

THE Carter Mondale Letter

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Administration Alumni Remember Thrills of '76 Campaign



In the summer 2015 issue of the Carter-Mondale Letter, we looked at some of the early planning and efforts that created a successful start to the Democratic primaries and caucus states for Jimmy Carter. In this issue, some of our alumni friends reminisce about activities in 1976 leading to the nomination and election. For the next newsletter, we plan to include remembrances from Inauguration Day. We encourage you to send in your anecdotes. See the contact information on the last page of this newsletter.

Election year 1976 began with no clear front-runner in line for the Democratic nomination. Six candidates competed in Iowa's January primary—Jimmy Carter, Morris Udall, Henry Jackson, Sargent Shriver, Fred Harris, and Birch Bayh. By the time of the convention in July, eight

candidates had won at least one state. By carrying California and Maryland, California Gov. Jerry Brown finished second in the race for delegates. Third and fourth places went to Udall and George Wallace, respectively, each winning three states. Also receiving delegates were Jackson, Frank Church, Hubert Humphrey, and Robert Byrd.

President Carter and his aides knew that they faced a crowded field of candidates, most of whom had national name recognition. However, few appreciated the potential afforded by the new primary rules as Carter did. Following a strategy formulated by Hamilton Jordan, Carter competed in all of the early primaries and benefited from positive media coverage following his earliest victories.



1976 Campaign Was Like No Other



By *Stuart Eizenstat*

In modern American history, there has never been—before or since—a presidential campaign like the 1976 Jimmy Carter race, in which a little-known political figure captured the Democratic nomination from far more experienced and visible senators and congressmen, and then went on to beat an incumbent president.

Against seemingly impossible odds, “Jimmy Who?” accomplished a political miracle. He was so unknown that when he appeared on the popular television show “What’s My Line?” the panelists did not identify him as the incumbent governor of Georgia. He also was underfunded and had no national network of supporters at the outset of his improbable campaign. Henry Owen, who would later become President Carter’s senior adviser for G7 summits, recalled that when he met Jimmy Carter and Jody Powell at LaGuardia Airport, and they shared a cab ride into Manhattan, Carter and Powell got out first. Powell leaned over to the hardened New York cab driver, and said, “You have just driven the next president of the United States.” The cabbie said, “Yeah, well, he still has to pay!” When they left, he turned to Owen and said, “Who was that kook?”

Carter was able to overcome these barriers for several reasons. Hamilton Jordan, his campaign manager, laid out a brilliant political strategy as early as 1972, midway into Carter’s one-term governorship, and then amplified it in 1974 in coordination with Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, who was a full partner. Jordan recognized that Carter’s only hope of winning the presidency was to concentrate on two early states—Iowa, with its intimate caucus voting, and New Hampshire, the first primary in the country—both of which respond to intensive, personalized, retail campaigning. Jordan’s strategy was that if he could win or do well in both, he could then deliver a knockout blow to Alabama Gov. George Wallace’s campaign by defeating him in Florida.

Jimmy, Rosalynn, and the family were indefatigable campaigners, going to Iowa over 100 times, often staying in the



Stuart Eizenstat and candidate Jimmy Carter discuss strategy at a campaign meeting in Plains.

homes of campaign supporters. His traveling companion, press aide, and on-the-ground adviser, Jody Powell, was with him all the way, in a self-sacrificial way. They practically lived in Iowa and New Hampshire, Carter only going home to Plains every other weekend. He “won” the Iowa caucuses with 27 percent of the vote in a multi-candidate field, with “Undecided” getting the most votes. But it propelled him to New Hampshire, where he received help from a unique set of Georgia volunteers organized by Dot Padgett, the “Peanut Brigade,” who went door to door to testify how great a governor Jimmy Carter had been, and how great a president he would become. By winning New Hampshire, he could run in Florida with the theme “Send them a President, not a Message.” In Florida, he also had the benefit of a tremendous organization put together by Phil Wise, who moved to the state for months before the primary.

In Florida, Carter also benefited from a strategic mistake by his opponents. Except for a desultory effort in south Florida by Senator Henry “Scoop” Jackson, the other

candidates, like Congressman Morris “Mo” Udall, took a pass, thinking they would let Carter get Wallace out of the race and they would take on Carter directly thereafter. By the time Carter won in Florida, and then North Carolina against Wallace, he had tremendous momentum.

There was a broader reason—besides a great strategy and a tireless campaigner—that made the seemingly impossible happen. That was the candidate himself. Among all the Democratic contenders, he alone understood the mood of the country after Vietnam and especially Watergate. Voters, even Democratic voters, were not looking for a resumption of LBJ’s Great Society, as important as that was. Rather, they wanted someone to restore trust in government in general and the presidency in particular, someone who would transform Washington and make it more responsive to the needs of average citizens. Although the issues and policy staff that I headed put out innumerable position papers on every conceivable subject both foreign and domestic, what won the day was the compelling message Jimmy Carter delivered in his own special way: “A government as good as its people,” reform of a tax system that was “a disgrace to the human race,” and “I will never lie to you.”

The campaign also benefited greatly from the unique, non-adversarial, mutually respectful relationship his top campaign staff had. I was entrusted with issues and policy, Powell the press, Jordan with overall strategy, and Jerry Rafshoon

with media and message. We each knew what we had to do, and we did it.

Every campaign, however brilliant the design and effective the candidate (and we had both), always hits unexpected speed bumps. The most serious in the primary season leading up to the July 1976 Democratic Convention in New York City was Carter’s unfortunate use of words in calling for “ethnic purity” in neighborhoods. While he was simply indicating that there was an important place in major cities for ethnic neighborhoods, like Irish or Italian or German or Slovak, it was misinterpreted to convey a racial exclusion message he never intended. This was an existential threat for a Southern candidate seeking a nomination of a generally liberal, racially diverse party. He was saved by public support from Andrew Young and Martin Luther King Sr. (Daddy King) and by his own sterling record of racial inclusion when he was governor (stating in his gubernatorial inaugural address, “The time for racial discrimination is over,” and placing a portrait of fallen civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. in the state Capitol). The second bump came in the general election campaign, with his *Playboy* interview (“lust in my heart”).

