**MR. MATTHEWS:** Mark, just to create some discordance here, what was Eunice like as a candidate’s wife?

**MR. SHIELDS:** Formidable. [Laughter]

**MR. MATTHEWS:** Stop there if you know what's good for you. [Laughter]

**MR. SHIELDS:** You're a troublemaker.
MR. MATTHEWS: I know, I'm a tummler. It's a Yiddish term, it’s called tummler. That's what I am. [Laughter] Speak of tumbling, we’re going to start tumbling now and get you all involved in this. We have about 25 minutes left and I see people moving. Have some questions, I'm asking you. This is the theme here. Anybody have a question right now? Come on down and line up so we can move this and everybody gets involved in the next 25 minutes.

AUDIENCE: How are you all doing? I'm a returning Peace Corps volunteer, I'm really concerned the nature the agency is going right now, especially in terms of national call to service. I'm wondering how Sargent Shriver or how people on the panel feel about that, if they see a change in the heart of what Peace Corps tries to do around the world. I'm not sure if anyone’s even aware…

MR. MATTHEWS: What's your particular concern?

AUDIENCE: In terms of making a direct link between military service and Peace Corps service at the same time.

MR. MATTHEWS: Oh, that idea.

AUDIENCE: So I'm just wondering if there's an opinion on that, anyone who has served before?

MR. MATTHEWS: Well, I did, and I think it’s a terrible idea. Because one thing you get asked overseas by your best friends when you're over there, and I
was in Swaziland, you can’t even kid around about things like that. I had a friend of mine over there who’s a Swazi and he kidded around and I said, “Of course you know I'm CIA,” laughing at him. And he says, “Don’t ever tell that joke.” And he thought the Pope was in London. He didn't know much about Europe, he didn't know about us, but he knew that phrase. And if you start spreading that the guys in the Peace Corps, the women in the Peace Corps, were somehow there because of a military commitment, and they’d been in Iraq? Forget about it, you don’t need that. We had a guy kicked out because he had a barroom conversation about politics. And rightfully so. I always tell kids that. I say just remember, third world countries are very sensitive. They’ve been overrun, they’ve been colonized, they don’t want to hear it again. They don’t want to hear anybody from Europe or America telling them how to live. And the last thing they want is some trooper in their country. So I'm completely with you. I don't know if that idea is going to catch them…

By the way, just a little bit of alleviation about your… You still have to apply to the Peace Corps and get in. And I also think why would… It’s a strange thing, this is the ... (inaudible) that McCain had something to do with, that you get to work off your reserve duty, two years of it, in the Peace Corps. I mean, most people would rather be a weekend warrior, they’re just looking for something to do. You know, they work it off that way, although there aren't many of them left, you're basically over in Iraq. But I think it is a concern, Mark. Have you written about this yet?
MR. SHIELDS: Are you concerned about this provision and the act that was adopted unthinkingly a couple of years ago?

AUDIENCE: Well, I guess what I'm really concerned about is how little people in this country know about the legislation that was passed in 2002. And Carol Bellamy and Mark Kiernan have stood up and said this is just appalling, so many return volunteers have said so. And I guess my question is where is Peace Corps on the issue that goes to the very nature of the soul of the organization? I just was wondering if anyone would want to comment on that? Just doesn’t appear to be any…

MR. SHIELDS: A lot of people, including the National Peace Corps Association ofReturned Volunteers, who are in the midst of a very high pressure campaign to get this act changed. Unthinkingly several years ago, McCain and Evan Bayh were pressing the National Service Act, and they thought that for the expansion of AmeriCorps from now 75,000 to 250,000 that one of the good ways to do it on AmeriCorps grounds was to permit reservists to get their remaining reserve years in the Army accredited if they worked in AmeriCorps in America. And at the very last minute, without anyone at the Peace Corps knowing, we understand, they added “or in the Peace Corps.” And it’s a very dangerous thing for the Peace Corps, a dangerous world right now. And it’s already going to do damage because it actually was passed by Congress. It will probably be removed, McCain is, I think, supporting the removal of it. But it’s a good idea, I think at home, to move the expansion by connecting service, both military and civilian. But it’s a terrible
idea for the reasons that you and Chris have just said, to connect it with the Peace Corps abroad.

