

THE Carter / Mondale Letter

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Mrs. Carter Promotes Parity Legislation for Mental Health Care

“Insurance parity, or comparable coverage for mental illnesses, is one of the most important ways to overcome the stigma that makes it difficult for those who are ill to get the help they need,” said former First Lady Rosalynn Carter, who has been at the forefront of legislative efforts to enact a strong parity law. On March 4, she spoke at a press conference on the steps of the U.S. House of Representatives with House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-R.I.), Rep. Jim Ramstad (R-Minn.), and David Wellstone in support of the Paul Wellstone Mental Health and Addiction Equity Act (H.R. 1424). Later that evening, the House passed the bill 268-148 with 47 Republicans joining 221 Democrats in voting for the bill. The Senate passed its own version of a parity bill (S. 558) earlier in the year by unanimous vote. Mrs. Carter said, “If insurance covers mental health care the same as it covers, for example, heart disease and cancer, it will not only be easier for people to get the treatment they need, but will also aid public acceptance of the disorders.”

Mrs. Carter has played an important role in this most recent effort to pass strong parity legislation. She spoke with key members of the House of Representatives by telephone as the bill was shepherded through three subcommittee hearings, and in July 2007 she testified before a subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee in support of H.R. 1424 and addressed some of the key differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill; the House bill is more far-reaching than the Senate’s.

A key element of both bills is the coverage of addiction disorders. “That’s really exciting,” Mrs. Carter said. “The [bills] in the past that we’ve tried and failed to get passed have not



Former First Lady Rosalynn Carter testifies in favor of the Paul Wellstone Mental Health and Addiction Equity Act (H.R. 1424) before a House Education and Labor subcommittee on July 10, 2007. The act would ensure that mental health and addiction patients are treated no differently than other medical or surgical patients.

covered addiction,” she added.

One difference between the House and Senate bills is the diagnoses covered. The House bill requires all diagnoses in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, which is the handbook from the American Psychiatric Association that lists different categories of mental disorders and the criteria for diagnosing them.

Another difference between the bills is out-of-network coverage. The House version requires insurance providers to offer out-of-network coverage, while the Senate’s does not. The House and Senate are currently working to reconcile the two bills. The Wellstone Action Web site contains updates on the progress of the bills (<http://www.wellstone.org>).

Jimmy Carter and the Price of Political Courage

By Les Francis

In mid-April, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter met in Syria with Khaled Meshaal, recognized head of Hamas, the Palestinian organization widely viewed as one of the most lethal terrorist organizations operating in the Middle East. It is also, inconveniently for many, the governing party in Gaza, having been victorious in a stunning electoral victory in that poor and volatile land in January 2006.

Israeli officials and the U.S. administration of George W. Bush expressed shock and outrage at the Carter–Meshaal meeting, and various commentators denounced Carter in the harshest possible terms. Whatever considerations might have been behind the criticisms, surprise certainly should not have been among them.

Soon after the 2006 elections in Palestine, to which Carter was a close witness, the former president told CNN's Larry King, "If you sponsor an election or promote democracy and freedom around the world, then when people make their own decision about their leaders, I think that all the governments should recognize that administration and let them form their government." He went on to tell the talk show host and his sizable audience that "there's a good chance" that Hamas, which has operated a network of successful social and charitable organizations for Palestinians, could become a nonviolent organization. There is little doubt that these observations were not designed to curry political favor at home or abroad.

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Palestine is a long way from Washington, D.C., to be sure (although not as distant as once thought), and conversations with the most militant advocates of the Palestinian cause in 2008 may seem a far cry from a fight over federally funded water projects in the United States three decades before, but when talking about Jimmy Carter, it is no stretch whatsoever.

Jimmy Carter has never shied away from controversy; in fact, he seems to welcome it. He is also not afraid to tackle the toughest of issues, regardless of the political consequences, and never has been. And, frankly, as one who once

worked for Carter and who has tremendous admiration and affection for him still, I have come to the conclusion that sometimes he just doesn't give a damn what people think of him, his words, or his actions.

