

THE Carter / Mondale Letter

Winter 2010

Vol. 5, Issue 1

A Campaign Story

A campaign coordinator recalls a memorable afternoon in Florida during the Carter/Mondale 1980 re-election campaign

By Sam Edwards

I was sitting on a small sofa on the third floor of a Bayshore Drive home in Tampa, Fla., thumbing through the roster of supporters from 1976, a year when the state of Florida weighed so prominently in the election of Jimmy Carter. But this go-round was different; our support had thinned with some lining up behind Sen. Ted Kennedy, who had made the democratically destructive decision to challenge an incumbent president from his own party.

So Phil Wise, appointments secretary and general presidential factotum, had sent me and a couple of others down to work the Florida caucuses—usually an event of minor consequence presidentially, but a great opportunity for a troublesome senator to demonstrate an incumbent's weakness. If Kennedy beat us here, it was over for the president.

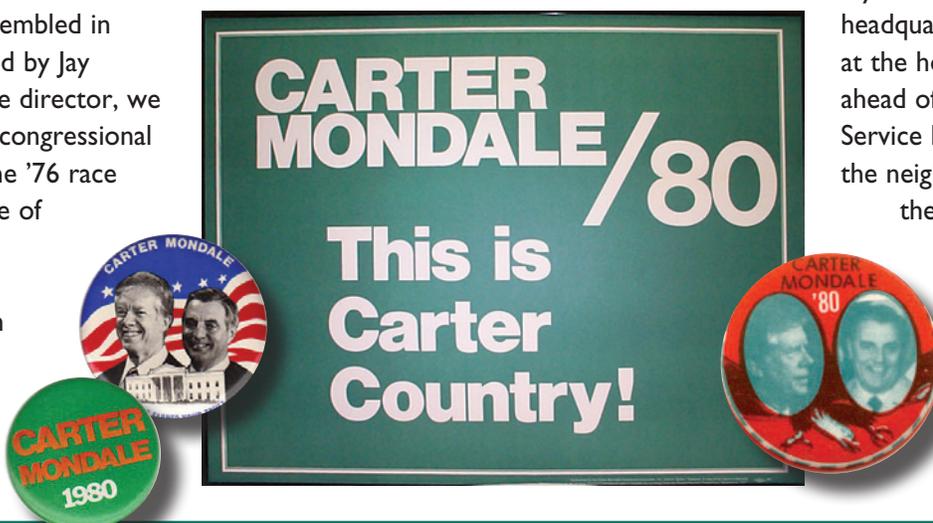
To ensure such a catastrophe wouldn't happen, we amassed probably the strongest organizational complement of political professionals that had ever been assembled in one state. Managed by Jay Hakes, as the state director, we had folks running congressional districts who in the '76 race had been in charge of entire states. The fledgling Carter/Mondale campaign was placing its full weight and

authority behind President Carter's re-election.

I had been given the task of coordinating the 7th Congressional District, which is the Tampa area. Calvin Carter, a local insurance magnate and distant cousin of the president, had put me up on the third floor of his Bayshore home, and for the next 100 days or so, he and his wife, Pat, and two children, Cal and Callie, treated me with quintessential Southern hospitality. Calvin was pleasant and helpful and at all times treated me like an extension of the president. He was the kind of supporter candidates dream of.

I dropped the roster to the floor and stretched back in the comfort of the overstuffed sofa. What could I do that I hadn't already done? Was I leaving a step out? Was my organization solid? Had I done all I could do?

The following week, a few days before the election, the Calvin Carters hosted a fundraiser with the First Lady as the premiere attraction. I had spent most of the day at my office at the local Democratic headquarters and was arriving back at the house just a few minutes ahead of the motorcade. The Secret Service had prepped the house and the neighborhood, blocking off all the side streets with a line of barricades, and had positioned themselves at intervals around the house.



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Campaign Story

As I neared the meticulously restored old mansion, I noticed how normal the scattering of barricades seemed. Tampa had a great many brick streets, and because of the loamy soil, they were in a constant state of repair, which meant that there were few areas in the city that weren't occasionally decorated with a string of barricades. It was a common sight.

I parked my car in the garage and was just about to walk through the opening in the hedge to the back door, when I heard the whining pitch of a four-cylinder engine, one that was being asked to provide much more horsepower than it was designed for. I looked up the street and saw a small, brown Toyota, its best years way behind it, gear down and turn the corner, swerving around the barricades as if the action were a daily maneuver.