A broader problem in the general campaign was that once he took up the mantle of the Democratic Party and embraced its major interest groups, the message that had worked so well in the primary campaign became muddied. The victory over President Ford was exceedingly close. Ford ran a good “Rose Garden” campaign, and his gaffe in the debate, claiming that the Soviet Union did not dominate Eastern Europe, plus the overall desire for change won the day. But Jimmy Carter had one other weapon that tipped the balance: Minnesota Sen. Walter “Fritz” Mondale. They were a superb pair, “Fritz and Grits.” Mondale was strong in the Northeast and Midwest and with major parts of the Democratic Party, like labor unions and big-city mayors, where Carter was most vulnerable. They carried that partnership into the White House, where together they created the modern vice presidency we know today, fully engaged in all decision-making, with full access to all meetings and documents. Together they had an administration of unheralded, lasting accomplishments at home and abroad, to which I hope to do justice in a book on the Carter-Mondale administration that I hope will be published next year, and will give the country and the world a fresh look at Jimmy Carter as the most impactful one-term president in modern American history.

Stuart Eizenstat was the assistant to the president for domestic affairs.



Journalists Ed Bradley (right) and Hunter S. Thompson (center) confer with Hamilton Jordan during the Democratic National Convention.

Small Moments Made Lasting Memories

By Gail Harrison

1976 Democratic Convention, New York City

A small group of Mondale Senate staffers went to the convention with Sen. Mondale.

As speculation built about his potential selection, the suite he was staying in across from Madison Square Garden became jammed. The night before Carter was to select his running mate, Mondale decided to retreat to an undisclosed hotel further uptown, but he needed someone to be in his suite in case Carter was given the wrong number to call. I was picked for the job. (Several months later, my mother asked me where I was when Mondale got the call. I said, “In his bed,” and she started to cry before I could explain.)

Later on the day Mondale was chosen, staff went to work drafting nominating and seconding speeches. My job was to draft the nominating speech for Hubert Humphrey. However, the suite was even more tightly packed than it had been on the previous day. I did the only sensible thing—grabbed a coffee table, hauled it and a typewriter into the bathroom, and drafted the speech while sitting on the john with the lid down and the door firmly locked.

Plains Pond House

I was part of the Mondale staff group that was invited to get together following his selection, to meet with then-Governor and Mrs. Carter and his senior staff in late summer 1976. This meeting was held at the Pond House. We arrived early, and I remember Mrs. Carter grabbing a broom to sweep up the floor. I said, “Mrs. Carter, can I help you with that?” She declined and told me a story about how she and her husband had tried to hire a cleaning woman to help Miss Lillian with the heavy work in taking care of her home. Miss Lillian said no, but they sent over a cleaning lady anyway. Sometime later, they learned that Miss Lillian was serving coffee and visiting with her for an hour then sending her home. Miss Lillian insisted on cleaning her own home.

When I think about politics today, I’m struck by the fact that not once during the seven years I worked for Mondale in the Senate and the four years thereafter in the White House was I ever asked to do anything I thought was wrong or mean or petty. Both the president and vice president



set a high moral tone. They wanted to solve problems, help Americans build a brighter future, and show people around the world that our country is guided by strong principles and values. I’ll always be grateful for the chance I was given to be a part of that.

White House Gaffes

I accidentally set fire to my office (later Scooter Libby’s) and thought I would be fired but was rewarded by a visit from an interior decorator the next day. Wow! She did an incredible job and said she wished I had burned the thing down earlier. I also gatecrashed the president’s receiving line for Pope John Paul II. This was instigated by my guest, a Russian émigré, following the White House lawn ceremony and aided and abetted by the chief advance man for the event. I thought I would be condemned to hell, or at least given the evil eye by the president, for being so presumptuous. A priest ahead of me in line absolved me of my sin, and President Carter was warm and welcoming, as always.

Robert Redford

A couple of weeks after the vice president was sworn in, I noticed that Robert Redford was scheduled to meet with Vice President Mondale. I did what every normal woman in my position would do: picked up the phone, called the vice president, and said, “You can’t possibly meet with Redford without your top domestic policy aide.” He laughed and said, “Come on over to the West Wing.” It was a great highlight of my days in the White House.

With Gratitude

To our Carter-Mondale colleagues, my message is: You’re the finest group of people I’ve ever worked with; your exceptional hearts, minds, and hard work achieved remarkable things. Don’t stop; our country needs you now more than ever. To President Carter and Vice President Mondale, my eternal thanks.

Gail Harrison was senior domestic policy adviser to the vice president in the Carter-Mondale administration. Harrison also served as legislative assistant, speechwriter, and traveling issues coordinator for Sen. Mondale, worked on agenda planning, and vetted candidates for senior economic positions.

Pennsylvania Team Took On Establishment

By *Tim Kraft*

In December 1975, a young attorney from Nevada, by way of Washington, D.C., moved to Pennsylvania to undertake a momentous task: to qualify Jimmy Carter for the Pennsylvania primary in April '76 by recruiting slates of delegates in every one of the state Senate districts. Richard "Tick" Segerblom moved in with Jack Sullivan, an Annapolis classmate of Carter's, and the two of them crisscrossed the state in a beat-up yellow VW convertible. Well, three of them: Tick's golden retriever was along for the ride.

On March 9, 1976, I went to Orlando to help celebrate the Carter victory in Florida, having spent the last two weeks on phone banks in Hillsborough County. When the victory was sealed, Hamilton Jordan pulled me aside in a crowded corridor and gave me a new assignment: go to Pennsylvania and manage the campaign there. What's in place there, I asked. Jack and Tick and a Howard Lupovitz, was the response. We had six weeks to organize the sixth most populous state in the country. The "budget," as always with Atlanta, was a floating craps game.

I arrived in Philadelphia to a small office, which was suitable for the command post. Tick immediately found another space for press, volunteers, administration, supplies, and other public access functions. A young lad who assumed that he was the manager of this site was upbraided and turned out by a brand new volunteer from Washington, D.C., recruited by Tick. This would be Alicia Smith, who managed the larger office and much more down the road.

