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Congressional Relations Key to Legislative Success for Carter-Mondale Administration

By Ellie Studdard

At the 2016 Carter Center Weekend, Frank Moore, former assistant to President Jimmy Carter for congressional liaison, moderated a panel on congressional relations during the Carter-Mondale administration. This article is based on that panel discussion.

It is often observed in the modern American political system that power is created through both information and money. This combination, with periodic ebbs and flows both before and since the mid- and late 1970s, was a fact of life for President Jimmy Carter and his team as they worked to enact the administration's policies. Assorted special interests over the previous decades had been successful in constructing a regulatory system that worked better for various industries than it did for consumers, particularly when it came to stifling competition.

Another complicating factor facing President Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale as they came into office was the existence of a huge, duplicative, unwieldy, inefficient, unaccountable, unresponsive, and risk-averse bureaucracy. To fulfill his campaign pledge "to make the

government as good as the American people," Jimmy Carter knew he had to push quickly for reform and reorganization of the federal government and also institute a new and vastly different regulatory regime.

But none of that—reorganization, reform of the civil service system, or economic deregulation—could happen without the cooperation of Congress. And congressional cooperation couldn't happen unless the administration could effectively confront and overcome the legion of K Street lobbyists

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The Office of Congressional Liaison played a critical role in the passage of the Carter-Mondale administration's legislation.

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whose job it was to block the new president's agenda.

The task of presenting the president's policies to the legislative branch, and then steering them toward enactment, was the responsibility of the Office of Congressional Liaison in the White House. Importantly and counter to accepted mythology, President Carter's relations with Congress produced a historic success rate—by the end of his single term in office, almost 80 percent of President Carter's legislative agenda had been enacted into law.

Frank Moore, assistant to the president for congressional liaison, directed the office and reported directly to President Carter. In the beginning of the administration, Moore managed a staff of 13 people. He worked around the clock lobbying on the Hill, supervising his own staff, reporting to the president, and coordinating the congressional efforts of staff across numerous executive branch departments and agencies. Over the life of the Carter presidency, the congressional liaison staff grew in number and influence within the White House, working day and night to make the administration's legislative goals a reality.

The Carter congressional liaison office was tasked with gathering support for scores of complex and difficult pieces of legislation, most of which might well be impossible to pass

today given the paralyzing and polarized political environment in the nation's capital. The major and hard-fought wins included a series of governmental reforms and reorganizations, among which were ethics and campaign finance reform, the creation of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), and the creation of the Cabinet departments of Energy and Education.

The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, which removed well-intentioned but ultimately cumbersome structures, processes, and regulations imposed under the antiquated Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act of 1883, is considered one of the administration's most significant domestic achievements and exemplifies President Carter's legacy of governmental reforms to decrease wastefulness while increasing efficiency. The 1978 act, the design of which was primarily the work of one of America's great public administration scholars and practitioners, the late Alan "Scotty" Campbell, eliminated certain restrictions on hiring new employees and substituted incentive pay to reward employees for productivity instead of automatic step salary increases. For mid- to upper-level management, a targeted pay-for-performance program was instituted to encourage a top-down focus on productivity. The act also provided more ability to dismiss underperforming workers, while maintaining fail-safe reviews to prevent



Frank Moore (left), former assistant to President Carter for congressional liaison, moderated a panel on congressional relations in the Carter-Mondale administration. Panel participants included (from left, next to Moore) Les Francis and Jim Copeland, former deputy assistants to President Carter for congressional

liaison; Ronna Freiberg, former special assistant to President Carter for congressional liaison; Jim Free, former special assistant to President Carter working on the House liaison staff; and Dan Tate, former special assistant to President Carter working on the Senate liaison staff.

abuse and creating whistleblower protections.

Deregulation was another significant focus of the domestic reforms under President Carter and represented a series of major successes for the congressional relations office and other key White House units, especially the Domestic Policy Council and Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Through their combined efforts, deregulation acts were passed for both cargo and passenger airlines, trucking, banking, rail, oil and gas, and communications. (Read the “Deregulation Cuts Red Tape” article in this issue.)

The Carter administration was also able to enact several vital but extraordinarily controversial and difficult pieces of legislation with an international focus. The efforts on one proposal in particular, the Panama Canal treaties, would come to shape future legislative initiatives in one significant way.

Panama Canal Treaty Task Force

The Panama Canal Treaty was a major success for the Carter administration. The overall political strategy to secure ratification of the two treaties and implementing legislation was devised and overseen by Hamilton Jordan, who eventually became the president’s chief of staff. Jordan’s strategy to secure the necessary two-thirds votes in the Senate to ratify the Panama Canal Treaty was the creation of a task force composed of personnel from numerous departments across the government and multiple White House offices. Jordan’s deputy, Landon Butler, provided day-to-day management of the task force, which made a concerted effort to sell the Panama Canal Treaty to the 100 senators, the news media, and opinion leaders in all 50 states, understanding that public approval was vital to gaining support in Congress. The treaties were ratified with only one vote to spare in the spring of 1978, and Jordan’s successful multi-office task force would become the model for later congressional initiatives.

Les Francis, deputy assistant to the president for congressional liaison coordination, described how the task force system managed to be such an effective mechanism in the following ways:

“First, a task force was assigned responsibility for the development and execution of a particular legislative strategy to a specific group of people; this, in turn, created and helped enforce a shared sense of personal accountability for the success of the legislation among the members of the task force and the offices they represented.

“For example, on domestic issues, Stu Eizenstat’s domestic policy staff provided the substantive, even academic, authority on each legislative issue, while the congressional

liaison staff excelled in the actual marketing of a piece of legislation on Capitol Hill. The task forces worked in part because they relied on the strengths and specific knowledge each member of the task force brought to the table.”

Nuanced Approach to Tracking and Intelligence

One tool that eventually helped in the White House’s ability to conduct its legislative advocacy function more efficiently and effectively was its pioneering computerized tracking and analysis system, focused on how members of Congress voted on legislation of particular importance to the president. With the assistance of Richard Harden, White House administration director, and OMB’s Gary Fontana, Francis devised a system whereby representatives and senators were profiled on key issues (the first of which was the president’s proposed comprehensive National Energy Act) and on how they had voted on key and/or similar component parts on earlier occasions. Those profiles thus enabled the White House staff to zero in on those members and senators who were most likely to be “persuadable”—much like what is done when

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targeting persuadable voters in an election campaign.

Later, the system was used to analyze congressional voting patterns on the president’s legislative agenda overall, as members were ranked and thereby approached based on a variety of factors, including seniority, region, and level of support for the administration’s program.

Also key to intelligence gathering, internal White House communications, and strategy development were the daily early morning meetings among the entire White House congressional liaison staff and all of the deputies from other

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Les Francis explains how the legislative task force worked.

White House units, including OMB, domestic policy, national security, press, public liaison, cabinet and intergovernmental affairs, and others. These meetings provided opportunities to inform the entire White House as to what was happening—or expected to happen—on Capitol Hill on any given day as well as to share news from the other

White House units and learn what was in the administration's policy pipeline.

In addition, the entire White House congressional liaison staff met each Friday afternoon with the legislative heads of all the Cabinet departments and major agencies. The purpose of these meetings was to afford the White House the opportunity to share congressional-related information with its Cabinet; the meetings also reminded the departments and agencies of the White House's legislative priorities. Having found such weekly meetings helpful in coordinating administration-wide congressional activities, subsequent White House legislative affairs offices have continued the practice.

Following each Friday's meeting—and informed by it as well as written reports from each department and agency—members of the congressional liaison staff would spend the evening and most of the next day composing a legislative report to President Carter. This report kept the president abreast of Hill matters and also allowed the congressional liaison staff to highlight for him where and when he was likely to be called upon to weigh in on a particular issue or to expend his political capital to move Congress in one direction or another.

