

THE Carter Mondale *Letter*

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Forty Years Ago, a Campaign Was Born

Forty years ago, a small group of dedicated people went into the field of politics, which was new to most of them, with the idea of electing a one-term governor of Georgia to be president of the United States. The first actual votes were not to be cast until early in 1976, but the work in the early caucus and primary states began a year earlier. By the time the major candidates began to think about appearing in Iowa, New Hampshire, and Florida to compete for the Democratic nomination for president, they were far behind in the organizing and voter contact it would take to win.

On Nov. 8, 1972, the day after President Richard Nixon was re-elected, Hamilton Jordan delivered to Gov. Jimmy Carter the now famous memo that provided a pathway to the presidency. It included recommendations that Gov. Carter educate himself on key issues and get to know national figures in the Democratic Party and media. While plans for campaign staffing, budgets, and early fundraising were discussed, the memo suggested that 1975 was the year to prepare to be a presidential candidate by these means:

“Demonstrating in the first primaries your strength as a candidate. This means a strong, surprise showing in New Hampshire and a victory in Florida.

“Establishing that you are not a regional candidate by winning early primaries in medium-sized states outside the South.

“Begin a serious examination of the primary states with the objective of developing a realistic strategy.

“Develop complete and detailed information on primary states to include:

- a. recent political history
- b. background paper on demographics of state, economic interests, pertinent issues
- c. listing of principal political figures—officeholders and activists
- d. listing of principal news media to include newspapers,

publishers, columnists, and political commentators.

“Seek appropriate forums for visits to primary states for the purpose of delivering major addresses, learning something about the state, and obtaining favorable exposure.”

Additionally, the memo suggested:

“...it is likely that once again the Democratic nominee will be selected in the state primaries. For that reason, it is not too early to begin thinking now about the primaries: Iowa Caucus—January 19, New Hampshire Primary—February 24, Florida—March 9.”

Jordan also discussed the importance of the National Governors Association



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Jody Powell (left) and Hamilton Jordan discuss a plan to elect Jimmy Carter president of the United States.

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annual conference for meeting and getting to know national media heavyweights. His memo continued:

“The New Hampshire and Florida primaries provide a unique opportunity for you to demonstrate your abilities and strengths as a candidate at an early stage in the campaign.... New Hampshire is a small state that is rural and independent and given to the kind of personal campaign effort that you and your family are capable of waging. It only voted about 84,644 people in the primary this year, and I believe that your farmer-businessman-military-religious-conservative background would be well-received there. It is not too early

to begin to make some contacts with people there, learn something about the state, and be looking for an appropriate opportunity to make a major speech or address there.”

For the Spring 2015 edition of the Carter-Mondale Letter, we are looking back 40 years to what was happening in the Carter for President campaign in 1975. We appreciate the first-person reporting by people who were there and can tell this story in their own words. We are grateful to the estate of Charles Rafshoon for the use of photographs and to Dot Padgett, Rita Thompson, and others who helped document this issue.

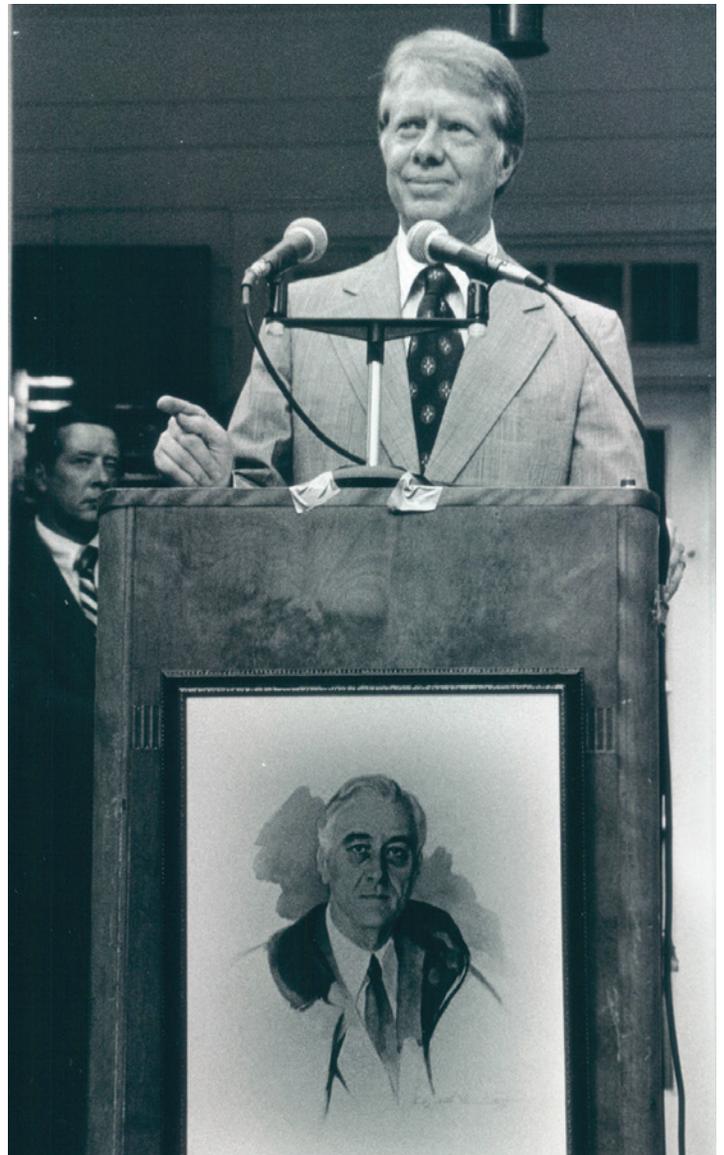
1974 Democratic National Campaign Committee Plays Key Role

By Bob Russell

In a 1973 memo from Hamilton Jordan to Gov. Jimmy Carter on the steps needed to run for the presidency, one of the recommendations is to find an “adequate political forum.” Later in that section, Jordan recommends:

“I mentioned to you earlier that the chairmanship of the National Governors Conference might possibly be available the last year that you are in office. Although the National Governors Conference does very little, being chairman is an excellent forum and provides many opportunities to appear before Congressional committees and other groups representing the governors of this nation.... If this idea has merit and appeals to you, it would be necessary that you attempt to be named vice chairman at the National Governors Conference in June of next year (1974).”

In early 1974, Democratic National Committee Chairman Robert Strauss named then-Gov. Jimmy Carter as the chair of the 1974 Democratic National Campaign Committee. Hamilton Jordan, Gov. Carter’s chief of staff assigned to coordinate the work of the committee, traveled to the DNC in Washington, D.C., two or three days each week. Regional campaign training institutes, each lasting for three days, were organized in Chicago, San Francisco, Providence, Atlanta, Milwaukee, Tucson, and Washington, D.C., to prepare



On Sept. 6, 1976, Jimmy Carter kicks off his general election presidential campaign in Warm Springs, Ga.



Gov. Jimmy Carter visits a New Hampshire factory in 1974.

over 350 campaign staff and candidates. Subjects that were covered included fundraising, opinion polling, voter targeting, media, budgeting, volunteer utilization, scheduling and advance, and campaign management. Jordan, Jody Powell, and Frank Moore taught classes in these training sessions and were active in 32 House races. Frequent newsletters and issues papers kept everyone apprised of campaign activities. In the 1974 midterm elections, 75 new Democrats were elected to the House of Representatives.

This became an opportunity to meet and recruit staffing for the future Carter presidential campaign and the administration. Gov. Carter and staff from his Georgia office traveled throughout the United States, meeting and speaking with many people, making contacts who later became involved in the campaign. It also was an opportunity for Carter to gain attention in media markets outside Georgia for the first time.

When Gov. Carter won the presidential election in 1976, a number of DNC staff and campaign committee personnel went on to work in the new administration. Here are some of those people:

- DNC Chairman **Robert S. Strauss**—special trade representative, special counsel on inflation, and a senior adviser to the president in many roles
- **Vera Murray**—executive assistant to Chairman Strauss; continued with him through all his roles in the Carter-Mondale administration
- **Azie Taylor Morton**—special assistant to Chairman Strauss and later the U.S. treasurer

- **Anne Wexler**—part of the campaign consultation team for the 1974 Democratic Campaign Committee; worked at the White House as assistant to the president for public liaison
- **Mike Berman**—one of the trainers for the campaign consultation program; worked as deputy chief of staff and counsel for Vice President Mondale
- **Mark Siegel**—executive director of the DNC in 1975 and 1976; worked as one of Hamilton Jordan's deputies at the White House
- **Terry Straub**—director of field operations at the DNC in 1973 and 1974; worked for Frank Moore in the White House congressional liaison office with members of the House of Representatives
- **Bob Russell**—associate director of the campaign division, working as Hamilton Jordan's assistant in 1974; worked at the DNC in 1975 and 1976 as director of the election services division and at the White House as administrative assistant to Frank Moore, the president's assistant for congressional liaison
- **Rick Hutcheson**—assistant to Paul Lutzker, director of research at the DNC, in 1974; worked in the Carter campaign as a speechwriter, researcher for issues and delegate selection, and as assistant to Jordan for field operations, later hiring Bill Simon and Rob Firth to help him
- **Jim Gammill**—an intern at the DNC in 1974; worked on the Carter campaign to set up the matching funds with Bob Lipshutz and later with Tom Beard for the concert matching funds revenue; the second director of the Presidential Personnel Office
- **Jane Hartley**—worked at the DNC in 1975 and 1976; director of congressional relations in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development from 1977 until 1978; worked at the White House as associate assistant to Anne Wexler in the office of public outreach
- **Joe Aragon**—director of the DNC's Office of Spanish-Speaking Affairs in 1975 and 1976; worked at the White House as special assistant to the president for the Hispanic community
- **Terry O'Connell**—assistant to DNC Executive Director Bob Keefe in 1973 and 1974; California state campaign manager for the Carter campaign in 1976

Campaign Issues Developed Early

Following is an excerpt from an interview **Stuart Eizenstat** had with the Miller Center at the University of Virginia (lightly edited).

I served on a voluntary basis as Jimmy Carter's issues director during the 1970 governor's campaign. I went into a law firm after my clerkship and practiced law full time, while heading an issues staff that drafted his basic platform and major speeches. After his election as governor of Georgia, I continued to practice law and did not directly participate in the administration of his governorship. We kept in touch from time to time.

I was called in late 1973 by the then-governor and asked to come to his office to involve myself in a new project. The project involved drafting positions that would be used by Democratic candidates around the country, running for Congress under Carter's name. There was also a new position—chairman of the 1974 Democratic Campaign Committee—to which Carter was appointed by the then-DNC chairman, Robert Strauss. It was a position that in the past was purely honorary and fairly unimportant. Carter, for reasons I later discovered but did not know at the time, intended to make much more of it than simply an honorary position.

During the latter part of 1973 (and through almost all of 1974 until perhaps a month or so before the election), I was the chief drafter and editor of 10 to 12 issue papers printed by the DNC, which went to candidates critiquing the [Richard] Nixon policies and proposing alternative Democratic policies to those that the Nixon administration was implementing. In the course of developing those papers, I drew on many of the people who later came into the administration in both minor and major positions—people like Henry Owen at Brookings, who became the coordinator for economic summits, Dick Gardner, who became ambassador to Italy, and a variety of other people.

Toward the end of the project, and before the November 1974 congressional elections, I asked Gov. Carter if he would have lunch with me, and I said to him that I had a rather bizarre idea, which was that I thought the field for the Democratic nomination in 1976 was not going to be a terribly strong one. I thought that, based on the receptivity he had received in campaigning during the 1974 congressional campaign, he ought to go ahead and make a shot at it. He smiled and said that he had long since decided that he was



Stu Eizenstat advises Gov. Carter on issues during the presidential campaign.



going to run, and he invited me to meet with a small group of people thereafter who already had been planning the presidential campaign.

We began to have a series of meetings, which had started before I joined this small group, consisting at that time of Hamilton Jordan, Charlie Kirbo, Jody Powell, and Peter Bourne. We met in the private residence on the top floor of the Governor's Mansion from time to time. I was asked to do some of the issues for the campaign. There was at that time no formal campaign structure of any kind. I decided that the way to start was to sit down with him and, literally from A to Z, go through every issue that was likely to arise in a campaign as well as when he became president and let him talk out without interruption what he felt about each of those issues. I would then try to refine them, and we would talk about the political implications of his stance. He dictated; we transcribed it; then we went back and talked about the implications of it. We literally started with "A" for abortion and went to "Z" for Zaire and everything in between.

Then an incredibly modest campaign organization was set up. Because Carter was unknown at the time, there were not very many resources, and the campaign was living from hand to mouth for a good while. I worked as a sort of informal issues coordinator, working nights and weekends with a group of volunteers.

There was no ongoing organization until some time, I suppose, in mid-1975, when Steve Stark came on board full time. Stark had graduated from the University of Virginia, and he was in between college and law school. So far as I am aware, he had no previous political experience. He subsequently brought with him a few kids in college who wanted to take a year or a semester off—people like Oliver Miller, who is now a Rhodes Scholar. But I don't think there were more than three people. One was even between high school and college. So, to say that there was an experienced issues staff would be a gross exaggeration. We limped along like this for the better part of the year.

It's frankly a remarkable tribute to Carter himself that he was able to get by with so little substantive backup. He was then developing his themes about bureaucracy and cutting back on some of the abuses in government and so forth. But there were certainly more themes than were fleshed out in any way, shape, or form, and we didn't have the kind of white papers one has come to expect—certainly at that point. I don't think that was all bad, because at that point he was simply identifying himself with some broadly felt themes, and it really wasn't until 1976 that those themes began to be fleshed out in the more traditional issue papers.