In the first two weeks, I encountered a major problem and a major opportunity. The city of Philadelphia, whose mayor was Frank Rizzo, was laughing at the arrival of the Carter campaign. The city and state Democratic chairs were allied against Carter. The entire machine was totally committed to Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson, and they made no bones about what they could do on Election Day. The city treasurer told the media that Rizzo & Co. would beat Carter by 50,000 votes in Philadelphia alone.

The opportunity was Pittsburgh. After getting a sense of Philadelphia, I asked where Mayor Pete Flaherty stood in western Pennsylvania. Apparently, either no one had solicited his help or he was uncommitted. I caught the next plane to Pittsburgh and told the mayor that Gov. Carter would very much like to visit with him. Carter, of course, made the



contact and the follow-through, and we then had an invaluable ally in western Pennsylvania.

Back to Philly. My experience in urban politics was not very impressive, limited to campaigns in Albuquerque, Des Moines, and, well, Muncie, Indiana. While thinking about the omnipresent threat of voter fraud in Philly, I happened to get a phone call from one of our lone supporters in Boston, state Sen. Joe Timulty. He asked me to talk to a young guy who had worked for Jackson in Massachusetts and had been left behind when the campaign moved on. I hesitated—there were proven Carter people from Florida, New Hampshire, and Wisconsin. Timulty said, "Just talk to him; he kicked your butt in Boston."



Embracing his daughter, Amy, President-elect Jimmy Carter celebrates on election night. In back: Nancy Moore, Herky Harris, Frank Moore, Phil Wise, Vicky Rogers, Rick Hutchison, and Landon Butler.

It slipped my mind until a day or two later when the guy showed up. He was dressed like the backseat of a used Chevy; his speech was a series of grunts and mumbles; and his attitude was akin to "What am I doing here?" I was thinking, "... Five minutes and 'Thanks for coming.'" We talked for 25 minutes, and I hired him on the spot to be our state-wide director of GOTV (getting out the vote). Meet Robert "Skinner" Donahue—frankly, one of the better hires of the entire Carter primary campaigns.

The major elements of a colorful, difficult, hard-driving primary campaign were revving to a hurtling speed three weeks out. We had a paid phone bank to canvass, Pat Caddell's polling, and media from Rafshoon in Atlanta. There were young "vets" like Kevin Smith and Tracey Gallagher

continues on p. 6

Continued from p. 5

from New Hampshire, Tom Rice and Brent Wynja from Iowa, and the indefatigable Franklin Delano Lopez from Puerto Rico and Paul Kalill from Springfield, Massachusetts. Moreover, hundreds of volunteers from Florida, Georgia, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts were arriving in scores by the day. It was our job, Tick's and mine, to rapidly assemble the host state infrastructure so that people could work and be used to the max.

Whatever we did, however hard we worked, Carter's and his family's grit, drive, and presence were critical prior to the vote. He and the campaign were under attack, which, frankly, worked to our advantage. Without actually knowing it at the time, we were far better organized than Scoop Jackson.

Carter was ascending in the polls, and our phone numbers were improving. In Pennsylvania, the GOTV team helped ensure that his votes would be counted. This, in brief, is what you might want to hear about that effort:

Stealing votes in most of the 1,777 Philly polling places was a routine, uncontested pastime for Frank Rizzo's machine. In our primary, there were verbal threats to our early volunteers, including a few calls to our offices. This stuff was old hat to Skinner Donahue. He began to cull every attorney for Carter who would be willing to work on a vote security strike force on Election Day. He brought in his own vote hawks from Boston: Frankie Conley, Paul Goodrich, and a very young Tommy Menino, who would go on to become one of Boston's longest-serving and most revered mayors. He devised the public relations strategy to sound the alarm (an over-the-top alarm, actually). I contacted the Philadelphia district attorney's office, the state attorney general's office, and the office of Gov. Milton Schapp. Threats, threats, threats, we reported. Of course, these calls for more Election Day supervision from their offices received the coverage we wanted, thanks to press aides Griff Ellison and Charlotte Scott.

More people were pouring in, and we were doling them out to more understaffed western counties. Two weeks out, the pros from Dover actually showed up, two genial administrative assistants from U.S. House offices in D.C. I spent less than five minutes with Les Francis and Jim Copeland—they said, "We don't need per diem or cars, just give us a briefing and a map, and we'll get on it." A half hour later, they went west and went to work.

Space does not permit the entire account of Election Day preparation, but I cannot omit the overcast late



Hamilton Jordan and Gerald Rafshoon try to keep up with the frenetic activity backstage at the Democratic National Convention.

afternoon, about a week out, when Skinner came to the command post and said something like, "Come out back and meet the hockey team." We went out the back door to a narrow alley parking lot, and there stood seven of the largest human beings I had ever seen, all dressed in dark suits and ties. I shook hands with each as Skinner introduced them and briefed me on the Election Day plan for these guys to circulate around the targeted polling places most susceptible to fraud by the city machine. Actually, I had to stop shaking hands after the third one.

To top it off, they would each wear a large and impressive lapel badge that identified them as officials of—and I am not making this up—COMMITTEE FOR A SAFE FEDERAL ELECTION. How many polling places did they 'invade' to check the count off the machines? How many Rizzo dunces did they intimidate? I guess we'll never know.

But we do know this: While Carter did lose Philadelphia by close to 20,000 votes, that was a fraction of what the Rizzo team had predicted they could do. And the strike forces around the state were so well known to local areas that the election, for the most part, went off with a minimum of disturbances or friction. Carter won the primary by an impressive 13 percent over Jackson, and he carried the state in the general against an incumbent President Ford.

Tim Kraft was former assistant to the president for personnel and political coordination.

Atlanta Reporter Joins Carter Campaign

By Rex Granum

Before joining the campaign in early January 1976, I had been a political reporter for the Atlanta Constitution, covering Gov. Jimmy Carter and his administration at the state Capitol, his December 1974 announcement that he was running for president, and some of his first campaigning. So once I'd joined the campaign, it understandably took a while for candidate Carter to become accustomed to my new role. I particularly recall, early on in '76, being in a crowded hotel suite with Hamilton Jordan, Jody Powell, and other aides as candidate Carter began talking, saw me, and abruptly stopped mid-sentence, thinking he'd spotted a reporter in the room. I said, "It's okay. I'm with you now." He smiled and continued.