The little Japanese car tore along the lane and headed straight for the Carter house, the engine screaming in second gear. Immediately, Secret Service radios began to crackle, defensive postures were quickly assumed; hands wrapped around Smith and Wesson .357 Magnums, internal fires stoked. This was what they had been trained for. Beside me, a briefcase quickly gave birth to an Uzi submachine gun. The Toyota slid to a stop directly beside the house, 20 feet from me, and a package wrapped in plastic flew from the window. In an instant, three agents were on it, the first to it snatched it up and, in one motion, slung it back through the window and into the car. I froze, shot jerky glances all around, and saw that everyone else was frozen too. The agents were poised, waiting for the madman to make his next move. I stared at the little car, at the passenger's window, and then saw, easing slowly and tentatively into view, the shiny, hairless, fresh-as-morning-milk face of the 16-year-old pilot, his mouth half open, his brow furrowed in wonder. He looked impassively left at the wall of agents and then right at a second wall of agents, and then up into the august countenance



President Jimmy Carter is surrounded by Secret Service agents during a motorcade in 1979. President Carter has been protected by the Secret Service since 1976.

of the one nearest him. After a moment, he asked sheepishly, “Ya’ll quit taking the paper?”

By the time the Toyota drove away, I was already on my back in a convulsive giggle. And like Southerners are prone to do, after they’ve told—or heard—a good story, I kept repeating the punch line, expecting its repetition to provoke a continued appreciation for the humor in the event. I couldn’t help myself. Every time an agent would step over or around me, I’d look up and address the crisp suit with a “Ya’ll quit taking the paper?” and I would spasm again with laughter. I was obviously making up for them, because during this whole event, not a single one of the boys broke the slightest smile.



Sam Isaac Edwards is a author, lecturer, documentary filmmaker. He is known as much for where he lives as for what he does. He is the creator, builder, and resident of a famous treehouse (www.samstreehouse.com), which has been featured in more than 50 publications and on television.

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.

Contact Jay Beck, The Carter Center, One Copenhill, 453 Freedom Parkway, Atlanta, GA 30307; Fax (404) 420-3816; E-mail jbeck4@emory.edu.

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.

Alumni Reunite with the Carters at Ambassadors Circle Events

More than 25 percent of Carter/Mondale alumni are members of the Carter Center's Ambassadors Circle, a unique group of donors. Each year, these alumni have the opportunity to reunite with Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter at exclusive events. This spring, Ambassadors Circle members will visit with the Carters at the annual Executive Briefing and Presidential Reception and the Visit to Plains.

The April 21–23 events will include briefings on the Center's peace and health programs and a special reception attended by the Carters. Guests also have the opportunity to join the Carters on an overnight visit to their hometown of Plains, Ga., for dinner, square dancing, and a Scripture lesson from President Carter.

Last October, Ambassadors Circle members gathered to celebrate President Carter's 85th birthday and the gala reopening of the newly renovated Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum. They were joined by President Carter's family, friends, and supporters from all phases of his life. Ambassadors Circle members and Carter/Mondale alumni Frank Moore, Herky Harris, and John Dalton attended the

standing-room-only event on the front lawn of the museum. The ceremony included remarks from Walter Mondale; Jay Hakes, museum director and Carter/Mondale alumnus; and Sharon Fawcett, director of presidential libraries, among others.

Ambassadors Circle members make unrestricted gifts of \$1,000

or more to The Carter Center each year, funds that are critically important in supporting the Center's program and operations needs. Selected benefits of membership include expanded versions of Carter Center newsletters, reprints of journal articles about the Center's work, recognition in the annual report, and an invitation to attend the Executive Briefing and Presidential Reception and the Visit to Plains. Carter/Mondale alumni who join before March 1 will receive an invitation to this year's April event. For more information about membership, please contact Delita Marsland at (404) 420-3810 or delita.marsland@emory.edu.

A Combined Legacy Leaves Greatest Impact

Our combined legacy is far greater than any one individual's. While we can look back on our many successes, our impact on the future can be, and will be, most important to our grandchildren and to their grandchildren.