Campaign Manager Recalls Iowa

By *Tim Kraft*

The Carters don't say it, and I wouldn't either, but a lot of Iowans and many national political writers say that Jimmy Carter's astonishing come-from-nowhere victory in the 1976 caucuses "put Iowa on the map." Since then, most presidential campaigns have put far more time, funds, and focus on the first-step caucuses than ever before. This is indisputable.

Two questions arise. First, how did an out-of-office, one-term former governor and farmer from rural Georgia steal a march on six other candidates, all national or former office-holders, better known and better financed? Carter's national name recognition in 1975 was all of less than 1

percent. Second, the Carter campaign comprised mostly volunteers coordinated by a small staff. It was conducted without the benefit of the Internet, computerized databases, and cellphones, with minimal television ads and no lavish "free lunches." By today's standards, it was a horse-and-buggy operation. How did that work?

The answers are in Carter's few 1974 appearances, which made strong impressions on several influential Iowans, combined with the untiring work of Carter, his family, and staff in Iowa in 1975. The campaign was prepared for the Jan. 19 caucuses in the first week of the new year, and the follow-up seemed to prove it.

A question of far less interest might be how the Carter campaign hired two young political itinerants from New Mexico to manage the early campaigns of Iowa and New Hampshire. And that's where we start.

1975: Meeting and Signing On

On a cold, snowy night in January 1975, Chris Brown knocked on the door of my house in Cochiti Pueblo, southwest of Santa Fe, N.M. Chris had just successfully managed a difficult campaign that elected Jerry Apodaca governor, and I had had a small role with the get-out-the-vote effort.

There's no small talk with Chris—he got right to the point, saying, "Look, Carter announced in December, and we can get him on a two-day stop here, coming from Louisiana, if we can put some events together."

I remember the next exchange very well. I stared at Chris and said, "Man, you are totally sold on Carter, aren't you?" Chris, pacing around, waving his arms, said, almost as an



Iowa campaign manager Tim Kraft talks strategy with Gov. Carter.

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afterthought, “Well, he’s *honest*.”

Earlier, in October 1974, an Apodaca fundraiser in Albuquerque had featured Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter as its guest speaker. After the dinner, about 10 or 12 of us met in a small conference room, where Carter told us he was going to announce in January 1975 and run in every primary and caucus state on the calendar. He said at the outset that he was not “testing the waters” or exploring a candidacy—he was **RUNNING**. That made a strong impression on me.

He spent almost an hour with us and answered every conceivable question that anyone would raise. His issues answers were complete, sensible, and devoid of the kind of beltway-speak that we had all heard from the members of Congress over the years. I left that meeting thinking (as I said in a phone call to my parents), “Why can’t the Democratic Party ever *nominate* someone like that?”

Carter did come to Albuquerque on a Wednesday afternoon, and we managed to put together a group of about 30 curious Democrats. I was impressed with his remarks and genial personality. His press secretary was a taciturn, sandy-haired individual who quietly pointed out that the sign-up sheet should have asked for addresses.

I later drove Carter and Jody Powell to Santa Fe, where they would spend the night at the home of Ken Richards, a media consultant and friend of Chris’s. Here was the key link to the campaign: Ken’s brother-in-law was Landon Butler (later Hamilton Jordan’s deputy in the White House), who had asked Ken to refer names to him of people who might possibly be considered for regional fieldwork.

This was not a step easily taken. Campaign seniors in Atlanta resisted the notion of a field staff in 1975—hires would be minimal and the emphasis would have to be on fundraising.

Chris was invited to Atlanta in February and left with a mandate to journey to New Hampshire and start on the organizational work. It was what he wanted, he told me, “the Super Bowl of primaries.” I had a call from Landon Butler soon thereafter, and we discussed what might be done in the Midwest and Western states to raise matching funds and look for volunteers. He suggested that I put my thoughts into a brief memo, which I promptly wrote and sent to him.

“You need to get a phone out there,” was the subsequent message from Chris, who had been trying to contact me from Santa Fe. I was to call a Hamilton Jordan in Atlanta, which I did from an outdoor payphone a mile away from the house. When I was connected, a jocular, energetic voice boomed out, “Tim, it’s Rush Week in Atlanta; come over and

meet the brothers!” That was my phone introduction to the campaign manager.

Upon arriving at the Atlanta offices in midafternoon, Hamilton spoke briefly with me and made some introductions. I asked Betty Rainwater, Jody’s deputy, if she wanted to get a drink after work, and we left around 6 p.m. One dinner and several drinks later, she deposited me at Hamilton’s home, where I had been invited to spend the night. The door was unlocked, but the house was pitch-dark, and I didn’t want to stumble around, so I took the first couch on the right and dropped onto it.

Somebody laughing... somebody saying, “Wake up, we gotta get going.” It was Hamilton, and I was gradually waking up to the notion that I was surely making some kind of bad impression on him. But it didn’t seem to bother him. He was wearing a suit (of course, I was still in mine). Yesterday I had seen him in a blue button-down shirt, khakis, and work boots.

This was the day to meet Bob Lipshutz, the finance director, and he was brief and to the point. If I were to be employed by the campaign, my job would be to raise \$5,000 in 10 Western states, to help qualify for the federal match. At midday, Hamilton made a casual invitation to lunch, saying, “We’ll probably go with an old friend of Jimmy’s.”

About a third of the way into lunch, I was acutely aware that this was no casual encounter: the courtly gentleman with the steady gaze and a direct conversational approach, Mr. Kirbo, was interviewing me. Charles Kirbo was an early, personal, and influential friend of Carter’s.

Later in the day, I was to conclude that there was something in common with the encounters with Betty Rainwater, Bob Lipshutz, and Charles Kirbo: they all were intensely committed to their candidate, and both financial limitations and the qualities of loyalty and competence were foremost in their minds. “Outside hires,” it would seem, must come slowly and carefully.

On my third and last day in Atlanta, Hamilton and I concluded an agreement on salary and responsibilities; my first assignment was to go to Kansas on the way home, to represent the governor at a Young Democrats of America conference.

That afternoon there was a visitor from Plains in the office. I was standing in the press office reading some clips, and suddenly there was a quiet presence by my side. “I am Rosalynn Carter,” she said, and then she told me an anecdote of three women in Kansas who had journeyed to Atlanta in 1974 to persuade Jimmy Carter to run for president (the easiest sale they ever made, I thought). She didn’t tell me to see them, but she had certainly learned that I was going to Kansas.

The last thing Hamilton said to me before I left made a strong impression. “Whenever you get on a plane in Albuquerque, make sure you fly through Iowa.” It was a figure of speech, of course, as he knew of my mandate to get us qualified in other states for the federal match, but I left with the impression that Hamilton had read the same book that I had.

In 1974, Gary Hart wrote “Right from the Start,” a perceptive account of George McGovern’s presidential campaign and its surprising strength in the Iowa caucuses. When McGovern finished a close second to front-runner Edmund Muskie, the national news commentary was, wrote Hart, “the kind we sweated blood for.”

Regional Coordinator

My first political outing for the campaign was a disaster of sorts. I arrived at the Young Democrats conference in Topeka for one of its final events: short presentations by representatives of the presidential candidates. I found myself in a standing lineup with the representatives of five other candidates—Bentson, Harris, Jackson, Shriver, and Udall.

Every one of them well-dressed and articulate, they were seasoned employees of their candidates and had the appropriate talking points down pat. I actually stood there recalling an old line from comedian George Gobel, “Did you ever feel like a pair of brown shoes in a room full of tuxedos?”

I stuttered out something about zero-based budgeting (about which I knew nothing), downsizing of state government, and frankly, I don’t recall what else. Providence was there, with no time for question and answer.

As the meeting was breaking up, I was accosted by two young men, one an affable six-footer, the other a short, rotund fellow with the voice and demeanor of a poolroom Jackie Gleason. Scott Burnett and Dennis Tapsak declared unequivocally that they supported Carter—certainly not as a result of my remarks, but of course, because of a speech given by Carter in the year before. The two were courteous, low-key, and serious.

I got their contact information and an invitation to a small party they were having that evening. “More supporters?” I asked. “Just come on over,” was the reply. I am thinking, a couple of beers, and some more names, and call it a day. I got

to the party around 8 p.m. and left at 2 in the morning. Low-key and serious? So much for first impressions. Things were looking up. I had found my people.

Leaving Topeka, I drove to Pratt, Kan., to meet with Marie Vickers, the energetic 62-year-old Democratic National Committee woman whom Rosalynn had described. We had a nice chat, and she pointedly informed me that she and her friends had prodded Carter into the race. I, of course, agreed. I asked her for the names of Democrats who she thought might be open to Carter. I departed and called both of her friends, talking with one and leaving a message for the other. I strongly suspected that the soft-spoken woman from Plains would contact one or more of these individuals in the next week or so to see if they had met with the new staffer.

Returning to New Mexico, I gathered together a few volunteers, most of whom had met with Carter in 1974. We found a donated office space and, at least, had a letterhead address and a place to store whatever materials we could coax out of Atlanta. I assigned volunteers to begin work on multiple mailings (nowhere near the printed-labels stage) and set up a skeletal committee for a Carter fundraiser in mid- to late June.

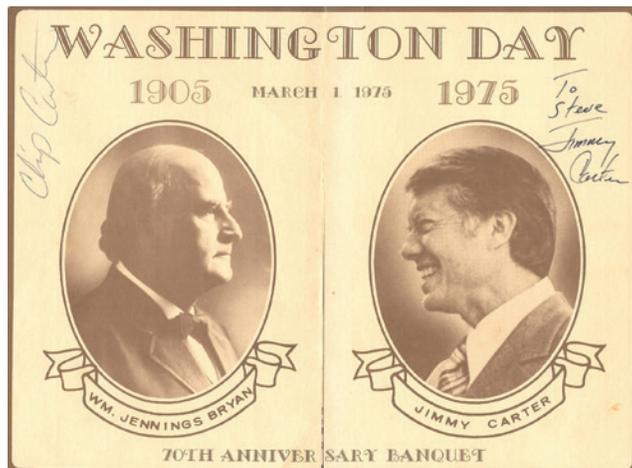
Hamilton called, with a sort of chuckling admonition for me to go to Nebraska. Three women (again!) were heckling him to send the governor, to come himself, or to hire a staffer. Joan Masuck, the titular leader of the Nebraska campaign, had worked in Carter’s gubernatorial administration and was ready to volunteer full time in a campaign.

If ever there was a cart before the horse—they wanted Carter and boxes of brochures and an allowance for postage. I had to tell them that we didn’t have any brochures and that I

could only do my best to get either Hamilton or Carter there in the spring or summer. I stressed the priority of finding enough contributors to help us qualify the state.

Touching down in Denver, I met with Art Requena, an enthusiastic volunteer, and Wellington Webb, speaker of the Colorado House. Webb had written to Atlanta, expressing his interest and asking for some information on Carter. I told him all I could, urged him to keep in touch, and said that Gov.

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Jimmy Carter is a major candidate featured on a flier for the annual fundraiser for the Kansas state party, held in Topeka.

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Carter wanted to meet with him. Again, I asked for suggestions as to whom I might contact for help.

Herein is a classic example of the Carter campaign's thorough approach. Webb's letter was not lost in the incoming mail or ignored. It was conveyed to me that I was to follow up. Any letter of support or even a business card handed to either of the Carters had "WH" (Will Help) scribbled on its surface. Some slipped through the cracks, but not many. One has to remember at this point, there were no electronic databases—this was the age of 3-by-5 file cards and Rolodexes.

There were two more arrows in the quiver that were worth their weight in gold. One was the writing of personal notes by Carter to what seemed like almost everyone he met in 1975. I don't think other candidates wrote notes, and the value of these would only increase with exposure and good state campaigns. The other was the call list, which I want to describe later.

Recruiting people to help in the campaign early on would vary in difficulty, usually measured by their exposure to or recognition of Carter and his record. Joan Masuck was on board, with absolutely no campaign experience, but a willingness to work hard on a volunteer basis. Then there was the fundamentalist minister in Oklahoma who was both a bungler of biblical proportions and adamant that I be fired from the campaign.

My sins were manifest: I had not spent time with him lately, and I had been overnighing with an unmarried political couple, both of whom were committed to Carter and who were experienced organizers. Hamilton and Rosalynn managed to keep him on board, but in a backseat to the organizing committee I would assemble there.

In the spring of 1975, I made my first trip to Iowa. I was armed with, well, not much: the names of two people who had written to the governor and a suggestion to contact former gubernatorial candidate Jim Schaben. I would soon find that many more people had been impressed by contact with Carter—from the east, west, and center of the state. This was a rare slip-up in the briefing process—but I would find these people (or they would find me), and their help would be monumental.

The Iowa state Democratic Party had a good reputation as one whose offices were well-staffed and innovative. The first things we wanted to acquire were the lists, the computer-generated compilation of the names of Democrats who had participated in previous caucuses. An item taken for granted today was a novelty in 1975, but a treasure trove for any campaign that was to prepare for the caucuses

thoroughly.

Richard Bender, their "IT guy," said we could buy a printout or the program and content, a standard IBM 9-track (1600 BPI). Wishing he had spoken English, I made a silent wild-guess calculation and told him we would buy the printout, and I would pick it up on my next visit.

Another staffer, Jill Wiley, suggested that I might want to visit with the Polk County auditor, Jim Maloney, who would be a good contact, if not a supporter. In the months ahead, a friendship would form with Jill, whose soft-spoken advice would be critical in terms of people I should contact and try to enlist.

On this visit, Maloney was unavailable, but I met his deputy, Floyd Gillotti, and he was Carter all the way. He became the campaign's untitled "political consigliere," an untiring long-hours volunteer, and a great friend.

In subsequent visits to Iowa, I would use the call list, which was assembled by Hamilton and guided, I guess, by common political sense. If you were going to ask the Carters to place a call, they should be provided a brief bio on the person and the reason for needing that individual in the campaign. I would use it sparingly, and I asked Hamilton to let me know if and when the call was made.