I remember well a February 1976 Oklahoma campaign trip. What would become a traveling media circus of hundreds of reporters, photographers, camera people, and technicians requiring chartered 727s, lengthy motorcades, and daunting logistics handled by many dozens of staffers was still some months in the future.

Candidate Carter made a few appearances to smallish crowds in Oklahoma City. Before returning to Atlanta, he had several private meetings. So, the entire traveling press corps and staff, all three of us—New York Times reporter Jim Wooten, Carter aide Greg Schneiders, and I—took a cab to the airport and waited there for the candidate.

Initially I worked in the Atlanta campaign headquarters at providentially numbered 1976 Peachtree Street, the offices of the law firm of which Bob Lipshutz was a partner, from January until May of '76, then was on the road with the candidate and traveling press corps for the remainder of the campaign. Kate King and I made up the two-person headquarters press staff, and we were in frequent contact with Jody Powell and Betty Rainwater, who were traveling with the candidate.

I was in the headquarters when the wires reported one of my two all-time favorite Jody Powell quotes. Former Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox, an arch segregationist, was a longtime Carter nemesis. In the '76 campaign, he tore into candidate Carter, accusing him of telling numerous untruths. Reporters sought out Powell for reaction. His quick response: "Being called a liar by Lester Maddox is like being called ugly by a frog."

The other quote was later recounted by President Carter, who told of campaigning at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where many of the students were self-described radicals. As candidate Carter emerged from a car, some of those students pelted him with peanuts. When Powell was asked about it, he responded, "I'm just glad Gov. Carter doesn't grow watermelons."

Reporters from major newspapers and the networks increasingly visited the campaign headquarters, and I was self-conscious about how young I looked. So in a headquarters where most were very casually dressed, I wore a coat and tie, seeking to convey some sense of seriousness to those visiting members of the press. Whether that was successful or not, I can't judge. But I can say that the "problem" of looking too young was solved long ago.

In that era, campaigns still followed the tradition of not launching the general election campaign until Labor Day. That meant a long hot summer in Plains, interrupted by the July 11–15 Democratic Convention, and numerous invited and uninvited visitors coming to see Jimmy Carter in his hometown.

Entertainment options were limited, and more afternoons than not there was a softball game—the press versus a team led by Jimmy Carter. It will come as no surprise to his avid followers that he took these competitions very seriously. An excellent pitcher, he had a deceptive drop ball pitch, delivered with maximum spin, which made hitting his pitches challenging, and he was a cagey and consistent singles and doubles hitter. He loaded up his team with young, buff off-duty Secret Service agents, some of them former college and semi-pro players, and a Plains native "ringer"—a superb shortstop he personally recruited.

Jody Powell, Randy Lewis, Kevin Gorman, and I played on the press team, which helped drive down the median age of the team. Plus, it's not entirely clear that we would have made the cut on the Carter team.

Carter staffer Kate King kept meticulous records of each game, and Carolyn Shields and Casey Cornell were devoted attendees. Some members of the media—Wooten of The Times, Curtis Wilkie of The Boston Globe, Ed Bradley and Rick Kaplan of CBS News, and Justin Friedland of ABC News—were excellent players. Others were not.



continues on p. 8

Continued from p. 7

When he visited Plains soon after becoming the vice presidential nominee, Walter Mondale joined in. A good athlete, he acquitted himself well. An Associated Press account of that July 21 game notes that Billy Carter, pitching, played on the press team along with first baseman Mondale. Lillian Carter watched intently, and the AP reported that when she was asked which of her sons, Jimmy or Billy, she was rooting for, she replied, “I don’t want Jimmy to win. He wins everything. I want the underdog to win.” She was not to get her wish. The report said the Jimmy Carter–Secret Service team blew the game open with a 19-batter, 16-run third inning but that the press team managed to recover enough to make it a more respectable loss. Final score: 21–17.

Those games, and evenings at Faye’s Barbecue Villa, helped pass the time. Faye set up a restaurant in two joined double-wide trailers near where most media and staffers stayed, the Best Western Motel in Americus, about 10 miles from motel-less Plains.

Despite the restaurant’s name, there was no barbecue. While chicken was theoretically on offer, the primary menu choice was “How do you want your steak cooked?” Although Faye’s had no liquor license, brown-bagging was welcome. As part of their pilgrimages to Plains, diverse personalities such as Barbara Walters, Norman Mailer, Andy Warhol, Doris Kearns Goodwin, and Pierre Salinger all spent time at Faye’s.

The general campaign was frenetic. The original charter plane, dubbed Peanut One, which carried the candidate and the press, was eventually joined by Peanut Two and Peanut Three, and, at the very end, Peanut Four. It was the proverbial media flying circus. We’d go on the road for six, seven, or eight days at a stretch (with one 13-day swing toward the end), then return to South Georgia for a day or two before heading out again. No one involved got much sleep, but it was an adrenaline-filled, magnificent experience.

On his last day of campaigning in 1976, Carter woke up to a cold shower in Sacramento, California. A last-minute schedule change and the need to find a hotel with 200 or so vacant rooms on short notice did not leave a lot of options. There were good reasons why Sacramento’s Senate Hotel, which had seen better days, was available. A lack of enough hot water was one of them.

A long day of California and Pacific Northwest campaign stops followed, capped by an overnight flight back to Albany, Georgia, and a drive over to Plains, where the Carters voted

mid-morning before the whole traveling party headed to Atlanta to await election results.

Waiting for those results stretched well into the early morning hours, and by the time the last reporter had filed and the media bus had made it to the now president-elect’s plane for the flight to Albany, it was hours later than any of us had anticipated.

As the president-elect’s motorcade made its way from Albany toward Plains, Randy Lewis recalled multiple conversations between staffers, including Powell, and network producers about when the motorcade would arrive in Plains. Mutual self-interest was at play. It made for far better TV if the new president arrived in Plains just a few minutes after the network morning shows went on the air at 7 a.m., rather than before. After much back and forth, the motorcade was intentionally slowed down so that the newly elected president and first lady arrived in Plains on cue just after 7 a.m.

