

THE Carter Mondale Letter

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Panama Canal Treaties a Success Story for U.S. Policy

By Ambler Moss

Editor's Note: Several years ago, during the Carter Center Winter Weekend, a panel of experts discussed the Carter-Mondale administration's first major foreign policy project, the 1977 Panama Canal treaties, and their effect on U.S.-Latin America relations and on the U.S. position in the world. Dr. John Hardman, Carter Center president and CEO, made an opening presentation to introduce the panelists: Frank Moore, President Carter's legislative director; Samuel Lewis, Panama's first vice president and foreign minister 2004–2009; and Ambler Moss, who was U.S. ambassador to Panama and a member of the negotiating team for the Panama Canal treaties. The following is a summary of that discussion and an update on the canal as of July 2013.

Nearly a century ago, in August 1914, the Panama Canal officially opened with the passage of the first two ships that transited from ocean to ocean. The canal was what author David McCullough called “far more than a vast, unprecedented feat of engineering. It was a profoundly important historic event and a sweeping human drama not unlike that of war.” Diplomatically and politically, it was a bold accomplishment of which the United States can be justly proud. From 1914–2000, the United States successfully operated the Panama Canal, which was open to all of world shipping. A period of transition began when the Panama Canal treaties came into force in October 1979, preparing for Panamanian management.

The government of Panama, which has owned the canal entirely since the year 2000, is working on a major expansion costing well over \$5.25 billion, which will triple the



The signing ceremony for the canal treaties took place June 16, 1978, in Panama City.

cargo-carrying capability of the canal for the benefit of world shipping. The treaties concluded by the Carter-Mondale administration have had the following results since the waterway became fully Panamanian:

- The canal has made more annual revenue than it did under U.S. control, largely because Panama operates the canal as a profitable corporation rather than for nonprofit public service, as did the United States.
- It puts through more ships per day—more than 14,230 transits per year.
- It has an even better safety record under Panamanian control.
- Because of its excellent record, Panama was able to raise \$5.25 billion for the expansion project on the private capital market and through international institutions, giving no government guarantees.

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Since taking over operations of the canal in 2000, Panama has made \$7.6 billion in revenue, compared to \$1.83 billion that the United States made during its 85 years of operating the canal. According to the International Monetary Fund, Panama's gross domestic product has grown at an average rate of 8.5 percent per year, growing at a rate of 10.6 percent during 2012.

The story of the Panama Canal goes back a long time and is worth the telling. A need for expeditious sea transit across the isthmus of Central America had been recognized since the Spanish explorations of the 16th century. The California gold rush in the 1850s prompted the United States to build a railroad across Panama's narrowest territory, a route still in use by a modernized railroad. A French company, headed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal, attempted to build a sea-level canal during the 1880s but failed. Shareholders lost huge sums of money when the effort was defeated because of mountainous parts of the terrain and tropical disease.

After Theodore Roosevelt's administration failed to achieve a treaty with Colombia, of which Panama was a province, the United States conspired with certain Panamanians in 1903 to secede and create their own country. The stage was set for a new treaty. A businessman and shareholder in the defunct French canal company, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, beat the Panamanian delegation to Washington and signed the 1903 Panama Canal Treaty with Secretary of State John Hay. Panama was forced to accept this treaty, which was immensely favorable to the United States, giving it jurisdiction "in perpetuity" over a strip of land that divided Panama in two. Official Panamanian protests over U.S. actions under the treaty began in 1904. Disputes continued and grew more intense through the years until a breakdown in relations

Sen. Howard Baker, Republican from Tennessee, was a key ally during negotiations of the Panama Canal treaties.



Gabriel Lewis, Panama's ambassador to the United States, discusses the Panama Canal with Gen. Omar Torrijos as Phil Wise and President Carter listen.

in 1964. Negotiations for a new treaty then began in the Johnson administration. They failed but resumed during those of Presidents Nixon and Ford.

Although the principle had been established during the Nixon years that a new treaty eventually would turn the canal over to Panama under certain conditions, it remained unfinished business, and congressional opinion remained set against it. Astonishingly, Panama had managed for the U.N. Security Council to meet in Panama in 1973. The Security Council discussed a proposed resolution, which the United States vetoed—the only contrary vote.

Some years before the Carter administration had begun, two reports of the private Commission on U.S.-Latin American Relations, headed by Sol M. Linowitz, had recommended completion of a new Panama Canal treaty relationship between the United States and Panama. President-elect Carter decided that it was "the right thing to do," and his very first Presidential Review Memorandum concerned the Panama Canal issue. He moved so quickly that before a month had passed after his inauguration, his new negotiating team went to Panama. Headed by Linowitz and Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, the negotiator during the Ford administration, the mission signaled that President Carter wanted quick conclusion of a fair treaty based on previously agreed principles.

Carter would have to negotiate not only with Panama (there were still many outstanding issues) but also with the U.S. Senate for approval of ratification. To obtain 67

It is hard to imagine that the Senate ever spent so much of its legislative year on one single issue. The final votes never were a sure thing in advance, and we knew we would not get one vote more than the required 67 on each treaty.

favorable votes in the Senate would be an amazingly difficult political feat. That vote count would be needed for each of two treaties—the Neutrality Treaty, which would be permanent, and the Panama Canal Treaty, which would end in 2000 when the turnover of the canal to Panama was complete. Here, Carter proved his skills at bipartisanship, which so characterized the beginning of his administration. He and Vice President Mondale began talking to legislators immediately and soon had called all 100 of them.

Not only did Carter get strong support from Senate majority leader Robert Byrd, ranking majority member of the Foreign Relations Committee Frank Church, and other leading Democrats, but also prominent Republicans. The key to their group was minority leader Howard Baker, who held together 17 Republican senators through debates on both treaties. That was a true “profile in courage” so characteristic of Howard Baker. It also must be said that opposition to the treaties was bipartisan, some of the fiercest critics being Republican Jesse Helms of North Carolina and Democrat Dennis DeConcini of Arizona.

The president, vice president, and co-negotiators met repeatedly with senators during the time leading up to the signing of the treaties on Sept. 7, 1977, and kept them well informed on the negotiations. Panama’s head of government, Omar Torrijos, had kept in close touch with certain Latin American leaders and was assured of their support before he signed the treaties. The signing ceremony at the Pan American Union building in Washington, D.C., was attended by 26 heads of state, who afterward signed (except for Mexico) a “Declaration of Washington” before enjoying a festive White House dinner with music by Isaac Stern and André Previn.

More than half of the Senate traveled to Panama during that time in 1977 and at the beginning of 1978 to see the canal and the U.S. military installations and meet with

Panamanian leaders, especially strongman Omar Torrijos, the “Zonians,” the U.S. business community (generally supportive of the treaties), and U.S. Ambassador William Jorden. Panamanian Ambassador to the United States Gabriel Lewis played a crucial role in handling the visits. It can be fairly said, as Frank Moore noted afterward, that no votes were lost as a result of the senators’ visits, some were gained, and some positions were unchanged. In personal meetings, some senators tried to provoke Torrijos with pointed questions, such as “Are you a communist?” and “Is your brother a drug dealer?” He always replied with dignity and good humor. To one critic he said, “Senator, I have never had to say that I’m not a communist. Nor have I had to say that I’m not a homosexual nor a son-of-a-bitch.”