I remember the first two requests well, a packing plant worker in Sioux City and a veteran labor leader in Newton. It is a fine-tuned political pleasure to assess someone who is valuable, genuinely interested, but on the fence as well—and then to be able to say, "I appreciate your time, hope we can get you and Gov. Carter together pretty soon." Then, a call is made, and most likely, they commit. How many other campaigns did that!!!

Checking in with Atlanta, there was some good, if challenging, news: in early May, I was to advance a brief, weekend trip to Colorado and be the campaign staff on site as well. In other words, Carter was coming without Jody, and he really didn't know me from a can of paint. Hamilton was chuckling as he told me, "You're in for a real treat."

This trip was an exception to the rule. For most of 1975, Carter directed his staff to get him back to Atlanta on a Saturday. From there, he would drive or fly to Southwest Georgia and home, in Plains. Of course, the campaign staff, including myself, saw all kinds of great events that should be scheduled on weekends, but Carter was adamant. That was an inviolable time to rest, read, go to church, and be with his wife—all radical notions in the political landscape of the 70s.

The focal point of the planned visit was a Sunday evening address to Adams County Democrats, who had invited Carter and had picked up the airfare. Situated to the northwest of

Denver proper, the audience would be primarily blue-collar and labor; their annual JFK dinner always had a good turnout. Preceding that was an add-on by me, a “champagne and hot dogs” fundraising brunch in trendy Arapahoe County.

With less than two days of his time to work with, I scheduled almost every minute (10 major or mini events) that provided good exposure to press, contributors, volunteers, active Democrats, and labor. The trains ran on time for the most part, but what stood out for me was learning about Carter and forming some major new impressions.

IMPRESSION: Carter and I were in his room before the 4 p.m. Friday reception, and at 3:50, he abruptly headed for the door to go down. I suggested that we wait until 4:30 to allow the room to fill up a little, the traditional ploy to provide the candidate an “entrance.” “No,” said Carter, continuing, “I want to be there to greet folks as they arrive. How do I know I won’t miss someone walking into a room, with people moving around?”

Later that year, at a statewide party function in Ames, Iowa, there was a hotel ballroom reception with our principal opponent in attendance. Moe Udall was in one corner of the room, sort of hemmed in with a large semicircle of people around him, each trying to say something in person. The first ones at the door of the ballroom were Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter, greeting every single person who came to the event.

IMPRESSION: On the way to the Adams County dinner, I briefed Carter on a minor flare-up that had occurred with the Adams County Democratic Party treasurer. He had been angry and vocal when he learned of the Arapahoe County brunch, saying it would siphon off attendees to their dinner and that he, as treasurer, had paid for Carter’s airfare. This simply wasn’t the case, I told Carter. They were two completely different counties, the brunch was small and neighborhood oriented; *and* the Adams County event was almost sold out.

“Just tell him that it was a staff scheduling screw-up and that you just learned of it...” I was saying; but before I could finish, Carter, who was reading something, looked up and said, “I’ll tell him to go to hell. I’m out here running for president, and I need to see as many people as possible. Don’t worry about it, you did the right thing.” With that, he resumed reading.

That made an indelible impression on me, as I expect it would on most field coordinators, who must wonder at times if loyalty is ever a two-way street. Of course, the treasurer was all smiles when we arrived (early!), and it was a terrific event for both Carter and the county party.

IMPRESSION: We were on the corner of a downtown street in Denver, waiting for the two young volunteers who were supposed to be there with a car. We waited—and waited—no cellphone to call them, and no way to know where they were. Waiting is not something that Carter does gracefully. There is a silent, cold glare and a total tensing up of the nervous system (in this case, mine). I am convinced that even people on the other side of the street were uncomfortable.

At last, they arrived, laughing about the car line for their fast-food pickup. I sat in the backseat with a silent Carter, hunched over the gap in the front seat watching every mile to the Bob Maytag residence in Colorado Springs, watching the car clock and following the highlighted portion of their map and my notes. We did find the secluded mansion on time, and the evening went well.

MAJOR IMPRESSION: As we parted the next day at the airport, Carter said the following, and this is mostly verbatim: “This trip has been reassuring to me. I want you to feel like you can always contact me if you think there is something about the campaign that I ought to know. If there are mistakes, bring them to my attention or to Hamilton or Jody. You can work with them; I have full confidence in their management of the campaign. But don’t be reticent about contacting me if you think it is necessary.”

There is a lot of political foresight packed into this brief admonition. He was running a long-shot campaign across a lot of primary and caucus states. One severe local error beyond his knowledge or control could burgeon into a major story or crisis if not recognized and dealt with. There were a couple of problems of this kind (I was both of them), but with Hamilton’s help, we dealt with them.

Beyond the good sense of it, this was the first personal communication of any kind that I had with Carter. It’s not that he was taciturn or rude—he was just all business, and he didn’t feel obligated to exchange small talk or banalities with a staff person. The lighter, humorous touch would come later when we were together more often.

In the early summer of 1975, I was preoccupied with finding an Iowa campaign manager, a nuts-and-bolts organizer and someone who could work compatibly with Carter, Hamilton, and Jody. I had a young state senator in mind and had visited with him, but he was still mulling it over.

I had secured time for a fundraiser in Kansas, which was being organized by the three ladies who had journeyed to Atlanta in 1974 to “recruit” Carter. Only it was *not* being organized: with numerous calls to the three of them, I could

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sense confusion and lack of focus. They had, essentially, delegated the details (those pesky details) to a young friend of theirs I had heard of. But he was busy with his own occupation and had thought that they had—they had what? Picked a venue? Gotten the word out through the party organization? Ticket sales, banquet chair, head table, publicity, ad infinitum???

In a nutshell, this was the outset of a disaster. I felt that we had to start from scratch, and that meant, one: diplomatically telling the ladies that we needed a fresh start, and two: coming up with a fresh start.

This represents the conundrum or challenge of an ambitious national campaign with little funds: it wants to get a lot of work and organization from volunteers but at the same time, get large crowds, maximum publicity, *and* raise money. We did not have the legions of staffers (divided into X number of different specialties) that characterize current presidential campaigns. We had genuinely enthusiastic part-timers and three, count 'em, three national staff people in the field. Our M.O. was to make it work—or at least, make it look like it worked.

I went to Topeka and talked with the raucous band of Young Democrat leaders with whom I had kept in touch. I really didn't have a plan, but Scott Burnett and Dennis Tapsak suggested a picnic barbecue event at \$25 a head, a free band (Tiger and the Pimps), and a popular outside venue in Topeka. They were committed to getting a crowd, if not making a lot of money. The elder trio of ladies was tacitly relieved of their obligation—and relieved to be off the date-certain hook. It all worked, and I had identified two future staffers, when we got the money.

More fundraising in Nebraska: Joan Masuck, Faye Gomez, and Marietta McCarthy had put together a respectable luncheon crowd for Carter's quick visit to Omaha. I met him there, and our schedule (his airtight schedule) was to depart promptly at 1:15 p.m. to fly in a small plane to Wichita, where Jody had arranged an airport news conference, after which Carter was to attend the national Young Democrats convention in St. Louis.

It was all working well until about 1 p.m., when Carter was ready to head for the airport. Our hosts were desperately trying to hang onto him until a VIP guest was to make a late arrival. Carter had to be obliging, but it was my job to get him out of there. Finally, Warren Buffett arrived (he was not Famous Warren Buffet yet in 1975), they had a quick exchange, and we were off.

As the pilot was going through his takeoff checks, Carter gave me, once again, the laser twin-blues stare. "Always

remember," he said, "I would rather be 10 minutes early than one minute late." He asked the pilot to fly as low as regulations permitted and to get us there as soon as possible.

Carter's insistence on punctuality was a practice that served the campaign well and has been adopted by virtually no one else. Whether from the Navy or previous campaigns, he had sensed that, while people may be accustomed to waiting on candidates (or political VIPs), they don't necessarily appreciate it. Time and again, I heard early arrivals comment with surprise and favor about Carter's being there "already."

The St. Louis appearance proceeded to go well, and after Carter went to his room (*our* room, I found out at the last minute), I decided to continue to liaison with the Young Democrats, particularly with a state party official from St. Louis. Getting back to the hotel early next morning, I took off my shoes outside the door, crept into the room like an errant teenager, dropped my clothes on the floor, and slipped into bed.

What seemed like minutes later, lights were on, and Carter emerged from the bathroom with a broad grin and a booming, "Good morning, Timothy, rise and shine, another day in which to excel!" This was a surprise, a personal first with the candidate. I scrambled to get ready, grateful for the lack of a reprimand.

On a subsequent return to Iowa, my search at that time was really focused on two objectives. One was to find a strong, reputable person in a county who would build support there and also serve on a statewide steering committee. The other was to sign up a full-time state campaign manager, who would be hired by the Atlanta headquarters.

The steering committee approach became sort of obvious to me after observation. We had to build an "Iowa" identity, and until Carter could spend more time there, that would be reflected in the names of our state leadership. And we should not be "typed" by one or two names. The best example I observed was the Udall campaign's selection of two Des Moines activists as state co-chairs. Both were reputable and popular Democrats who also were known as core liberals. There were a large number of Iowa Democrats who would search for a more center-moderate candidate. "Schaben Democrats," as Floyd Gillotti would put it.

As for a campaign manager, I was apparently striking out. The state senator finally told me that he liked Carter and was going to support him, but that he was declining the role of manager. I do not recall his reasons, but that was that. I had to scramble to think of a solution. What to do? Call Hamilton and get his advice.

Perhaps the obvious was in front of me, but I truly liked

the role of regional coordinator—moving around to different states, meeting people, and trying to assemble the right pieces for a good state campaign—and to advance Carter’s visits, which consisted in equal parts of headache and enjoyment.

I had, by this time, worked in eight Western states, six of which had raised the contributor-match amount. Four states had active steering committees, and four others just needed more effort.

Hamilton had other thoughts, and given the time—mid-August—he was probably right. “You’d better just move on up there, Krafty, and get the campaign started.” It wasn’t one of those “think it over” kind of conversations. He was telling me to move to Iowa. And so I did.

Iowa Campaign Manager

A major paradox of the Iowa precinct caucuses is that, in terms of delegate selection, they are not very critical. On caucus night, Iowans merely elect delegates to the county convention. After that, there are delegates elected to district conventions, then elections to the state convention. On the way up, a candidate slate can either gain or lose numbers, as Iowans change allegiances, make deals on policy, or settle old scores.

Yet, the precinct caucuses are inordinately important in terms of showing of support for a presidential candidate in the very first official step of delegate selection. A small step in national delegate accumulation has now become a major media indicator of who “won” or “lost,” who faded, or who surprised.

I had to find a headquarters, get phones in, and do a blue dozen other tasks right away. I met Floyd Gillotti at Babe’s Restaurant, with a Des Moines Register in hand, to go over some real estate listings. “We don’t need that,” he said, “Let’s get in the car.” He drove us around downtown Des Moines until he spotted a “for lease” spot near 10th and Grand (he knew the owner, of course), and that narrow storefront with a large semifinished area in back would become our state headquarters.

In the process of setting up shop, I had the first major bureaucratic problems with Atlanta: I had asked to hire three people—they said one; some balking on the phone budget; same thing on most supplies. I called Hamilton to complain, and his response was, “Money is tight. Make your case in a memo. I’ll help you here.”

This was the right way to do it. He had an entire country to oversee, and I was the responsible party in Iowa. I wrote a succinct appeal (a pretty good one, actually), and Hamilton made the case. I won’t say the floodgates opened, but I could turn the lights on, hire two staffers, and put in the phones.

The total requested for rent, phones, personnel, postage, letterhead and envelopes, printing/off-set, media advertising, and travel was (no, I’m not kidding) \$18,125.

Next, the first hire. There were a couple of folks in New Mexico who wanted to be on the campaign staff—anywhere. I had other ideas about what worked in this state. The four-word secret of success in Iowa is “Iowans talking to Iowans.” It is astonishing how many other campaigns during or subsequent to the Carter effort never seemed to catch on to this. It is nothing short of crucial to have a local leader who has caucus experience to be your person on Monday night. That thought informed my entire search for a working steering committee. I thought that approach should work with a staff, if I could find the right people.

Floyd Gillotti had a recommendation: talk to a young woman who worked in the office of the county supervisors. I did, and I made the “best steal” hire of the decade. Lori Baux then helped me find a young man named Bill Ryerson from Creston, Iowa. Eventually, we had five district coordinators

**“Always remember,” he said,
“I would rather be 10 minutes
early than one minute late.”**

for six districts. I was sort of the de facto staffer responsible for Polk County (Des Moines), where a legion of Carter volunteers did all the work.

The pace was picking up exponentially. In August and early September, I was assembling a blue-chip roster of people who would agree to serve on a steering committee. If anyone at the time even thought of the notion of “political correctness”—well, frankly, no one did. It was just a very well-balanced sum of all the parts—19 people who would go on the letterhead, get special and frequent briefings, and who were absolutely invaluable to the statewide effort.

At the time that headquarters, steering committee, hires, and just about everything were coming together, I had a call from Atlanta telling me that Rosalynn Carter would be coming to Iowa and wanted to cover at least four congressional districts. My honest (and contained) reaction: “We’re not ready for her. Can we schedule this later in the month or next month?” The answer: “Date certain. Get ready.” And so we did.

Lori and I put together a four-district trip covering five days and a number of areas where we needed more help. My thought was to handle the Des Moines and Ames functions

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and then find the right people to accompany her for the balance.