Hundreds of people, most from Plains, had stayed up all night awaiting both the results and his return. A tired but exuberant and grateful Jimmy Carter addressed the crowd, speaking from the platform of the former Plains railroad station, which had been converted to the Plains campaign headquarters and painted the campaign colors of green and white. Dawn had just broken, and in the glow of that idyllic early morning light, downtown Plains looked like a perfect Hollywood set.

Post-election, then-CIA Director George H.W. Bush flew on a military jet to Ft. Benning, Georgia, then was flown by helicopter over to Plains to brief President-elect Carter on the nation’s secrets, causing no small stir in Plains.

But more telling was this back and forth just a day or two after the election. World leaders were calling the president-elect to congratulate him, and a small question arose about what diplomatic nicety should be followed in responding to one such caller. Jody Powell called the appropriate country desk at the State Department, stressing that it was a non-urgent, low-level request for some basic protocol guidance. In fewer than five minutes, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was calling for Powell at our Best Western motel workspace in Americus.

That’s when the reality of what Jimmy Carter had achieved, and some sense of what lay ahead, began to sink in.

Rex Granum was press director in the 1976 campaign and deputy White House press secretary in the Carter-Mondale administration. Granum currently is a principal at Rasky Baerlein Strategic Communications in Washington, D.C.

Unvarnished Truth Serves Lawyer Well

By Michael S. Berman

We all had gathered in South Carolina after the convention. I drew the assignment to go right to Atlanta to set up the Mondale side of the campaign office. As I was about to leave, Mondale called me aside and said, “I know you think you know more about setting up campaigns than anyone else—keep it to yourself. As time goes on, the other people setting up the campaign will look to your experience.” He was right.

During the transition, Bob Lipshutz, who was designated as President Carter’s counsel, called me in and said that since we would be working together in the administration, he had an assignment for me. I was delighted. “The president would like to name Hugh Carter as his special assistant, but there is apparently a statute that would seem to prohibit him from doing that. I would like you to write an opinion for me as to whether that appointment is a potential problem,” said Lipshutz.

To me, the problem of dealing with that kind of issue even before the administration began was obvious.

I quickly found the statute, passed at the time that President Kennedy appointed Robert Kennedy as attorney general, with a list of the prohibited relationships, which included first cousins. I explained my dilemma to Becky McGowan, who said, “Well, is he a first cousin?” Now where I came from in northern Minnesota, a cousin was a cousin, and the concept of first, second, or third or “once removed” was foreign. So figuring that the appropriate government



offices would be quite responsive to someone in the incoming administration, I called the National Archives and the Library of Congress and asked them to describe the relationship between President Carter and Hugh Carter. They both came back with the same answer, which was that Hugh Carter was not a first cousin to the president.

Relieved, I quickly wrote an opinion saying that the statute did not cover Hugh Carter. At this point, I should have stopped. Instead, I continued with a paragraph that said politically, it was one of the worst possible ideas. I turned in the memo to Lipshutz, who said it was exactly what he wanted, and I went happily back to my desk.

Several hours later, I got a call from Hugh Carter who was quite angry, basically saying what did I mean that his appointment was a bad idea. He expressed himself quite forcefully, and the conversation ended abruptly.

When we got to the White House, Lipshutz called me into his office and said that Hugh Carter had asked that I be his lawyer. I said, “Are you kidding?” He said he wasn’t—it seemed Hugh had decided that if I was prepared to state my “unvarnished” opinion in the setting of the transition, I could be counted on to speak my mind as the administration went forward.

We had a great relationship over the years.

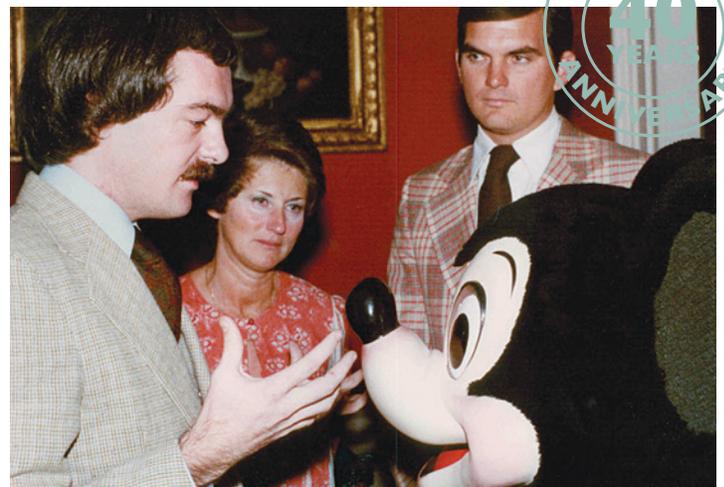
Michael S. Berman was counsel and deputy chief of staff to Vice President Mondale in the Carter-Mondale administration and operations manager for Mondale in the campaign. Berman retired as president emeritus of the Duberstein Group in Washington, D.C.

Other Duties as Assigned

By Paul Costello

As a conclusion to these campaign reminiscences, Costello shared this photo and the memory that once in the White House, there was no way to anticipate what duties might befall any staff person. In 1978, President and Mrs. Carter and Amy hosted a 50th birthday party for Mickey Mouse. Costello was tasked with briefing the honoree just before he entered the East Room. The other two individuals in the background are Mickey’s handlers from Disneyland.

Paul Costello was assistant press secretary to Rosalynn Carter in the Carter-Mondale administration. Costello currently is chief communications officer for Stanford University School of Medicine.



Paul Costello briefs a special White House guest.



Alaska Lands Act a Reminder of Strong Environmental Agenda

Among U. S. presidents, Jimmy Carter has a legacy of achievements for environmental conservation and protection that is matched only by that of Theodore Roosevelt. While other priorities would ultimately gain more public attention during his term, President Carter set an incredibly productive environmental agenda. He had campaigned for the presidency as an environmental conservationist and had a love of the outdoors stemming from his childhood growing up on a farm and fostered by his hobbies of fishing and hunting.

His administration's environmental legacy was the topic of a panel discussion held during the Carter Center Weekend on Feb. 23, 2013. The program featured two members of the Carter-Mondale administration—former Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Land and Water Resources Guy Martin and former White House Special Assistant for Congressional Liaison Jim Free.