MR. MATTHEWS: I think it’s endangering, I think it’s a danger. Yes?

AUDIENCE: I just wanted to say, having been in the Peace Corps, it was one of the greatest opportunities as an American that I had. And it’s a shame that I think Peace Corps has leveled off for a few years, but with all that's going on in the world today, that's one of the great opportunities an American has.

MR. MATTHEWS: Hear, hear.

AUDIENCE: This question is directed at Mr. Wofford and Mr. Matthews. You guys have experienced the Peace Corps, you were volunteers or you were associate directors. How has the Peace Corps changed since you were a director in 1966, and since you were a volunteer in Swaziland.

MR. MATTHEWS: I was in ’68. You want to go, Harris?

MR. WOFFORD: Well, for a volunteer going afresh, it hasn’t changed very much because you teach in Dira Dawa, Ethiopia, it’s a new experience for you, it’s a new experience for that class. It also is now the Peace Corps going to countries we couldn’t get passports to, to China. I visited them in Mongolia a year ago with a grandson. South Africa, so there are many good opportunities in the Peace Corps. The biggest way it’s changed, in my opinion, is that the trajectory that
Sargent Shriver had planned went from 0 to 600 to 7,000, I believe, when Kennedy was killed, to 16,000 when Sarge left the Peace Corps. It was going up, and John Kennedy had said once on sending volunteers overseas, to some of us going out, in his cryptic way he said, “This will be really serious when it’s a hundred thousand a year, the way Sarge talks.” And then in one decade, there'll be a million Americans with first hand experience like the experience that our friend just was describing. And by now, it would have been three million Americans instead of not quite 200,000 yet. So we’ve lost a tremendous opportunity. As Kennedy said, “Then we will, for the first time, have a constituency, a big constituency for an intelligent foreign policy.” Just think if half a million young Americans, mostly young, and older, in the Middle East or in the Muslim world in these 30 years, how much more understanding we would have for that world if we had gone to the scale that Sarge imagined.

MR. MATTHEWS: My knowledge is anecdotal, like everyone’s I guess, but it’s fabulous. The volunteer kids today are unbelievable, some of them. I mean, it’s always an uneven experience, but some people really go out in the middle of the boonies, completely cut off for two years and with no water. I mean, running water, no shower, obviously, no toilets, no electricity. Some experiences are beyond imagination, and some are easier. I had an easier one. But, you know, it’s all the luck of the draw. But I’ll tell you, it’s as tough as ever and it’s a life changer. It’s the greatest ... (inaudible). Eunice?

EUNICE SHRIVER: ... (inaudible) (not on microphone)
MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER: Let me just tell a quick story. I have a small special mixed program in Dubai. I was there about a year ago, and we were launching a unified basketball program for both boys and girls, both sexes, and unified means people with intellectual disabilities competing together with those who do not have disabilities, this is a Special Olympics program. On the day we had our inaugural game at the University of Dubai, the American embassy and the three square blocks surrounding it were closed due to the threat of terrorism. And at the basketball event, we had I think 12 nationalities of college students volunteering or playing. We had, obviously in the center of the Muslim world, both male and female competition. We had the president of the university and I couldn’t get anybody from the State Department to come out and be a part of the medaling ceremony or the inauguration. Now, you can say they had other things to do, but in a way in answer to your question that I would say, there is common ground, to your point. I think there's enormous opportunities to create not just through Special Olympics, but many organizations like it, but it’s not at the center of our national consciousness.