The Carter Center continues to grow its endowment to ensure that current and future programs and initiatives have the financial resources necessary to carry on the important work and vision of President and Mrs. Carter. Planned gifts, such as leaving part of your IRA to The Carter Center, can save your heirs from paying considerable estate taxes. Creating a charitable gift annuity will guarantee lifetime income to you and your spouse, provide you with a substantial income tax deduction now, and at the same time benefit The Carter Center.

From gifts of life insurance policies to the establishment of charitable lead trusts, there are more than 100 planned giving options. Several planned gift instruments may be right for you and for your family. These are excellent ways to invest in The Carter Center and leave more to family members.

To learn about these options and discuss which may be best for you, please call Barry Nickelsberg, the Carter Center's chief development officer for gift planning. He can be reached at (404) 420-3868 or at barry.nickelsberg@emory.edu.



Save the Dates
April 21–23, 2010
FOR AMBASSADORS CIRCLE
AND LEGACY CIRCLE MEMBERS

Carter/Mondale alumni who join the Ambassadors Circle group of donors will have an opportunity to reunite with President and Mrs. Carter at a special event at The Carter Center in April.

Comings & Goings

Ray Buckley, chair of the New Hampshire Democratic Party, was elected president of the Association of State Democratic Chairs, which includes becoming a vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee. His election makes Buckley the highest-ranking openly gay Democrat in the party. Buckley is serving in his second term as the New Hampshire chair; he previously served four terms as state vice chair and nine terms in the state legislature. He has gathered a massive collection of Carter/Mondale memorabilia, and many items decorate his office. Buckley was age 15 when he began volunteering early in the 1976 primary effort in New Hampshire. He was also involved with the New Hampshire re-election campaign and the 1983–84 Mondale campaign. He can be reached at (603) 225-6899.

Eliot Cutler is running for governor of Maine as an Independent. Matthew Gagnon of Pine Tree Politics (www.pinetreepolitics.com) wrote that Cutler is “a serious candidate, with real experience and a background that demands to be taken seriously.” Cutler brings a long history of both public- and private-sector experience to the race. He worked in the Office of Management and Budget in the Carter/Mondale administration. Follow Cutler and support his campaign at www.cutler2010.com.



Eliot Cutler

The mayor of Los Angeles, Antonio Villaraigosa, has selected **S. David Freeman**, onetime head of the Department of Water and Power, as deputy mayor assigned to carry out the mayor’s environmental agenda. Viewed by activists as an elder statesman on green issues, Freeman will focus primarily on Villaraigosa’s clean-air and water-conservation measures. He also will try to resurrect a solar energy plan that was narrowly defeated recently. Environmental leaders

praised the hire, saying they have been impressed by Freeman’s tenure on the Los Angeles Harbor Commission, where he helped win passage of a clean-air policy.

Al From has begun a new venture, The From Company, LLC, that provides strategic advice to private clients. He also serves on a number of boards for nonprofit organizations, including the Democratic Leadership Council, and has begun working on a book about political change. From previously was the CEO of the Democratic Leadership Council.

He will split his time between Annapolis, Md., and Washington, D.C. He is joined at The From Company by his assistant of 15 years, Jenifer Callahan. From can be reached at al@thefromcompany.com or by phone at (202) 223-9881. Callahan can be reached at jcallahan@thefromcompany.com.

Josh Gotbaum, operating partner of Blue Wolf Capital Management, has been nominated by President Barack Obama to direct the U.S. Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, which insures defined benefit pension plans covering more than 40 million people. As of September 2008, the agency reported assets of some \$63 billion and liabilities of \$74 billion. Following Senate confirmation, Gotbaum will join a team of 900 charged with preserving and securing retirements.

Cynthia L. Howar is now affiliated with Washington Fine Properties real estate firm. Her new business e-mail is cynthia.howar@wfp.com, and her personal e-mail is cindy@cynthiahowar.com. She can also be reached by phone at (202) 944-5000.

Richard Moe, who has served as president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation for more than 16 years, has announced he will step down from the group. When he leaves, he will have been the longest-serving president in the trust’s 60-year history, a tenure distinguished by organizational growth and dramatic victories.

Moe, who served as Walter Mondale’s chief of staff in the Senate and when Mondale was vice president, will leave the trust as soon as a replacement can be found. When Moe

came to the trust in 1993, it had an annual budget of \$29.2 million, a substantial portion of which came from the federal government. After watching the organization's time and resources consumed in regular battles to preserve that money, Moe decided to wean his group from federal support. Despite the loss of \$7 million in annual government funding, the trust's budget grew to \$55 million.

