

# THE Carter Mondale *Letter*

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## Brzezinski Talk Reflects on Administration's Foreign Policy

*Editor's Note: Zbigniew Brzezinski died May 26, 2017, following an illness. His obituary is included later in this newsletter.*

*By Bethany Sikes, Carter Center Intern, Spring 2017*

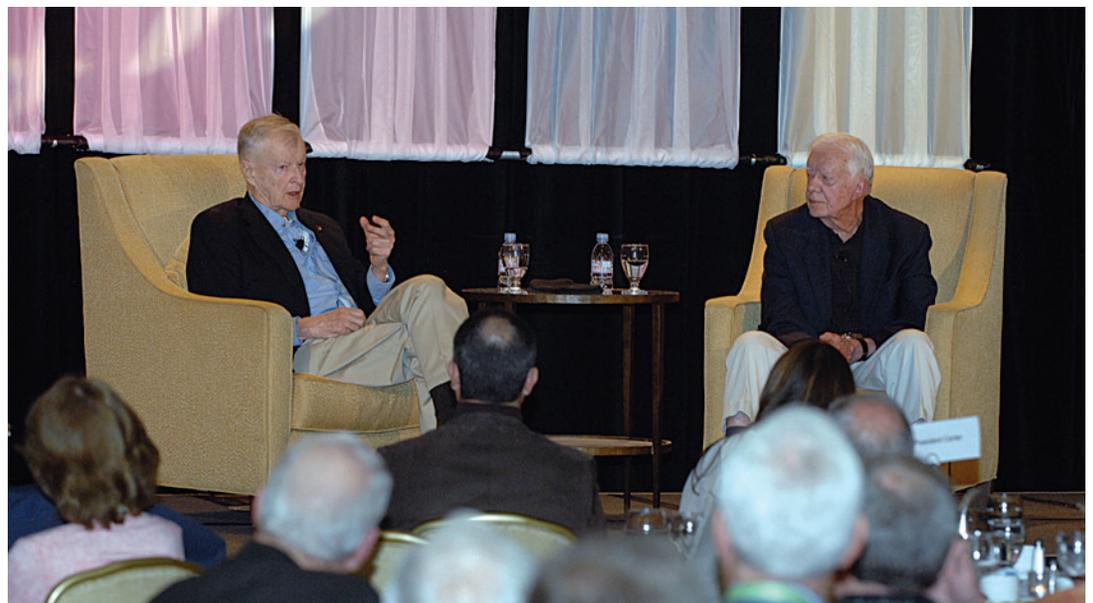
**A**t the 2016 Carter Center Weekend, former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski reflected on the foreign policy of the Carter-Mondale administration. Brzezinski considered the policy objectives, how they were shaped, and their legacy.

At the basis of this reflection was a foundational document produced by Brzezinski's team in the early days of the administration: a memo outlining 10 broad areas that were seen as the most pertinent issues confronting the administration. The Foreign Policy Overview memo informed the objectives of the Carter-Mondale foreign policy, which was, Brzezinski admitted, an "ambitious undertaking," designed to promote human rights and the United States' standing in the world. Brzezinski confessed that those writing the memo were working under the unspoken assumption that they would have eight years to implement the proposed objectives, so everyone was impressed at how much they accomplished in the four years they had. Brzezinski addressed four

of these objectives, analyzing successes and failures, as well as other issues encountered during the administration. The full list of objectives can be seen in his book "Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Adviser, 1977-1981."

Brzezinski began by discussing the objective of enhancing the political and economic relationship between the United States and Latin America. This issue commanded the administration's attention from its inception and led to intense debate in Congress concerning the future of the Panama Canal. One of the overarching goals of the administration was to "weave a worldwide web of bilateral, political, and, where appropriate, economic cooperation" with growing

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***Zbigniew Brzezinski and President Carter discuss the foreign policy agenda of the Carter administration in June 2016.***

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regional influential powers around the world: Venezuela, Brazil, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Iran, India, and Indonesia. Building relationships with Latin American countries was a particularly important aspect of this policy. In his memoir, Brzezinski described developing two lists appropriate to each country — one of positive acts to symbolize the new relationship and another of actions to avoid taking.