The U.S. military was supportive from the beginning. The Joint Chiefs of Staff saw Panamanian control of the canal as its best internal defense, as the United States would be responsible for threats coming from outside Panama. The U.S. commander in Panama, Gen. Dennis McAuliffe, responded to a senator who asked if he could defend the canal if the United States were still its operator, saying, “Yes, I could, but that’s the wrong question. If I had to defend the canal, there would be no traffic flowing through it. Ships would not use it.”

Formal debate in the full Senate began on Feb. 8, 1978, beginning with the Neutrality Treaty, which included the right of the United States to defend the canal. It was approved by the Senate on March 16. The debates would continue to run half of each day until the vote on the second treaty (Panama Canal Treaty) on April 17. For the first time, they were broadcast live on radio from the Senate floor. Sessions often were sharp, acrimonious, and peppered with deliberate misstatements by opponents, which had to be quickly refuted by pro-treaty leaders Frank Church and Paul Sarbanes. A tactic some opponents used, knowing that the Panamanians were listening to the debates, was to insult the country and its leaders, especially Torrijos, hoping for an intemperate reaction. After the treaty debates ended, Torrijos told me that he would get so angry that he would smash his transistor radio to the ground and that a sergeant would bring him another one out of a case of Sonys he kept for that purpose. Ambassador Gabriel Lewis was frequently around the White House, as President Carter recalls, and kept in touch with Gen. Torrijos about developments on Capitol Hill.

It is hard to imagine that the Senate ever spent so much of its legislative year on one single issue. The final votes never were a sure thing in advance, and we knew we would

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The Carters wave to Panamanians at the canal locks.

not get one vote more than the required 67 on each treaty. On the first treaty, we calculated that we had one vote in reserve if needed. But on the second, we had none and desperately needed at least two out of three dubious votes (Hayakawa, Abourezk, and Cannon—we got them.) David McCullough told us afterward that he had met that day with Hayakawa, who had told him with a wink, “Don’t worry.” Only after the vote did President Carter dare to lay on a victory reception at the White House.

The Panama Canal issue wasn’t entirely settled at that point. Implementing legislation was needed in both houses, even though the treaties would come into force on Oct. 1, 1979, under their own terms. House members who didn’t like the treaties couldn’t change or nullify them, but they could make life hard and embarrassing for the U.S. government if it couldn’t fulfill its treaty obligations. In late 1978 there were “full-scale battles on the House floor,” as Carter recalls, requiring “another massive lobbying effort in the House and Senate simultaneously.” Finally, implementing legislation was passed on Sept. 27, 1979, only three days before the treaties would come into force. It was far less than perfect, but enough to do the job.

The impacts of the treaties have been many. Obviously, U.S.-Panamanian relations blossomed, including for the U.S.

business community. For the first time ever, a U.S.-Panama Chamber of Commerce was formed, and Panamanian President Aristides Rojo inaugurated it.

The canal itself has remained efficient, secure, and has become an even greater asset to world shipping than ever. As of July 2013, 67 percent of canal cargo traffic originates in or is destined to the United States. The second largest user in terms of its shipping is China (23 percent), followed by Chile (13 percent), the European Union (11 percent), and Japan (10 percent).

In 1979, the U.S. embassy personnel were taken hostage in Tehran, and the Shah, having fled the country, was in the United States following a cancer operation. Washington wanted him to leave in order to negotiate the hostages’ release. Of many countries asked, including all European allies and even neutral countries, all but two refused. Only Egypt and Panama agreed to take him in, which Panama did immediately because of Torrijos’ affection for his friend, Jimmy Carter.

President Carter followed his interest in Latin America by vigorously promoting human rights and democracy. Years later, former Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín told me that he would have been shot had it not been for President Carter’s human rights campaign. U.S. relations with all of Latin America benefited immediately from the solution of a major issue that had divided them for so many years.

The Panama Canal treaties offer a lesson to the world. The United States proved that a great power, in an asymmetrical relationship with a small but important country, could behave fairly and justly and “do the right thing.” The result served both countries’ best interests.

Moss currently is a professor of international studies at the University of Miami. Carter Center intern Jack Spalding provided research support for this article.

Canal Treaties Required Public Outreach

The Panama Canal vote was perhaps the toughest and most controversial of the Carter-Mondale administration, and a major lobbying effort was launched to win passage of the treaty.

The Situation

In the following excerpt from his presidential memoir, “Keeping Faith,” President Carter describes the congressional situation regarding the canal treaties.

“In fall 1975, a resolution sponsored by 38 senators (four more than the one-third needed to prevent ratification of a treaty) was introduced that “directly contravened the terms our country would be offering at the negotiating table. It

opposed any new treaty and expressed strong opposition to any termination of United States sovereignty over the Canal Zone. Furthermore, public-opinion polls showed that the American public strongly opposed relinquishing control of the canal.

“At first, it did not seem possible that the administration would be able to obtain the two-thirds of total votes cast on ratification of each of the two treaties in the Senate (where support was stronger than in the House). The main issue was that too many senators had already publicly opposed any new treaty during their own election campaigns or because of pressure from other senators who were strongly opposed to ‘giving away our canal.’ Reversing a public position poses great difficulty for politicians, even when there are clear political rewards. This challenge is even greater when you are changing from a popular promise to one that is emotionally unpopular. This requires an exceedingly rare act of courage.

“Even if we were able to secure ratification of both treaties, we still would have to submit legislation to both houses of Congress to implement all the provisions of the agreement, including the transfer of land, buildings, and equipment to Panamanian ownership. Over the years there had been repeated votes in the House of Representatives expressing overwhelming opposition to any such action. At the time, polls indicated that 78 percent of the American people did not want to ‘give up’ the canal, and only 8 percent found the idea acceptable. Therefore, it was particularly important that we have bipartisan support, and we relied very heavily on some of the Republican leaders who had been involved in the negotiations before I became president.”

Panama Canal Public Outreach Effort

Given the situation described above by President Carter, a major public outreach was developed with a sophisticated and highly targeted plan to educate opinion leaders across the country about the history of the canal and the rationale for the new treaties. Over 25 White House briefings were held to educate and persuade key constituents of U.S. senators about the bill and ask the constituents to let their senators know of their support.

These briefings were impressive events. They were held in the East Room, and the array of presenters included Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, treaty negotiators Ellsworth Bunker and Sol Linowitz, Vice President Mondale, and President Carter. Secretary of

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Control of the Panama Canal was a controversial issue for the Carter-Mondale administration.

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the Treasury Bill Miller would give the financial reasons why the treaties were needed, detailing the positive economic impact they would have for the region and the United States. Zbigniew Brzezinski would then explain how this would benefit international relations and stability in the region. Depending on the group, President Carter also would invite State Department or Pentagon officials to join him, including the “highly effective members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.” Each attendee was presented with a briefing booklet explaining the history of the canal, its importance worldwide, the rationale for changing its status, and answers to questions of opponents of the treaties.