I typed up the schedule from my multiple pages of yellow legal pad outline with scribbled numbers, names, dates, etc., and when Rosalynn and her good friend Edna Langford arrived at the airport, I handed her the batch of legal pads. “This is your schedule,” I said, and watched as she and Edna started to decipher it. “I’m kidding,” I said, and handed them each a copy of the typed agenda. “Well, I *have* gotten these before,” Rosalynn said, with a smile, handing the yellow pages back.

I could write a small book on the next five days, but suffice it to say that by the end of the reception in Charlie and Hazel Hammer’s home in Ames, I had scrubbed the thought of delegating any future part of her schedule. The trip was political gold, as anyone who has campaigned with her would know. I was filling out 3-by-5 cards as fast as I could write, and Edna was making her own notes as well. From Ames to Waterloo to Dubuque and Davenport, she was making the kind of respected impression that she does in her own way. After her visit, she would make more calls to Iowa, and she accepted calls at home, which amazed Iowans. The Carters’ dual attention to this task paid enormous dividends.

A great trip had firmed up whoever was hesitant about committing to the steering committee. We promptly printed up the letterhead stationery and prepared for a mailing effort to about a thousand names that we had put together. New volunteers included two students, Tom Long and Bridget (whose last name I can’t recall), who began showing up every day. When the mailing night was underway, Floyd and Jim Maloney stopped by to take a look. “This is terrific. I don’t know most of the people in this room,” said Floyd. That was a compliment to the effect that this was new blood. Maloney put in his own approval of the statewide committee, saying, “You’ve got people who have been in the trenches.”

At about this time, the campaign launched its “media non-blitz.” The sum total of our television in Iowa was a five-minute biography produced by Gerry Rafshoon in Atlanta. It was, by definition, concise and well-done. Rafshoon mailed me the times and the stations on which it would appear, over a 10-day buy.

With the lead time of his memo, we put together another mailing of every name we had, urging our committed and leaning friends to watch for a five-minute commercial that would appear in their area. I wasn’t sanguine about what results, if any, we would get, but there was a terrific response to the spots from a lot of counties. I am certain that readers will think this all sounds a little hokey and amateurish in 2015.

Remember, this was well before the era of saturation 30- and 60-second spots, and the bio was about a little-known farmer and former governor. People actually looked for the spot!

The next Carter trip in early fall brought him with a Secret Service contingent (tendered to candidates who had met the federal matching funds criterion), and I had to be admonished not to lecture them on the best route to the headquarters. Mine was quicker, but they plot their own route. At a quick stop at headquarters, Carter met our fledg-

The trip was political gold, as anyone who has campaigned with her [Rosalynn Carter] would know.

ling volunteer group and a new volunteer, one overweight, garrulous Des Moines attorney by the name of Sam Zeldon.

Sam could be a chore; as one courthouse friend told me, “He will talk at you till your ears bleed.” He was also committed, resourceful, and innovative. Give me these qualities anytime—and he proved to be very helpful. One of his first notions was that Carter should appear on a very popular morning cooking show carried by one of the network affiliates. Jody Powell was always looking for television, any television, and Carter agreed to a live appearance the next day. The hostess was great, and Carter was smiling and affable, talking about recipes for everything from catfish to hot cakes. We thought it was an okay use of his time and were happily amazed to hear glowing comments about his appearance for the next three weeks.

Our small staff of three was also complemented at this time by two arrivals from Atlanta—Betty Mayo, who would help manage the office, and a young Moira Egan, who would volunteer to help in any way she could. The pace was picking up, and we needed every working body we could find.

Another Carter trip in the fall would take us to Iowa City, where our uber-active supporters, Dick Meyers and Bill Sueppel, would always put together a good caucus-active crowd. The other leg of the trip, an evening with all candidates at a labor forum in Cedar Rapids, did not go so well. Birch Bayh topped the other candidates with a rousing stem-winder of a speech. Carter had decided to devote his speech to foreign policy.

The next morning in the car, Carter noticed a small news item on the event that reported a last-minute straw poll at the rally that had Bayh up by two or three points. I picked this inopportune time to ask Carter why he had shelved a good

stump speech in favor of a complex treatise on foreign policy.

Carter: “I might not have, if I had known you had scheduled me at a Bayh rally.”

Kraft: “We got *our* people there, but they didn’t seem to like the speech very much.”

Carter: “You got the *Bayh* people there.”

And with that, we both stared out the window for the rest of the drive. I had thought I had spotted a slight grin from one of the Secret Service agents in the front seat. When we arrived and were getting out of the car, he did grin and said to me quietly, “Hang in there, Mr. Kraft.”

The Jefferson-Jackson Straw Poll

“When in the course of human events...” ...you are given a timely opportunity, jump on it. Begging the pardon of the Founding Fathers, our campaign did just that with the state party’s scheduling of the Jefferson-Jackson fundraising dinner in late October 1975. We had our 19 steering committee volunteers (SCVs), growing support, and a good small staff. This dinner, about halfway to the caucuses, gave us a specific objective on which to focus our energy and human resources.

The statewide event to be held in Ames took on an added significance to us when we learned that the Des Moines Register would conduct a straw poll on the floor of the auditorium. Somehow, the poll was to be restricted to those who paid the \$25 for a box chicken dinner, on the floor. Other Democrats could observe the proceedings from the auditorium seats on either side of the floor for \$2 a head. To me, this was an open invitation to infiltrate.

We sent several memos to our SCVs and a growing list of committed Democrats, urging them to attend, organize car pools, or charter a bus. We provided them motel information so they could make early reservations. The second mailing included our newly arrived bumper stickers.

Sam Zeldon, a daily visitor, saw the bumper stickers and yelled, “Straw hats.” I told him that asking for straw hats in the budget was akin to an insanity plea in Atlanta. Three days later, Sam and a friend were carting in several boxes of straw boaters, around which you could easily attach a bumper sticker (Gillotti said, “They must have fallen off a truck.”). They were perfect—a frugal campaign’s version of the free T-shirts and caps that everyone distributes today.

Lori Baux phone-canvassed our supporters and found that more than a few of them wanted to attend and vote but were put off by paying \$50 for two cold chicken box lunches. In the third memo we mailed, there was a suggestion that people might want to bring a snack to the sideline seats and then

work their way to the floor during the speeches and secure a ballot.

The coup for our campaign, in my view, was having both Carters at this key event. It was not a given. The campaign had long since launched major and intensive efforts in New Hampshire (Chris Brown) and Florida (Phil Wise). Neither of these campaigns was shy about lobbying for appearances, and the Carters were rarely in one place at the same time. Their entire family was scheduled in several early contests, and they kept their commitments as planned.

We descended on Ames and captured the visibility contest going away. Our supporters were everywhere with large buttons and the custom boaters. Rosalynn and Neil Hamilton worked the sidelines, handing out hundreds of the new large buttons. Sam and Bill Ryerson had saved the first row seats lining both sides of the floor to ensure our visibility to media and lowans alike. Carter’s speech was well-received, and he won the straw poll handily.

The results to me were astonishing. In the next two days, we actually had a couple of national reporters stop by the office. With media in 1975, I was in over my head. Fortunately, Jody Powell was on hand for the heavy lifting, and Carter had a New York Times story (A-1, above the fold) that was to give national fundraising a shot in the arm. No one used the phrase at the time, but it was truly “the October Surprise.”

Home Stretch

By November, we had a full-time staffer in every congressional district. They either lived there, secured donated office space, or operated part-time from the county party headquarters. Iowan party officials were hospitable; it might be first come, first serve, but we were usually the first to ask.

Their primary task was obvious: to form a strong core in each county and help the core work down to the precinct. As many of the 1,199 precincts as possible should have a Carter leader, as I was reminded constantly by a much younger and relatively new staffer in Atlanta. Rick Hutcheson was the national delegate selection coordinator who called, and I quickly tired of his frequent monotone reminders of the six precincts not yet covered in A or B counties. As I would soon discover, he was exceptionally good for the campaign, and we would become good friends in 1976.

The coordinators were tasked with advance and press work as well, as we had more and more out-of-state volunteers who came to help—from Nebraska and Kansas, but most of all hundreds of Georgians, known as The Peanut Brigade, who knew the Carters and wanted to help. These

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were folks who didn't ask for housing or travel expenses and who would walk, phone, attend events, and talk to anyone who would listen about the Carter administration in Georgia.

Our SCVs were crucial in helping line up interviews, small meetings, and party events. They were also vocal in telling me they wanted more Carter family, as his sister Ruth Carter Stapleton and his son Chip Carter were seasoned and articulate in meeting and persuading on-the-fence Democrats.

The work continued through December until almost everyone took the holiday break that seemed to fly by in a matter of hours. The first 10 days of January 1976 saw a last swing by Carter that included a lot of activity in the eastern part of the state and a large and memorable rally in Dubuque. Jo Ann Reynolds was the county chair who openly committed to the Carter campaign, and as we rode from her headquarters to the rally, she expressed concern about two other candidates. Carter told her that if everyone worked as hard as she did, the campaign would prevail, without a doubt—both a compliment and a challenge to her.

I have worked on campaigns across the United States and in 12 different countries, and I have never seen its equal.

Carter did not return to the state. I had suggested to Hamilton as diplomatically as possible that we needed the Monday-to-Monday before the caucuses to start counting names, from the SCVs to county leaders, and yes, Rick, down to every last precinct.

I heard from a friend in the Atlanta scheduling office that Carter had remarked after his last visit to Iowa, "I am not going back there again; I would only get in their way."

On caucus night, most of our small staff was deployed in key counties. I was almost alone in the office with Tom and Moira, helping to answer the phones on our check-in calls. Sam Zeldon had secured a small television for us to listen to local news reports on the caucuses. Carter won the caucuses, finishing behind the elusive "uncommitted," but well ahead of Bayh and the trailing pack. I drove to the hotel media room that the state party had reserved sometime after midnight and found a small and desultory crowd. Jody was there, and he, on impulse, called Carter in New York, waking him up. Jody gave him a quick report, and they agreed to connect again in the early a.m. Jody said, "Here's Tim," and handed me the phone. Carter said, "Our people did a good job. I guess we won't have to send you to Alaska now."

The Jimmy Carter presidential campaign started in some minds and memos in the latter half of 1972. The outreach and organizational stage began full bore in January 1975. It was, for nomination politics, a classic campaign, almost flawless in its planning and execution. For what it's worth, I have worked on campaigns across the United States and in 12 different countries, and I have never seen its equal.

Jimmy Carter gave the campaign purpose, energy, confidence, and discipline. The Atlanta headquarters skillfully managed the allocation of slender resources. The nascent field organization was slowly and carefully assembled and fully supported by Atlanta.

The outside hires of Chris Brown and me offer a good example of prudent expansion. I was questioned about Chris, and I am certain that he was asked about me as well. I do know that in my first few months on the job as a regional fundraiser, Hamilton called almost every political figure that I listed in my resume and some DNC people that I did not know.

Coordination and cooperation were manifest. Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell were the de facto principals of the campaign, and in stark contrast to other leaders in other campaigns, they each stuck to their own responsibilities, while consulting and collaborating when called for.

There was no backbiting, posturing, or grandstanding within the campaign; such behavior would constitute a lethal mistake in any Carter organization. Hamilton Jordan did not see the purpose or utility of traveling with the candidate, as so many campaign managers seem to do in every other campaign. Carter didn't need to be handled or prompted—and when Jody traveled with him, he handled the politics and media of the visit as well as or better than any press secretary anywhere.

In the final analysis, it is the candidate who sets the curve and makes the difference. It is the man from Plains who gets up on a cold, rainy, January dawn in 1975, drives 160 miles to Atlanta to board a flight that will take him to Chicago, Kansas City, or Boston, where he continues the 800,000-mile journey, telling incredulous strangers or uncommitted Democrats that he is running for president, and he does not intend to lose.

Some of those mentioned in this article continued with the Carter-Mondale administration, including Landon Butler, White House deputy chief of staff; Bob Lipshutz, White House counsel; Scott Burnett, director, White House speakers bureau; Dennis Tapsak, deputy general counsel, EPA; Lori Baux, staffing specialist, White House personnel office; Gerald Rafshoon, assistant to the president for communications; Rick Hutcheson, White House staff secretary; Tim Kraft, assistant to the president for personnel and political coordination.

Georgians Form Peanut Brigade

By Dot Padgett

In 1975, the Carter presidential campaign was well underway, following a plan written by Hamilton Jordan in 1972. Also in 1975, a new element began, which became as much a symbol of the Carter campaign as the peanut—the Peanut Brigade.

Scores of Georgians loyal to Jimmy Carter prepared to leave their jobs, families, and homes and travel at their own expense across the nation, particularly to New Hampshire. Their motivation was to be a part of a national presidential campaign and to canvass voters door to door on behalf of Jimmy Carter. Nancy Konigsmark Jordan and Dot Padgett coordinated the trips with state campaign managers, and later Rita Thompson moved from her other duties in the campaign to join Nancy and Dot as the three ringleaders of the Peanut Brigade. Below, Dot Padgett shares memories of that time.

“Georgians Freezing in New Hampshire” was the headline in a Manchester, N.H., newspaper. The Georgians were the 100 friends and supporters who had flown into New Hampshire to knock on doors and ask people to vote for Jimmy Carter for president. They set Jimmy apart from the numerous other candidates in this primary.

When voters answered our knock, they were surprised to see a mature person, sincere in what he or she was doing, standing at the door. They frequently asked what in the world we were doing out in the cold weather and almost always invited brigadiers in for a hot drink.



Gathered outside the Manchester, N.H., office are Peanut Brigadiers (left to right) Claude Terry, Carol Fullerton, Rick Hutto, (two unidentified people), Betty Pope, Maxine Reese, Juliana Winters, Greg Mathis, Dot Padgett, John Pope, (unidentified person).

They liked our Southern accents. A friendly man told me, “Sweetheart, I have not understood a word you have said, but I love the way you have said it.” I laughed and told him I would talk a little slower and louder.