President Carter, Rosalynn Carter, and Vice President Mondale: Key Players in Congressional Liaison's Success

Dan Tate, special assistant to the president for Senate liaison, recalled President Carter as immensely generous with his time when it came to issues of important legislation. President Carter frequently committed to making 10 phone

calls to senators on issues the Office of Congressional Liaison deemed important. Tate himself was tasked with writing the memo specifying which senators President Carter would be asked to call. Tate admitted to using a “devious ploy” when writing these memos, saying that he would include in the list of senators “...at least one senator who had already committed to the administration's position, seven or eight senators who remained undecided or even slightly against, and finally one or two senators decidedly opposed to the legislation. Yet every time the call sheet would come back, President Carter had placed a check mark next to every name.” According to Tate, “President Carter had an incredible ability to ‘convert the unconvertible,’ a skill that was demoralizing for the opponents.”

President Carter's ability to convert the unconvertible was also recalled by Jim Copeland about President Carter's meeting with Chairman Bizz Johnson and Chairman Jim Howard of the House Public Works Committee and Surface Transportation subcommittee, respectively, who were both in tough re-election fights and were nervous about the administration's proposals on trucking deregulation. Copeland, who served as deputy assistant to the president for congressional liaison, said that Johnson and Howard “claimed that they just couldn't get the votes to pass trucking deregulation.” Copeland described how, in an attempt to bring the chairmen on board, the trucking task force asked Frank Moore if the president would agree to meet with Howard and Johnson. The meeting was a strategic utilization of President Carter's persuasive prowess, and it worked. Copeland described Howard and Johnson as changing from “rather stiff” and unfriendly, to committing to the president that they would move the bill. Following defeat of a “killer amendment” by a vote of 192-189, the bill passed 267-13 and was deemed a “miracle achievement” by President Carter himself.

The congressional liaison staff also relied on the political capital of both Vice President Mondale and First Lady Rosalynn Carter as part of their legislative strategy. Dan Tate laughingly admitted, “The one person in the White House I truly feared? Mrs. Carter, thank you very much!” He said Mrs. Carter's constant desire to win made her a political powerhouse. She was an effective ally for the office, even stepping in once or twice to help President Carter “reconsider” agreeing to a request made by Dan Tate or Frank Moore. Tate also cited Vice President Mondale's distinguished career in the Senate before becoming vice president as a testament to his network of political influence on the Hill. “Vice President Mondale was incredibly willing to help

congressional liaison win over his former colleagues and friends, answering in the affirmative more often than not to the office's requests," Tate said. He acknowledged that we can only speculate as to the "true costs, politically and personally," to Vice President Mondale in the process of gaining these votes.

'Care and Feeding' of Members of Congress

In her presentation, Ronna Freiberg, who was special assistant to the president for congressional liaison, stressed that the primary function of the Office of Congressional Liaison was to pass President Carter's legislative priorities. However, the reality of passing legislation required commitment to something Freiberg called "care and feeding" of members of Congress. By the end of 1977, the office recognized that they needed to devote even more time and effort to establishing, developing, and growing relationships with the individual members of Congress, relationships they would draw on for support on major legislative efforts to come.

Freiberg highlighted four of the office's specific strategies for advancing these relationships. The first was to begin aggressively monitoring and prioritizing congressional elections for Carter supporters in 1978 and 1980. The office worked with House and Senate campaign committees to identify where involvement from President Carter, Mrs. Carter, Vice President Mondale, and members of the families might make a difference in various races. With the president and vice president in the audience, Freiberg humorously recalled, "Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Mondale were always the most requested guests!"

The office also focused on assuring that the administration was paying special attention to congressional needs; this was done by extending many favors—small and not so small. For example, the office would make sure that when a federal program announced grant recipients, the announcement was shared with a Democratic senator or congressman first. By doing this, President Carter's supporters in Congress would have the upper hand in announcing good news to their constituents. Other favors could include a ride on Air Force One with President Carter, signed photographs from the president, or even private tours of the White House—often given by congressional liaison staffers themselves. Members of Congress were invited to the White House as guests to celebrations such as the White House Easter Egg Roll, Fourth of July fireworks, state dinners, or other special events. The office even made strategic use of the president's boxes at the Kennedy Center and other Washington cultural venues. Freiberg called these favors "the coin of the realm" for making things happen in Washington. While Jimmy Carter's

Office of Congressional Liaison might not have invented the tactics they employed, it was their focused and targeted approach that made them so successful.

Freiberg wrapped up her remarks by referencing the weekly legislative report, discussed briefly by Les Francis in his comments. It is clear that the document was integral to the success of the office, but Freiberg gave an insight into another important aspect of writing the document: President Carter's "pithy" comments and annotations. The entire panel recalled anticipating receiving the report back and seeing President Carter's notes in the margins with comments, questions, and even a grammatical correction or two.

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Recalling the Legacy

Jim Free, special assistant to the president for House liaison, described for the audience his measure for judging presidents, which is to look at their legacies. "If they did something bad, how long did its effects last? If they did something good, can those effects still be felt today? When it comes to judging Jimmy Carter's presidency," Free noted, "this president, in four short years, accomplished amazing legislative feats that still affect us to this day." From widespread industry deregulation to a comprehensive energy bill—one that Free considers one of the most historic pieces of public policy legislation ever—"the Carter-Mondale administration's actions have left an undeniable legacy."

However, this success would not have been possible without every member of the Office of Congressional Liaison present at the panel, in addition to invaluable congressional liaison support staff as well as staff from other departments. Moore took a moment to extend credit to Bill Cable, Terry Straub, Bob Thomson, Bob Schule, Valerie Pinson, Bob Maher, and Bob Beckel for their contributions. Moore went on to emphasize that it truly was an effort from the entire White House staff to remove the obstacles to the important work that needed to be done.

Mrs. Carter spoke at the conclusion of the panel, adding one final thought: "I've always said we had the best team of any president that has ever run, and I think that our congressional liaison team was the best in history."

Deregulation Cuts Red Tape Under President Carter

“As a farmer and a small businessman, and later as a governor, I shared this resentment and frustration. I resented the cost of government red tape, the interference it represented in my business and personal life, and not least of all, having to deal with the bureaucratic gobbledygook itself.”

—President Jimmy Carter, March 1978

In the decades leading up to the election of Jimmy Carter, government regulations on major industries—airlines, trucking, inland shipping, banking, communications, energy, and railroads—had become overbearing and burdensome. Corporate interests drove the creation of regulations intended to eliminate competition within industries, resulting in inefficient and expensive business practices for consumers and businesses alike. When President Carter took office, he saw a need for comprehensive federal reorganization. A major part of President Carter’s governmental reorganization efforts focused on the task of deregulating numerous industries in the United States in order to let the free market have more influence in determining business practices. President Carter wished to increase competition among the major industries while still allowing for effective oversight. Here is a summary of a few of the major industries deregulated during the Carter administration.

Airlines

For decades the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) had heavily regulated the airline industry. This regulation was especially important to the airlines, particularly in the earliest years



With the passage of the Airline Deregulation Act, airline competition ratcheted up.

of the fledgling industry, as a means to ensure that airlines could be sustainable businesses and to provide safety standards. However, by the 1970s, the airline industry had grown significantly, and many believed that the CAB’s regulatory policies had become cumbersome and were no longer necessary.

In 1978, Congress passed and President Carter signed the Airline Deregulation Act. Airline deregulation was exceptional in that it eliminated the red tape that had long prevented increased competition between airlines. The legislation limited the ability of the Civil Aeronautics Board to control “entry and exit fares, subsidies, and mergers,” thus allowing for increased market freedom in a mature industry. Without cumbersome and inefficient regulations, smaller airlines became more competitive, and the free market was allowed to determine airfares and routes. Deregulation also led to a drastic increase in mergers, acquisitions, and bankruptcies in the industry, as more than 200 carriers folded or were absorbed in the decade immediately following deregulation. The proliferation of smaller airlines at the onset of deregulation did increase competition and certainly provided an impetus for the larger airlines to increase the number of routes offered and lower their fares.