Over the course of a late January weekend in 2007, on the 30th anniversary of Jimmy Carter's inauguration as our 39th president, a few hundred people, including President and Mrs. Carter, Vice President and Mrs. Mondale, historians, journalists, campaign veterans, former administration officials, and "just plain folks" gathered at the University of Georgia to recount the four years of the Carter presidency—its ups and its downs. We reflected on our times in office, we laughed at funny stories, and we got choked up at particularly poignant moments.

Sessions at the conference in Athens also served to remind attendees, and those who watched the proceedings on C-SPAN or who have read the transcripts since, of the many crucial and difficult issues that the Carter administration confronted and the initiatives he undertook as a result: the Panama Canal treaties, normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China, the energy crisis, hair-trigger tensions in the Middle East, the continuing struggle with the Soviet Union, the rise of Islamic extremism in Iran, the drive to bring an end to apartheid in South Africa, totalitarianism and human rights abuses in our own hemisphere, huge inflationary pressures that had been building for at least a decade, the early signs of globalization and resulting economic dislocations in key parts of our nation, updating and streamlining the civil service system, governmental reorganization, budgetary discipline, and regulatory reform, among other vital and contentious matters.

Jimmy Carter was elected president in 1976 precisely because his impatience with a "business as usual" approach to politics was shared by a majority of his fellow citizens. The former Georgia governor's rise to the pinnacle of national political power may have been surprising to many, but it was not accidental. Carter was the perfect candidate to run, and to win, in 1976.

Once at work in the Oval Office, however, Carter also made clear that he was equally impatient with what might be termed "public policy incrementalism"; unfortunately, from a strictly political point of view, this was not a value shared by many of the people's elected representatives in Congress, especially its more senior and powerful members. The result

was a style of governing that the always wise and frequently witty former Vice President Fritz Mondale has explained, “front-loaded pain and back-loaded pleasure.”

Nowhere was this conflict seen more dramatically than in the fights over congressionally mandated public works projects, what critics long ago dubbed “pork barrel spending.” The veto override fight over the 1978 public works appropriations bill was presaged by a 1977 battle between the Carter administration and Congress over the same issues, not to mention many of the same projects. An initial administration “hit list” of water projects became public in early 1977, and it caused an uproar on Capitol Hill. Those of us on the White House Congressional Liaison staff worked hard to contain the damage while at the same time working to preserve the president’s role in setting federal spending priorities and parameters.

Only a last-minute deal between the president and then-House Speaker Thomas P. (“Tip”) O’Neill prevented the legislative stalemate from becoming Carter’s first veto. With the advantage of hindsight, those of us on the White House staff who breathed a sigh of relief when the compromise was struck—who were trying to keep relations between the two branches as smooth as possible—were probably wrong. It probably would have been better to have what turned out to be the inevitable fight then and there.

By mid-1978, Jimmy Carter’s standing with the public, and among members of Congress, was ebbing. Of political erosion, the one that takes place on Capitol Hill can be the most damaging, because it cuts directly into a president’s ability to govern. Faced with that reality, several members of the White House staff hammered out a “veto strategy” as one way to reassert the president’s political viability and leadership authority. Two major pieces of legislation—a military authorization bill and the 1978 version of the public works appropriations bill—were identified as likely veto targets.

In fact, the president ended up vetoing both bills, and his vetoes were sustained after enormous political efforts designed and orchestrated by the White House. Extensive research by professors Scott Frisch and Sean Kelly examines in detail and reveals for the first time in a comprehensive way what went into the public works fight, which was in many ways the toughest of the two.

Early assessments of Jimmy Carter’s presidency started from the premise that it had “failed,” where failure was defined in electoral terms. Indeed, if the voters in a single election are considered the first and ultimate arbiters of presidential success, then there can be no disputing the

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At the Executive Briefing This Spring

Many former campaign and administration officials and staff attended the Executive Briefing for Ambassadors and Legacy Circle members at The Carter Center in Atlanta in April. Annual fund and planned giving donors were invited to the events, which included detailed updates on the Center’s work, a trip to Plains, Ga., and great fellowship.