He chuckled and responded. “No, you are just fine. I will take your brochure and read about your friend Jimmy Carter.”

Shirley Miller, wife of Lt. Gov. Zell Miller, was relentless in her search for voters. On one bitter cold day, the Georgians were the only people out on the streets. About midafternoon someone said to me, “Have you seen Shirley? I have not seen her all afternoon.”

We discovered she was so convincing and engaging that the people would invite her into their homes for a cup of tea or coffee and listen to her talk about Jimmy Carter.

One day Shirley and John Pope were in a drugstore, sitting at the soda fountain. John spoke to the waitress at the counter, saying, “I am John Pope from Georgia.” He told her why he was in New Hampshire, adding, “Let me introduce you to Shirley Miller, wife of the lieutenant governor of Georgia.” The woman wiped off the counter and replied, “Oh yes, Shirley, let me introduce myself. I am the Queen of Sheba.”

There was a lot of competition among teams. Caroline Hamilton, wife of state Sen. Bert Hamilton from Macon, Ga., was traveling with a team that decided to compete with each other. She was racing to get from one house to another to meet her quota of houses. At one house, she tried the front door, but no one answered. No one answered her ring at a side door, either. She said, “I saw a light near what looked like a garage. I went in the garage and rang the bell. As soon as I rang the bell, I saw this note: ‘DO NOT RING THIS BELL FOR GARAGE DOOR... IT IS BROKEN.’”

“Too late, the garage door came down, and I was trapped inside a dark garage. I was horrified. No one knew where I was, and I began to wonder when I would ever get out of that garage. After about 15 minutes, a woman came out the back door and found a strange woman standing in her garage. The only thing that saved me was my hat. I had on a large sunhat decorated from top to bottom with Carter political buttons, pictures, and anything else that would attach to it.”

The woman started laughing and said, “Don’t you Carter people believe in signs?”



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Caroline said, “All I could manage to say was, ‘I hope you will vote for Jimmy Carter.’”

Other States

Earlier in the planning stage, I asked Hamilton about volunteers going into other states. Much to my surprise, he told me there were no plans to send Georgians to other primary states. Florida planned to have a straw poll that would be the first public test of Jimmy Carter vs. George Wallace in a Southern state.

I said to him, “Hamilton, I heard someone say that Wallace has such a grip on Florida that if Jimmy Carter thinks he can beat him there, he is just whistling ‘Dixie.’ I can get 300 or more volunteers to go to Florida for long weekends.” I came up with the idea of having a special campaign button specifically targeted for the Florida primary.

In my kitchen, I found an oversized jar lid that I used to draw a circle, inside of which I wrote the words, “Why Not Our Best/March 9 Florida Primary.” There was a space for Jimmy’s picture in the center. Our plan was to sell the buttons to Peanut Brigadiers to pay the cost of transportation for the trip.

Hugh Carter Jr. had agreed to take time away from his job and help with this trip. He and I were in a restaurant one day when a man commented on the button I was wearing. He said his wife collected buttons and would like that one.



(left to right) Dele Dunwody (now Mrs. Robert Reichert, wife of Macon, Ga., mayor), and Frank and Frances Neal of Thomasville, Ga., join unidentified snowman for a cold day of canvassing.



(left to right) Rita Thompson, Dot Padgett, and Nancy Konisgmark make up the Peanut Brigade Brain Trust.

I told him he could have the button for \$25.00. Hugh was stunned; we usually just gave them away. This set the price for the buttons.

The Florida Primary Peanut Brigade button became the top button on the Carter button collectors list.

Rita Thompson, a longtime supporter and volunteer, began to make colorful signs. Her signs were hand-painted with a variety of messages. Some read, “Orange Blossom Special,” “Win with Carter,” or “Jimmy Carter for President.” Rita was always full of energy. I never saw her sit in a chair; she always sat on the floor. Rita was one of the first people involved with the campaign. She became one of the Peanut Brigade organizers and traveled to several states as team leader.

The Florida trip was the first of many trips for Ruth and Ruby, the famous Crawford twins from Atlanta. They were movers and shakers in Atlanta and just as much at home in any other city. They would go into a mall, set up a booth, and have the whole place buzzing for Jimmy Carter in a matter of minutes.

In most towns, the first place to stop was always the newspaper office or radio or television station. The Georgia elected officials traveling with us made this their assignment. Many had served in the Senate with Jimmy or in the General Assembly when he was governor.

By the time the Peanut Brigadiers arrived at a courthouse, mall, town square, or house, the voters had already heard they were in town. It gave them a sort of celebrity status. Tommy Irvin, secretary of the Georgia Department of Agriculture, assembled a group from the Georgia Dairymen’s Association to travel with us to Wisconsin, known as “America’s Dairyland.”

I think the spirit of the Peanut Brigade was summed up

by Jim King, who joined the campaign during the general election. He was a premier advance man and later accepted high-level appointments in government service. Speaking 36 years after the Peanut Brigade worked to elect a president, Jim said, “The Carter campaign should have been stillborn. It never should have happened. The Peanut Brigade and dedication of volunteers with ordinary people made the campaign real. The volunteers’ level of credibility was an enormous contribution to the civil dialogue, bringing out the best in America. These people did this without seeing benefits for themselves.”

One of the things that impressed voters during the

primary trips was the idea that people would pay all their expenses to make these trips to knock on doors and work in their state. We heard many times the comment “If this many people will work and pay their own expenses, Jimmy Carter must be a good man.” Nancy Jordan and I kept a steady stream of people leaving on planes or buses going to states that requested our help. Before the election was over, we had campaigned in 18 states. This effort with so much manpower and so many hours of work saved the campaign an unbelievable amount of money.



NEWS RELEASE:

Jimmy Carter Hits New Hampshire

FOR RELEASE: SUNDAY, JANUARY 4, 1976

A chartered plane loaded with 100 Georgia friends and neighbors of Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter landed in Manchester Sunday.

The Georgians came “to add our personal knowledge of Jimmy Carter’s character and record as governor to the work being done here by thousands of New Hampshire supporters and volunteers,” according to Landon Butler, coordinator for the trip.

Butler said the Georgians were not wealthy people and most had been saving money for months to make the trip.

They came loaded down with coats, sweaters, boots, and hats to face the unfamiliar New England cold. Their schedule calls for six hours of door-to-door campaigning Sunday through Wednesday, contacting more than 15,000 Democratic households in Manchester and Nashua.

Carter Manchester Chairman Cliff Ross said he was sure the campaigners would be warmly received by New Hampshirites. “These are good, down-to-earth people. They can talk from direct experience about how Jimmy Carter reorganized government and saved the taxpayers \$50 million a year: how he reformed an unfair property tax system, vetoed tax increases, and got politics out of the highway department and the state law enforcement agencies.”

The Georgia group represents diverse occupations. It includes laborers, carpenters, farmers, homemakers, car dealers, lawyers, business men and women, and students.

Sara Ambrose, a homemaker from the small Georgia town of Vienna, said, “This is a great thing for me. I’ve been looking forward to it for months. I really feel like I’m doing

something good and worthwhile for our country.”

Jean Wallin, Nashua chairwoman for the Carter campaign, said she thought New Hampshire voters who talked with the Georgians would find that Carter “is the sort of person who isn’t afraid to step on toes or call things as he sees them. He’ll be the sort of president who will shake things up in Washington just as he did in Georgia.”

The Georgia workers are headquartered at the Sheraton Wayfarer. When not actually campaigning, they will spend their time in personal follow-up to their contacts and in assessing and filing responses to the Carter appeal.

Carter’s Georgia coordinator Connie Plunkett said similar trips are being planned to Florida prior to the March 9 primary there.

The Georgia workers will be divided into groups of nine and assigned specific Nashua and Manchester wards. Each group will be headed by a New Hampshire volunteer “to help them find their way around, pull them out of snow banks, and treat frostbite,” according to Carter’s New England coordinator, Chris Brown.

Carter himself will spend Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday in New Hampshire campaigning in Manchester, Dover, Rochester, Somersworth, Portsmouth, Milford, and Nashua. Carter will meet with his workers Tuesday evening in Manchester. Immediately upon arrival the Carter volunteers left for a bus tour of Manchester. Early Sunday afternoon was spent in a private briefing by Carter’s New Hampshire staff. By 3:30 Sunday afternoon they were on the streets for their first round of handshakes, smiles, cold weather, and warm New England hospitality.

New Hampshire Primary Goes to Carter



By Chris Brown (New Hampshire Carter Campaign Chair Bill Shaheen, Georgia Brown, Pat Caddell, and Chip and Jeff Carter also contributed to this article.)

“Although Carter was totally unknown when he came into the state, he won the primary from sheer perseverance in a traditional one-on-one grassroots campaign.”¹

As a former one-term Southern governor, Jimmy Carter was given no chance of surviving New Hampshire’s brutal winnowing out when he set foot on its icy tarmac in February 1975. But neither were the other “seven dwarfs” to follow and file for the Feb. 24, 1976, primary—Morris Udall, Birch Bayh, Fred Harris, Sargent Shriver, George Wallace, and Henry Jackson. Carter knew that someone must win and get “The Big Mo,” and he was determined it would be him.

Jackson and Wallace did not campaign in person, although Jackson ran a significant late advertising blitz. Carter ultimately prevailed over the four active contenders by combining several advantages none of the others could match: (1) his and his family’s tireless person-to-person campaigning, both charming and sincere; (2) his status as a Washington outsider with executive experience; (3) being the only active candidate who appealed to moderate-to-conservative Democrats under the party’s then-larger tent; (4) a diverse and effective statewide organization; (5) momentum built in the final 90 days by great publicity and the arrival of the Peanut Brigade; (6) going up early, by 1970s standards, on Boston and Portland television; and (7) besting the other candidates in the Iowa and neighboring Maine caucuses. With increased media focus on “Jimmy Who?,” Carter’s victory in New Hampshire was the first for any contender over the rest of the field and the uncommitted slates that prevailed in Iowa and Maine.

The Grassroots Model

“No New Hampshire winner has ever done more with less than Jimmy Carter did in 1976.”²

The 1976 nomination campaign now seems a quaint anachronism when judged against modern methods enabled by massive funding and information technology. Carter and



Gov. Jimmy Carter addresses reporters at a New Hampshire press conference in 1975.

the rest ran shoestring national campaigns and barebones state efforts for months on end while raising the funds needed to qualify for the disbursement of presidential campaign matching funds on Jan. 1, 1976, a veritable windfall of a few hundred thousand dollars. Nor did the campaigns benefit from huge “independent” expenditures by PACs.

The serious candidates, especially Carter and Udall, instead modeled their New Hampshire campaigns on the grassroots efforts of McCarthy in 1968 and McGovern in 1972: person-to-person and small-group campaigning by the candidates, their families and surrogates, dedicated unpaid volunteers trudging door to door and garnering frequent local media coverage. What was clearly missing in 1976 was the spark of an overriding national issue like Vietnam, which had dominated the two most recent primaries and motivated hordes of college volunteers from New England’s many campuses to take their cause to New Hampshire’s doorsteps. But lacking any better model we could afford, we pressed ahead with the door-to-door strategy that had apparently worked before, albeit with smaller student cohorts, supporters from other Northeastern states, and employing a new weapon: the Peanut Brigade.

No Tech

Before volunteers could knock on doors, they needed the addresses of the one in five homes we targeted so as not to waste time on unregistered and Republican voters, or on most “undeclareds.” In those days there was no statewide computer voter file enhanced with “householding,” past

¹ Former Republican Gov. Hugh Gregg, “New Hampshire’s First-In-The-Nation Presidential Primary,” State of New Hampshire Manual for the General Court (the Redbook), Department of State, No. 55, 1997

² Dante J. Scala, professor of politics at St. Anselm College, Manchester, from an article he condensed from his book “Stormy Weather: The New Hampshire Primary and Presidential Politics,” 2003 (Palgrave Macmillan)

primary voter history, phone numbers, ethnicity, and other modern tools to pinpoint prime voters with Carter-friendly demographics. Our so-called voter file was a set of three-ply Avery labels typed from voter checklists gathered from the 13 cities and most of New Hampshire's 276 towns. Getting our hands on the list often required us to arrange with the town moderator to transcribe it. One moderator had handwritten his town's checklist in Palmer Method on a roll of "T.P." hung by a nail. Our staff copied it to a yellow pad while being careful not to squeeze the Charmin.

As lists were gathered by mid-1975, our high-speed processors—headquarters staff and volunteers—typed or printed each voter's name, address, and party onto the carbonless Avery label set. Phone numbers were added by ballpoint pen from our relational database: the latest New England Telephone White Pages and the R.L. Polk reverse directory. For door-to-door, we glued the top set of labels onto 3-by-5 cards. The second set was for live phoning—by people, not machines—and the third was our back-up master.

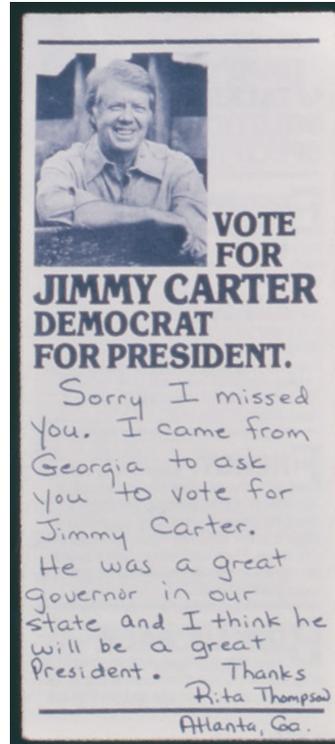
High Touch

"Carter's campaign was based not on volume, but on precision targeting of likely voters, followed by frequent, high-quality contact."³

Before setting out to brave the slippery snow and hand out the national "greenie" brochure (the Carter campaign used a distinctive green ink identification), each canvasser wrote dozens of now-hackneyed "so sorry I missed you" notes to leave at the not-homes. Peanut Brigadiers signed them with their name and Georgia address, adding to their impact, and often gave their own testimonial: "Jimmy Carter was a great governor, and I hope you will vote for him for president."