In reference to relations with Latin America, Brzezinski praised the role of First Lady Rosalynn Carter, jokingly referring to her as “the real vice president,” in breaking the ice that constrained the United States in an age of increasing nationalism in Latin America and establishing a degree of rapport with military leadership. The first lady’s 13-day tour of seven countries was, Brzezinski declared, “a significant achievement” that “penetrated the veil of antagonism and hesitation on the part of the majority of leaders” and encouraged a “growing inclination...to be more closely involved with the United States and engage in substantive talks.”

Overall, the administration’s efforts in building bilateral ties with Latin America brought about a new era of improved relations, and the friendlier atmosphere within the region set the tone for future decades of positive bilateral relations.

Brzezinski also noted the similarities between his and President Carter’s leadership styles. Reflecting upon President Carter’s 1979 decision to accept the resignations of four Cabinet secretaries, Brzezinski recalled walking into the Oval Office the next day to find President Carter reading the New York Times in a rocking chair by the fire. “Ah, Zbig,” he said, “I’m just checking to see if you are still part of my Cabinet!” It appears that taking on a foreign policy agenda as ambitious as this necessitated bold leadership, with a great deal of humor, too!

Brzezinski addressed the administration’s policy toward the Soviet Union, which he identified as the “principal challenger” to world peace and the United States from a military standpoint. Brzezinski admitted that in this aspect of foreign policy “we struggled and we made partial success,” particularly in the attempt toward arms control by mutual concessions. The objective was to push U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation talks into strategic arms reduction talks and ultimately a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty by 1980, which would create a more stable relationship between the powers. Despite reluctance from the Soviet leadership to limit the U.S.S.R.’s military power, the second Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) agreement was finalized in 1979. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979,

however, the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the treaty.

Accompanying this policy was, Brzezinski wrote in his memoir, a deliberate attempt to rebuff Soviet incursions by supporting allies and ameliorating the sources of conflict exploited by the Soviets. This included “a more affirmative American posture on global human rights, while seeking consistently to make détente both more comprehensive and more reciprocal.” He characterized the relationship between the Carter administration and the U.S.S.R. as “cold but not at war” and admitted that the administration had hoped for a lot, some of which was not achieved.

However, one of the primary successes he highlighted in this area was the deterrence of a Soviet invasion of Poland, despite the positioning of 18 divisions ready to crush popular political movements. Brzezinski recalled calling Pope John Paul II to discuss the situation. Able to use his native Polish to overcome communication challenges with the non-English-speaking pope, he was less lucky with technological challenges, as the pope was unable to provide a private phone number because he did not know if he even had one. He also recounted a story from months later when the pope had phoned the White House and claimed to have had a great conversation with the president, when in reality he had spoken, in Polish, to a very confused White House call-handler who eventually hung up, not realizing whom he was talking to.

Brzezinski also examined one of the administration’s greatest successes, the peace accord between Israel and Egypt. Brzezinski admitted that explicitly seeking such a settlement from the outset of the administration “took guts” due to its controversial nature both domestically and internationally and credited the sustained and personal effort of all involved, particularly of President Carter himself, in negotiations. Brzezinski described Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin as an obstinate, emotional, and calculating negotiator fighting to preserve the status quo for as long as possible, which included retaining control over Sinai, won from Egypt in the 1967 Six-Day War. Brzezinski recounted walking with Begin, who stated, “My right eye and my right hand will fall off if I ever sign a deal that leads to even one Jewish settlement being dismantled”—not a good sign for a positive outcome for the Carter administration’s foreign policy. However, despite these obstacles, the administration fulfilled this foreign policy goal, brokering a deal between Begin and Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat. Brzezinski stated that the administration could not move forward beyond this but had achieved a “significant accomplishment” in creating a new situation in the Middle East going forward.



**Rosalynn Carter joins a meeting with President Carter and his national security team, including Cyrus Vance, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Walter Mondale.**

Further, Brzezinski outlined the policy concerning southern Africa, a situation he described as “very difficult.” The white minority resisted sharing power with the black majority. The objective was to set in motion a progressive and peaceful transformation of southern Africa toward multiracial democracy, while also forging a coalition of moderate black African leaders to stem communist influences elsewhere on the continent. One aspect of this was the goal of bringing majority rule to Rhodesia (known since 1980 as Zimbabwe), which ultimately was achieved. Under the Carter administration, the United States was influential in this transformation and was also engaged in challenging apartheid in South Africa, although the system remained until 1994.