Carter–Mondales at the Center

(Front row, seated, from left) Linda Maddox, Charlotte McCarthy, Linda Green, Ruby Crawford, Jane Moretz Edmisten, Halene Graves; (Middle row, from left) George McCarthy, Chuck Graves, Al Rusher, Connie Stewart, John Folsom, Woody Cunningham; (Back row, from left) Charlie Graves, Tom Unverferth, Jay Beck, Bob Maddox, Sheila Fyfe, Phil Wise, Mark Cohen, Rebekah Folsom.



Charles E. Graves Meet Charles E. Graves Jay Beck (center) introduced Charles E. Graves of Rome, Ga. (left), and

Charles E. Graves of Sheridan, Wyo. (right), at the Executive Briefing. The Georgia Graves is known as “Charlie” and was a Peanut Brigadier and a coordinator for the 1980 Texas and Kentucky campaigns. “Chuck” Graves ran the Wyoming campaign in 1986 and later was U.S. district attorney for Wyoming under President Carter. Small world indeed.

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notion that Carter failed; after all, we lost our re-election bid to Ronald Reagan in 1980 by a lopsided margin in the electoral college. (The popular vote was not nearly as one-sided, and it was further complicated by the independent candidacy of John Anderson, whose support came largely at Carter's expense.)

However, a different consensus begins to emerge if the 1980 defeat is put in a larger context: if it is understood that Jimmy Carter knowingly imperiled his own presidency by the stands and actions he took.

A vivid example of that character trait was President Carter's decision in the summer of 1979 to appoint Paul Volker chairman of the Federal Reserve. By then it was clear that Carter might well be facing a challenge for the Democratic presidential nomination the next year from Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy; it was obvious that Kennedy could only come at us from the left in such an intra-party fight. Carter knew that Volker would be a fierce hawk on monetary policy, that he would insist on high interest rates to squeeze inflation out of the economy. The result would be some tough times for businesses and consumers, and negative political fallout was assured. But Carter also

believed that over the long term, Volker and his tight money approach would be beneficial to the country. History proved both Carter and Volker right, but it came at a huge political cost; although Carter triumphed over Kennedy at the convention, the so-called "misery index" helped defeat Jimmy Carter in the 1980 general election.

Almost without exception, Jimmy Carter was determined to do what was right or necessary despite the political downsides. Those on his staff learned quickly not to try to persuade him to adopt one policy option over another based on political arguments. From inside the West Wing, time and again we saw President Carter take one truly gutsy step after another, spending his political capital in the longer term interests of the country. If that is a definition of failure, then we should come up with better ways to measure our political leaders.

But "Bush 43" also failed when one looks at federal spending, which soared during his two terms in office, despite the fact that he had a Republican majority in Congress for much of that time. Perhaps most egregious in this regard was Bush's failure to veto a single piece of legislation because it contained too much spending. "W" and his team should have put their personal disdain for Jimmy Carter in cold storage

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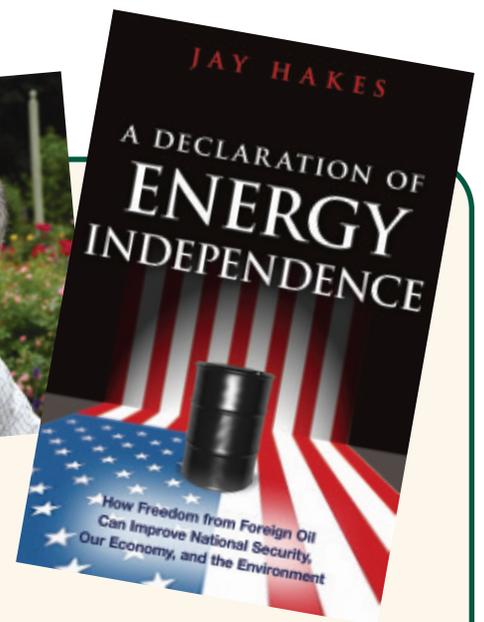
BOOK CLUB

A Declaration of Energy Independence

By Jay Hakes

Jay Hakes, director of the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum and former top national energy official, offers a viable plan for American energy independence with his new book on America's energy challenges. Hakes headed the Energy Information Administration at the U.S. Department of Energy from 1993 to 2000, where he oversaw U.S. official energy data and analysis.