And to me, the biggest change, not having been a volunteer and being able to have that experience, is if the Peace Corps continues with these heroic people and it’s almost invisible as a national idea, whereas in 1965, it was the center of our self definition. It was the center of our aspirational qualities, it was the center of what we were trying to project to the world, it was a center of defense against incursion from the Central Intelligence Agency or other brokering or breaking down of those barriers. And today it’s wonderful, great and the opportunity to champion it or use it or use it or other parallel organizations squandered.
MR. WOFFORD: I just wanted to say I think all of that is true, but how many other programs have lasted almost 45 years? And that's Sarge and Eunice, the whole thing. I mean, nothing lasts 45 years in Washington, Mark.

MR. SHIELDS: That's right.

MR. WOFFORD: Nothing does, and it lasted through Richard Nixon, it lasted through the worst of the Cold War, it lasted through the Vietnam War that tore the country apart. So lot of things could be better, but that's an amazing accomplishment and we owe it to Sarge.

MR. MATTHEWS: It's still the volunteers, they’re unbelievably individual people. Mark?

MR. SHIELDS: Not having been in the Peace Corps, I'm at somewhat of a disadvantage here, but I would make a pitch and I think it’s totally consistent with what Sarge has stood for in talking about the future. And it’s somewhat in defense of McCain and Bayh. And that is I think the urgent need for national service and I would say mandated national service for every 18 year old in the country. There are so many tasks to be done for the elderly lonely, for the young who need to be teachers assistants for environmental. We talked about a foreign policy when the Congress of the United States debated going to war in Iraq, the 535 members of Congress, exactly one of them, Senator Tim Johnson of South Dakota, had a child
in the United States military enlisted ranks. I say the enlisted ranks because that's where 91 percent of all the casualties come from.

And contrast that, if you would, I grew up in Massachusetts. During World War II, we had two Republican United States senators, Senator Leverett Saltonstall and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Leverett Saltonstall’s 19 year old son, Peter, was killed in the Pacific as a Marine. And Henry Cabot Lodge, the other Republican senator, resigned from the senate, the first senator to do so since the Civil War, to fight Hitler’s tanks in Germany.

Now those in power are totally divorced from those at peril, the sense of reciprocity and duty and obligation is fractured. And the problem, quite frankly, with Iraq is if, in fact, they were the sons and daughters of members of Congress, our network anchors, our CEOs whose vests did not have bullet stopping armor in them, whose Humvees were unarmored, it would be a national outrage. We had 140 hours of hearings in Congress about Bill Clinton’s Christmas card list, 140. we have yet to have 12 hours on the treatment of our troops and the fact that war profiteering has gone on on a scale unprecedented at the same time that our troops have been abandoned. That would not be the case if we had a draft in this country. [Applause]

MR. MATTHEWS: Thank you.

AUDIENCE: Chris, first of all I want to thank Sargent Shriver for being the best of the best generation and for bringing so many of the Kennedy generation, some
of the best of the Kennedy generation here tonight. I want to thank you all for your continuing inspiration to all of us. I have a simple question, I guess, about this generation and it has to do with today’s politics. My question is could Jack Kennedy win election to the presidency today? And if the answer is yes, then why doesn’t Tim run? [Applause] And if not, why not? And if he can, what is it that we all think we could do to make that happen?

MR. SHIELDS: I second the nomination.

MR. WOFFORD: This is a fundraiser.

AUDIENCE: Could someone like that win in today’s politics, and if not, why not? And if so, what might we do to make that happen?

MR. MATTHEWS: You all want to do that, you want—

MR. BUTLER: Give me a trick, Chris.

MR. MATTHEWS: Me? I think he’d walk away with it. I think he’s a classic figure just as a personality like Bogart or one of those figures. [Laughter] No, I mean it, they always seem to work.

MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER: Oh, man!
MR. MATTHEWS: They always seem to work. They don’t seem to have a…

Very few people in history seem to be timeless in their appeal. Every time I see him, I know he wasn’t as good on TV as people are today, but there was something there that was… You know, I think he was kind of a conservative man with a liberal program. I think that's kind of complicated, but it was exactly right and it’s exactly right today. [Applause] People don’t want a lefty, they don’t want… They want a guy, a woman, could be a woman, maybe not this one, but it could be. I think people want a patriot who loves the country that loves the future, just thinking about the future all the time. And I think Clinton had the obvious flaws, and they weren’t the obvious ones to other people, but just a lack of a sense of a real overwhelming purpose, I think was missing. And with this guy [Bush], he didn't have one until 9/11 and I'm not sure he has the right one now, but I'm being very careful. Let’s go. [Laughter] But John Kennedy, just look at the movies, it’s unbelievable. Yeah, we got to keep moving.

AUDIENCE: You almost really stole my question in a way. I'm a former volunteer, I was in the first wave, was in the first 600, I was out there in ’62. [Applause] And I went out with Bob Bass in Nepal and…

MR. MATTHEWS: Did you guys really swing on vines and all that stuff?

AUDIENCE: We swung on vines.

MR. MATTHEWS: I always looked at the training program.
AUDIENCE: Up at Marble, Colorado with Outward Bound. The Peace Corps had such an impact on me that I basically made it my career. Not as a volunteer, but I just found the closest thing I could do as a career, and I’ve been doing it ever since. And I just came back from the villages of Sierra Leone and Nepal where I was working on a peace building thing. I'm not trying to talk about myself, I just want to establish that there are people still out there, and I’ve seen volunteers in every bloody country in the world. My wife’s in Kenya right now working on a women’s program in ten countries that are doing it. There are people out there doing this kind of stuff that have come out of the Peace Corps and gone on to make even more difference as you are making right by being on MSNBC.

MR. MATTHEWS: By the way, the global initiative that Clinton… I don’t want to take a shot at the great man, but my son’s working for him in Rwanda right now on AIDS. He's doing great work, Clinton right now, he’s really doing great work.

AUDIENCE: And to come to your point, how many congressmen, senators, have kids fighting in Iraq? How many of them have sons and daughters in the Peace Corps? There's a hell of a lot of them out there, I think. I don't know the exact numbers, but I know there are a lot of them. But my point, Sarge, was that—and I want to pick up on Sarge’s own philosophy here. Sarge did an incredible thing to make that happen, and that's the way we’re doing our work out there right now. But Sarge wouldn’t be asking, “What did we do right?” he’d be asking what's next, right? And that's what I want to know, is what's next? If a Kennedy could be elected now, who is the one? Where are we going to find these kind of people who can articulate this, who are out in the public image and we can support and move
forward to get liberal out of the dirty word column into the respected word column? Who are the people we can support? I’d like to know the panel’s views on who we can support?

MR. MATTHEWS: Is this a 501(c)(3)? [Laughter] I don’t want to proceed any further in this direction without legal authority and counsel. Let’s go to the next one. Does anybody want to answer that politically charged question on this panel here? No? Go, next.

MR. SHIELDS: Don’t necessarily look to the liberal camp necessarily. John Kennedy when he was asked, “Are you liberal or are you conservative?” he once said, “I hope I’m responsible, responsible to the facts as they are, responding to them as they are.” So I wouldn’t limit which political group you look to to find the kind of leadership we seem to be thirsting for.

MR. BUTLER: Is that a pitch for Rick Santorum? [Laughter]

MR. SHIELDS: Not quite.

MR. MATTHEWS: Mark, he could use that censor right now. Next, sir?

AUDIENCE: Thank you, Mr. Matthews. Before I leave for work every morning, I take a look at a poster that hangs over my bureau and it’s a poster of my idol, Ambassador Shriver. So I’m deeply humbled to be with you here today, Mr. Ambassador. My generation, I’m 25 years old, the younger generations today,
have a great commitment to volunteerism and community service, but are deeply cynical towards elective office, public life and government. How can we take the inspiration and the energy and the passion, Tim, that your father brought to public life and government and show that President Reagan was wrong, that government is the answer, not the problem?