The invitation lists for these briefings, most of which were conducted on a state-by-state basis, included up to 200 bipartisan guests suggested by that state’s U.S. senators, then supplemented with additional names from various White House offices, all coordinated by Hamilton Jordan’s office. Such a grassroots approach was a natural progression for a president who had run such an exhaustive grassroots campaign for election—and for Jordan, the chief strategist of that campaign.

Virtually everyone in the White House got involved in the public outreach efforts. For each state briefing Anne Wexler’s office sent names of civic interest groups; Jack Watson’s office sent names of mayors, governors, and state legislators; Tim Kraft’s office sent names of political and business leaders; Landon Butler and others sent names of labor leaders; Jody Powell’s office sent names of media organizations. All this was coordinated through Jordan’s office, with a great deal of work by Betty Rainwater, Joe Aragon, Sarah Weddington’s office, and Bob Pastor of the National Security Council staff.

In addition, over 1,500 business leaders and administration officials traveled across the country speaking to Rotary and other civic clubs on the merits of the treaties, stopping in at local media outlets along the way. Counteracting the Ronald Reagan opposition, such distinguished conservative leaders as John Wayne and William Buckley spoke out for ratification.

Results

The campaign focus was not to build up an absolute majority of support among all citizens, but to convince an acceptable number of key political leaders in each important state to give their senators some running room.

By the end of the year, about half the nation’s newspapers were in favor. Once people really understood the terms



Senators Howard Baker, Robert Byrd, Frank Church, and Dennis DeConcini look at the vote totals.



Frank Moore listens to Sen. Byrd’s views.

of the agreement, most of them supported it. A CBS-New York Times poll and a separate NBC poll both found that when they were told the United States could still move militarily in order to keep the canal open, the respondents favored the treaties by a margin of more than two to one.

In February of 1978, it was clear that the campaign was working, and it was becoming more fashionable to support the treaties. A Gallup Poll showed 45 percent in favor and only 42 percent opposed. The results were even greater when looking at the “better informed” group, of which 57 percent favored the treaties.

Congressional Outreach

President Carter spent a significant amount of his time in the fall of 1977 carefully planning how to get Senate votes. A combined campaign led by Frank Moore's congressional relations staff, with Bob Thomson, Bob Beckel, and Dan Tate assisted by congressional staff from other agencies and departments, took the lead on Capitol Hill. They charted each of the 100 senators who would be voting on the treaty and gauged their leanings and likely votes, with constant updates. As everyone realized this was a tough vote, records were kept so that by working backward, if enough votes existed, Democratic senators in a tough re-election campaign could vote "No" by agreement.

As the normal give-and-take discussions were held, gradually more senators moved to a positive vote. President Carter spent a good deal of time with senators, particularly the Republican minority leader Howard Baker. Baker supported the canal at considerable political cost to his career and in the end brought 17 Republicans with him to vote for the treaty.

Still, for some there were more personal motivations. Master politician Bob Strauss helped raise funds for some senators' re-election campaigns; Panama Ambassador Gabriel Lewis shared Bloody Marys and a long discussion with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan on the flight from Washington to Panama; President Carter had a linguistics book by Sen. S.I. Hayakawa in his office when the senator came for a meeting, and he asked the senator to sign and personalize it for him. Afterward, Hayakawa changed his mind from an earlier statement in which he said, "We should keep the Panama Canal. After all, we stole it fair and square."

When each treaty passed by one vote, there was great



Sen. S.I. Hayakawa signs his linguistics book for President Carter.



Bob Thomson, Frank Moore, and Bob Beckel savor the win.

celebration that the administration could take on a very difficult issue and change enough minds to win the fight for the right reasons. This formula for public persuasion was used in other initiatives, though not to the intensity of the Panama Canal treaties.

Reflection

Following are President Carter's thoughts after the treaties' passage, excerpted from "Keeping Faith."

"I was exhausted, exhilarated, and thankful. We had finally passed this hurdle, one of the most onerous and political ordeals of my life. Many times during the year when we were so discouraged, I had wondered if the results would justify the terrible political costs and the effort we had to exert. Each time, I decided that we simply could not afford to fail.

"Were the treaties worth what we paid for them? There is no doubt that the answer is 'Yes!' We are a nation that believes in equality, justice, honesty, and truth. As I and the doubtful senators and representatives studied the history and the facts concerning the Panama Canal, we became convinced that these principles were involved—so certain that we did not flinch, despite the political consequences. It is reassuring to remember that a strong majority of those Americans who were familiar with the basic terms of the treaties agreed with us. Perhaps President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela was right when he called this 'the most significant advance in political affairs in the Western Hemisphere in this century.' "

We are grateful to Betty Rainwater and others for contributions to this article and to Carter Center intern Nicole Dancz for providing research assistance.

Group Helps Prevent Crises in the Americas

This is a period of major change for the Americas. Economies are growing throughout the region, but political turmoil poses challenges for stability, democratic governance, and the rule of law. The Carter Center has a longstanding commitment in the region to continue the work started during the Carter administration. Through support for the Friends of the Inter-American Democratic Charter, the Center works to preserve peace and stability throughout the Western Hemisphere.

The Friends of the Charter, formed in 2004 under President Carter's leadership, consists of 40 former presidents, prime ministers, Cabinet ministers, and leading human rights figures, with The Carter Center serving as secretariat. The aim is to prevent political tensions from erupting into democratic crises. The Friends enjoy government access and have an understanding of the political situations in which they engage. Through quiet diplomacy and investigative missions, the Friends hear disputing parties, encourage peaceful and constitutional means to resolve conflicts, focus international attention at critical moments, and contribute to better informed and designed diplomatic actions.

Democratic stability is a cornerstone for a vibrant business and economic community. By advancing human rights, transparency, and the rule of law, the group fosters an international environment that is supportive of business and investment.

At times, a neutral broker can bridge communication gaps and resolve problems that two entities in conflict may have difficulty approaching. Issues addressed early may be resolved before they grow into more complicated problems.

Some highlights and results of recent efforts include:

- In 2012, the Friends supported efforts that resulted in Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa's pardoning El Universal

newspaper and dropping the \$40 million fine the Ecuadorian courts had leveled against the paper and its staff after the 2013 elections.

- The Friends deployed electoral assessment teams to identify and address electoral issues and to promote the peaceful resolution of disputes during Nicaragua's 2011 election and Venezuela's elections in 2012 and 2013. Included on those missions were former President of Panama Martin Torrijos, Ambassador John Graham of Canada, Dr. Torquato Jardim of Brazil, and Dr. Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla of Peru.
- When Belizean courts overturned government nationalization of a major company in 2011, the government moved to strike independent judicial review from the country's constitution. Alerted by local actors, the Friends deployed Dr. Jorge Santistevan of Peru on a quiet diplomacy mission, which was successful in dissuading the government from changing the constitution.
- Currently, the Friends are working to encourage better relations between the governments and media sector actors in the Andean region, where political polarization has impeded those nations' efforts to address pressing socio-economic issues. Guatemala's former Vice President and Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Eduardo Stein continues to play a leading role in this project.