Brzezinski went on to discuss one of the key aspects of the Carter foreign policy: the recognition of China as a significant geopolitical player positioned to take on an increasing and independent role. This relationship was envisioned as a stabilizing element to U.S. foreign policy and a “keystone for peace.” The administration’s goal was to develop full diplomatic relations with the Chinese, a process started by President Richard M. Nixon and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger. Brzezinski described how quickly and effectively this objective was achieved. After only six months of talks,

the relationship between the United States and China was negotiated, including arrangements for joint operations and sharing of sensitive information. By the end of the administration, a relationship of “proximity and cooperation” was in place, and this represented “a profound and significant event insofar as global politics were concerned.” Indeed, Brzezinski argued that the administration had exceeded its own expectations.

Brzezinski also confronted one of the highest-profile perceived foreign policy failures of the Carter administration: the Iranian Revolution. Brzezinski confessed that the administration could have managed the Iranian problem better, citing the failure to prevent the coup, save the Shah, and stop Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini’s ascension to power, as well as the antagonism that characterized relations for the decades to follow. Ultimately, though, Brzezinski argued that the ascension of Khomeini was preferable to a Soviet-backed communist regime, which would have changed the map of the Middle East.

Brzezinski summarized other objectives that he did not have time to cover at the Carter Center Weekend, including engaging Western Europe, Japan, and other advanced

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democracies in closer political cooperation through institutionalized relationships and macro-economic coordination, which would point toward a stable and open monetary and trade system. Another goal was to develop more accommodating North-South relations through devices such as the Global Development Budget, the institutionalization of the Conference on International Economic Cooperation, and the forging of links between the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Alongside the objective of reducing nuclear armaments, the Carter administration sought to reduce non-nuclear armaments and weapons trading. The plan was to achieve this through international agreements, with a focus on limiting the excessive flow of arms into the developing world. The goal was to reduce the level of global armaments by 15 percent. The Carter administration also worked to enhance global sensitivity to human rights through actions designed to

highlight U.S. observance of such rights and through multilateral initiatives meant to influence governments to give higher priority to such human rights.

Brzezinski closed his presentation by emphasizing that the foreign policy achievements of the Carter-Mondale administration were largely due to the character of President Carter, who, he averred, set an example of genuine presidential leadership in his activism, optimism, and authority. Brzezinski argued that the foreign policy goals the administration set out to achieve were of singular importance and would have created the conditions for future successes had President Carter won a second term. Nevertheless, the foreign policy successes stand on their own feet, Brzezinski said, “even if only partially consummated.” Brzezinski then answered questions from the audience, which touched on the prospect of a two-state solution in the Middle East today, human rights and democratization in Latin America post-Carter administration, Brexit and its potential effect on NATO, and reflections on U.S. action in relation to Afghanistan and Iran.

## Perception Is a Valuable Commodity

**M**ike McClister, a Washington, D.C., consultant, told the following story to Bob Russell, who was special assistant to Frank Moore on the Carter-Mondale congressional liaison staff. McClister was among the instructors who trained 25 people to work in various states with candidates in marginal districts as part of the 1974 campaign committee that then-Gov. Jimmy Carter chaired. McClister used the story to coach his classroom of nervous, neophyte campaign operatives on the importance of how they were perceived by the people they would meet in the far-flung state campaigns:

Clark Clifford was a well-known and longtime political adviser in various ways to presidents Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter, as well as secretary of defense for a couple years in Nixon’s first term. A lawyer who was revered as a consultant and problem solver, Clifford got a call one day from someone we’ll call Jones, who said, “I’ve got a terrible problem and I need your help.” Clifford told him to come to his office. Jones showed up and for 30 minutes explained his situation. He said he was involved in a large financial deal with a partner, some big-time business people, and a couple of elected

officials. Jones found out that his partner was planning to cheat him out of his half of the deal. After explaining the situation, he nervously asked, “So, Mr. Clifford, what should I do?” Clifford leaned forward and said to the guy, “Do nothing!”

Perplexed, Jones walked out of the office, shaking his head. Sure enough, a few hours later, his partner learned that Jones had gone to see Clark Clifford. Assuming, because of Clifford’s reputation, there was some highly complex counterstrategy in place, he changed his plans to counter what the super lawyer must have devised. But, because there was no Clifford plan, the partner’s new counterplan backfired on him, his effort fell apart, and Jones ended up getting not only his share, but the whole deal. A week later, Jones received a bill for \$25,000 for the 30-minute meeting.