Some areas fared better than others with regard to the effects of deregulation. While a hub-and-spoke system had been in place before, deregulation further encouraged the development of those systems. The elimination of the CAB requirements prohibiting airlines from dropping unprofitable routes resulted in the elimination of some smaller-market routes, an unavoidable tradeoff that came with deregulation and the proliferation of the free market as the determining factor that drove the airline industry. Deregulating the airlines was Carter’s first deregulation project, and its positive impact is still being felt in the industry today. Planes are almost always full, and ticket prices are cheaper, on average.

President Carter also signed into law in 1977 a bill that removed most federal restrictions on airlines providing all-cargo service. The authority of the CAB to control rates and routes was significantly curtailed, and as long as a carrier was “fit, willing, and able,” the CAB would have to grant an all-cargo certificate.

Trucking

The Motor Carrier Act was signed into law in 1980 with the goal of reducing inflation and wasteful practices in the trucking industry in order to save consumers billions. The

successful passage of the act is commonly attributed to the efforts of the Carter administration with help from congressional leaders like Sen. Ted Kennedy.

The act eliminated many restrictions in place from the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), the trucking industry's version of the CAB. Individual carriers were given more freedom to publish their own rates within a "zone of reasonableness," providing for an increase or decrease in the rate level by 15 percent without challenge from rate bureaus. The legislation also removed most restrictions in place from the ICC detailing the routes carriers could take, the territory carriers could service, and the kinds of cargo hauled. Antitrust immunities for collective rate setting were also eliminated, which increased competition and made it easier for new carriers to break into the business. Overall, the Motor Carrier Act has been estimated to save carriers and consumers at least \$10 billion a year, and possibly as much as \$60 billion.

Railroads

In the early 1970s, the railroad industry was struggling with financial issues that forced many carriers to declare bankruptcy, partially due to harsh regulations that kept cargo rates artificially low. Subsidies to support the underperforming and



The railroad industry saw a decrease in rates and an increase in productivity after government supervision was lessened.

unprofitable industry had the potential to cost taxpayers \$13 billion to \$16 billion over five years, a serious concern for the Carter administration, which was worried about the possibility of a looming economic downturn. The Staggers Rail Act was enacted in 1980 with support from railroad labor groups like the Association of American Railroads, in contrast with

organized labor's public opposition of both airline and trucking deregulation. Industries that depended on railroads to ship goods, such as coal companies, opposed railroad deregulation for fear it would drive shipping costs higher. In a message to Congress, Carter maintained, "The railroads still carry more than a third of the nation's freight and most of its bulk commodities, such as coal, grain, and chemicals," and "the industry is in a deep and dangerous decline."

The act provided railroads with more freedom to set rates without interference from the Interstate Commerce Commission, while simultaneously removing antitrust immunities for collective ratemaking. Overall, the act eliminated much of the existing ICC supervision. The results of the act provided a much-needed boost to the rail industry. Rail rates have declined steadily to two-thirds of what they were in 1980, investments in the industry soared, and productivity increased threefold. However, similar to the airline industry's consolidation post-deregulation, the railroad industry is now dominated by four major rail companies. These companies have monopolistic control over 90 percent of freight traffic in the United States, prompting some experts to ask if new regulations are called for.

Banking

In 1980, Congress restructured the financial sector, mostly through deregulation. Commercial banks and savings and loan associations were deregulated so that they lost their distinctiveness from each other. It permitted all financial institutions to "offer interest-bearing checking accounts and allowed thrift institutions to provide services formerly available through commercial banks," which was significant in that it "pre-empted state usury laws that limited the rates lenders could charge on residential mortgage loans."

The Depository Institutions Deregulation and Monetary Control Act of 1980, considered one of the most important pieces of legislation affecting the Federal Reserve in its history, lowered the mandatory reserve requirements banks keep in non-interest-bearing accounts at U.S. Federal Reserve banks. Additionally, it phased out federal interest rate ceilings on deposit accounts over a six-year period, through the establishment of a five-person Depository Institutions Deregulatory Committee. It also increased FDIC coverage from \$40,000 to \$100,000. Carter's banking reforms were significant in that they were the first major deregulatory measures taken since the Great Depression. They also provided the framework for future reforms under the Reagan administration. Carter's financial deregulations were meant to increase competition among the banking community while

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still providing for effective oversight.

Oil and Gas

When President Carter took office in 1977, America was dependent on foreign imports for 50 percent of its oil. He understood that the consequences of increased dependence on foreign oil, especially from the often volatile Middle East, coupled with excessive, wasteful energy use, would continue to force prices higher and higher and could even lead to shortages that had the potential to damage the American economy. Because of these convictions, Carter believed that oil and gas prices should not be kept artificially low, especially because that would encourage consumption and thus lead to wasteful energy use.

Due to the complexity of the regulations that were already in place, oil and gas prices were kept at artificial levels. Natural gas shortages had been plaguing the nation in the years leading up to Carter's presidency, mostly due to regulations that discouraged natural gas companies from selling gas from gas-producing states to states that did not produce natural gas. Carter signed the Natural Gas Pricing Act of 1978, which phased out the price regulations and the artificial barriers that were preventing natural gas from being sold in large quantities to non-gas-producing states—effectively ending the gas shortages.

Carter worried about deregulating the oil industry and letting the free market determine the prices because of the power that the OPEC nations held with regard to setting prices. He believed OPEC to be a cartel that would continue to arbitrarily set the price of oil even if the United States removed its own laws and regulations from its domestic supply. Thus Carter was forced to propose a very complex bill that could account for the power of OPEC while still allowing for market competition to help set oil prices.

It took until October 1978 to develop an energy bill that both houses of Congress could agree upon, and the bill was as comprehensive as it was complicated. It included a number of efforts to encourage energy conservation: incentives were created to not produce gas-guzzling vehicles; distorted rate structures among the electric utility companies, which encouraged wasting energy, were no longer tolerated, and better-insulated buildings were promoted; home appliances were required to meet higher efficiency standards; “gasohol” production and carpooling were promoted with tax incentives; coal production and use were stimulated; and natural gas prices were deregulated in phases. Carter's initiatives effectively cut oil imports in half.

The Iranian revolution that began in January 1978 also had a significant impact on Carter's energy policy. Due to the interruption in the world's oil supply in the immediate aftermath of the revolution, Carter was prompted to use his executive powers to “direct a phased decontrol of oil prices.” Worried that shareholders of oil companies stood to make too much money from the price decontrols, Carter proposed a bill that Congress passed in 1980, which imposed a windfall profits tax of 50 percent of the difference between the price for which a barrel of oil sold on the market and the price at which it would have sold under the price controls. While this tax added a disincentive against domestic oil production, its effects were rather slight compared to incentives provided by the phased decontrols on oil prices.

At the same time that Carter decreased crude oil imports and increased domestic prices, the administration began research and development programs to promote and discover other forms of energy that were environmentally friendly and could help wean America off of its dependence on foreign oil. (Carter displayed his personal commitment by placing solar panels on the White House roof, which were eventually removed by Reagan.) Government investments in fracking and wind, solar, and hydropower all grew as a result, but it was nuclear and coal energy that received the most significant boost from the deregulation of oil prices.

Communications

Deregulation of communications under the Carter administration focused on the encouragement of free-market competition through breaking up the virtual monopoly on telecommunications held by AT&T. The official antitrust case was filed in 1974, and by 1982, a settlement was agreed upon. Judge Harold Greene, a Carter appointee, oversaw the settlement and the case. This was a landmark decision, and the decision is a credit to President Carter's appointment of the judge to the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia in 1978.