"We are now much more creative, much more entrepreneurial," says Moe. The organization also had a freer hand to advocate, and in many cases directly oppose the government, in battles to preserve important sites.

Moe says that after his replacement is found, he plans to spend more time in the West, where he has a house in the San Juan Mountains of Colorado. His book, "The Last Full Measure: The Life and Death of the First Minnesota Volunteers," was published in 1993, and he hopes to return to writing.



Richard Moe

You can take the boy out of the country, but ...

To dispel the story that **Frank Moore** is all business, this photo of him at his and Nancy's Cherry Creek farm shows his familiarity with agricultural machinery. There are unfounded rumors told on the Eastern Shore that much of the grain on his property is consumed by migratory wildlife.



Frank Moore

Katherine D. Rogers was elected county attorney for Merrimack County, N.H. Rogers is the first woman and first Democrat ever elected to the position. Previously, she was a four-term county commissioner, two-term state representative, and eight-term Concord city councilor. Rogers was

the Merrimack County coordinator in the New Hampshire primary campaign of 1975–76 and managed Rosalynn Carter's New Hampshire schedule in 1979–80. Rogers was a delegate to the 1976 convention and also served in the 1983–84 Mondale campaign in New Hampshire and other states through the general election. Her e-mail address is katbeep@aol.com.

Bob Russell's Love Bus, a beloved 1976 Chevy van, has passed on and is now an organ donor at Pacific Auto Salvage, despite Russell's vain attempt to keep her from the tow truck. Only 33 years old (or 320,000 miles), the Love Bus had bravely fought against a deteriorating gas mileage, whittled down to a mere 7 miles per gallon. She spent her early years in Washington, D.C.

The Love Bus was very proud of her original rainbow sticker, courtesy of Kathryn Scott. She especially enjoyed the day she was parked in front of the West Wing of the White House, while her regular parking spot on West Executive Avenue was under repair. She also enjoyed the time she ran away from home on an adventure to Georgia with Frank and Nancy Moore and their four children.

In 1981, having been fired by the American people (sarcastic remark courtesy of Jon Rubin), she crossed the continent and sought political asylum in California. She rests comfortably now in the peaceful Napa Valley.



The Love Bus, parked in front of the West Wing of the White House

Contact her loving once-caretaker at Bob Russell and Associates, (707) 251-9428, brassoc@hotmail.com.

Greg Schneiders and **Les Francis** are partners in a new venture offering clients creative and effective ways to promote better education. They created Prime Education due to a confluence of events—public impatience with business as usual, huge new federal investments in education, and a need for strategic approaches on the part of schools, companies, associations, government agencies, and not-for-profit organizations operating in the education arena. Schneiders and Francis will offer their practical experience and knowledge to help clients take advantage of initiatives focused on improving education, offering services in research, branding, marketing, advocacy, and crisis and issue management. Visit <http://primegroupllc.com/prime-education> for more information.

Passages

Paul L. Bloom, a Department of Energy lawyer who led a Carter administration effort that recovered billions of dollars from major oil companies that had overcharged their customers, died in October of pancreatic cancer. He lived in Chevy Chase, Md.

After working as a natural resources lawyer in New Mexico, Bloom was named a special counsel for compliance at the newly created Department of Energy in late 1977.

Battling resistance from the oil industry, Bloom concluded that after new regulations had gone into effect in the 1970s, the petroleum firms had defrauded their customers and the public of about \$11 billion. Under the threat of prosecution, he negotiated settlements with the companies, which ultimately paid back about \$6 billion over the next decade. “For a comparatively minuscule federal investment,” a 1987 Washington Monthly article stated, “the program has achieved spectacular success.”

Atlanta supporter and half of a famous set of twins **Ruby Marie Crawford** passed away in June. Just four months earlier, President Carter attended her 90th birthday celebration at The Carter Center. The only thing that could have made it more perfect was if her twin sister, Ruth, had been there: They were inseparable for 86 years.

Crawford and her sister, who died in 2005, were known for their zealous charity work, political campaigning, and for being ingrained in the city’s culture and institutions. They were arguably an institution themselves.

When President Carter needed volunteers for his presidential campaign’s Peanut Brigade, the Crawford twins barnstormed for him.