McClister finished his pep rally with the soon-to-be Democratic National Convention political consultants by placing the value of the perception of a Washington expert at \$50,000 per hour or \$12,500 per word.

# Scheduling and Advance Crucial to Success of 1976 Campaign

By Paul Oshinski, Carter Center Intern, Summer 2017

Editor's Note: This article was developed from a section of a Georgetown University dissertation by alumna Tresa Smith ([montanamarchador@gmail.com](mailto:montanamarchador@gmail.com)).

**M**odern-day presidential campaigns are jam-packed with hundreds of staffers and professionals, all working together like a well-oiled machine. Some campaign trips are planned months in advance; pollsters analyze which states offer the best chance of a victory; communications staff collaborate with press for media coverage; and event staff organize sequential candidate appearances throughout the nation. In short, the modern presidential campaign has become an altogether highly structured and comprehensive operation.

However, before the 1970s, presidential campaigns were much less organized and prioritized, and they relied on state party bosses and volunteers from local businesses for campaign support and funding. Since local political organizations managed most political functions and controlled the state party's funding, scheduling and advance teams were understaffed and inexperienced and relied on minimal resources to organize a national campaign. Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign employed more aggressive campaign strategies, leading to his successful presidential bid in 1976.

Before 1972, state party bosses controlled their states' delegates, so candidates focused their efforts on swaying the minds of these party bosses rather than registered voters. However, the 1972 McGovern-Fraser reforms stripped the power to allocate delegates from state party bosses and transitioned to open voting in statewide primaries to determine delegates to the national convention. Thus, registered voters would decide which candidate to support in the primaries, and each candidate would receive delegates proportional to the number of votes they gained in a state primary or caucus. Carter's campaign focused more on energetic campaigning to voters in a state, rather than appeasing local party bosses, and on reaching out to voters who wielded newfound voting influence in the primaries.

Waning state party control also affected access to funding resources. Before, state party bosses held the keys to



**Jimmy Carter reaches out to voters on a campaign stop in Florida. Scheduling and advance team members were key to making campaign stops successful.**

vast resources in a state—and fundamentally, the nomination. Campaign finance reform in the mid-1970s caused the Carter campaign to focus on garnering financial support directly from citizens rather than relying on the party. Local fundraising events increased the demand for an advance team as well as a fundraising team. The 1974 amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act capped individual contributions at \$1,000 and political action committee (PAC) donations at \$5,000. Before these restrictions, advance team members could obtain campaign funding using questionable methods.

Despite the need for a large organization, the 1976 Carter campaign's full scheduling and advance team consisted of only around 20 staffers and lacked the large-scale organization seen in modern presidential campaigns. Vicki Rogers, the head of Carter's 1976 scheduling and advance team, had just one assistant, and she was the only scheduling and advance staff member at the start of the campaign. Dan Lee, one of the first prominent advance staffers on the Carter campaign, had no previous political experience and received little training for work in this field. Immediately after being placed on Carter's advance team, Lee was sent to Omaha, Neb., to organize campaign visits in the state. Lee said that when he

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arrived in Nebraska, “I was brand-new to this business—my background was corporate work, and I had no idea what I was going to be doing.”

Technological advances preceding Carter’s 1976 campaign increased the demand for a larger scheduling and advance team as staffers regularly targeted large media markets and tailored speeches for the nightly news. The number of Americans with a television set rose from 9 percent in 1950 to nearly 90 percent in 1960, leading presidential candidates to concentrate on reaching television audiences through news coverage of their campaigns. Candidates began directing their speeches to the millions of Americans tuning in to the evening news. “It’s incredible how much money goes into getting the right television bite.... It’s what Dan Rather has on your campaign that guides public opinion so much. It’s critical,” said Robert Beckel, a campaign manager for Walter Mondale’s 1984 presidential bid. Paige Reeve, lead advance for Carter’s 1976 campaign, added, “You could declare victory in the 1976 campaign if you could get 30 seconds or more of network news coverage on what you were doing.”