The Friends also work with hemispheric actors at the multilateral level:

- Responding to the 2009 coup in Honduras, the Friends quickly called for the restoration of constitutional order. Through a quiet diplomacy mission, they urged a move to new presidential elections.
- That same year, the Friends worked with representatives to the Organization of American States on the acceptable terms for Cuba's re-entry into the OAS.

The Friends deployed a high-level political accompaniment mission for the November 2013 elections in Honduras and included engagement and dialogue with all actors to encourage a peaceful result.

In 2014, with the leadership of President Carter, the Friends worked with Panama to promote ethical and fair campaigns during the electoral process and to strengthen democracy in advance of the May 2014 elections.



Eduardo Stein, former vice president of Guatemala, and Joe Clark, former prime minister of Canada, participate in a meeting of the Friends of the Inter-American Democratic Charter at Carter Center headquarters.

New Play Dramatizes Camp David Negotiations

“Camp David,” an original play that brings President Carter’s negotiations for peace between Israel and Egypt to life, premiered at the Arena Stage in Washington, D.C., on March 21. Written by Lawrence Wright and produced by Carter-Mondale alumnus Jerry Rafshoon, the new drama featured Richard Thomas as President Carter and ran for six weeks this spring.



Jerry Rafshoon served as producer of the new play.



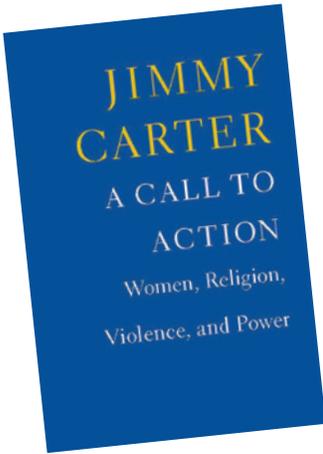
Emily Powell Boddy, daughter of Jody and Nan Powell, and Kathleen Jordan, daughter of Hamilton and Dorothy Jordan, met for the first time at “Camp David.”



Left and below: Several Carter-Mondale alumni had the chance to attend the play during its run.



BOOK CLUB



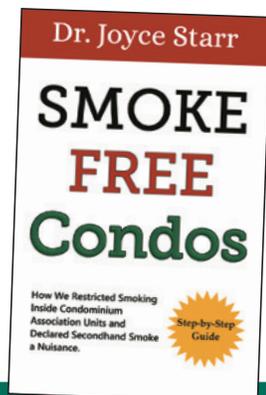
“A Call to Action,” a new book by **President Carter**, urges the end of discrimination and abuse against women, calling it the number one challenge in the world today. The book builds on the work of faith leaders and courageous human rights defenders who met last summer at The Carter Center to mobilize faith groups world-

wide to commit to advancing women’s rights. Religion, they said, should be a force for equality and human dignity, not oppression.

In his new book, President Carter argues that people’s actions are guided by international agreements as well as their own moral values, most often derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Bible, the Quran, and other texts that proclaim a commitment to justice and mercy, equality of treatment between men and women, and a duty to alleviate suffering. He also asserts it is not possible to address the rights of women, the human and civil rights struggle of our time, without looking at factors that create an acceptance of violence in our society—violence that inevitably affects women disproportionately.

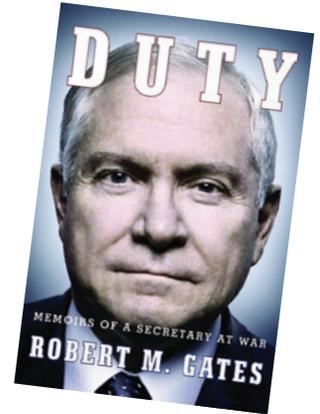
Large-scale crimes against women enumerated in “A Call to Action” include slavery, genital cutting, infanticide, child marriage, rape, honor killings, and economic and social deprivation. He calls on everyone to study these violations of basic moral values and take corrective action. President Carter writes, “My own experiences and the testimony of courageous women from all regions and all major religions have made it clear that there is a pervasive denial of equal rights to more than half of all human beings, and this discrimination results in tangible harm to all of us, male and female.” A commitment to universal human rights is desperately needed if humanity is to escape the cycle of war, poverty, and oppression.

Dr. Joyce Starr, former adviser to legal counsel Robert Lipshutz, has written 17 books. Her latest



is “Smoke Free Condos: How We Restricted Smoking Inside Units and Declared Secondhand Smoke a Nuisance.” Starr addresses recent case and state law on secondhand smoke, laws of nuisance and quiet enjoyment of property, and condo/HOA document amendment procedures.

Robert Gates, who was on the National Security Council staff in the Carter-Mondale administration, has a new book on his time as defense secretary under Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. Titled “Duty: Memoirs of a Secretary at War,” the book created attention for its candid comments in a turbulent time.



Gates was an officer in the U.S. Air Force, worked for the Central Intelligence Agency before being appointed director of the agency by President George H. W. Bush, and was secretary of defense from 2006 to 2011. He was a member of the National Security Council staff in four administrations and served eight presidents of both political parties. He has a distinguished record in the private sector and in academia, including currently serving as chancellor of the College of William and Mary. He holds a Ph.D. in Russian and Soviet history from Georgetown University.

Stu Eizenstat continues writing his book on the Carter administration. He gave this report:

“I am now in the final stages of finishing my research, with the last of over 300 interviews of administration officials and others with whom the administration interacted, including former officials in Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East, as well as the review of key documents. I am deeply grateful for the continued cooperation and support of my colleagues in the administration. At the same time, I have begun writing sections of the book for which I already have concluded research. The theme of my book is that while frankly dealing with deficiencies and disappointments, the Carter-Mondale administration was the most positively impactful in foreign and domestic policy of any one-term presidency in American history and indeed, has had greater long-term positive impact and accomplishments of almost any modern administration.”

Carters, Program Experts Brief Ambassadors Circle Members in Atlanta

Members of the Carter Center's Ambassadors Circle, including many Carter-Mondale alumni, gathered at The Carter Center in Atlanta in April for the 2014 Annual Executive Briefing and Presidential Reception. The two-day event, featuring firsthand updates from the Center's peace and health experts, kicked off with an opening evening reception April 10 followed by Conversations at The Carter Center, "Neglected Tropical Diseases and Bringing Up the Bottom Billion."

Founded by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and former First Lady Rosalynn Carter in 1997, the Ambassadors

Circle honors the vision and generosity of individuals who support the Center's operations and programs with unrestricted gifts of \$1,000 or more annually.

"Ambassadors Circle members have helped us further our vision of waging peace, fighting disease, and building hope," said President Carter. "Their partnership with us provides some of the world's most destitute people hope for a better life."

After the briefing, members and friends traveled to Plains, Ga., President Carter's hometown, for a special tour with the Carters.