The Temple natives both earned law degrees from the Atlanta School of Law and master’s degrees in accounting from Georgia State University. Both were presidents of the American Society of Women Accountants and the Georgia Association of Women Lawyers—and many colleagues couldn’t tell them apart. They didn’t make identification easy and dressed alike all their lives.

They worked for the First National Bank of Atlanta for 33 years before retiring early to become Realtors. They were trailblazers for women’s equality. They were the only twin female members of the American Bar Association, and in recent years, they appeared on “The Oprah Winfrey Show.”



Longtime White House housekeeper Emma Daniel Gray cherished this photograph of herself and President Carter.

Each night for 24 years, **Emma Daniel Gray** would diligently clean the White House. When she came to the president’s chair, she would pause, cleaning materials in hand, and say a quick prayer that asked for blessings, wisdom, and safety for each of the six presidents she served.

Gray “loved President Carter because she felt he prayed a lot,” her daughter said, and she treasured a photograph of her shaking hands

with him as well as an autographed picture of her with Rosalynn Carter. She worked nights in the executive offices until her retirement in 1979. Gray, who died in June at age 95, was raised by her grandfather, who had been a slave.

Wayne L. Horvitz, 88, who as a top federal mediator in the Carter administration helped end a massive coal miners’ strike, died at his home in Washington, D.C., in June.

Horvitz, whose father had been a prominent labor arbitrator, spent almost 60 years in labor negotiation and mediation. His professional experience was largely on the corporate side of labor relations, notably as chief strategic adviser in Washington for the freight carrier Matson Navigation.

President Carter named him director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in 1977. The next year, Horvitz helped negotiate a contract that ended a 63-day strike by Appalachian and Midwest coal miners.

“Not enough attention is paid to the fact that 95 percent of all labor disputes in the country are solved peacefully,” Horvitz told The New York Times.

Before joining the Carter administration, Horvitz was chairman of the joint labor-management committee of the

supermarket industry, where he sought to restructure and improve the collective bargaining process of that group.

John Izard of Atlanta, retired partner of King & Spalding, died at home in July. He was editor-in-chief of the Virginia Law Review and was selected for membership in the Order of the Coif. After law school, he joined King & Spalding in 1949 as its 11th attorney and became partner in 1952. He was an active member of the American Bar Association, serving as chairman of the Antitrust Section (1974–75).

He served as president of Atlanta Legal Aid Society (1960), was appointed by President Carter to serve on the National Commission for the Review of Antitrust Laws and Procedures (1978), and was a member of the Administrative Conference of the United States (1978–82). He served on the board of directors for several public and private corporations. Civically, he was an active volunteer with numerous nonprofit organizations.

John Cleveland Hays (Jack) Miller Jr., a native of Mobile, Ala., who died at home in July, was known throughout Alabama in political, legal, and higher-education circles and was instrumental in the revitalization of downtown Mobile.

Miller started his career in Alabama politics in 1966 as founder of Young Alabamians for Sparkman. He continued his career as administrative assistant to Rep. Walter Flowers in Washington, D.C., where he would also serve as counsel to the U.S. Senate Banking Committee beginning in 1972. From 1973 to 1977, Miller served as assistant to the director, and then deputy to the chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. In 1977, Miller returned to Mobile with his young family to practice law.

Miller remained active in Alabama politics. He was elected chairman of the Alabama Democratic Party in 1998 and appointed member of the Auburn University Board of Trustees in 2000. Serving on numerous committees of the board, including as chairman of the Academic Affairs Committee, his commitment to Auburn was recognized in 2007 when the university granted him an honorary doctorate.

Jody Powell, former press secretary for President Carter, died of a heart attack in September at his home on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Powell, who has been called

the best press secretary ever to hold the job, also founded Powell Tate, a public relations firm in Washington, D.C. The next issue of this newsletter will be a tribute to him.

Edward Sanders, who played a key role in the 1979 Israel-Egypt peace treaty as senior Middle East adviser to President Carter, died in December following a struggle with cancer.

“Ed really provided substance to the Middle East peace process at Camp David and in overseas negotiations,” said Stuart E. Eizenstat, then Carter’s chief domestic policy adviser. “We also worked closely together in the White House on such issues as Soviet Jewry, Holocaust reparations, the Arab boycott, and economic aid to Israel.”