**REV. HEHIR:** I’d like to say something about that, because I’ve taught for 40 years and taught mainly in schools that deal with public policy and public service. And you hit something on the head. I mean that is to say, it is wrong to say people are not idealistic today, not generous today, not willing to work at things today, that's just wrong. It is right, however, to say that many of your very best students, with the strongest, powerful sense of public service, are literally afraid of government. They basically think you can’t get it done in government. There's a kind of declining faith about the public sector as the public sector. So what they do is very good things. That’s where the NGOs have come from, that's where the nonprofits have come from. And there's no question that's all positive and good. But I do think it’s fundamentally the case that if you, in a sense, let the public sector erode in terms of talent, in terms of commitment and in terms of the ability to inspire people to serve in it, no matter how good your NGOs are, or your nonprofits are, the society simply can’t get done what it needs to get done. So you have raised, I think, a very fundamental, very important challenge, not just about generosity, idealism and the willingness to spend your life in important causes. It’s how do you generate that sense about public service in the public sector.

**MR. STOSSEL:** Amen.
MR. MATTHEWS: I have to keep moving now. Everybody standing now gets to ask their question, but just ask it of one person. Miss, you first.

AUDIENCE: I just wanted to say I met Mr. and Mrs. Shriver on the 30th anniversary of Vista. I was a Vista volunteer in the early 1990s and it’s definitely a program that changed my life. And people talk about Peace Corps, nobody knows about the Vista program and obviously today it’s part of AmeriCorps, and actually I worked for the Corporation for National Service for a period of time.

And the connection between service and the long-term benefits, I think that when people talk about going off and serving in the Peace Corps, people don’t really appreciate the idea of actually doing service here in the United States to the full extent that it can be. And I think with AmeriCorps, the idea of making a commitment for a year and then getting a small, a very small amount of money to pay back student loans, I think it was around $5,000 to serve for an entire year in an AmeriCorps program back in the mid-1990s, and I don't know if it’s gone up at all in the last ten years.

But my real question is will there ever be a connection between actually doing service and perhaps getting some sort of GI bill or connection with making your way through college on some sort of stipend? It certainly was not something that was available to me, but I could certainly see the connection of people being more willing to serve if they're able to get some remittance for it, for the work that they do. I also just wanted to thank the Shrivars, too. The Vista program changed my life.
MR. SHIELDS: How many of you read and noticed the call for just that call to service column in The Globe within the last ten days by Alan Khazei and Michael Brown? Can I see any hands? I wish I remembered the day, it’s a terrific, strong pitch and it also makes me want to say… And Tim, what we’ve been joking about, seriously joking about with Tim, is a clue to what we need to do, among other things, to search. If we can’t get the Pope to let priests run for office again, we can start really looking at the nonprofit sector and somebody like Alan Khazei would make a tremendous candidate when one of your great senators decides not to run anymore from Massachusetts. The nonprofit world—yes, I’m sorry to the house delegation saying that—the nonprofit world has candidates waiting to be urged to get into direct politics.

MR. MATTHEWS: You’re talking about Kerry quitting, right? [Laughter]

AUDIENCE: Yes, I just wanted to say as someone who was part of that very early vanguard of the Peace Corps, unlike Lew, I did not get a telephone call from Sarge, but I happened to be at a reception for President Kennedy here in Boston in ’61. And Sarge sort of got me one on one and I ended up going out to Sierra Leone to set up the Peace Corps program there. I was the third group to go overseas.