Among President Carter's many achievements in environmental policy, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) stands out as a monumental piece of legislation that has become the hallmark of his administration's environmental legacy. Following Alaska's admission as a U.S. state in 1959, most of its land was owned by either the federal or state government. How this land should be used or preserved was a continual political issue. The Nixon and Ford administrations had left this unsettled. President Carter brought a new perspective into office, believing that the issue of Alaska's lands demanded strong leadership and a bold approach if Alaska's environment were to be successfully preserved for future generations.

As Guy Martin recounted, the story of the Alaska Lands Act "begins with our national unsatisfied and unquenchable thirst for oil." Following the discovery of oil at Prudhoe Bay in 1968, the issue of land control became especially



Jim Free and Guy Martin discuss the Carter-Mondale administration's environmental accomplishments at Carter Center Weekend.

controversial. The oil, natural gas, mining, and logging industries were interested in developing and exploiting Alaskan lands for resources. At the same time, Alaska Natives argued strongly against any moves that risked negatively impacting their way of life, and a growing conservationist movement urgently called for the preservation of Alaska's unique and grand wilderness.

Aboriginal land claims for Alaska Natives had been settled in 1971 with the Alaska Native Claims Act, which had given indigenous communities approximately 12 percent of Alaskan land. In addition to resolving aboriginal land claims, this bill also mandated Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton to withdraw areas of Alaskan land from development pending congressional approval—including up to 80 million acres of land to be set aside for national interest conservation lands. These withdrawals would expire in December 1978, after which these withdrawn areas were to be reopened for development unless Congress approved their status as conservation lands.

Congress, therefore, had a window to act before these withdrawn areas were reopened for development. In 1977, on the first day of the Ninety-fifth Congress, Arizona Congressman Morris Udall along with 75 co-sponsors introduced an Alaska lands bill that President Carter and Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus explicitly supported. The opposition was led by the Alaskan delegation, including Sen. Mike Gravel, Sen. Ted Stevens, and Rep. Don Young. ExxonMobil, the National Rifle Association, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers were only



President Jimmy Carter celebrates after signing the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act on Dec. 2, 1980. (Jimmy Carter Presidential Library photo)

some of the entities that aggressively lobbied against the Udall bill. Standing in opposition to this corporate lobby was what Jim Free described as “the largest grassroots media and lobbying campaign in the history of the conservation movement, before or since.” Under the umbrella name of the Alaska Coalition, environmental organizations such as Friends of the Earth, Sierra Club, and The Wilderness Society, together with many others, organized to lobby strongly for the conservation of Alaskan lands.

The House voted 279-31 to pass the Udall bill, but the legislation had a more difficult time in the Senate overcoming the resistance of Alaska senators Stevens and Gravel. Stevens slowed the bill and significantly weakened the scope of its proposals. As the deadline for the expiration of the provisions approached, the House passed a resolution to extend the protection, but Gravel killed the proposal by threatening to filibuster.

In response, President Carter and his administration exercised their authority to force the different parties back to the negotiating table. Using the Federal Lands Policy and Management Act of 1976 (FLPMA), which gave the secretary of the interior the power to withdraw large areas of land for public purposes, Secretary Andrus withdrew 110 million acres of Alaskan land from mineral entry, mineral leasing, and state selection in November 1978. In December, using the authority given to him under the Antiquities Act of 1906, President Carter designated an additional 56 million acres that would be protected and preserved as national monuments. Two months later, Andrus used another provision



Alaska's caribou benefited from habitat preserved in the legislation.

in FLPMA to withdraw another 40 million acres for national wildlife refuges. Following this intervention, nearly all of the land withdrawn by former Secretary of Interior Morton in 1972 was once again protected. The lands designated by the Antiquities Act and FLPMA had tougher restrictions than those placed by a potential Alaska lands bill, forcing the opponents of the Udall bill to negotiate again.

These negotiations over the revised Udall bill formed the basis for what would become the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA). The legislative process for its passage through the House and Senate continued throughout 1979 and 1980, and on Dec. 2, 1980, President Jimmy Carter proudly signed ANILCA into law. The Alaska National Interests Land Conservation Act added 44 million acres of Alaskan land to new national parklands, 54 million acres to the National Wildlife Refuge System, over 56 million acres to the Wilderness Preservation System, and over 3 million acres to national forests—totaling a combined area the size of California—preserved in perpetuity.

President Carter exercised his executive authority to protect special lands and endangered species. On two occasions, he issued executive orders to forbid federal agencies from developing on floodplains and to protect endangered wetlands from public and private development. In 1978 and 1979, he increased funding for the Land and Water Conservation Fund. He signed into law the Urban Park and Recreation Recovery Program, which authorized grants to bring parks and recreational facilities closer to urban areas. Under President Carter's leadership, the Antarctic Conservation Act was introduced, which made it illegal to take



The Alaska Lands Act provided varying degrees of special protection to over 157,000,000 acres of land, including national parks, national wildlife refuges, national monuments, wild and scenic rivers, recreational areas, national forests, and conservation areas. (National Park Service photo)

continues on p. 12

Continued from p. 11

native animals from or introduce non-indigenous species into Antarctica, fulfilling the U.S. obligations as a signatory to the Antarctic Treaty. The Carter administration also worked to protect the Endangered Species Act and fought to cancel the construction of the Tellico Dam in Tennessee to protect the habitat of the snail darter, an endangered species.

Moreover, President Carter worked to develop further a range of environmental protection measures, including empowering the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in its responsiveness to environmental disasters and enabling it to enforce environmental measures more strongly. In response to the environmental disaster at New York's Love Canal, the Carter administration developed the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensations, and Liability Act in December 1980—also known as the Superfund act. This act compelled those responsible for the contamination of sites by hazardous substances or pollution to ensure that cleanups were carried out properly and that they were properly financed. Jim Free described the Superfund act as “still a very important, viable piece of legislation” that is regularly used, including in helping to clean up toxic waste at the World Trade Center site after 9/11.

During a time in which the popularity of coal as an energy source grew to meet the energy needs of the United States, President Carter signed into law the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act to ensure that coal was extracted responsibly and the negative environmental effects of strip mining were minimized. This piece of legislation created the Office of Surface Mining, which administered regulation programs and also created a fund, financed by taxes on surface mining activities, to be used to reclaim and restore lands and water damaged by coal mining that took place before the legislation.