Carter-Mondale alumni who attended the 2014 Executive Briefing include: (top, from left) Gary Butts, Becky Hendrix, Jay Beck, Rosalind Ho, Janet Costello, Patti Maloomiam Liles, Dale Leibach, Richard Harden, Nick Lucy, Story Evans, Drew Days, Chris Delaporte, Harold Saunders, Phil Wise, George Bristol, Bob Maddox, Linda Maddox, (bottom, from left) Alyse Corcoran, Rita Thompson, Barbara Jackson, Libby Davis, Carol Saunders, President Carter, Kathryn Berenson, Robert Berenson, David Freeman, Gretchen Denny.

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; Email jbeck4@emory.edu.

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

Carter Center Topic: Guinea Worm Disease

The Carter Center Topic is a summary of one current Carter Center activity, showing the impact of President and Mrs. Carter's work around the world. This issue focuses on Guinea worm disease, a parasitic disease that causes suffering and temporary handicap in a handful of countries in Africa.

What is Guinea worm disease?

Also known as *dracunculiasis*, Guinea worm disease is a parasitic infection caused by the nematode roundworm parasite *Dracunculus medenisi*. The disease incapacitates victims for extended periods of time, often making them unable to work or grow enough food to feed their families or attend school.

How do you get Guinea worm disease?

People contract Guinea worm when they ingest drinking water from stagnant sources containing copepods (commonly referred to as water fleas) that harbor infective Guinea worm larvae. Inside a human's abdomen, the larvae mate, and female worms mature and grow, some as long as 3 feet (1 meter). After a year of incubation, the female Guinea worm creates an agonizingly painful lesion on the skin and slowly emerges from the body. The contamination cycle begins when victims, seeking relief from the burning sensation caused by the emerging Guinea worm, immerse their limbs in sources of drinking water, which stimulates the emerging worm to release larvae into the water and begin the cycle all over again.

How is the disease treated and infection prevented?

There is no known curative medicine or vaccine to prevent Guinea worm disease.

Traditional removal of a Guinea worm consists of winding the worm around a small stick and manually extracting it—a

slow, painful process that often takes weeks. The skin lesions frequently develop secondary bacterial infections, which exacerbate the suffering and prolong the period of disability.

The best way to stop Guinea worm disease is to prevent people with active infections from entering sources of drinking water and to educate households always to use cloth filters to render their water safe to drink. Educating communities about Guinea worm prevention is vital to stopping the spread of the disease.

Guinea worm disease is set to become the second human disease in history, after smallpox, to be eradicated. It will be the first parasitic disease to be eradicated and the first disease to be eradicated without the use of a vaccine or medical treatment.

What is the Carter Center's role in Guinea worm eradication?

In 1986, The Carter Center began to provide technical and financial assistance to national Guinea worm eradication programs, beginning with Pakistan, and today the Center continues to spearhead the international Guinea worm disease eradication campaign in close partnership with many organizations.

What results have been achieved?

When The Carter Center began leading the international campaign to eradicate Guinea worm disease in 1986, there were an estimated 3.5 million cases in 21 countries in Africa and Asia. Today, that number has been reduced by more than 99.9 percent, with the vast majority of cases remaining in South Sudan.

In 2013, 148 cases of Guinea worm disease were reported in South Sudan, Sudan, Ethiopia, Chad, and Mali.



At Savelugu Hospital in Ghana's Northern region, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, watch as a Guinea worm health worker dresses a child's painful Guinea worm wound.

Comings & Goings

Dr. H. Brent DeLand of Springfield, Ill., a Carter-Mondale delegate to the 1976 Democratic National Convention, member of the platform committee, and 20th Congressional District coordinator, recently was presented the Magnificat Award by the Most Rev. Thomas John Paprocki, bishop of the Diocese of Springfield. The medallion, inscribed “For Outstanding Service to God and Neighbor,” recognizes DeLand’s 17 years of work in Haiti through the Haitian Development Fund’s Sarthe Neighborhood Medical Clinic.

Stuart N. Brotman served in the Carter administration as special assistant to the assistant secretary of commerce for communications and information at the National Telecommunications and Information Administration. He teaches entertainment and media law at Harvard Law School and is a faculty member in the law school’s Institute for Global Law and Policy. Brotman was the Fulbright-Nokia distinguished chair in information and communications technologies at the University of Helsinki during the 2012–2013 academic year. He also is a fellow of the Salzburg Global Seminar, a member of the U.S. State Department Advisory Committee on International Communications and Information Policy, and an arbitrator and mediator for the World Intellectual Property Organization in Geneva, Switzerland. Brotman is the author of the leading treatise on telecommunications and electronic mass media, “Communications Law and Practice,” now in its 35th edition. Contact him at sbrotman@brotman.com.

Veteran public relations executive **Hope Boonshaft** has joined the firm Rogers/Finn Partners as a senior partner. She will be based in the Los Angeles office, working with managing partner Ron Rogers as well as consulting with members of Finn Partners staff in New York, San Francisco, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. Boonshaft will work across the network of Finn Partners offices focusing on the areas of entertainment/technology, public affairs, corporate communications, and crisis/issues management. She was formerly executive vice president and general manager of Hill & Knowlton’s Southern California offices. Her client roster has

included Lionsgate Entertainment, Sony Pictures Imageworks, Mazda, Adidas, LinkedIn, Yahoo!, Dolby, and Technicolor. Contact her at hope.boonshaft@finnpartners.com.

Victoria Lowe, who joined the faculty of Florida Southern College as adjunct professor of art in 2012, is working on her first solo show to be held this summer at the college’s Melvin Gallery. Lowe’s color-minimal paintings spanning 40 years can be seen on her website at www.victorialoweart.com.

Florida Southern College in Lakeland is the world’s largest single-site collection of Frank Lloyd Wright buildings, boasting 12 buildings and connecting esplanades. The recently opened visitor’s center and Usonian house provide historical orientation and tours of the campus. To arrange a private tour, visit the website at www.FLSouthern.edu, or contact Lowe at vlowe@flsouthern.edu.

R. Dobie Langenkamp was a Carter delegate to the 1976 Democratic National Convention and a campaign manager in Oklahoma. He was the first deputy assistant secretary for oil and gas in the newly created Department of Energy and again was appointed deputy assistant secretary at DOE in the Clinton administration.

Langenkamp, who sold his energy business and retired from directing the National Energy Law and Policy Institute, now consults and lectures on international petroleum issues. He has consulted and lectured in Kazakhstan, Ghana, Sao Tome, Georgia, Uganda, Egypt, and Argentina and recently returned from teaching international petroleum law at the Augusto Nieto University in Luanda, Angola. He can be reached at rdlangenkamp@tulsacconnect.com.

On a business trip to Brazil for the NGO Ashoka, **Tresa Smith**, Carter White House scheduling and advance, met the Mangalarga Marchador, the national horse of Brazil, which is a 200-year-old breed of ancient Iberian bloodlines. It was developed in Brazil in the 1800s when the king of Portugal, fearing Napoleon’s invasion, fled to Brazil with his Royal Alter (Lusitano) stallions. The stallions were crossed with local gaited mares to produce the Marchador. In 2001, Smith

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was among the first people to import Marchadors to the United States and now raises them at her family's Lazy T Ranch in Montana. Mangalarga Marchadors are known for their unique, smooth marching gait, athleticism, stamina, and kind dispositions. They excel at working cattle, endurance, trail riding, and dressage. Smith has marketed her horses in the United States and Canada and has adopted a socially responsible business model by donating a percentage of sales to Ashoka Brazil. To learn more, visit Smith's website: www.Montanamarchador.com.