But what I wanted to say was someone asked about whether things have changed since then. My saddest moment serving as ambassador in Nigeria was when the Peace Corps was pulled out. In the old days, the Peace Corps was the last to leave
a country. In Nigeria, when no one else was leaving, people in Washington decided in spite of the fact that all the volunteers, the staff and I had said there was no problem, pulled the Peace Corps out saying that they were—[inaudible] I wanted to give a slightly different perspective from what the panel said, and that is what he did in terms of affirmative action with the Peace Corps. Back in 1961, in those early days when I went in, blacks in high positions in government agencies, especially in the foreign service, were almost nonexistent. In fact, Sarge had a very diverse body of people in very high jobs. In fact, the State Department would often take the Peace Corps figures and join them with theirs in order to show they were doing things that they weren’t. So I want to thank Sarge for establishing really the first really integrated government agency in Washington. Thank you very much. [Applause]

AUDIENCE: I personally am interested in hearing what the panel has to say and, of course, what Mr. Shriver thinks about the role of young people in politics today, and what sort of role you think that we can take on and progress?

MR. MATTHEWS: Tim, you want to do that?

MR. SHRIVER: You know, I think the exciting thing about a lot of the people that you're seeing here today is that almost all of them will say they got their start when they were young, and it changed their lives at a young point. So I think the exciting thing about people at middle school and high school ages is they can make a difference today.
I think that the big challenge facing young people is they're always being told what they should do later. You know, if you're 15 years old, you study this, do that, do this, so that when you get older you can do something else. I think you can do things immediately. Within your neighborhoods, within—all the things you've heard talked about. So I think the age is right for youth venture, social venture. Start something now. Go out and solve a problem in your neighborhood, there's a hundred of them, and they're only going to get solved by young people, not by, frankly, the parents are all haggard and the politicians are looking the opposite direction.

So I think it's an opportunity for enormous innovation. No one's going to stop you. You won't get a lot of help, but I would say go—Identify something you feel deep inside and go for it right now. Don't wait—Young Democrats, Future Democrats, Later Democrats, Republicans, do it now. [Applause]

MR. MATTHEWS: How old are you?

AUDIENCE: I'm 15, actually.

MR. MATTHEWS: How old?

AUDIENCE: Fifteen.

MR. MATTHEWS: Go for it.
MR. SHRIVER: Yeah, right now. Start today. [Applause]

MR. MATTHEWS: Thank you. Last question of the evening. It's been an amazing honor to be here, sort of directing this panel, and it’s been great and I thank you all. I know this is going to be the best question of the night.

AUDIENCE: Best question of the night? I'm a close friend of Tim’s, so I will say this from the heart. He mentioned early age. I want to say I'm first honored to be here with Mr. and Mrs. Shriver. My first experience as a Special Olympic volunteer was when I was 12 years old, and I have not looked back since. Volunteering for anything, whether it’s the Peace Corps, Special Olympics, anything in your neighborhood, I believe is the right thing for you to do. Whether you're 15 or 35, whether you haven’t done it you should start because from a personal standpoint, it’s changed my life enormously, and Tim knows that.

MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER: Thank you.

MR. MATTHEWS: Thank you. [Applause]

MR. TIMOTHY SHRIVER: Can I just ask, there are so many people here who have done so many wonderful things, but I want to ask you to join me in recognizing one person who’s been the most loyal person outside of my mother to my father, and he’s been with him for over 40 years, and who is today that lifeline to mass every morning, and it’s Richard Franklin Ragsdale. Many of you met him over the years. Rags is still here today, and I want to ask—[Applause] There he is!
MR. KIRK: I want to, first of all, thank a talented panel for a very, very stimulating evening. Let’s hear it for them. You know, tonight’s discussion has a lot to do with the history of our country. But if this institution and this Library is really what I think it’s all about, clearly there are archives here of a special chapter in American political history. But it’s not only what's preserved here, it’s what takes place here. And tonight’s discussion takes place at a historical memorial to an individual who ten minutes after he took the oath of office of President of the United States challenged the country, as Timmy said. And he had a sense about the bully pulpit and how people would respond. And whether it’s the 18 year old out here or some of the juices that still are running in some of us, this place exists in part for history, but it exists for the future.

And I say that tonight’s discussion in tribute to one of our best human beings is also a tribute to the future. And I have never been in the presence of Sargent and Eunice Shriver when I have not left uplifted and inspired, and tonight is no exception. [Applause]