The immediate results of AT&T relinquishing its Bell Operating Companies were lower long-distance telephone rates due to the increase in competition among the new telephone companies. Local residential rates actually rose slightly faster than inflation, thus becoming a bit more expensive than before. The major broadcast networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, etc.) had relied on AT&T up until its breakup to transmit their programming, and after the divestiture, many of them transferred their broadcasts to new satellite companies that provided an even cheaper platform to transmit their programming.

The breakup was also significant in that the resulting competition led to an increase in technological research and development among the growing number of communications companies. Cellular, satellite, and cable technologies all experienced significant development, while Bell Laboratories, which had been the pre-eminent electronic hardware developer, never regained the influence that it had held in the electro-communications research sector.

Deregulation under President Carter extended beyond the industries mentioned above. In the panel presentation at the 2016 Carter Center Weekend, Jim Free reminded the audience to thank President Carter every time they drink a beer from a microbrewery; it was Carter who signed H.R.

1337, which deregulated federal restrictions on home brewing, in place since the end of Prohibition. This legislation contributed to the eventual explosion of the craft beer industry, since many micro and craft breweries today trace their origins to homebrew experiments. The deregulation effort also affected the maritime shipping industry in addition to trucking and railroads.

The push for deregulation of the federal government cannot be solely attributed to the Carter-Mondale administration. However, the deregulation begun primarily in the Carter administration, and continued later by others, was the catalyst for allowing free-market competition an unfettered opportunity to evolve.

Alumni Gather in Atlanta for Executive Briefing

Carter-Mondale administration alumni who are members of the Carter Center's Ambassadors Circle met in Atlanta in early April at the annual Executive Briefing and Presidential Reception.

This event gives Carter Center staff the opportunity to thank Carter-Mondale alumni for their support and share how their Ambassadors Circle membership has furthered the vision of President and Mrs. Carter. Highlights included briefings from Carter Center CEO Ambassador Mary Ann Peters and program directors, as well as a town hall meeting and presidential reception attended by the Carters. The event was followed by an overnight trip to Plains, Georgia, with dinner, square dancing, and a scripture lesson from President Carter.

Ambassadors Circle members make unrestricted gifts of \$1,000 or more on an annual basis. These funds are critically important in supporting the Center's operations and program



President Carter shares stories with Ambassadors Circle members in Plains, Ga.

Phil Wise, vice president for operations at The Carter Center and Carter-Mondale alumnus, delivers an entertaining talk based on the Center's statistics.



needs. Membership benefits include expanded versions of Carter Center newsletters, reprints of journal articles about the Center's work, a listing in the annual report, and invitations to Executive Briefing and Presidential Reception, visit to Plains, and Carter Center Weekend.

For more information about joining the Ambassadors Circle, please contact Claire Kaye at (404) 420-3870 or claire.kaye@cartercenter.org.



Frances Cook (left), former State Department official, relaxes by one of the Carter Center lakes.

Mongolian Activist: What Are Human Rights?

By Oyungerel Tseveddamba

Oyungerel Tseveddamba, a former minister of the Mongolian government, now speaks actively on issues of human rights. She is co-writing with her husband, Jeffrey Falt, the second book in a series about the Stalinist purges against Buddhist lamas and nomadic herders. The first book in the series, "The Green Eyed Lama," published in 2008, became the longest-standing bestseller in Mongolia and is expected to be published in French by Grasset et Fasquelle this year.

It is the first day of winter of 1976. Almost all the people of my town wear their winter coats today. And it is a very cold day, especially when we have to stay outside most of the day.

I am lined up in a long parade—official parade of October holiday. I am in fourth grade, or 10 years old, and my classmates are one to two years older than me and grown enough to demonstrate outside. I am excited. My feet are getting cold at minus 20 C, and my mouth and eyebrows are frosted already. Still, we don't know when exactly our class will pass by the podium where big leaders stand and we shout out our "hoorays."

While waiting for our turn to pass by the central square of our town, Muren, we play, run, and chase each other and do simple silly things. Meanwhile, we wonder why Nov. 7 is celebrated as an October holiday, and why Russia's Red Revolution of 1917 is a big holiday for Mongolia.

No one, not even teachers, knows or tells the answers to our curious questions, but everybody above age 12 of our town with 30,000 inhabitants is just obliged to appear on this holiday. That is why this is such a long line to reach to the main square. If not, there will be a big punishment. Fear and October holiday come always together. For us children, we will be "marked" on our personal journals recorded by the school. Having "a mark" on the personal journal might mean anything: losing our chances to go to university someday, losing our chance to have a job, having our parents kicked out of their jobs, or something else that we can't imagine. In general, it is assumed by everybody that it would be the worst thing to not appear at political events like October holiday.

Bigger children of our school have bigger challenges. They have to hold huge red flags and gigantic hand-drawn portraits of Lenin, Marx, and Engels. I see flag-holding guys

placing their freezing hands on their mouth once in a while. Teachers and pioneer advisors have to appear in good-looking outfits, and therefore, their feet get cold first of all. We see many of our schoolchildren and grownups stepping in place as if to rhythmic beats just because their feet are freezing.

As to our classmates, we all hold little red flowers, and half of the flowers and flags break down before we even see the edge of the central square. Boys tickle girls with the flags and girls knock them back with flowers. Teachers scold us for not keeping the flags and flowers in order, but we can't help playing with them on squeaky snowy traffic on our way to a communist parade.

"Children, now line up for the parade, it is our turn soon," my class instructor, Chuluunhuu, a young woman with a soft voice and weak health, coughs and shouts as loud as she can. She calls us name by name trying to stop her undisciplined students. Some kids lose their mittens and some hide someone else's hat. We yell at each other, trying to help the teacher arrange our class for the parade.

After a messy reorganization, we somehow make a logical line and a square out of our 35 children of the class. We try hard not to break the square we just formed, and it is so hard to concentrate on the line as some boys poke the girls' rears or kick our butts while pretending to walk like soldiers.

Anyway, our hard-to-discipline class of 35 young pioneers walks onto the Davaadorj Square, which becomes one of the key places for Mongolia's democracy history in 14 years.

"May the greatest revolution of October prosper eternally! Hooray!" the loud convincing voice commands through the central radio amplifier standing on the main square.

"Hooray!" we follow. Boys giggle at the girls' first-ever hoorays in our lives.

"Here is your mother, Oyungerel" someone pokes.

I look at the main podium where the leaders of our Huvsgul Province are standing and waving at us. There are almost 30 men and one woman. The only woman leader standing there and waving at us is my mother. She is tall and beautiful. She wears a snow-white headscarf and a black coat with white fur collar. She looks sharp and distinct from all the men standing next to her. I have a big smile and wave at her proudly.

"Let the world imperialism led by the United States of America be destroyed! Hooray!" the radio yells.

“Hooray!” I wave to my mother while keeping my steps straight for the square-making parade.

The two hoorays and the walk by the podium are the culmination of our October holiday celebration. Soon, we run toward the school at our fastest and give away our flowers and flags to be free to go home. Our little contribution to world communism is done.

As I come home, everybody else comes home one after one. Our family of eight lives in a ger, Mongolian national dwelling with round structure and felt cover. Our ger is located in downtown Muren, in the yard of the town history museum. Also, our ger doesn't belong to us. It is a state property built in a state-owned yard. Just a few months before, my mother and father moved to this state-owned place after my mother graduated from a political institute run by the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party—the only permitted party in Mongolia. People call that school the Party University.

When Mother comes home, Father asks her how cold she was. She confesses that she was freezing at the podium, standing there all the time. She takes her beautiful clothing off, puts her cold feet on our father's belly. We touch Mother's feet, and they are indeed freezing cold. But she is happy. She did her job all the way from early morning till late afternoon, and she proved her stamina while not showing any of her pain and discomfort on her face. And she was one of the main authors of all the holiday messages because she is the Province Party Principal of the Ideological Department.