Tresa Smith

Fernando Torres-Gil, a Carter appointee to the Federal Council on Aging and a White House fellow to Joseph Califano, former secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, received the 2013 John Gardner

Legacy Award for Leadership. The award is presented annually to a former fellow who exemplifies the mission of the White House Fellows program to return to public service after the fellowship and to provide leadership to one's community. Torres-Gil received the award at the White House Fellows Association and Foundation annual meeting in October 2013. Earlier in 2013, his White House Fellows class (1978–1979) held their 35th reunion at The Carter Center and had the honor to meet with President and Mrs. Carter.

Janet Yellen, who started her career in public service and was an economist for the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System from 1978–1980, has been appointed chair of the Federal Reserve. Her distinguished career both in academia and government spans over 30 years and includes positions at the Haas School of Business at Berkeley, Harvard, and the London School of Economics. Yellen served on President Clinton's Council of Economic Advisers and has held several positions at the Federal Reserve, including vice chair, and she is the first woman to be named chair of the Federal Reserve Board.

Passages



Bill Albers

Bill Albers was a 28-year veteran of government service, as well as many legislative and political campaigns. In the 1970s, he began working with the Federal Bureau of Prisons and later became the bureau's management programs officer. During his subsequent tenure at the U.S. Department of Justice, he served as staff adviser to the attorney general and the deputy attorney general.

In 1975, Albers joined the presidential campaign of Gov. Jimmy Carter as national fundraising director. He was a member of the Carter transition team and served at the ACTION agency, where he created a volunteer citizens' criminal justice program. Following that assignment, President Carter appointed him to the Appalachian Regional Commission, where he focused on economic development programs and the energy crisis, targeting the depressed regions of 13 states. In 1979, President Carter brought him into the White House as deputy assistant to the president for political affairs.

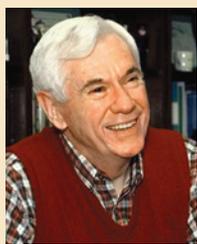
In early 1982, Albers founded Albers & Company, a

state government relations and consulting firm based in Arlington, Va.

One of the early proponents and supporters of the Democratic Leadership Council, he served on the council's finance steering committee. In 1996, he co-chaired the council's talent inventory project, tasked to recruit new Democrats for positions in the second Clinton administration, working closely with the White House Office of Personnel and reporting to the council's chairman, Sen. Joe Lieberman.

Reubin Askew was a progressive "New South" Democrat who promoted racial equality and ethics reforms as a two-term governor of Florida in the 1970s. Along with former Presidents Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Bill Clinton of Arkansas, Askew was part of a new wave of moderate Southern governors in the 1970s and 1980s who embraced progressive ideas on racial issues, the environment, education, crime, taxation, and economic growth.

His achievements as governor included: passed a 5 percent corporate income tax; reduced consumer, property, and school taxes; reformed penal statutes; streamlined the judiciary; achieved no-fault divorce and auto insur-



Reubin Askew

ance laws; raised welfare benefits and extended workers' compensation to migrant laborers; protected environmentally fragile lands, restricted coastal construction, and blocked oceanfront casinos; integrated state government, starting with the Highway Patrol; named African

Americans to state commissions and boards, and supported proposals to bus children to desegregate public schools; and pushed for ethics-in-government laws.

Askew's national stature grew throughout his governorship. In 1972, he delivered the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach and was elected chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference in 1974 and of the Democratic Governors' Conference in 1976. In 1979, President Carter named him U.S. trade representative, with Cabinet and ambassador rank, a post he held for two years.

Askew said, "Running for office was something I knew I had to do," continuing, "I feel God has plans for the world and men. If I had any talent, I had to use it for public service."

Larry Bailey, a prominent native of Charles Town, W.Va., was a stellar athlete as a point guard in the early 1960s at West Virginia State, where he earned All-American status. He passed up a career in the NBA to further his education. Bailey became the assistant director of the U.S.



Larry Bailey

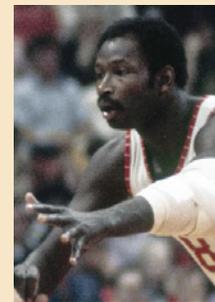
Conference of Mayors before joining the White House Office of Intergovernmental Affairs, where his duties included improving relations with governors, mayors, and government agencies. He earned his Ph.D. in political science from Woodfield University.

Ben Beazley, son of Mary Beazley and the late Herschel Beazley, may be best remembered by Carter-Mondale alumni for his musical talent and his performance at President Carter's inauguration celebration in 1977 with the very popular Bill Patton Band. Ben later became an attorney and practiced in Georgia.

Peter Bell served in the Carter-Mondale administration as a deputy undersecretary of what is now the Department of Health and Human Services, was a former

president of the nonprofit organization Care, and was a former visiting fellow of The Carter Center. He was a seminal figure in the world of development and relief and remained modest and accessible to all. He brought a unique respectability to the vocation of activist. President Carter said of Bell, "He gave us great advice and support as undersecretary of Housing and Urban Development and later here at The Carter Center as a visiting fellow."

Walt Bellamy was very recognizable at the early Jimmy Carter campaign events. The 7-foot-tall NBA star's support always was welcomed, and his gentle spirit provided a boost to campaign workers. After his NBA career, "Bells" was active in Democratic politics, his church, and with his family.



Walt Bellamy

Louise Brock was an early supporter of the Carter presidential campaign in Kansas. She was a great artist, among her many accomplishments, and was active in her church and civic affairs in Topeka, Kan. A longtime precinct committeewoman, Brock has been a Democratic Party worker at both local and national levels. In 1977, she was appointed by President Carter to be the American representative in Australia for Australian-American Week, at which the Battle of the Coral Sea is commemorated.

Brock was a member of First Congregational Church, past president of Topeka Pi Beta Phi Alumnae Club, member of the Governor's Advisory Council to the Arts, past vice president of the Kansas Arts Commission, charter member of Mulvane Women's Board, a lifetime board member of Friends of Mulvane, and life member and past director of the Topeka Art Guild. She has had numerous statewide art shows and has participated in the Mulvane Art Fair for many years.

Roberta Anne (Rickey) Cherner worked in the White House Office of Presidential Personnel during the Carter-Mondale administration and was named to the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution by President Carter.

As a citizen activist in her youth, Cherner served as a cub reporter for the Washington Post. During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, Rickey traveled to

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Alabama and Mississippi to march for civil rights. During that same period, she also traveled to Romania on several occasions to help Jewish refugees immigrate to Israel. She worked tirelessly to continue the work of her parents to promote and support the state of Israel. She devoted herself to the Zionist Organization of America and Volunteers for Israel.

In the business world, Cherner was owner and operator of Jaffa Gate, a store on Connecticut Avenue in north-west Washington, D.C., specializing in Israeli arts, crafts, and Judaica.