"A Declaration of Energy Independence" takes a nonpartisan approach to dispelling the political and economic energy myths of both conservatives and liberals. Hakes combines facts and science with historical context to offer a step-by-step plan for breaking free from the costly energy trap and enhancing American influence abroad. The book shows that President Carter's energy policies achieved much more than is generally recognized.



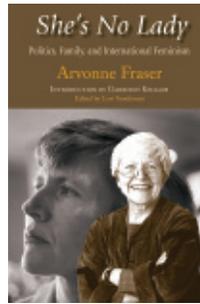
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She's No Lady: Politics, Family, and International Feminism

by Arvonne Fraser

The spirited memoir of a Minnesota farm girl who became a founding mother of the worldwide women's movement, Fraser recounts her Depression-era upbringing, the early days of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, and her career in government and the nonprofit sector. She also tells of her marriage to former U.S. Rep. and Minneapolis mayor Don Fraser



and the joy and heartbreak of raising six children—and losing two.

According to former U.S. Vice President Walter Mondale: “Arvonne’s memoir provides fascinating glimpses of 20th-century political history from an activist woman’s perspective. She says what she thinks, but kindly. Her humor and righteous indignation are never mean. As part of the great generation of women who organized an effective feminist movement and made political and legislative history, she illustrates that leadership skills are honed by working with colleagues, taking risks, and thriving on challenges. The book contradicts the common perception that feminists don’t like or work well with men or have a sense of humor. This one has been married to the same man for 57 years.”

Comings & Goings

Art Streiber



Robert (Rob) Caughlan recently visited Atlanta and The Carter Center. He was in Atlanta to speak to a group of students at Emory University called Greeks Go Green on ways they could become “greener” and more involved in protecting the environ-

ment through individual actions. Rob’s talk was titled “Riding the Waves of Change” and drew on his past winning environmental court battles in California when he led a coalition of surfers against powerful polluters.

Rob is also working on a film about his friend former Congressman Pete McCloskey. During his visit to Atlanta he had dinner with old friends and toured the Center with Museum Director Jay Hakes.

Dr. Robert A. Pastor began a one-year sabbatical from American University on Jan. 1, 2008, to plan several research projects and work on writing a few books. For almost a year, Pastor has been interim co-director of the Elders, a group of 13 distinguished leaders from throughout the world, including Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu, Mary Robinson, Kofi Annan, and President Carter. He has helped

direct the Elders’ work on conflict resolution, focusing on Sudan and the Middle East with the help of some very talented and dedicated people. Pastor’s e-mail address and phone number have not changed: rpastor@american.edu and (202) 885-1520.

Fernando Torres-Gil, a White House fellow to Secretary Joseph Califano in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and President Carter’s appointee to the Federal Council on Aging, has been serving as acting dean of the University of California-Los Angeles School of Public Affairs. He is also Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa’s appointee to the Los Angeles Airport Commission.

Connie Ward Stewart, former director of policy communication in the office of the assistant secretary for education and member of the steering committee that successfully guided the Carter administration’s efforts to create the first U. S. Department of Education, remains actively involved in the Carter Center’s activities. Stewart’s support of Jimmy Carter dates back to his first gubernatorial campaign when she helped plan his schedule of events and associated media coverage out of the Atlanta headquarters. During the presidential campaign, she was a member of the steering committee in the Tampa–St. Petersburg, Fla., area.

After the Carter presidency, Stewart was recruited to Michigan State University where she was named vice president for university and federal relations, the first female vice president for that Big 10 university. She returned to her home state of Georgia when she was named associate vice

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president for university relations at Emory University in 1987, and she was able to become more active again with the Carters and The Carter Center. She served as chair of the communications council for the Atlanta Project. Since retiring from Emory in 1993, Stewart has been a volunteer docent at the Jimmy Carter Library and Museum, is a member of the Ambassadors Circle, and is serving her second three-year term on the Center's board of councilors. Stewart can be reached at Cstew1119@aol.com.