In the most Democratic city wards, many voters had to come down from second- or third-floor apartment flats. At the door, the green and white Peanut Brigade toboggan caps identified the volunteer's purpose as politics, not Avon. The canvasser addressed the voter by name when they could pronounce the often-anglicized French surnames, offered the brochure, and tried to determine the voter's candidate preference and any issue or policy interest. On the household's walk card, they coded: Carter Favorables 1, Leaning 2, Undecided 3, and Other 4. They scribbled key issues and anecdotes that might be useful later.

Back at the local headquarters, to reinforce the day's effort, canvassers wrote another note to those they had met who were favorable, leaning, or undecided, or had a specific



Notes and brochures left behind by volunteers created important connections with voters.

concern: "Mr. and Mrs. Gagnon—Here is the information on Jimmy Carter we discussed. Thanks for coming downstairs to talk with me."

The last task was to sort the cards into 1s and 2s for get-out-the-vote, and 3s and Not Homes to walk again later or follow up by phone. Our file data storage system consisted of index card boxes from the stationery store, with dividers by ward and town. No hard drives to crash or back up.

Nominating Petition Contests

To get onto the ballot, Carter needed to collect a large number of petition signatures from registered Democrats and pay a modest filing fee. The major campaigns competed to file first with the most. This process attracted a number of minor candidates as well. Our staff and volunteers worked for weeks to amass valid signatures, collecting many of them house to house with the walk card system. We tracked our progress on a butcher-paper wall chart at the Concord headquarters, titled Peanut Distribution Count to conceal signature numbers. We did in fact hand out cellophane peanut packages with the Carter logo. (Oregon banned this as bribery, giving "something of value" in exchange for a vote.)

In the predawn hours on filing day, Chip and a staffer got to the Capitol building that housed the secretary of state's office and staked out the front door. But a self-described "shoestring" candidate had spent the night in the men's restroom. Roused by sounds of doors and footsteps, he rushed from the restroom and raced Chip to the filing office, where they pressed against that still-locked door. Chip filed first, and Jimmy Carter grabbed the "first to qualify for the first-in-the-nation primary ballot" headlines.

The Carters' Campaign Days in New Hampshire

"Day after day, Carter hustled about the state, almost always on time, greeting people with his soon-to-be-famous grin....

continues on p. 20

³ *ibid.*

Continued from p. 19

Rosalynn Carter... maintained a pace almost as exhausting as that of her husband and generally followed a separate schedule, doubling their contact with voters.”⁴

Our objective was to pack each campaign day with opportunities for Carter and the family to meet as many Democrats as possible and let the rest know through the local media how he was taking his campaign directly to the people. An ideal schedule, not always possible, would start before dawn, with Carter meeting an early shift at a factory such as the Brown Company paper mill in Berlin. Then drive to the local radio station to interview or take listener calls; meet with the newspaper a few blocks away; speak at a high school or college or at the luncheon meeting of a civic club, and try to get additional coverage.

After noon, drive to the next city, tour a workplace, or walk the main street mom-and-pops: “Hi, I’m Jimmy Carter, and I’m runnin’ for president.” Walk and talk, meet and greet, grip and grin. Especially grin. Meet at 3 p.m. shift change, then give a ride-along interview to a Washington scribbler en route to an early dinner with an uncommitted elected official or party activist. In the evening, while folksy Fred Harris was drawing voters to his flier-promoted 99-cent bean suppers down at the union hall, Carter finished his day at the parish hall charity beano game (later renamed bingo), working the 4-by-8 tables and chatting up each player, except when their B-9 made “Beano!” Overnight with a supporter or prospect if possible. Up next morning by 5:30. Repeat.

Rosalynn and Jack, Chip, and Jeff and their wives kept similar schedules. Jeff and Annette only completed their road trip with the kindness of strangers at the last tollbooth north of Manchester. “Excuse me. We’re from Georgia. We don’t have toll roads. We’re broke, and we need a quarter for the coin bin.” Or maybe they gave Jeff the quarter just to get him out of their way.

Le Dénouement

Polling in December 1975 suggested a three-way race was emerging among Udall, Bayh, and Carter. They had been the first to form organizations, deploy staff, and open headquarters in New Hampshire, and it was no coincidence that they moved to the front and ultimately became the only candidates to finish in double digits. Late one night after a joint appearance, Carter and Udall were chatting about their dedicated staffs. Carter proposed they ring up their respective headquarters. Udall got no answer. Carter found his

crew still at work, or at least finishing off the Labatt six-pack that was slow to thaw, having been left too long on the windowsill of the walk-up headquarters beneath the athletic club, which graciously looked the other way as our out-of-state volunteers and interns used the club’s showers after over-nighting in their sleeping bags on the headquarters floor.

In January 1976, several factors combined to increase Carter’s support while the others’ stagnated: early television advertising, the Peanut Brigade and attendant publicity, reports of pre-caucus strength in Iowa and other early states, and increased media coverage of the perceived front-runners. February amplified the momentum of these factors as word of Carter victories in several city caucuses in the monthlong Maine process added to the momentum from Carter’s 28 percent in Iowa vs. Bayh’s 13 percent and Udall’s 6 percent.

Meanwhile, the grassroots campaign entered its final voter identification and get-out-the-vote push. We opened several more headquarters to better stage the walking get-out-the-vote and event advance in our target cities. A professional statewide phone canvass based in Manchester augmented the ongoing volunteer walking program. In that era of expensive in-state long distance telephone service, the cost-saver of the day was to pay a flat rate for the last month for an FX line (foreign exchange). This was a New England Telephone landline that would reach far-flung population centers at the unlimited free local rate but could be dialed from the Manchester phone bank.

On election night, we fully expected to finish first, despite having tried to lower expectations to second or third so that we could exceed them, if not the other candidates. The wee hours of February 25 produced this tally of the Democratic primary paper ballots and a decisive Carter victory over the other six dwarfs:

Carter	23,373	Shriver	6,743
Udall	18,710	Jackson	1,857
Bayh	12,510	Wallace	1,061
Harris	8,863		

Carter demonstrated the first sign of broader appeal at the polls by winning the write-in vote on the Republican ballot by 591 to 421 for Udall.

Carter was strong statewide. He carried seven of 10 counties and 11 of 13 cities, including the state’s most industrial and Democratic: Manchester, Nashua, Dover, Somersworth, Rochester, Berlin, Claremont, and Franklin, as well as more white-collar Concord and Portsmouth. All eight of our delegates in industrial CD-1 were elected. Udall picked up two delegates by edging out Carter in the

⁴ “1976: a national stage for Carter,” *New Hampshire (Manchester Union) Leader*, May 3, 2011

state university city of Keene and in Hanover, home to Dartmouth, both in the Connecticut Valley on the border of more liberal Vermont. The very next week, however, Carter swept the March 2 Vermont primary, where we had built an organization in 1975, with 42 percent. Carter would ultimately lead the other candidates in the popular vote in every New England state except Massachusetts on March 2, where winner Sen. Henry Jackson poured in resources and got 22 percent.

The Impact of Carter's New Hampshire Victory

The next critical target for the national campaign was Florida on March 9. Just as Iowa had set the table for Carter in New Hampshire, proving that a deep Southerner could win in the industrial North as well as in the farmer-friendly heartland, so New Hampshire helped set up his victory in Florida, proving Carter could defeat fellow Southerner George Wallace in the South. In the remaining weeks, despite an “anybody but Carter” effort, nobody but Carter would achieve more than anomalous victories as a regional or demographic favorite, such as late-entering Jerry Brown in California and Frank Church in the Northwest.⁵

In the nomination contests since 1976, New Hampshire and Iowa have continued to carry huge significance because they are covered for many months, not just the final week and day after. They are the only contests on their dates, so there is no 11-state Super Tuesday split decision with two or three candidates winning somewhere and none gaining strong momentum.

1976: A Legacy of Leaders

Many “early Carters” from 1975 and from other campaigns went on to accomplish much in the political arena. Sixteen-year-old student Ray Buckley volunteered in the Concord headquarters and was elected eight times to the N.H. House of Representatives, where he was a legislative leader. Ray has been the oft-quoted state Democratic Party chair since 2007 and is president of the National Democratic Chairs Association. Chris Spirou, a young “firebrand” legislative leader who was effective in lining up dozens of colleagues for Birch Bayh in 1976 and for Carter in 1980, has formed the “first-in-the-nation” New Hampshire Draft Hillary Campaign for 2016. Chris Spirou was the 1984 Democratic nominee



The Carter campaign headquarters was among the first to open, in this building in Concord, N.H.

for governor and chairman of the N.H. Democratic Party during Clinton’s 1992 victory. Jackson’s talented big-state organizer Terry O’Connell became a key-state manager for Carter-Mondale in the 1976 and 1980 general elections. Bill Shaheen, our state chair in 1976, served as U.S. attorney during the administration and then chaired presidential primaries for several more New Hampshire winners. Jeanne Shaheen, a Carter volunteer county coordinator in 1976, was state campaign director of our winning 1980 primary, the first woman to be elected either governor or U.S. senator from New Hampshire, and in 2008 became the first and still only woman in American history ever to have won both offices.

Editor’s note: After Chris and Georgia heard Gov. Jimmy Carter’s moving “Why Not The Best?” speech as keynoter of governor-candidate Jerry Apodaca’s fundraising dinner in late 1974, Chris, who was Apodaca’s campaign manager, and N.M. state party’s executive director Tim Kraft visited with Carter late that night at a meeting arranged by Landon Butler and his brother-in-law Ken Richards of Santa Fe. In early 1975, Chris traveled with Carter to New Hampshire, soon resigned as Apodaca’s chief-of-staff, and drove his 1966 VW Bug that April to Concord, where he was New England coordinator for the Jimmy Carter presidential campaign in 1975–76 and again in 1979–80. His prominent career in political consulting nationwide since 1976 has recently included media work for Mo Udall’s nephew, U.S. Sen. Tom Udall (D-N.M.), in 2008 and 2014.

⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_presidential_primaries,_1976

Carter Pulls Upset in Florida

By Mark Cohen

It was a warm, sunny, February day in Central Florida—the kind of winter day Northerners yearn for. And a Northerner had just arrived in Orlando at the Jimmy Carter for President state headquarters. Georgia state Sen. Ben Brown, who was leading the Carter presidential campaign’s outreach to and organizing within the black community, had just dispatched a young man from D.C. delegate Walter Fauntroy’s staff, Ernie Withers, to help build a statewide coalition for Jimmy Carter. Our Florida campaign headquarters was a cramped one-story structure (more like a structurally challenged shack) we shared with a regional Pizza Hut office, with paper-thin walls and doors that rattled and popped open with every strong gust of wind.

In an age long before your neighborhood Starbucks became many people’s primary office, Florida campaign manager Phil Wise had settled on a nearby Lum’s Restaurant as his unofficial conference and meeting room. So on Ernie’s arrival—our first national reinforcements!—Phil gathered up most of the handful of us working in the state headquarters, and off we went the mile or so to Lum’s, which was located across the street from Colonial Plaza Mall.

And as we settled into Phil’s favorite booth, Ernie, who was sitting closest to the condiments rack that held the menus, reached for one of those large, voluminous Lum’s menus—out fell two of those green Carter brochures! (Volunteers had been working the mall.) I don’t recall exactly what Ernie said, but it was something along the lines of, “You’ve even got Lum’s organized!” The look of combined shock and sheer delight on Phil’s face was the kind of moment that cellphone cameras were made for two generations later. It couldn’t have been better if we had planned it. But we hadn’t.

That was a lot of the story in the early primary states like Florida. Right place. Right time. A lot of luck. A little serendipity. And a whole lot of volunteers and staff working a whole lot of hours in nearly every place imaginable. What everyone remembers—cherishes—about Florida’s March 9 primary was Jimmy Carter’s convincing win over both Gov. George Wallace and Sen. Henry “Scoop” Jackson.



Jimmy Carter reaches out to voters on a campaign stop in Florida.

What’s largely been lost to history is that the Carter campaign in Florida (like the Iowa and New Hampshire victories that preceded it) was a genuine, grassroots, volunteer- and Peanut Brigade-fueled effort, the likes of which Florida did not see again until the tech-driven wonder that was the 2008 Barack Obama campaign.

From New Year’s to the March 9 primary, not a day was wasted. Volunteers and busloads of Peanut Brigadiers from Georgia canvassed neighborhoods, asking Democratic voters about the issues that concerned them. And then, another crew of volunteers and Peanut Brigadiers back in the campaign office wrote a personalized handwritten note to each voter contacted and enclosed the appropriate issues brief. While a campaign contact firm did much of the phone banking, the volunteer organization handled much of the follow-up.

Weekends were special. There was bumper sticker weekend, yard sign weekend (15,000 signs), car top weekend (signs and holders to affix to the top of your car), and postcard weekend (come in to the local campaign office and write postcards to your friends and neighbors asking them to vote for Jimmy Carter). Where once there was a smattering of (mostly Wallace and Ford) campaign sightings on the road and in front yards, by March much of Florida was awash in a sea of green bumper stickers, car signs, and yard signs, and mailboxes were overflowing with postcards and brochures.

Every voter the campaign contacted was rated on a 1–4 scale. While the 4s were dropped, the 3s and 2s were recontacted methodically in person by phone in hopes of turning

them into 1s. On Election Day, we ticked off the 1s and 2s as they voted, and as the day wore on, we contacted those who hadn't yet gotten to the polls.