The Ideological Department is the main censorship organization making all the public messages, broadcasts, speeches,

newspapers, plays, and concerts “politically right.” Until I was 12, I didn't know why my mother never came home earlier than 8 p.m. Later I understood that she was obliged to look at almost every single detail of all the publications and event papers being held or going on in our province. She also was a speechwriter to almost all the big chairmen of the province. However wrong or wasteful her job might sound for today's free Mongolians, it required her to be the most educated, the most well-spoken, the best-writing and best-informed woman in town. And she was!

When Mother comes home early like today, we usually get something to celebrate. We laugh together, sing together, and Mother tells us different stories. And the most exciting thing is that Mother is available to translate the Soviet TV to us.

We have only two channels in Mongolia: Mongolian national TV and the Soviet main channel that we called Orbit. We like to watch Orbit to see the outside world. Our main outside world and the farthest exciting place is Moscow. We like to watch how Russians demonstrate on their own October holiday. And we look admiringly at the Kremlin's parade and the squares and squares of army people marching with their weapons in that parade-celebration.

While all these are such a nice and fun thing to watch for us, we don't realize that it is a picture of an actual war—the war that already has a name somewhere in the world. Yes, it is a Cold War scene. How could I know it is a war scene! And how could I know that by hooraying on the main square of our northern Mongolia town, I take my position in that big war as a little enemy of America, about which I know nothing, too.

But somewhere in the world, two leaders confronted by Cold War are discussing how to make peace.

One day in 1980 or so, I have a chance to listen to my mother and father's conversation while watching very important Orbit news! Mother sits attentively in front of our black-and-white TV, recording and watching Soviet news on the meeting of the Soviet and American leaders that took place on a yacht. The news is obviously very interesting to my father, who didn't know Russian, and he keeps impatiently urging my mother to translate every detail of the news.

“What is our side saying?” Dad asks.

“Leonid Brezhnev is saying that we want

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Oyungerel Tseveddamba remembers her parents interpreting the SALT II treaty talks between President Carter and Leonid Brezhnev as a discussion of peace and human rights.

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world peace,” Mother translates.

“That’s good. What’s their side saying?” Dad continues.

“Jimmy Carter is saying that he wants human rights,”

Mom explains.

“Why don’t we give him human rights and live in peace?”

Dad asks.

“I don’t know exactly what the Americans are asking by this,” Mom says.

“They are asking something very easy. Human and Rights.” Dad insists, “That should be an easy thing to give.”

“I don’t know what are human rights,” Mom repeats.

“Why don’t you know such a simple thing?” Dad insists

“Dad!” I call with excitement. My mother is long passed away, and I can share this exciting news only with my dad at this time.

“What happened?” Dad turns around on the sofa where he is napping after his long hard day’s work as a mechanic in the local electricity company.

“I found human rights!” I announce.

strongly. “I took care of all our children so that you can study in three universities. With your education you should know about such simple things!”

Mom shakes her head and says, “I wish I knew what Americans mean when they demand human rights.”

From Mom and Dad’s conversation, one thing becomes clear to me. My mom doesn’t know the one thing that is crucial to save the world peace. And with my ambition to save our world, I decide to find out what is “human rights,” and I want to tell about it to my mother and father. So, the very next day, I go to all the libraries I know: my school library, my town library, and the province library. I search all their catalogues, all the big books and small books, and I cannot find anything about human rights. My search for human rights stops after 24 hours, and I forget that conversation about human rights for 10 years.

In the spring of 1990, Mongolia’s usual dusty wind becomes the wind of change. The democratic movements have announced themselves one after another since Dec. 10, 1989—the International Human Rights Day! Soon, the

new democratic activists start recruiting locals for their organizations.

On one dusty spring day, my usual client, Altangerel, comes to my office of the provincial procurement company. I am not so fond of Altangerel because he complains about our state-owned company way too much, but this time he comes to me with a quiet voice and whisper. Oh, I like secrets, rumors, and whispers!

“Oyuna,” he whispers, addressing me warmly, “I trust you, and I would like you to read this paper.” He gives me a few pages of writings. “Please read it at home and don’t burn or destroy it. We have only a few copies. So, if you like what you have read, please give it to the next trusted person.”

“I will, thank you!” I accepted the pages. I like to read such secret leaflets of early democracy days, as they are all very interesting and always contain banned information!

When I come home, I open the papers and read, “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”

Suddenly, I remember my parents’ conversation about Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev’s meeting back in 1979 or 1980!

“Dad!” I call with excitement. My mother is long passed away, and I can share this exciting news only with my dad at this time.

“What happened?” Dad turns around on the sofa where he is napping after his long hard day’s work as a mechanic in the local electricity company.

“I found human rights!” I announce.

“What human rights?” Dad places his arms under his head to look at me.

“Remember, you asked about human rights from Mother 10 years ago?” I remind him of that night’s talk.

“Oh yes!” Dad remembers, “Tell me what you found about human rights.”

At this moment, I read the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to my father loudly.

“Everyone has the right to live...,” I start.

“Sounds right.” Dad nods. “Continue.”

“Everyone has the right to freedom of speech... freedom of expression... freedom from torture... freedom of religion...,” I read.

Each time, Dad nods his head approvingly while looking at the ceiling of our state-owned apartment. When I finish reading, Dad jumps up and says, “They all seem to be natural and right things. Why it has to be so secret?”

At this very moment, I decide to join the democratic forces of our country, and I want to tell everybody about human rights.

Presidential Libraries Provide a Transparent View of Government at Work

In the early evening of Dec. 7, 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt dictated a relatively short speech he planned to make before Congress the next day, asking for a declaration of war against Japan. Composing the speech in his head, Roosevelt began by saying, “Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date that will live in world history...” When his secretary, Grace Tully, returned with the typed draft, Roosevelt made a significant change that would help galvanize the nation. He struck out the words “world history” and above them wrote “infamy.”

While Roosevelt made other changes to the draft to update military information and to strengthen the tone, it was that one change in the first sentence that made this one of the most famous speeches in American history. We know about this change because Roosevelt’s draft speech, along



Franklin Roosevelt’s presidential library was the first, establishing a new tradition for presidents.

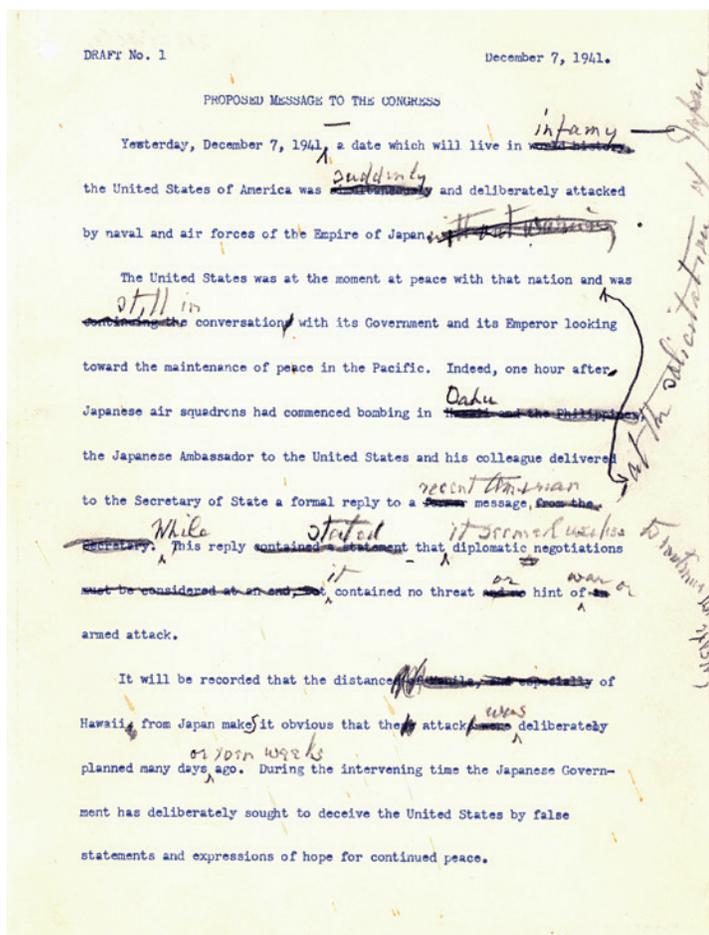
with his other presidential papers, has been preserved and made available to researchers at his presidential library.