Born in New Orleans to a working-class family, **Marvin Bresler Durning** graduated as Dartmouth's valedictorian, won a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford, served in the U.S. Navy as a gunnery and intelligence officer, and earned a law degree from Yale before starting a family in Seattle, Wash.

Committed to conservation and public service, Durning was appointed by President Carter to be assistant administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency for enforcement, just as environmental laws like the Clean Air Act reached deadlines for action. He devised the major source enforcement drive and the penalty policy, for companies not complying with the law, with fines equivalent to the profit a firm had made by not complying.

His is a remarkable legacy. Thanks in part to his efforts, many places remain natural and open to the public today, such as parts of the Nisqually National Wildlife Refuge. He helped keep billboards off interstate highways, and his EPA leadership left millions of Americans breathing cleaner air and drinking purer water. His political and legal projects took him often to Vancouver, and as lawyer for local citizens, he helped protect the free-flowing Columbia River from a massive airport expansion in Portland.

After his retirement, he wrote two books: "World Turned Upside Down," a history of his naval intelligence unit, and a memoir, "Beyond the Baths of All the Western Stars."

Gene Eidenberg joined the Carter-Mondale administration and moved from the deputy to become the secretary to the Cabinet and assistant to the president for intergovernmental affairs, reporting to Carter on implementation of domestic policies. Colleagues remember him



Gene Eidenberg

as one who led with kindness, honesty, humor, intelligence, and political acumen.

After 1980, Eidenberg became the director of the Democratic National Committee and in 1982, joined MCI Communications and held several executive positions. He went on to posts with several high-tech and venture capital businesses, many in Silicon Valley, with important roles in the U.S. telecommunications industry. President Carter said Eidenberg was "a delightful and cherished friend and a superbly competent and dedicated public servant."

Richard Frank was appointed administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration by President Carter. He later became CEO of PSI (Population Service International). He also worked as legal adviser and acting deputy legal adviser for the State Department, professor at Georgetown University Law School, and director of the International Project at the Center for Law and Social Policy.

Janet Gilpatrick was a Spokane, Wash., political strategist, feminist, and mother who worked over decades to improve the community she loved. She was active in Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign and later joined Rep. Tom Foley as a staff assistant in 1980. After four years, she became his chief local representative, administering the Spokane office and serving as his regional liaison for constituents.

Charles Edward Graves Jr., of Sheridan, Wyo., was appointed by President Carter as the U.S. attorney for the state of Wyoming. Throughout his lifetime, he served on many boards and committees, was a member of the Lions Club and the Rotary Club in Sheridan, and was passionate about the growth of the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship. He loved life, but he loved it even more with his beloved wife, Halene, by his side. Together they traveled the world and shared many happy memories.

Dr. Richard Hammonds was an old friend of the Carters and served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party of Georgia and a delegate to the Democratic Convention in 1976. He was actively involved with various committees during Jimmy

Carter's administrations as governor and president, in addition to serving on the Board of Councilors for The Carter Center. Dr. Hammonds also served on the WellStar board of directors and the Cobb Hospital Authority, all while serving Cobb's health care community for 40 years.



Samuel W. Lewis

In 1977, President Carter named **Samuel W. Lewis** ambassador to Israel, where he served in Tel Aviv until 1985—an uncommonly long run for an ambassador—at a time when the Middle East was particularly volatile but also invigorated by efforts to find peace. With his experience as a cultural and political interpreter and with a clear eye on how leaders in the region viewed potential paths to peace, he provided key insights during negotiations with Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egypt's President Anwar el-Sadat during the talks that led to the peace treaty at Camp David.

For nearly two weeks, Lewis shuttled between the leaders, listening as they talked behind each other's backs. He tamped down heated moments, privately pressing the point that peace was dependent not on the objective to have peace, but on the price the Israelis were prepared to pay in addition to the political risks that Begin was prepared to take.

Lewis later was president of the U.S. Institute for Peace and director of policy planning at the State Department under President Bill Clinton.

Clarence C. Mondale was the brother of Vice President Walter Mondale. Dr. Mondale taught at George Washington University from 1965 until his retirement in 1992. Earlier, he was on the faculty at the University of Minnesota and was credited with starting the American studies program at the University of Alabama in the early 1960s. Widely known as Pete, Dr. Mondale's academic focus was regional identity in the United States, and he co-wrote with American studies scholar Michael Steiner "Region and Regionalism in the United States: A Source Book for the Humanities and Social Sciences" (1988).



Clarence Mondale

Early in his tenure at GWU, Dr. Mondale led a Peace

Corps training program. He also coordinated the "Poor People's University" on GWU's campus in 1968 as part of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's "Poor People's Campaign," which marched on Washington to address poverty and other issues concerning the nation's underclass.

Joan Mondale's promotion and advocacy of fine arts earned her the nickname Joan of Art in Washington during the vice presidency of her husband, Walter F. Mondale.

When her husband was appointed attorney general of Minnesota only four years out of law school, Mondale mastered the role of traditional political wife, while expanding her reputation as a supporter of the arts. In 1972, she wrote "Politics in Art," for children and young adults; worked with the Department of Transportation to turn railroad stations into art galleries; talked the National Park Service into selling crafts at its gift shops; and raised money for Democratic candidates by auctioning donated art.

In 1977, she became President Carter's de facto arts adviser and honorary chairwoman of the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities. In an annual spring rite, journalists gathered at the vice president's official residence on the grounds of the U.S. Naval Observatory to see the new paintings, sculptures, and crafts that Mondale had borrowed from museums to showcase American art; and she expanded the reach of art by including crafts, graphic arts, and new artists.

When her husband became U.S. ambassador to Japan in 1993, Mondale arranged for the loan of art from the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles for the ambassador's residence in Tokyo, where she promoted public art. She persuaded McDonald's Japan to commission art for a Tokyo subway station. An amateur potter, she made her own pieces, often presenting them as gifts to Japanese dignitaries.

President Carter credited Mondale with bolstering his legacy of commitment to art and artists across the country and beyond. Recalling her doggedness in pushing his administration to build lasting support for the fine arts, Carter said, "Until I met Joan Mondale, I thought Rosalynn was the most persistent woman on earth."

Noting in one year alone 22 entries in his personal diary

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Joan Mondale

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about her lobbying him on the arts, Carter said he found this phrase to describe Mondale: “Live your life as though it was a work of art.”

Herbert S. Okun was an American peace negotiator during the Balkan conflict of the early 1990s. He took detailed notes that made him a key witness in the subsequent war crimes trials and was a Soviet specialist who spent much of his four-decade career confronting the politics of the Cold War.

As a young State Department officer in the early 1960s, Okun was sent to Moscow. Among his responsibilities was the translation of correspondence between President John F. Kennedy and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev during the Cuban missile crisis. Okun later recalled that Khrushchev nicknamed him “ryzhyi” (red-head) because of his hair color. In the late 1970s, he was a senior U.S. representative at the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union.