We needed every one of those voter contacts if we were going to pull off the huge upset that was Florida. (Most of) Florida was Wallace country. George Wallace had won the 1972 Democratic primary with 41.7 percent of the vote. Hubert Humphrey placed second with 18.6 percent of the vote, and Scoop Jackson took third place with 13.5 percent. Eventual Democratic nominee Sen. George McGovern captured all of 6.19 percent of the Florida primary vote that year.

The assumption among pundits was that Wallace, who had won more than a quarter of the Florida general election vote running as an Independent in 1968, would build on his big 1972 primary victory. While Wallace would not compete in vote-rich South Florida, where the Jewish vote and black vote often were determinative, Jackson was sure to scoop up those votes.

As in Iowa, a straw poll gave an early indication that the quick and easy assumptions might be too easy. With a few staff (not including this writer, who didn't show up in Florida until January) and a band of Democratic activists, many of whom had earned their stripes in the 1972 McGovern campaign, Jimmy Carter won the November 1975 Florida Democratic Party Convention straw poll. The straw poll wasn't entirely predictive. Former Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp finished second, which just makes the point that it was going to take an extraordinary campaign of hard work by Jimmy, Rosalynn, Jack, Chip, Jeff, and staff and volunteers to capture the first of the big states to vote.

In the end, it was close. But not too close. Jimmy Carter won votes all over the state and won the state with 34.5 percent of the vote. George Wallace came in second with 30.5 percent of the vote, and Scoop Jackson, despite a torrid last-minute effort following his win in the Massachusetts primary the week before, finished well behind in third with 23.9 percent of the vote. Uncommitted finished fourth with 2.9 percent of the vote. All of the other candidates, eschewing Carter's run-everywhere strategy, had stayed away from Florida. And Jimmy Carter was on his way to impressive wins in the weeks ahead in Illinois, North Carolina, and Wisconsin.

While the Florida campaign was not rich with resources, we did have the campaign materials we needed, while other later states went without. So as we pulled out of Florida, we did what Jimmy Carter himself would have done—we



Some of the national campaign staff (left to right): Mary Kay Young, Rick Hutchison, Bill Simon, Ken Hays, Cookie Luktefedder, (Jimmy Carter in center), Evan Dobelle, Sandy Libby, Kevin Smith, Rob Furth, Becky Hendrix, Alicia Smith, Jim Gammill, Charlie Howell, and Russ Marane.



(left to right) Tim Davis, Mary Kay Young, Sandy Libby, Lori Baux, and Alicia Smith watch returns.

took everything we could carry: yard signs, car tops, and brochures printed with Florida's March 9 primary date. It didn't matter. A white Avery address label neatly covered the March 9 on the signs. For the brochures, we printed a rubber stamp with the new primary date and had volunteers stamp recycled brochures. We feared it might look cheesy; our volunteers loved it. It connected them with one of the campaign's three early triumphs. I lugged most of those materials from Florida to the succeeding states, and believe it or not, some of those signs and brochures made it to their fourth primary in New Jersey.

I'd like to think that one of those brochures that fell into Ernie Withers' lap back in February found its way into a New Jersey voter's hands four months later.

Carter Was First Rock-and-Roll President



In the late 1950s, a student at Mercer University in Macon, Ga., named Phil Walden began a small business to book bands for parties and dances. One of his clients was Hamilton Jordan of Albany, Ga., who began to hire bands from Walden for dances on the weekend in and around Albany. Neither of them knew at that time that this relationship would lead to helping to elect a man president. One of Walden's most popular bands that played several times in Albany was Johnny Jenkins and the Pine Toppers, and the



Phil Walden (center) introduced Gov. Carter to many important figures in the music industry, including Greg Allman (left).

lead singer for the band was Otis Redding.

Walden helped manage Redding's career and helped make him a star. After Redding's untimely death, Walden turned his attention to creating the Southern rock genre, forming Capricorn Records, a label that featured the Allman Brothers Band, the Marshall Tucker Band, Elvin Bishop, Wet Willie, Bonnie Bramlett, White Witch, Hydra, Grinderswitch, and the Dixie Dregs. Walden also launched the careers of groups who became famous, such as the Allman Brothers Band, Al Green, Sam & Dave, and Percy Sledge. During this time, Walden met Jimmy Carter, and they became friends. As the presidential campaign came into focus in the early 1970s, Walden used his success to open the doors to many of the leading people in rock-and-roll music and in the recording industry, and he introduced Carter to some of the leading figures in the industry and some of its most famous stars.

Bob Dylan and The Band visited candidate Jimmy Carter at the Georgia Governor's Mansion, a meeting that led to



Jimmy Carter and Bob Dylan became lifelong friends following their meeting in 1974.

a friendship that continues today. Carter began to use lyrics from Dylan and others' music to emphasize points in his speeches.

In the mid 1970s, embracing rock-and-roll and country musicians and their fans was avant-garde and not very politically correct. This move was seen as risky by the political elite, who did not take into consideration the emotional connection the fans had to the music, much of it coming from the anti-Vietnam War movement. Seeing that the potential of this identification by the under-40-year-old voters was a political plus, Carter was willing to risk putting off the older



John Denver (left) and his wife, Annie, provided much-needed support for the Carter presidential campaign.

Photo courtesy of @Barry Feinstein/barryfeinsteinphotography.net



Willie Nelson and First Lady Rosalynn Carter sing together on the White House lawn.

A flyer for the Nov. 25, 1975, Allman Brothers Band concert garners publicity for Gov. Jimmy Carter's campaign for the presidency.



establishment.

Because the campaign operated on shoestring finances, Walden arranged concerts to raise much-needed funding during those early days. Campaign staffer Tom Beard helped to organize these events with Alex Cooley, the Atlanta-based expert concert promoter who booked bands in the South. For the cash-strapped campaign, there was a practical reason for the concerts. In the Federal Election Commission rules of 1976, the maximum donation to a candidate was \$1,000, so it took a lot of small donations to fund a campaign. The new federal election laws in the mid-1970s allowed the use of matching funds, where the federal government matched dollar-for-dollar donations of up to \$250, which was a perfect fit for all the concert ticket sales. The ticket sales for the dozens of concerts were accompanied by forms filled out by the concertgoers.

The campaign wanted to get the match without the individual ticket-buyer receipt, but the FEC did not allow that. They did allow, for the campaign, matching of ticket contributions with a receipt. So campaign staff, including a weary Jim Gammill, spent tedious weeks on the campaign trail gathering the receipts and forms to qualify for the matching funds.

As the Carter campaign began to show promise in winning primaries and caucuses in 1976, more funding flowed into the campaign coffers. But in the early, lean days the

concerts by the Allman Brothers Band, the Marshall Tucker Band, Charlie Daniels, Lynyrd Skynyrd, John Denver, and many others helped to keep the fledgling campaign afloat.

Phil Walden actively campaigned for Carter by writing hundreds of letters to music industry colleagues, asking for support. Among those who contributed financially to the campaign were James Brown, Johnny Cash, Charlie Daniels, Ron Delsener (New York promoter), John Hammond, Joe Smith, Bill Graham (San Francisco impresario), Jerry Moss (the “M” of A&M Records), Jonny Podell (NY agent and manager of Lou Reed), Jerry Wexler (record producer), and Ashley Pandel (rock club owner in New York).

The Band, which backed Bob Dylan, was the musical talent of “Saturday Night Live” on Oct. 30, 1976, and chose to play “Georgia on My Mind” as a nod to the election the next week. It was The Band’s last televised appearance.

In the White House, in addition to many classical performers, rock-and-roll figures were embraced as visitors, including Crosby, Stills and Nash, Jimmy Buffett, Mick Jagger, the BeeGees, Glenn Campbell, Fleetwood Mac, Boz Scaggs, Greg Allman and Cher, Lionel Ritchie, and many others. Willie Nelson, who earlier was introduced to the Carters by Frank Moore, and Muddy Waters performed on the White House lawn for the staff and members of Congress. At one of these events, Rosalynn Carter sang a duet with Willie Nelson in one of his popular hits, “Up Against the Wall Redneck Mother.” Rosalynn’s singing with Nelson is symbolic of the unpretentious, down-home nature of the Carters, who even while avoiding the calculated publicity that accompanies many celebrities, over the years have likely benefited more people around the world through their work than any other couple in history.

In the 1980 campaign, Charlie Daniels and Larry Gatlin rode on Air Force One to Tuscumbia, Ala., for the announcement that Jimmy Carter was running for re-election as president. During the 1980 campaign, concerts were again used to raise funds, including support from Jimmy Buffett, Willie Nelson, Charlie Daniels, Roberta Flack, and Aretha Franklin. The campaign also received support from Johnny Cash and BB King.

After the White House, the Carters have continued to appreciate popular music as well as other genres. Peter Conlon, who was the national fundraising director and managed entertainment in the 1980 presidential campaign, later moved to Atlanta and became a partner with Alex Cooley. They began to promote bands all over the Southeast and together developed the business into one of the most

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Campaigner Remembers Pitching In

By Lance Simmens

I have watched President Carter on television promoting his latest book and felt the pride of having the unique opportunity to be a part of the campaign that helped with his ascension to the White House seemingly 100 years ago. Of course, it wasn't that long ago, but in terms of how significantly politics and our system of governance have changed since 1976, it seems more like a century than a mere four decades.

I recently published my first book, "The Evolution of a Revolution: An Attack Upon Reason, Compromise and the Constitution." With this book, I take the nearly 40 years' experience I have had in politics, government, and public policy and attempt to offer conceptual remedies that are geared toward righting the proverbial listing ship of state in which we currently find ourselves.

It all started in 1976. I had attended Georgia Southern University with the intention of being a professional baseball player, but after a life-threatening injury derailed my baseball dreams, I turned my attention to the realm of politics and government. No small contribution to my interest in this course of study was my opposition to the Vietnam War and a low draft lottery number.

Eventually I would be awarded a Governor's Internship in the state Senate and had the good fortune of working with a young state senator from Decatur, future Lt. Gov. Pierre Howard. I also had the good fortune of being invited to travel to New Hampshire with the senator and a farmer from Climax, Ga., by the name of Paul Trulock. We hooked up in the colds of Nashua, N.H., with a hearty band of Peanut Brigadiers and wound up knocking on doors and covering shift changes at factories in what is the quintessential definition of retail politics that occurs every four years as a new presidential election dawns.

After winning New Hampshire, a group of us in the state Capitol found ourselves carpooling to northern Florida weeks later, working the streets of Jacksonville and ending up at election headquarters in Orlando for another successful evening. One must remember that back in those days, the primary season stretched out from January to June, and each week brought another important gaggle of states with a crowded field of candidates slowly winnowed down as the nation struggled to recover from both the Watergate debacle and the resignation of President Nixon.



One of Lance Simmens' most memorable moments is chatting with Daddy King (seated) following a sermon in Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

Some of the most memorable moments of the primary season for me included attending a sermon by the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. in Mt. Vernon, N.Y., and spending time afterward chatting with Daddy King; greeting Gov. Carter as he arrived in Gary, Ind., (with Sen. Birch Bayh) and having him put his arm around my shoulder as we walked up to a press conference in City Hall with then-Mayor Dick Hatcher; bunking in a basement with Steve Murphy, Michael Bronzino, and Chip Carter in Schererville, Ind., just as "Saturday Night Live" was making its debut; and visiting the Humphrey drug store in Huron, S.D., and chatting with the former vice president's sister. Few know that HHH was born in South Dakota.

Of course, working in the credentials booth at the Democratic National Convention in 1976 and having floor access to my first convention are thrills that are imprinted in me forever.

Carter-Mondale Alumnus Responsible for Compensating Concentration Camp Deportees

By Victoria Barker

For much of 2014, Amb. Stu Eizenstat was responsible for negotiations surrounding compensation to survivors deported by the French state railway to concentration camps during the Holocaust. The railway was responsible for carrying up to 76,000 people from France to the Nazi camps during World War II. Eizenstat was responsible for various negotiations of this sort in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria during the Clinton administration.

As special adviser to the secretary of state on Holocaust issues, Eizenstat has been instrumental in ensuring that survivors deported by the state railway to concentration camps receive compensation similar to the French pension programs, which have paid French citizens in France since 1948. The recent agreement closes a loophole that has prevented citizens of the United States and other countries from receiving the benefits of the pension plans.

This new agreement provides \$60 million of payment to survivors, their spouses, and heirs of survivors and spouses who died between 1948 and today, in the United States, Israel, and other countries outside France. Compensation amounts are determined based on the number of years that the survivor lived after being liberated. Amb. Eizenstat is

responsible for managing the fund that is expected to compensate several hundred survivors, their spouses, and their survivors. Those who apply to be compensated through the new program will have to sign a waiver agreeing to not pursue any future legal action against the French government regarding their deportation.

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League and a Holocaust survivor, said, "There is no amount of money that could ever make up for the horrific injustices done to these victims and their families. But agreements like this provide some modest redress and important recognition of their pain."

The French Embassy said that the agreement was made possible because of the "spirit of friendship and cooperation between our two countries" and that "both sides will do everything possible to ensure that compensation is paid as quickly as possible and with as few formalities as possible."

Eizenstat and Patcizianna Sparacino-Thiellay, French ambassador for human rights, signed the agreement on Dec. 8, 2014, in the State Department Treaty Room.

Eizenstat was President Carter's chief domestic policy adviser from 1977–1981 and has served in Holocaust-related positions in the Clinton and Obama administrations.

Center's Auction Set for June 27

On June 27, 2015, there will be a live auction 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 this year's auction are a collection of books and historical documents signed by over 44 vice presidents, starting with Aaron Burr; guitars signed by Bob Dylan, the Rolling Stones, and other celebrities; exotic vacations; signed photos of four and five presidents; and much more.