On the national scene, Sanders led the National Conference of Christians and Jews, American Israel Public Affairs Committee, and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

A dedicated, lifelong Democrat, Sanders took leadership roles in the Carter, Dukakis, and Clinton presidential campaigns. Locally, he was a strong supporter of Tom Bradley, the first African-American mayor of Los Angeles.

Anne Wexler, 79, a prominent Washington, D.C., lobbyist who was a pioneer for women in the field, died of cancer at home in August. Wexler was the first woman to head a major lobbying firm. Washingtonian magazine once listed her among the 10 most powerful lobbyists and said, “She is easily the most influential female lobbyist in a world still dominated by men.”

Wexler was an assistant to President Carter and a Commerce Department official in his administration. In 1981, she founded the firm that became Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates.

While managing the Senate campaign of future husband Joe Duffey in 1970 in Connecticut, she enlisted the



Anne Wexler

help of Bill and Hillary Clinton as volunteers and gave Hillary Clinton her first job in politics. Wexler was an informal adviser to the Clinton administration.

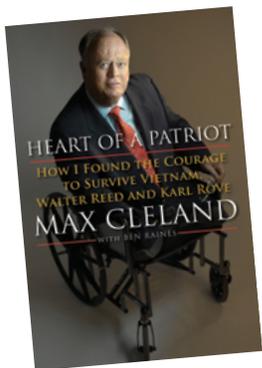
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BOOK CLUB

“Heart of a Patriot: How I Found the Courage to Survive Vietnam, Walter Reed, and Karl Rove” is the inspirational story of how **Max Cleland**



had to twice battle back from the brink, each time emerging stronger and more determined than ever to turn the misfortunes of his own life into positives for himself and his country.

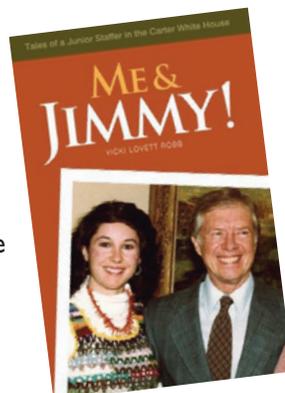
He tells his story in honest terms, accepting responsibility for his own mistakes along the way and, in the process, presenting readers with a primer on how to overcome adversity, on the unique fellowship of soldiers, on modern-day American politics, and especially on the consequences of an ill-considered entry into war.

In his second book, “The State of Equality in the Equality State: Saving the Best of the West in Wyoming,” **Paul Jensen** challenges some of Wyoming’s most cherished myths, such as the

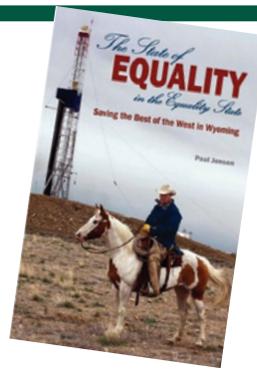
equality between men and women and the oft-heard distinction between old-timers and newcomers. The chapters begin

with current events and trace their historical antecedents. It also provides a new look at Wyoming’s economy and future. The book ends with humorous tips for newcomers and old-timers alike.

“Me and Jimmy!” features the adventures and, mostly, *misadventures* of **Vicki Lovett Robb**, the youngest and arguably most colorful member of First Lady Rosalynn Carter’s personal staff in the White House from 1977–81. Becoming fast friends with the president’s sons, Robb saw the White



House from a perspective few have ever known or imagined. From killing the First Bird (accident) to having her new handgun shipped to the White House (on



purpose), the cheerleader from Georgia kept things stirred up. On her journey from the campaign trail to the White House, Robb had few dull moments.

Joe Sports was executive director of the Democratic Party of Georgia when Jimmy Carter was elected governor of Georgia. In his book, “Man in the Middle,” Sports talks of meeting Jimmy Carter at the state Capitol when he was a state senator.

He credits the Carter gubernatorial victory to “the great campaigning of the candidate and Rosalynn and other members of the family.”

In his book, Sports reviews his years as a news reporter and television news director prior to his selection as head of the state Democratic Party. He also discusses his friendship with former U.S. Rep. Dawson Mathis and his campaign work for U.S. Sen. Max Cleland.

“Man in the Middle” can be ordered from the author at jsports@earthlink.net or (404) 873-3728.