Curt Wiley and **Priscilla Fossum** are leaving Indianapolis for Chicago where Wiley will become executive director of the Chicago chapter of the Urban Land Institute, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit research and education organization supported by its members. The Urban Land Institute initiates research in anticipation of emerging land-use trends and issues, proposing creative solutions. To reach Wiley or Fossum, e-mail curtwiley@sbcglobal.net or priscillafossum@yahoo.com or call (317) 496-8559.

Passages

Hamilton Jordan, President Carter's former chief of staff, died May 20 at age 63 from mesothelioma, a form of cancer.

Jordan was a key adviser and strategist for President Carter during the 1976 presidential campaign and during his presidential administration. He played a powerful role in the formulation of election strategies and government policies.

"Hamilton was my closest political adviser, a trusted confidant, and my friend. His judgment, insight, and wisdom were excelled only by his compassion and love of our country," President Carter said.

Jordan battled four diagnoses of cancer. In 2000, he described his experience with the disease in his book, "No Such Thing as a Bad Day." He and his wife, Dorothy, founded Camp Sunshine, a nonprofit camp for children with cancer. They also started Camp Kudzu, a camp for children with Type 1 diabetes.

A special edition of The Carter/Mondale Letter will be devoted to Jordan's memory. Please submit brief personal messages and anecdotes about Jordan for inclusion in this special issue to Jay Beck at jbeck4@emory.edu or call (404)420-5108.

Stanley J. McFarland Jr., who as executive director of the National Association of Federal Education Program Administrators helped it develop into a strong advocacy

organization, died April 6, 2008, of congestive heart failure. He was 79. He previously worked with the National Education Association, where he served as director of government relations and chief lobbyist and pushed for creation of the U.S. Education Department.

In 1979, McFarland worked closely with the Carter administration and led a broad coalition of education groups in the successful effort to establish the Education Department. Former U.S. Vice President Walter Mondale told the McFarland family in a note that McFarland always thought that the department could be created despite strong opposition. "But thanks to Stan, we mounted an effective campaign to persuade Congress that our schoolchildren deserved the high-priority attention that only a Cabinet officer could provide," Mondale stated.

Survivors include his wife of 57 years, Nancy W. McFarland; two children, Stanley J. "Jeff" McFarland III of Aspers, Pa., and Rebecca Ann "Becky" Hatfield of Frederick, Md.; four brothers; five grandchildren; and one great-grandson.

A highly respected journalist with professional ties to the Carter administration died in February 2008 following a Colorado skiing accident. **John "Jack" McWethy**, 60, covered the first years of the Carter White House as a reporter for U.S. News and World Report when, in an early 1980 televised news conference, he posed a question of President Carter. Legendary ABC News President **Roone Arledge** was watching the broadcast in New York. Impressed with both McWethy's presence and his question, Arledge immediately called ABC's Washington bureau chief and said, "Hire him."

He did, and McWethy became ABC's Pentagon

Passages

correspondent shortly before the April 24, 1980, failed hostage rescue mission. As the hostage crisis neared its end in January 1981, ABC—knowing McWethy was well-respected in the White House press office—had him propose that ABC videotape President Carter’s last night in office, negotiating final arrangements for release of the hostages. The vivid and historically important video shows a sleep-deprived President Carter and his aides in the Oval Office working incessantly through the night, with the President leaving only to shower and dress for the imminent inauguration of President Reagan.

McWethy is survived by his wife, Laurie Duncan-McWethy, and sons Adam and Ian. The John F. McWethy Fellowship in Reporting has been established at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. For information on how to contribute, contact Jeff Richard at jhr2105@columbia.edu or (212) 854-1148.

Alfred L. Stern, 79, a philosophy professor in Washington and Detroit who was associate director of domestic policy staff in the Carter White House, died of leukemia Nov. 20, 2007, at his home in Silver Spring, Md. Stern worked for Jimmy Carter during his 1976 presidential campaign and then joined the administration under domestic policy adviser Stuart E. Eizenstat. Stern worked on higher education and cultural policies as well as government support for the sciences and the relationship between domestic policy and foreign aid. “He became famous for his never-ending stream of creative policy proposals” on a wide range of topics, Eizenstat said.