Visit the Carter Center website at cartercenter.org to bid on these items, or contact Story Evans directly at storyevans@emory.edu or (404) 420-3811 for bidding instructions.



A photo signed by each of the five presidents represented is among the items available for auction.

BOOK CLUB

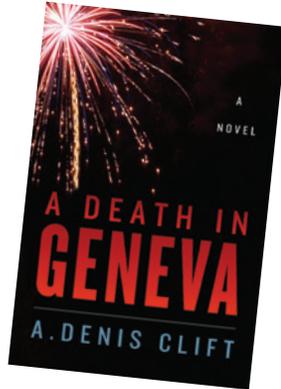
A Death in Geneva

By Denis Clift

When author **Denis Clift** published “A Death in Geneva” in 1987, the novel’s quiet release by Ballantine Books was followed by no known reviews. While most first-time published writers would have been devastated, Clift had orchestrated the very low-key book release himself. Given the lofty position he had attained in the intelligence community, the lack of fanfare came at his own urging.

Currently serving as vice president for planning and operations at the U.S. Naval Institute in Annapolis, Md., Clift can claim 43 years of federal service, including 15 years as president of the National Defense Intelligence College (now National Intelligence University) and 13 years in the White House, encompassing the Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations. He served as national security adviser to Vice President Walter Mondale from 1977–1981.

Thus, the book described as “an engrossing novel with the feel of a classic in the tradition of Ian Fleming” was undercover—pardon the pun—for 27 years, until being released anew by the Naval Institute Press in December 2014.



The action is set against the background of the late 1970s terrorism crisscrossing Europe, the United States, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic.

Teaching a Man to Unstick His Tail

By Ralph Hamilton

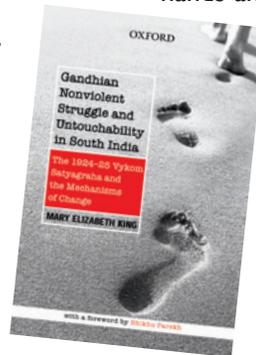
Ralph Hamilton worked in the 1976 Florida primary campaign and held other campaign duties.

He later worked briefly at the Democratic National Committee, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and in the White House as special assistant to

Phil Wise, White House appointments secretary.

Hamilton is editor of RHINO, an independent poetry journal in its 39th year of publication. His poems have appeared in Court Green, CutBank, Pirene’s Fountain, Blackbird, and other journals. He has had residencies at Ragdale and the Anderson Center, and later served on the board of the Ragdale Foundation.

At its heart, “Teaching a Man to Unstick His Tail” is a book about relationships—with those closest to us and with ourselves. As Allison Joseph, editor of Crab Orchard Review says, “Ralph Hamilton’s poetry is a tapestry stitched from flesh and beauty, wound and salve. Words become electric through this poet’s skin and mouth. This is a poetry of unflinching honesty, of pauses and silences and songs that leave the reader barely breathing. This book will make your hands and heart tremble.”



Gandhian Nonviolent Struggle and Untouchability in South India: The 1924-25 Vykom Satyagraha and the Mechanisms of Change

By Mary Elizabeth King

Mary Elizabeth King was appointed by President Carter to oversee the Peace Corps and other U.S. volunteer service corps programs. Currently, she is professor of Peace and Conflict Studies for the U.N.-affiliated University for Peace,

main campus, Costa Rica, and distinguished fellow of the Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford, U.K. King is the author of several books on civil resistance studies. Her new book is “Gandhian Nonviolent Struggle and Untouchability in South India: The 1924-25 Vykom Satyagraha and the Mechanisms of Change.”

In the 1920s, in the South Indian village of Vykom, a non-violent struggle sought to open to everyone the roads surrounding the Brahmin temple there. For centuries, any person or animal could walk those roads, but not the so-called untouchable Hindus, whose use of the roads would “pollute” the high castes. From April 1924 to November 1925, Gandhi waged a satyagraha to put an end to this blatant discrimination. Gandhi believed that the Vykom struggle would eliminate severe practices of untouchability, unapproachability, and unseeability, as the nonviolent activists would “convert” the high castes “by sheer force of character and suffering.”

Comings & Goings

*Correction: In the Fall 2014 edition of the Carter-Mondale newsletter, we sincerely regret the error that mistakenly identifies **Lynn Coleman**, former deputy secretary of the Department of Energy, as Lynn Cutler. Both are great Carter-Mondale alumni.*

Wattie Snowden was the co-chair for the swearing-in ceremony on the inaugural committee for President Carter. Snowden then worked at the Department of Defense in the civil defense office during the conversion to FEMA, and the White House Conference on Small Business before going to the re-election committee.

Snowden is now a personal service contractor with the U.S. State Department's International Narcotic and Law Enforcement Division (INL). He can be reached at SnowdenWE@state.gov.

Jane Hartley, who served as director of congressional relations at the Department of Housing and Urban Development and later as President Carter's associate assistant in the Office of Public Liaison

with Anne Wexler, is currently the U.S. ambassador to the French Republic and the Principality of Monaco.

Hartley is married to Ralph Schlosstein, who was in the office of Vice President Walter Mondale in the White House.

Carter White House Press Secretary **Jody Powell** has been posthumously inducted into the Hall of Fame of the Public Relations Society of America's National Capital

Chapter. **Nan Powell** and daughter,

Emily Powell Boddy, accepted the award on behalf of the family in September 2014 ceremonies. Also inducted into the Hall of Fame was

Sheila Tate, First Lady Nancy Reagan's press secretary. The two were nominated for their longstanding contributions to the public relations profession and Washington, D.C., public relations business. In 1991, Powell and Tate co-founded the Washington, D.C.-based bipartisan firm Powell Tate (now a part of Weber Shandwick), and it became one of the nation's leading public affairs and strategic communications firms. Jody Powell was chairman of Powell Tate when he passed away in September 2009.

Public Relations Society of America — National Capital Chapter



Powell Tate President Pam Jenkins, Nan Powell, and Emily Powell Boddy accept an award given on the induction of the late Jody Powell into the Hall of Fame of the Public Relations Society of America's National Capital Chapter.

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.

Passages



Bob Armstrong

Bob Armstrong supported Jimmy Carter in 1976 over most of the institutions of the party and leadership in Texas and became the key Texas supporter in the Carter campaign. His skill resulted in Texas delivering 110 delegates to the convention and a general election win for the Carter-Mondale ticket in a very close election.

Armstrong was best known as a committed environmentalist and conservationist. As a Texas land commissioner, he pushed the state to purchase 212,000 acres of ranchland north of Big Bend National Park. The \$8.8 million acquisition formed the largest state park in Texas.

William Alpheus “Al” Cahill joined the Peanut Brigade and was an active campaigner for Jimmy Carter. A home-schooled, self-made Florida legend, Cahill enlisted in the Navy Medical Corps at the beginning of World War II and was assigned in the Pacific. He also served in the Korean War.

In 1947, Cahill organized a trip around the world to establish Jaycee organizations, encouraging local young men to help to rebuild their war-ravaged nations. He was elected sheriff of Duval County and developed commercial and residential properties in Florida and Georgia.

William (Bill) D. Birdsong Jr. and his wife, Eunice, were active Democrats and worked at many levels and in many campaigns in Floyd County, Ga. Both worked tirelessly and effectively in Jimmy Carter’s campaigns for governor and for president. Birdsong’s wife was with the first wave of Peanut Brigadiers and campaigned in New Hampshire.

Birdsong was a graduate of Darlington School and Georgia Tech, where he received a degree in textile engineering. He was a veteran of World War II, where he served as a noncommissioned officer in the U.S. Army telecommunications unit. He retired from Dow Chemical Company, where he spent several years as a corporate engineering manager.

Flora P. Condon and her friend, Louise Hill, managed a local campaign for the election of President Jimmy Carter. Her hard work supported the elections of Sen. Fritz Hollings, Gov. Dick Riley, and Mayor Joe Riley. Condon

served on many boards and commissions, including 19 years on the Board of Elections and Voter Registration of Charleston County, S. C., on the Charleston County Planning Board, and the State of South Carolina Social Services Commission.

Victor H. Gotbaum headed the nation’s largest municipal employees’ union for two decades and played a pivotal role in saving New York City from bankruptcy in 1975. He was integral to Democratic political campaigns in New York; and his son, Josh, after earning his law degree, was an executive assistant in the Office of the Advisor to the President on Inflation and an associate director for economics on the White House domestic policy staff in the Carter-Mondale administration.

Jerome Kurtz, as commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service during the Carter administration, was known for cracking down on tax shelters and other tax advantages for the wealthy. Considered one of the leading tax policy experts of his time, Kurtz advocated what he called “horizontal equity” in taxation, meaning that people should be taxed equally based on what they earn, regardless of the source of the money.

Kurtz also moved to enforce regulations that had eliminated the tax-exempt status of racially segregated private schools — a stand that brought him death threats requiring Secret Service protection, according to his daughter.



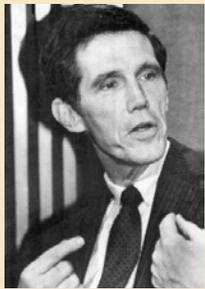
Thomas M. Menino

Thomas M. Menino helped run Pennsylvania field operations for both Carter presidential campaigns. Boston’s longest-serving mayor, he presided over one of the most successful urban renaissances in modern American history.

As mayor, Menino spent his days ambling along the city’s streets, talking with residents, reporting potholes, and rarely missing a ribbon cutting. In a remarkable achievement for a big-city mayor, he met more than half of Boston’s 625,000 residents in person, according to polls. He left office with approval ratings at an astronomical 82 percent. He ended each fiscal year with an operating surplus, drove up the city’s bond rating, and avoided being tarred with a major scandal.

Dr. Janet Norwood was appointed commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics by President Carter, the first woman to hold the position. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, part of the Labor Department, is the federal agency charged with measuring and disseminating information, including the unemployment rate and the Consumer Price Index, which indicates the state of America's economy. Her tenure spanned the Carter, Reagan, and George H.W. Bush administrations.

She began working at the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1963 and rose rapidly in the ranks. Norwood established a cognitive laboratory at BLS, which is now part of the Office of Survey Methods Research.



Robert B. Oakley

Robert B. Oakley spent time in naval intelligence and foreign service before returning to Washington in 1974 to work on the National Security Council staff. He was named by President Carter as ambassador to Zaire in 1979, followed by Somalia and later Pakistan.

During nearly four decades of service, Oakley served in trouble spots around the world and did not get the relatively cushy postings. He was a distinguished research fellow in the Institute for National Strategic Studies Research Directorate at National Defense University until 2010.

Atlanta civic leader **Robert Lee (Bobby) Rearden Jr.** was the recipient of many awards for his service and leadership roles on numerous boards and committees in Georgia and nationally. He may best be known as one of the key organizers who brought the Olympics to Georgia in 1996, serving on the board of directors of the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games.

Rearden became involved in the 1970 governor's campaign and remained good friends with many of the Carter administration and campaign staff. At the time of his death, he was a longtime member of the Carter Center Board of Councilors.

Kevin D. Rooney, a former assistant attorney general, joined the Department of Justice in 1973 and held a variety of top positions, including assistant attorney general

for administration, the department's top management and financial officer, from 1977 until 1984.

Rooney served in the U.S. Army from 1968 to 1970, worked for several years at the Veterans Administration, and graduated from George Washington University Law School in 1975.

After operating a private law practice, he rejoined the Justice Department in 1995 as deputy director of the Executive Office for Immigration Review. He became director of the office after serving two years as an assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and he was acting commissioner of the former Immigration and Naturalization Service in 2001.

Allen Hughes Seckinger grew up in Plains, Ga., and was a contemporary and lifelong friend of Jimmy Carter. Like President Carter, he was in the U.S. Navy and attended Georgia Tech. He and his wife, Shirley, were active supporters of the presidential campaign and later The Carter Center. Both attended several Winter Weekend events.

Lyle E. Gramley was nominated for membership on the Federal Reserve Board by President Jimmy Carter and served from 1980-85 under Chairman Paul Volcker. He had previously been a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, serving with Chairman Charles Schultze and member William Nordhaus. He had been a supporter of The Carter Center for 25 years.

Mary Faye Thomas Dudley Powell worked in Plains, Ga., on the Carter presidential campaign, with a subsequent presidential appointment as director of Environmental Youth Awards Program in Washington, D.C. She also served as director of special projects for the Kahlil Gibran Foundation.

She served as special assistant to Millard Fuller, founder of Habitat for Humanity.

William B. Welsh was assistant secretary for legislation and intergovernmental affairs for Patricia Roberts Harris at the Department of Housing and Urban Development from 1977 to 1979. He was assistant secretary for legislation for Harris at the Department of Health and Human Services from 1980 until Carter left office.

A key Democratic legislative expert, Welsh served in a wide variety of public- and private-sector capacities during seven presidential administrations.



Bobby Rearden

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THE
CARTER CENTER



Continued from p. 25

successful promotional firms in the United States. Today Conlon is the foremost impresario in the Southeast, where he is president of Live Nation Atlanta and manages the business in the South. The Carters are frequent visitors to concerts, and sometimes President Carter appears on stage to accompany Willie Nelson.

Conlon has supported The Carter Center through the years by having many of the musical performers he books



Lionel Richie shakes hands with President Carter in the Oval Office.



Jimmy Carter enjoys a Muddy Waters concert on the White House lawn.

for events sign guitars that are sold at an annual auction to benefit the work of The Carter Center. For the 2015 auction, Peter has donated guitars signed by Bob Dylan and the Rolling Stones from his personal collection (see “Carter Center Auction” page 27).

Two nights before the 2015 Grammy Awards, President Carter presented Bob Dylan with the Musicares Person of the Year award. Media, reflecting on President Carter and his long association with music, justifiably referred to him at the time as the “first rock-and-roll president.”