In 1977, President Carter established the Department of Energy by consolidating a number of fractured energy programs. Through this new cabinet-level department, Carter pushed for Congress to help reduce the negative environmental effects of oil-based energy production by improving mass transit and promoting energy conservation in buildings. Safety regulations and federal oversight of nuclear energy were improved, allowing the federal government to embrace nuclear energy as a significantly cleaner energy source than oil or coal. The United States also invested more money in energy research during Carter's presidency than at any other time in its history. This included signing the Public Utility Regulatory Policies Act and the Energy Tax Act to promote



President Carter fly-fishes in Alaska in 1980.

and incentivize the use of energy alternatives other than coal and oil. One of the most striking illustrations of President Carter's commitment to alternative energy sources was the installation of a 32-panel solar power system on the roof of the White House. Describing this, Jim Free recounted, “As Al Gore said, the solar panels on the roof were symbolic, but they had afterlife because Reagan took them down and every Democrat that has been back puts them back up.”

In an act little publicized during and since his presidency, Carter was the first world leader to discuss and explore the possible impacts of climate change. In 1977, he commissioned a study that would reveal the effects of climate change. The Global 2000 Report to the President was published by the Council on Environmental Quality and the Department of State, working with 15 other federal agencies and nongovernmental organizations to study the probable changes in the world's population, natural resources, and environment through the end of the century.

Among U.S. presidents, and indeed among world leaders more broadly, President Carter's environmental credentials remain peerless. Carter's wider concern and determination to ensure a positive legacy for the nation would be a defining characteristic of his administration. This included challenging special interests, where appropriate, and the willingness to take the lead to develop innovative solutions to long-established and multi-dimensional issues. The continued relevance of the Carter administration's achievements in environmental policy are ultimately testament to President Carter's forward-looking and environmentally progressive agenda. Ending the discussion, Jim Free summed up what is now perhaps common thinking by saying, “Mr. President, you were a man so far ahead of your time.”

Former Naval Secretary Supports Legacy Circle

Former Secretary of the Navy John Dalton is among the most passionate and devoted supporters of President Carter and the work of The Carter Center. The two met in July 1975 at a Naval Academy alumni association event in Dallas, Texas. There, Carter laid out his strategy for winning Iowa, New Hampshire, and the rest of the campaign, and he emphasized his commitment to building an administration founded on trust and transparency.

This message resonated deeply with Dalton, and later that day he told his wife, Margaret, that he had met the next president of the United States. Upon meeting Jimmy Carter, Margaret expressed her admiration for him and made her own commitment—to wear her “Carter for President” button every day until the election.

Dalton was a Carter delegate to the 1976 Democratic National Convention. After the election, President Carter nominated him to be president of the Government National Mortgage Association and later a member and then chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. He was secretary of the Navy under President Bill Clinton. Dalton recently was selected as a Distinguished Graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. For that honor, President Carter wrote a strong letter for him, for which Dalton is quick to express his immense gratitude.

Inspired by President and Mrs. Carter’s tireless efforts on behalf of the less fortunate, as well as the Carter Center’s

impressive progress with neglected tropical diseases and Guinea worm eradication, Secretary Dalton included The Carter Center in his legacy plan and established charitable gift annuities. Considering how much The Carter Center does for so many, Secretary Dalton wants the Center to continue its works throughout this century and beyond. He also pointed out that making a legacy gift, in addition to regular annual gifts, is a great way to ensure and promote the work and legacy of The Carter Center for generations to come.

When asked if he has advice for others considering a planned legacy gift, Dalton said that he would encourage anyone with the ability or resources to make a legacy gift to do so, “...because to those whom much is given, much is required, and no organization is more deserving of such support than The Carter Center.”



John and Margaret Dalton are longtime friends and supporters of President Carter and The Carter Center.

BOOK CLUB

The White House Vice Presidency The Path to Significance, Mondale to Biden

By Joel K. Goldstein

The rise of the vice presidency took a sharp upward trajectory with the vice presidency of Walter Mondale. In “The White House Vice Presidency” by Joel Goldstein, we see how Mondale and Jimmy Carter designed and implemented a new model of the office that allowed the vice president to become a close presidential adviser and representative on missions that mattered. Goldstein takes us through the vice presidents from Mondale to Joe Biden, presenting the

arrangements each had with his respective president, showing elements of continuity but also variations in the office, and describing the challenges each faced and the work each did. The book also examines the vice presidential selection process and campaigns since 1976 and shows how those activities affect the vice presidency.

The book presents a comprehensive account of how the office has developed.



Comings & Goings



Bernard Aronson

Bernard Aronson has been appointed by President Obama to be his special envoy to the peace talks between the government of Colombia and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). Starting as a speechwriter for Vice President Mondale, Aronson went on to hold other positions in the Carter-Mondale White House. He became an expert in Central American affairs and served as assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs under President George H.W. Bush. Aronson is the founding partner in the Washington-based private equity firm ACON Investments.

Jonathan D. Blum recently retired as the chief public affairs officer and senior vice president at YUM! Brands, Inc., where he also was its global nutrition officer.

He also has served as vice president of public affairs at Taco Bell; a director of the Advertising Council; and an independent director of Kindred Healthcare Inc.

Blum worked on the 1976 Carter-Mondale campaign and in the White House advance and scheduling offices, and then helped with the Carters' return to the private sector in Georgia.



Jonathan D. Blum

President Obama nominated, and the Senate confirmed, **Michael Missal**, a Washington attorney who specializes in government enforcement and internal investigations, to be the new chief watchdog at the Department of Veterans Affairs. The inspector general is responsible under federal law for unearthing and exposing mismanagement, fraud, and abuse at the VA.

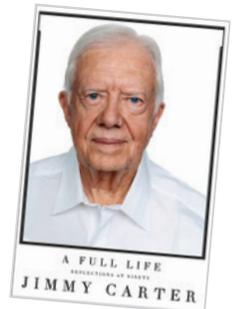


Michael Missal

Upon graduation from Washington and Lee University in 1978, Missal joined the Carter-Mondale White House staff, where he worked with Anne Wexler for two years. In the fall of 1980, after starting law school while still working at the White House, he became law clerk to Lloyd Cutler, counsel to the president, where he stayed until Jan. 20, 1981.