After war broke out in the former Yugoslavia, Okun was recalled from retirement by former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, the U.N. secretary-general’s special envoy for the Balkans. Okun became Vance’s adviser and accompanied him on seven missions to the former Yugoslavia. They visited refugee camps and witnessed firsthand the human cost of the war. Since typists and secretaries were not present in meetings because they would have inhibited dialog, Okun took meticulous longhand notes.

He was “extraordinarily ready to listen to and to give credit to the opposing views,” said Lord David Owen, the former British foreign secretary who, with Vance, made several attempts to broker a lasting peace in the Balkans. “He was a person who did manage to build a measure of trust from the Serbians, which is not easy to do.”



Robert A. Pastor

Robert A. Pastor was just out of Harvard graduate school in 1977 when he was hired by newly named National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski to be the National Security Council’s director of Latin American and Caribbean affairs. Only 29 years old, Pastor worked on matters ranging from democracy promotion and human rights to arms control and was responsible for more than half of the Western Hemisphere. Highly intelligent,

a farseeing strategist, and adept diplomat, he was instrumental in carrying out President Carter’s human-rights policy in Central and South America, setting in motion a decades-long move away from military dictatorship toward democracy in the region. Tasked with a key role in the Panama Canal treaties, Pastor conducted some of the final negotiations himself and forged an odd-couple friendship with Panama’s leader, Gen. Omar Torrijos.

He was the founding director of the Carter Center’s Latin American and Caribbean Program. He was particularly involved in Haitian affairs, including monitoring the election in 1990 of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. In 1994, he joined Carter, Sen. Sam Nunn, and retired Gen. Colin Powell, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the mission that ultimately reinstated Aristide after a military coup. Speaking before the Senate, Nunn said that Pastor was an “unsung hero” who deserved “a large measure of credit for the agreement we reached.”

He organized the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, a singular pressure group consisting of Carter and 31 other former and current presidents and prime ministers of North and South American countries. When Carter and James A. Baker III, former secretary of state, co-chaired the Commission on Federal Election Reform, in the wake of the 2000 election, they made Pastor executive director.

He held leadership and teaching positions at Emory University in Atlanta, Harvard University, and most recently, American University.

Having worked with Pastor monitoring elections in some 30 countries, both deterring and exposing fraud, Carter said, “Because of his vision, boundless energy, and political skill, the Western Hemisphere is more democratic and developed today.”

When **J. Mack Robinson** spoke, people listened—not only in Atlanta, where his name is synonymous with business, but also in Washington, D.C., and Europe. He was a friend, adviser, and financial contributor to President Carter’s campaigns.

In his low-key way, he had a great impact in the business of insurance, fashion, media, and banking and through his philanthropy, much of it privately. “He was the most modest man I’ve ever known,” said Edward Elson, former U.S. ambassador to Denmark. “He was brilliant without being condescending, and he was sophisticated yet down to earth in any activity he undertook.”

James R. Schlesinger served in Cabinet-level posts under three presidents and helped to create the U.S. Department of Energy, serving as its first secretary. He also had an extensive career in defense and national security and had previously been chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and secretary of defense.

At DOE, he handled the complex problems of severe fuel shortages and soaring prices spawned by oil embargoes, as well as getting the big energy program through Congress, including strict new conservation standards, a since-expired tax surcharge on “gas-guzzler” autos, and gradual oil and natural gas price deregulation. Schlesinger is credited with supplying President Carter with the phrase “moral equivalent of war” to describe the national energy emergency.

An incisive and brilliant thinker on nuclear strategy, he advocated a retreat from reliance on mutually assured destruction as a means of avoiding nuclear war with the Soviet Union, saying, “Deterrence is not a substitute for defense.” In recent years, he was a trustee at The Center for Strategic and International Studies, an adviser to many business and educational organizations and institutions, and was recruited by the U.S. government to help with such problem areas as homeland security, improvements in the handling of nuclear weapons, and the Justice Department’s criminal probe into harsh interrogations of terror suspects.

N. Steven Steinert left his job as a tenured associate professor to work for the Carter-Mondale administration as the director of congressional relations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and then at the Department of Commerce. He returned home to South Carolina in 1980 to become the county administrator for Charleston, obtained his law degree from the University of South Carolina, and practiced law in Charleston, where he served as an associate judge for the city of Charleston Municipal Court.

Robert S. Strauss served in several key positions in the Carter-Mondale administration and campaigns, including the U.S. special trade representative, special counselor on inflation, and envoy to the Middle East to shepherd the peace after the Camp David Accords.

He co-founded what is now one of the largest U.S.



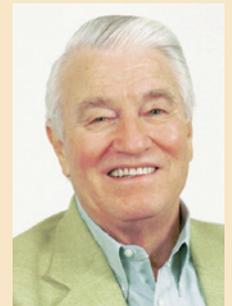
Robert S. Strauss

law firms, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP, and he opened a Washington office when he became treasurer of the Democratic National Committee in 1970. In 1973, he took over the reeling party in the wake of Republican President Richard Nixon’s rout of George McGovern. As chairman of the National Democratic Party from 1973–1977,

Strauss rebuilt party finances and gave then-Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter a national platform by naming him campaign chairman for the 1974 midterm election. This post provided Carter key access to the National Democratic Party structure, staff, and a large group of party activists that proved valuable when he announced his intention to run for president. Strauss served as chairman of Carter’s general election campaigns in 1976 and 1980.

Carter said, “Bob Strauss was one of the most remarkable public servants I have ever known. An ardent leader of the Democratic Party, he was equally effective in working with Republicans and was often a bridge between the two parties when important national issues were at stake. Bob brightened the lives of all who knew him, with his incisive wit and broad knowledge of life in America.”

Charles Whitehead served as chairman of the Florida Democratic Party during its years of power in the 1980s. A self-described North Florida liberal, Whitehead helped deliver a Florida straw ballot victory for little-known Jimmy Carter’s 1976 presidential campaign and was state party chairman throughout the 1980s.



Charles Whitehead

The longtime Panama City Ford dealer was a burly and good-natured Democratic chairman, who considered his party role to be a public service, which he performed with dignity, grace, and professionalism. During the Panama Canal public relations campaign, he traveled at his own expense across the Southeast making speeches to civic clubs on behalf of the treaties. “He wasn’t just a Democrat or a Republican. He was a Floridian—Mr. Integrity,” said former four-term state Attorney General Bob Butterworth.

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Auction to Benefit Carter Center

On June 28, 2014, items will be auctioned to benefit the work of The Carter Center. This is an annual event with many one-of-a-kind items and great political memorabilia. Included



in the next auction are signed books either by or about 31 U.S. presidents, from James Buchanan through Barack Obama; an Ansel Adams photograph of President Carter (one of four in existence); a handmade coffee table and artwork by President Carter; a presidential plate signed by seven presidents; signed group photographs of the presidents; and much more.

Visit the Carter Center website at cartercenter.org to bid on these items, or contact Jay Beck directly at jaybeck@emory.edu or (404) 420-3809 for directions on how to bid.

Left: This rare photo of President Carter, taken by Ansel Adams, will be auctioned in June to benefit the work of The Carter Center.

Right: Another auction item is a collection of signed books by or about U.S. presidents.