Stern, who was a distinguished professor at Wayne State University in Detroit, entered the world of politics and public policy when he volunteered as a speech writer for vice presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey in 1964. During Humphrey’s presidential campaign in 1968, Stern directed the domestic policy task force on health and education policy. He was also a member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, the policy-making body for international exchange programs. Stern was a consultant for the President’s Council on Equal Opportunity, the Council on Youth Opportunity, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Agency for International Development. A Renaissance man in his interests, Stern could be counted on for a relevant, witty comment or disquisition on languages, electronics, woodworking, philosophy, and

history, friends said. His library contained more than 15,000 volumes. He was also an amateur magician.

Eugene (Gene) Stuckey, 69, of Jonesboro, Ga., formerly of Rhine, Ga., died Feb. 7, 2008. The Stuckey family was close to the Carters and supported them as members of the Peanut Brigade and recently through civic activities in Plains, Ga., with his wife, Jill. Stuckey was a member of Maranatha Baptist Church, member of the Georgia Board of Public Safety, owner of Stuckey Property Management and Stuckey Pine Straw, and owner and operator of the Plains Bed and Breakfast.

Stuckey is survived by his wife, Jill Pickenpaugh Stuckey; stepson, Brian Davis; sisters Annie Belle Douglas and Emma Lou Douglass (Willie); brothers Talmadge Stuckey (Reva), Jack Stuckey (Bonnie), and Oscar Stuckey; and several nieces and nephews.

Susan J. Williams, 67, assistant secretary of transportation during the Carter administration who was also chairwoman of the Greater Washington Board of Trade and president of a political consulting firm, died of cardiac arrest March 26, 2008. She had suffered from diabetes since age 11. In 1977, Williams was appointed by President Carter to be a deputy assistant secretary in the Department of Transportation. Two years later, she became assistant secretary for legislative affairs.

In 1980, she became a founding partner of Bracy Williams and Co. She served as president until 2001, when she formed Williams Aron & Associates, a public affairs consulting firm. She represented the American Airlines pilots association among other clients. In 1997, she was named chairwoman of the Greater Washington Board of Trade, becoming the second woman to lead the organization since its founding in 1889.

She served on the boards of the Henry L. Stimson Center, the American Institute for Public Service, the Historical Society of Washington, D.C., the National Aquarium in Baltimore, and the D.C. Agenda Project. She also served on the boards of several financial institutions, including Abigail Adams National Bancorp and the Washington Real Estate Investment Trust. She was a member of the Economic Club of Washington and the Federal City Council. Survivors include her husband of 43 years, Edwin A. Williams; son, Morgan S. Williams; and a brother.

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just long enough to read up on how he took on members of his own party in Congress to restrain spending and to put the kibosh on bad projects. Imagine what might have happened to the “bridge to nowhere” if there had been a bit more presidential resolve and a lot less Rove-ian bluster!

When talking about the prospects for peace in the Middle East or the nature of the U.S. presidency and much, much more, I am among those who believe that we are better off today because Jimmy Carter was once our president. I am also convinced that America will be well-served by future

presidents who are, we can only hope, as decent, as intellectually curious, as visionary, and as courageous as the man of quiet determination from Plains, Ga.

Les Francis is executive vice president of Goddard Claussen Strategic Advocacy, a public affairs and issues advocacy firm. He is former chief of staff to former U.S. Rep. and U.S. Transportation Secretary Norman Y. Mineta. He served as deputy assistant and deputy chief of staff to President Carter and is a former executive director of both the Democratic National Committee and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

About This Newsletter

The Carter/Mondale Letter is sent to individuals who were associated with the campaign and administration of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale. Please send us news, photos, and other items that

will interest your fellow alumni and let us know of others who need to be added to the mailing list.

Receive this newsletter via e-mail: The Carter/Mondale Letter can be sent to you electronically rather than in the mail. Let us know if this is your preference.

Are You on the Move?

Drop us a line and let us know what you're doing. Items can be sent to Jay Beck, The Carter Center, One Copenhill, 453 Freedom Parkway, Atlanta, GA 30307; Fax (404) 892-9438; E-mail jbeck4@emory.edu.

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