It was in fact Roosevelt’s idea to create the first presidential library under the management of the newly formed National Archives. An amateur historian himself, Roosevelt believed a president’s papers are a valuable resource and that historians should have the opportunity to study them.

In 1938, Roosevelt proposed building a library to house his papers and other memorabilia on his family property at Hyde Park, N.Y. He told reporters in a press conference, “It is my desire that they be kept as a whole and intact in their original condition, available to scholars of the future in one definite locality.”

Prior to Roosevelt, presidential papers had been scattered across the country, sold or given away, destroyed or damaged by neglect. There was no requirement for preserving the papers. In fact, when George Washington took his papers to Mount Vernon after he left the presidency, it established the precedent that presidents own their own papers and can do with them as they choose. Washington wanted his papers preserved and protected, but he died before he could make that happen.

Subsequent presidents were less interested in protecting this portion of American history. For example, Grover Cleveland gave away presidential records as mementos and gifts. Martin Van Buren burned many documents during his term and continued to burn documents after leaving office. After Calvin Coolidge learned from the chief of the



The first draft of Roosevelt’s “Day of Infamy” speech is available to researchers at the Roosevelt Presidential Library.

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manuscript division that “it is entirely for you to say what shall be done with [your] papers,” he had them destroyed. Warren Harding did preserve his presidential papers; however, after his death, his widow had much of the material destroyed. Mrs. Harding viewed the destruction as necessary to protect her husband’s legacy from any taint or negative light.

What Franklin Roosevelt did when he created the first presidential library was to establish a new tradition for presidents. Following Roosevelt’s example, Presidents Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson all built libraries using private funds and donated their presidential papers to the National Archives so they would be available to researchers.

President Richard Nixon’s fight over the fate of his papers led Congress to make it a requirement that future presidents’ papers be protected. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter signed into law the Presidential Records Act, establishing for the first time since George Washington that presidential records that document the constitutional, statutory, and ceremonial duties of the president are the property of the United States government and not the personal property of the president.

Beginning with Ronald Reagan, when the president leaves office, the archivist of the United States assumes custody of the presidential records, including electronic records. It remains only a tradition that presidential libraries be built as a repository for those papers.



About two-thirds of the 30 million pages of documents in the Carter Library are open to researchers.

Archivists from the National Archives go through the papers to organize them and determine which can be made available to the public. For older presidential libraries (Hoover through Carter, with the exception of Nixon), access to the holdings is governed by deeds of gift, and the papers are processed according to prioritized plans.

Beginning with Ronald Reagan’s library, the records are exempt from public release for five

years after the end of a presidential administration. During that five-year period, archivists process and prepare the materials for release to researchers. It involves reading every single document to determine how it can best be identified and whether it can be made public.

The Jimmy Carter Presidential Library holds around 30 million pages of documents, about two-thirds of which are currently open to researchers. Also, there are 3,700 audiotapes, 1,550 videotapes, 600,000 photograph negatives, and more than 1 million feet of film.

Some of the materials have been digitized and are available online at the digital library section of the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library website (www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/digital_library). Finding aids also are available online (www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids) to help determine what materials are available and where to find them.

A description of the library’s manuscript holdings is on the library’s website (www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/listsobj.phtml), as is a description of the audiovisual holdings (www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/av_materials.phtml).

While some research of the library’s holding can be done online or by mail, most is done in person in the library’s research room. Researchers are given an initial briefing on rules and regulations designed to protect the documents and keep them available for future use.

Most of the open collections include at least some items that are unavailable to researchers because of national security classifications or deed restrictions or because their release would be an invasion of an individual’s privacy. In those cases, the restricted document is marked in the file by a document withdrawal or “pink sheet.” The pink sheet gives a description of the withdrawn document, and there is a process for researchers to appeal to have the document made available.

Researchers can take notes, photograph, or have copies made of the papers before returning them to their protective document boxes.

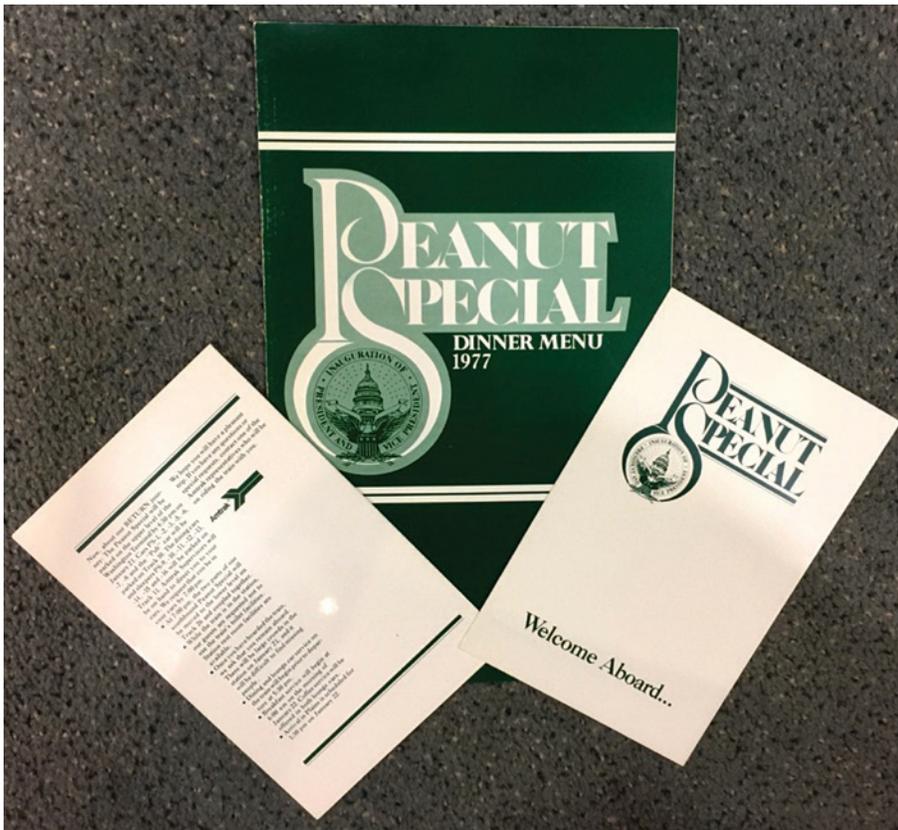
Because of what Franklin Roosevelt set into motion, we are able to get a more transparent view of the inner workings of our government. As he said when his library opened, “Millions of our citizens from every part of the land will be glad that what we do today makes available to future Americans the story of what we have lived and are living today.”

The Jimmy Carter Library and Museum is located at 441 Freedom Parkway NE, Atlanta, Georgia 30307. To make arrangements to view archived material or visit the records, call (404) 865-7100 in advance.

Carter's Presidential Inaugural Parade Sets Precedent

By Dot Padgett

Inaugural parades come and go; each one has a new excitement, a new experience. Jimmy Carter's inaugural parade set the tone for future parades. I still have in a memorabilia collection the details surrounding this enormous venture.



Georgians who attended the inauguration have fond memories of the “Peanut Special” train, which traveled from Georgia to Washington, D.C.