The importance of television also made the appearance of the background behind a candidate more significant. During speeches and events, large banners were displayed with the candidate’s name and campaign slogan. Also, if a candidate was in a factory, farm, or hospital, the surroundings were carefully staged by the advance staffers to send a visual message to the TV audience. “You would go to a place like Youngstown, Ohio, and Vicki Rogers would call and say, ‘I need an event that shows there is an unemployment issue in Youngstown,’ Reeve said. “So you go look for a closed plant or something that’s shut down so that you could see in the picture the narrative that you were trying to get.”

The advance staff, in conjunction with the national campaign, had to decide where the candidate would speak at a campaign stop and arrange virtually all the aspects of the trip. Reeve would collaborate with the national campaign to ensure that Carter’s visits across the country complemented the narrative of his campaign.

A candidate’s physical appearance also was important in maintaining the campaign theme. “A candidate would wear something different in Alabama than in Chicago or New York,” Reeve said. “People would give recommendations about what clothing is appropriate for a campaign stop.”

Additionally, advance staff had to ensure that droves of people attended campaign rallies. Reeve explained the process: “First you identify your voters, then you call your

voters, then you offer them rides. You also had unions that had phone banks that did telephone calls for the rally. When I had a rally in New York, I took out an ad on the side of every cross-town bus and every other subway car, and that produced a quarter of a million people.”

Technology continues to alter scheduling and advance work. Former Carter staffer Katie Varney, now a partner at public relations firm MP&F in Nashville, Tenn., recounted that in 1976 she used to receive her communications by letters or occasional landline phone calls, contrasting starkly with the digitally focused campaigns of the 21st century.

The 1976 presidential election was the first regulated by the McGovern-Fraser reforms, and the Carter campaign capitalized on these reforms by campaigning “early and everywhere,” targeting important early state primaries where a victory would likely lead to increased name recognition and momentum. The Carter campaign focused on Iowa, New Hampshire, Florida, and Pennsylvania in the early portion of the campaign. “We were on the go constantly,” Mrs. Carter recalled. “From Iowa it was back to Florida, then to New Hampshire, then to Iowa again. I traveled and traveled in that campaign.” All those trips, sometimes to several states in one day, required one or more advance people to be on site many days earlier to set up everything to work smoothly when the candidate or surrogate arrived.

By focusing on states with early primaries and sizable delegate payoffs, the Carter campaign secured significant momentum and media attention. The Carter campaign also utilized improved polling methods and TV media market targeting, leading “Jimmy Who” to become the front-runner of a crowded Democratic field. Carter’s “early and everywhere” campaign strategy was made possible by the scheduling and advance team members deployed to organize visits for Carter and his family to numerous states, which in turn augmented grassroots campaigning.

Scheduling and advance work has become a much more sophisticated and comprehensive operation through the years, and it continues to evolve as campaigns develop new strategies for spreading their message and reaching out to voters. Rick Jasculca, chairman and CEO of Jasculca Terman Strategic Communications and former lead advance staffer for both President Jimmy Carter and President Bill Clinton, started a company that provides scheduling, advance work, and public relations for various clients. Jasculca said the field of public affairs has “changed because, frankly, the politics of our nation has changed. The media landscape has changed, and we’ve had to adapt new strategies and new approaches to the way we manage issues, and even the way we manage

and develop events.” Jасulca said the future of scheduling and advance will continue to evolve in presidential campaigns: “Things could come full circle. Even in this digital age, there will be a new emphasis on the type of grassroots politics exemplified by the 1976 Carter campaign.”

Many of the Carter campaign advance staff learned at an early age to manage complicated and time-critical projects, skills that have been useful in different careers. Others, bitten

by the bug, have continued to be involved in other campaigns and have taught a new generation of advance campaign workers how the job is done—even with the advent of new technology. Nothing will ever replace the need for an answer when the candidate asks, “Where’s the restroom?” or “Who is that woman I’m supposed to be sitting with?” or “Why is my microphone not working?”