Mike can be reached at michaelmissal@gmail.com.

President Jimmy Carter won his second Grammy Award in February 2016, this time for the audiobook version of his memoir "A Full Life: Reflections at Ninety." Carter's previous award in the Best Spoken Word Album category was in 2007, for his reading of "Our Endangered Values: America's Moral Crisis."



Passages

Michael Joseph Egan was a beloved family man and friend, distinguished attorney, lawmaker, and public servant. He served as an army officer in both World War II and Korea and later graduated from Harvard Law School.

In 1965, Egan won election to the Georgia House of Representatives as a Republican and was re-elected seven times. In 1971, Egan was elected House minority leader, at a time when Democrats dominated the General Assembly.



Michael Joseph Egan

He led a moderate Republican caucus that joined with the progressive Democrats of Gov. Jimmy Carter to pass important legislation over the objection of the allies of Lt. Gov. Lester Maddox. In early 1977, in a move reflective of President-elect Carter's intention to de-politicize the U.S. Department of Justice, Egan became associate attorney general, serving under Attorney General Griffin Bell. His responsibilities included the civil rights, tax, and environmental sections of the Justice Department, as well as involvement in the selection of U.S. attorneys and federal judges nationwide. He worked with the Carter administra-

tion until 1979, when he returned to private law practice.

Ten years later, Egan returned to politics, winning a seat in the Georgia state Senate. Although Republicans were still greatly outnumbered at that time, Egan was an effective opposition leader, who was respected by and forged coalitions with both Republicans and Democrats.

Zollie Saxon Johnson (along with her husband, Dr. Thomas Devan Johnson who predeceased her) was an active Peanut Brigadier for Jimmy Carter's election as president in 1977.

Johnson was active in the Albany Medical Auxiliary, serving as president in 1961, and was a member of the Junior League of Albany. She was a strong supporter of the Albany Museum of Art and the Albany Symphony, and was a longtime member of First Methodist Church. Since 2008, she and her husband have sustained the Thomas and Zollie Johnson student scholarship at Emory University School of Medicine.

Margaret Sue LeGette (Boo) Kirbo

grew up in Bainbridge, Georgia, where she became the wife of Charles H. Kirbo Sr., senior adviser and confidant to President Carter. She and her husband (who predeceased her) were active in their church and outdoor life and designed their own home in Atlanta.



Margaret Kirbo

Kirbo's wonderful sense of humor and gentility, along with an elegant, soft Southern accent, made her an ideal ambassador for Carter's campaigns for governor of Georgia in 1966 and 1970 and in both his presidential campaigns. She was a proud member of the Georgia Peanut Brigade that campaigned in the New Hampshire primary, and she attended the Democratic National Conventions in 1976 and 1980. Boo and Charlie remained close friends of the Carters throughout their lives.



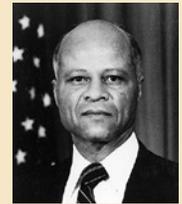
Philip Modlin

Philip Hodgin Modlin, who earned his Juris Doctor degree from the University of North Carolina in 1950, found his greatest job satisfaction at the U.S. Department of Justice, where he served with distinction for 25 years. During his career, he played an integral part in the creation of the Attorney General's Honor Program and Advocacy Institute.

In 1970, Modlin became director of the Executive

Office for United States Attorneys, where he hired and worked with many future legal luminaries. Another of his later duties, which he relished, was to advise U.S. attorneys general and the Office of White House Counsel on judicial appointments.

Dr. John E. Reinhardt, a former career diplomat and university educator, was named the first African-American director of the United States Information Agency in 1977.



John E. Reinhardt

Reinhardt was one of the early African-Americans to excel in the Foreign Service, which he joined in 1957. He served as a cultural officer in the Philippines, Japan, and Iran, and as the information agency's assistant director for Africa and the Far East before being nominated as Washington's first African-American ambassador to Nigeria in 1971. When he was confirmed, all five of the black career Foreign Service officers who had been elevated to ambassadorial rank were assigned to Africa. He later served as assistant secretary of state for public affairs under Henry A. Kissinger.



Hal Saunders

Harold H. (Hal) Saunders served with distinction under six U.S. presidents and was a significant figure in America's international affairs for more than 50 years. Assistant secretary of state in the Carter-Mondale administration and the recently retired director of international affairs at the Kettering Foundation, he spent more than 20 years in high-level foreign policy positions in the U.S. government.

As assistant secretary of state for the Near East and South Asia, Saunders played a critical behind-the-scenes role during the 1978 negotiations at Camp David, culminating in the two framework agreements comprising the Camp David Accords and leading directly to the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty in the following year, which Saunders helped draft. In the early morning hours of Nov. 4, 1979, a call was patched through to his home from Tehran, and over the next two hours, he listened to the seizing of the American Embassy. For the next 444 days, Saunders worked tirelessly to free the American hostages, culminating in their release on Jan. 20, 1981.

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Continued from p. 15

For his contributions to American diplomacy, Saunders received the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Service, the government's highest award for civilian career officials, and the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award.



Hal Gulliver

After a year as a reporter for the Associated Press, **Hal Gulliver** became associate editor of the Atlanta Constitution and became its editor in 1974. In the 1970s, he remained close to the Carter administration. Gulliver co-authored with Reg Murphy "The Southern Strategy," about the presidential campaign.

In May 1982, he resigned from the newspaper to become a senior fellow and editorial director of the Southern Center for International Studies.

Shirley Hufstедler, a pathbreaking former federal judge, became the nation's first cabinet-level secretary of education in the Carter-Mondale administration. Regarded as a civil libertarian and a feminist sensitive to the concerns of minorities, Judge Hufstедler was only the second woman named to the federal appellate bench and was widely considered the favorite to be the first woman nominated to the Supreme Court if a vacancy arose during the Carter administration.



Shirley Hufstедler

The Senate confirmed Judge Hufstедler's appointment as education secretary, 81 to 2, on Nov. 30, 1979. She presided over the birth of the Education Department when it was spun off by Congress from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and given a \$14 billion budget.

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 jay.beck@cartercenter.org.

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