Immediately after the election, Hamilton Jordan asked me, Nancy Jordan, Nancy Coggins, and Rita Thompson to go to Washington, D.C., to set up a Georgia desk to guarantee that the needs of the thousands of Georgians who planned to attend would be properly handled. It was a hectic time. We had to depend on stationary phones set on our desks to communicate with Georgians. Many days, all six buttons on my phone would stay busy.

I believe everyone who had any part of the campaign

sent in a list of names for invitations to the events. An invitation was a badge of honor and a source of pride to the folks back in Georgia. We made every effort to have correct addresses so that no one was overlooked.

Even before the November election date, our office was so certain that Jimmy Carter would be the winner, we decided to reserve three cars on the Crescent—a train traveling from Atlanta to Washington—for any Georgian who would want to use it for transportation to the inaugural.

We contacted Rich's Travel Agency to assist with facilitating this adventure. One day the agent called and asked me to provide him with the names of the people traveling on the train. I told him I had sent out 900 letters, and he would have the necessary names when they responded. He called later and told me that Rich's had canceled their participation in the Georgia Inaugural Special and that it was obvious I knew nothing about the travel business. I told him it was obvious that he knew nothing about the inaugural business.

I put the phone down and broke out in a cold sweat. I did not think that Dave Padgett would be happy paying for three canceled Southern Railroad cars for six days.

As if by divine providence my phone rang, and it was just the person that could put this together and make it work. Another car was added, and from all reports the passengers had a grand and glorious time.

I was pleased to see a copy of a souvenir letter sent from Graham Claytor Jr., CEO of Southern Railway, to each passenger on the train, which we affectionately dubbed the “Peanut Special.” It reads as follows:

*To the Jimmy Carter Georgia Inaugural Special,
Welcome Aboard. Southern Railway is especially proud of the region that has produced our new President. We welcome this opportunity to be the means by which so many of you can journey to the nation's capital to witness and join personally in celebrating*

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this historic inauguration and accompanying festivities.

One day a couple of young men working with me asked what I thought of having a large balloon shaped like a peanut in the parade. Time was short, and we would need a sponsor for such an interesting entry. I called Tyron Spearman, of the Georgia Agricultural Commodity Commission for Peanuts, and D.W. Brooks, chairman of the board of Gold Kist, Inc. They liked the idea, and we were on the way.

The next problem we had to tackle was that the 40-foot helium-filled balloon would have to be handled by a lot of people holding onto a cable attached to the balloon.

I called one person—Howard Sheppard in Sandersville, Georgia—who had put together a busload of folks to travel to Ohio during the primary election. He guaranteed he could get them together, and they would have a good time walking in the parade. Eighty-two people were cleared to walk with the balloon. I was in this group, dancing my way down Pennsylvania Avenue.

Our balloon entry was near the end of a long procession of other entries. People were getting weary and losing interest. When we stepped out of the building onto the street, we could hear a rumble as we made our way down the street. We could see and feel the TV lights on us, and we could hear “Get that peanut... get that peanut.” It was tremendous fun.

It has been tradition since the inauguration of George Washington for a branch of the armed forces defense committee to be a part of the Presidential Inaugural Committee and furnish transportation, communication, protocol, and

ceremonial assistance to the committee. The parades are divided into divisions, and each is led by a unit of the armed forces—Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and Coast Guard. We were fortunate to have Brig. Gen. Bob Yerks from Fort McNair as the lead military official working with us to coordinate the complex event. Yerks was so effective and efficient that we wondered on some days if he even needed us to do any of the planning.

President Carter’s decision to get out of his car and walk down Pennsylvania Avenue will be forever a part of inaugural parade annals. It was a daring and gracious gift to the city of Washington, D.C. Someone made the statement, “He stepped out of the car and walked into history.”

Sandy Vanocur of The Washington Post took TV reporters to task, saying, “It was the most remarkable sight since television began to cover inaugurations, and they would not shut up.” There was plenty of natural sound along the parade route, and there was enough visual material for the story to tell itself with the aid of only brief commentary. Carter no doubt understood the symbolism of what he and Mrs. Carter were doing. “Television is not radio. Yesterday the pictures spoke eloquently for themselves,” Vanocur continued, scolding the TV reporters for babbling and not understanding this.

Jimmy Carter, 39th president of the United States, had been honored by military and school bands, floats of every description, and a huge crowd of American citizens.

After the parade, a reporter walking with the family from the parade stand to the entrance of the White House said to Miss Lillian, “I know you are proud of your son...”

Never one to disappoint, she turned to him and said, “Which one?”

Case Supporting Federal Judges Remembered

The upcoming retirement of 88-year-old Judge Peter H. Beer of the Eastern District of Louisiana, one of President Carter’s judicial appointments, invites the consideration of one of the most important cases of Beer’s career. A review of the Beer v. United States case was published in the Louisiana Bar Journal (vol. 61, no. 6).

The case represented the culmination of a “long simmering dispute between two branches of government” concerning the entitlement of federal judges to cost-of-living adjustments under the Compensation Clause of the U.S.

Constitution. Building upon previous unsuccessful cases in the 1990s, the Beer plaintiffs filed a complaint in the Court of Federal Claims in 2009 seeking receipt of cost-of-living adjustments for 1995–97, 1999, and 2007 as well as a declaratory judgment prohibiting Congress from blocking cost-of-living adjustments in the future.

Ultimately successful, the Beer plaintiffs took the case to the Supreme Court and secured for all Article III judges, U.S. magistrates, and bankruptcy judges access to their promised cost-of-living adjustments.

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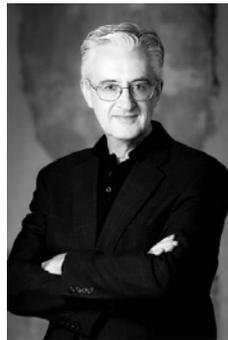
The Kaiser's Confidante

Rick Hutto

In 1874, New York City native Mary Esther Lee (1837–1914) married the Prince von Noer, brother of the Queen of Denmark, and became a princess in her own right following his death.

An active philanthropist to Protestant causes, she married Count Alfred

von Waldersee, who had close ties to the Prussian court, and became an intimate friend of Kaiser



Rick Hutto (photo by Maryann Bates)

Wilhelm II and a mentor and valued friend to his young wife. Although she preferred to remain in the background, Mary's influence caused intense jealousy among those at court who resented her friendship with the Kaiser and Kaiserin. This biography chronicles the remarkable life of an American woman whose wealth and influence enabled her to rise to power in the Prussian royal court.

Passages



Dwayne Andreas

Dwayne O. Andreas was a business executive whose mastery of the global grain trade and the levers of political power turned the Archer Daniels Midland Company (ADM) into a farm products giant and pushed it to the front ranks of American industry. Today, ADM controls much

of the world's cocoa, wheat, corn, soybean, and oil seed production. "The food business is far and away the most important business in the world," Andreas once said.

During the nearly 30 years he controlled the company, he and ADM were among the most generous financiers of congressional and presidential campaigns, Democratic and Republican alike.

He counted among his friends Presidents Richard M. Nixon, Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, and Bill Clinton, as well as the Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev. Working with all of them to open and expand farm export markets, he was largely responsible for making soybeans a top American agricultural export. He and his company were donors to The Carter Center.

Marcia Elizabeth Bedway served in the legislative liaison office of the West Wing from 1977 to 1981. She was also a renowned businesswoman and civic leader.

Bedway was a director of marketing for the Pacific

Division of MCI Communications. She moved back to Cadiz, Ohio, in 1991 and began managing the Bedway family business interests. From 2010 to 2012, she served as director of tourism for Harrison County and served on the County Tourism Board. Bedway was on the Belmont College board of trustees for nearly two decades.

She was selected to serve on numerous committees at the state level of the Ohio Association of Community Colleges. Bedway was named vice president of the Tri-County Help Center board of trustees and had recently stepped in as interim president.



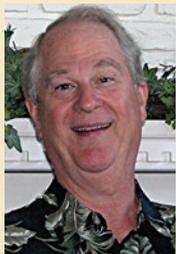
Leon Billings

Leon G. Billings was a former aide to Maine Sen. Edmund Muskie and a key author of the Clean Air Act and other landmark environmental laws. He was Muskie's environment advisor for more than a decade and later was the Democrat's chief of staff in the Senate and when Muskie was secretary of state under President Jimmy Carter.

As the first staff director of the Senate Environment subcommittee, Billings was a primary author of the 1970 Clean Air Act, one of the first and most influential environmental laws in U.S. history and a foundation for current air pollution laws.

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Joe Browder

Joe Bartles Browder, a legendary environmentalist, worked with Gov. Jimmy Carter to protect coastal areas. He then served as director of Carter's energy and environmental transition team, followed by advisor to Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus on energy and natural resources issues.

Browder played key roles in a number of environmental projects, including providing strategic leadership in designating Biscayne Bay National Monument (1968), which became Biscayne National Park (1980); blocking the planned world's largest airport in the Everglades; creating the Big Cypress Preserve (1974); and adding almost 1 million acres of lands and waters to the National Parks system in south Florida.

Don E. Carter, President Carter's cousin, was a pioneer in the evolution of journalism in the 20th century. President Carter said, "Rosalynn and I mourn the loss of my cousin and lifelong friend Don Carter. Don and I grew up together in Plains, and he supported me throughout my political career. He will be remembered not only as a superb journalist and newspaper executive, but as an advocate for the important role that journalists play in our democracy."



Don Carter

Carter was the city editor of *The Atlanta Journal*, first executive editor of *The Newspaper Fund* (*Wall Street Journal*), founding managing director of *The National Observer* (*WSJ*), executive editor and vice president of the *Bergen Evening Record*, editor of the *Macon Telegraph and News* (*Knight-Ridder*), and publisher of the *Lexington, Kentucky, Herald-Leader* (*KR*).

He received many awards and distinctions over the years, including serving several times as a judge for the Pulitzer Prizes and a lifetime service award from the American Press Institute. Carter continued his professional activity in retirement as a consultant for *Knight-Ridder Newspapers*, a member of the board of directors of the *Dow Jones Newspaper Fund*, and a board director of the *Red & Black* at the University of Georgia.

Joseph Fleming (Joe) Chapman III of Panama City, Florida, was a Peanut Brigader and contributor to President

Carter's presidential campaigns.

Chapman had a strong commitment to politics and government, which culminated in relationships with some of our nation's greatest leaders. Presidents Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton, Vice President Joe Biden, Sen. John Glenn, Rep. Richard Gephardt, Sen. Bob Graham, Sen. Bill Nelson, Govs. Lawton Chiles and Rubin Askew, and many others called Joe Chapman a friend.



Joe Chapman

During his time as the Florida governor's general counsel, Chapman was appointed as special liaison to Walt Disney and the Disney Company. He was instrumental in bringing Walt and Roy Disney to Florida, which ultimately led to the creation of Walt Disney World.

Emily Wright Cumming worked in public relations for the Georgia Conservancy and campaigned for Jimmy Carter with the Peanut Brigade in Wisconsin. A multi-talented, dynamic, fourth-generation Atlantan, she had essays published in *Newsweek* and *Reader's Digest*, and with her husband, Joseph B. Cumming Jr., in *Esquire* magazine.

Cloyd Knowlton Hall Sr. was a special assistant to Gov. Jimmy Carter. He was instrumental in bringing YKK to Macon and served as Gov. Carter's envoy to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

After his time assisting Gov. Carter, Hall became vice president of *Capricorn Records*. While at *Capricorn*, he served as a liaison to the U.S. Congress and to the Georgia Legislature, which resulted in his drafting anti-piracy legislation enacted by Congress.

Ambassador **Deane R. Hinton** was an American career diplomat who was rebuffed by the Reagan administration over his accusations of human rights abuses by Salvadoran security forces and right-wing "death squads."

As assistant secretary of state for business and economic affairs in the Carter administration, Hinton helped negotiate wheat sales to the Soviet Union during the Cold War. A plain-spoken economist, he served as the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Panama as well as Zaire and Pakistan, under four Republican presidents beginning in 1974. In his official reports, Hinton accused Salvadoran soldiers of being responsible for unexplained

killings, including the 1980 murder of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, in which the right-wing leader Roberto d'Aubuisson was said to be complicit.

Rebecca McGowan was a former University of Michigan regent and longtime aide to Vice President Walter Mondale.

She joined the Mondale campaign after he was selected by then-Governor Carter for the role of vice president and worked extensively with Joan Mondale prior to the election. She served as Vice President Mondale's scheduler and, following the 1980 election, as one of his two initial staff members, and deputy campaign manager of his 1984 presidential campaign.



Lamar Miller

Lamar Miller began his first of three careers in the chemical process industry, where he holds three patents. He then spent 13 years at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, where he was science advisor to the assistant administrator for Enforcement and director of hazardous waste enforcement in Washington, D.C.

While there, he was on the board of directors for the Baptist Children's Home, was instrumental in establishing a day care center at First Baptist Church, was on the finance committee of First Baptist, and was the church school director. An interesting anecdote is that President Jimmy Carter, who sometimes volunteered to teach at the church school, worked under Miller.

In 1983, Miller joined the faculty of the University of Florida as a professor of environmental engineering sciences.

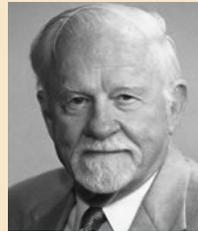
James Hayes Quackenbush Jr.'s professional life was rich and varied. A named partner in several prominent law firms as well as a lobbyist for financial institutions, "Quack," as he was affectionately called, was greatly interested in the political life, participating at both the local and national levels—and a proud member of the Peanut Brigade.

In addition to his work in the Carter-Mondale presidential campaigns, he also managed the Southern states in the primaries for Walter Mondale's presidential campaign.



James Quackenbush

He graduated from The Citadel in 1965, earned his law degree at the University of South Carolina, and was a proud veteran of the armed forces.



Charles Schultze,

Charles L. Schultze, an economist, was President Lyndon B. Johnson's budget director and President Carter's chief economic advisor. He was also a research scholar for 45 years at the Brookings Institution in Washington, where he wrote frequently on budgetary and economic issues.

Schultze spent nearly his whole career working on national economic and fiscal policy, either from the inside as a government economic advisor or from the outside as a university professor and research fellow. He came to be regarded as a leading expert on the workings of the federal government and its budget and is credited with devising a powerful new way of analyzing the effects of the federal deficit on the larger economy.

Schultze served on the staff of the Council of Economic Advisors from 1952 to 1959, then left to teach at Indiana University. It was there that he wrote that the best way to gauge the effect of a fiscal policy—say, a given rate of taxation and spending—was to ask not what size budget surplus or deficit would actually result, but rather what the outcome would be if the economy were running at, or nearly at, full employment.

President John F. Kennedy hired Schultze as deputy budget director. He was promoted to run the Bureau of the Budget by President Johnson in 1965. At the beginning of his administration in 1977, President Carter chose the blunt, gregarious Schultze for chief economic advisor at a time when economic stagnation and high inflation were among the leading political issues. In the 1980s, Schultze called President Ronald Reagan's economic policy, which was based on the assumption that steep tax cuts would once again stimulate a big increase in total federal revenue, "nonsense."

James Hunter Williams, an Ocala, Florida, businessman, got involved in politics in 1968. He was a state senator for six years and then was elected lieutenant governor and headed the Department of Administration under Gov. Reuben Askew. President Jimmy Carter appointed him deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, where he served for four years in Washington, D.C.

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CARTER CENTER



President Carter conducts research at his own presidential library, located in Atlanta, Ga. Read more about the origins of presidential libraries and the practicalities of using one on page 13.

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,

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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.