## Carter-Mondale Alumni Attend Carter Weekend at Lake Tahoe



**Front row—Ed Haddock, Erin Mason, Avery Mason, Molly Mason, Noah Thompson, Izzy Thompson, Bernstine Hollis, Jay Beck, Karen Sullivan, Jamie Thompson, Lacy Lee, Charles Graves, Spencer Lee**

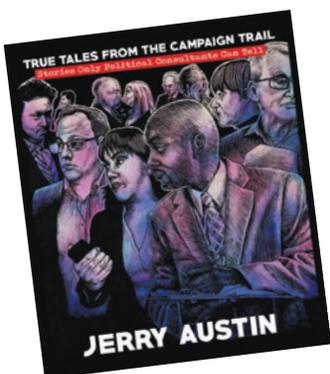
**Second row—Alicia Smith, Woody Cunningham, Jessie Harris, Allison Wise, Edye Haddock, Mrs. Carter, President Carter, Georgia Brown, Chris Brown, Carol Saunders, Mary Beazley, Dot Padgett, Margaret Dalton, Stephen Thompson, Susan McGuinn, Emily Boddy.**

**Third row—Elaine Miller, George Smith, Robert Mason, Phil Wise, Jordan Ryan, Mac Lipscomb, Sandy Libby,**

**Marilyn Lipscomb, John Rendon, Kevin Gorman, Rhonda Burnett, Gunilla Gorman, Rita Thompson, Paul Sullivan, Heidi Araya, Rick Waters, Kay Julsing, Riley Jo Ahern, Kathy Cade, Jeff Carter, Jamie Carter, Nan Powell, Jason Carter, Rachel Boddy, John Dalton, Gail Padgett, David Boddy, Mark Boddy, Jean Boddy, Scott Burnett, Dave Boddy.**

**Alumni who attended but are not in the photograph: Terry Adamson, Chip Carter, Ruth Cogswell, Alyse Lucas Corcoran, Stu Eizenstat, Maxine Isaacs, Vice President Walter Mondale, and Story Evans.**

## BOOK CLUB



### True Tales from the Campaign Trail: Stories Only Political Consultants Can Tell

By Jerry Austin

“True Tales From the Campaign Trail” finds Democratic and

Republican political consultants putting aside their differences to offer entertaining and honest insights into the art of the political campaign. Firsthand accounts from across the spectrum detail the trials and tribulations of primaries and the down-and-dirty tricks pulled in local elections.



### On the Porch, Under the Eave

By Jane Simpson

A former 1976 campaign staffer who worked for White House presidential correspondence, Jane Simpson has published her first book of poetry. “On the Porch, Under the Eave” is a look into home, family, growing up, growing away, and returning to the people of the past. Simpson’s Southern roots influence her poems, which are partly narrative tales and partly lyrical observations. These poems pack a subtle punch that leaves the reader moved.

## Comings & Goings

**Dr. Roger Lewis** has recently moved to Atlanta. He was the Southern California finance chairman and a Carter delegate in 1976 and in the general election was deputy finance chairman for the Democratic National Committee. During the Carter-Mondale administration, Lewis was a consultant to the office of the secretary of state, working on Israeli issues.



**Dr. Roger Lewis (left) recently visited The Carter Center with his sister, Marsha Lewis, and brother, Dr. Andy Lewis.**

**William (Bill) A. Clement**, former president and CEO of the Atlanta Life Financial Group, independent corporate director, and entrepreneur, has recently been named Featured Notable Member by BoardProspects, the largest online board community in the world. Clement was a presidential appointee to the National Cooperative Bank’s board of directors and a political appointee as an associate administrator at the U.S. Small Business Administration during the Carter administration.

**Joe Lockhart** began his public service on the staff of the Carter-Mondale press office and became press secretary under President Clinton. He has extensive experience as a public relations specialist in both business and government. He helped launch a D.C. communication strategy firm, Glover Park Group, and has worked closely with tech giants Oracle and Facebook.



**Joe Lockhart**

Lockhart faces many challenges and opportunities in his current position as vice president of communications for the National Football League.

# Passages

**Dr. Elizabeth Ann Higgs “Beth” Abramowitz** served as assistant director on the Carter administration’s Domestic Policy Council and worked extensively on founding the Department of Education and on women’s issues. In 1979, she co-founded PSI Services, Inc., a multi-state health and human services provider employing a staff of 250. In 1997, she founded the financial and administrative services company ASIWorks, Inc.

During her career, Abramowitz held leadership positions in several organizations dedicated to education, mental health, and women’s equity, including Howard University, the Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, National Association of School Psychologists, the College Entrance Examination Board, and Washington, D.C., Public Schools.

She earned a doctorate in educational psychology from The Catholic University of America and a master’s in counseling psychology and a bachelor’s degree in clinical psychology from the University of California—Berkeley. She also completed postdoctoral studies in applied economics at The American University in Washington, D.C., and authored scholarly works in human services.

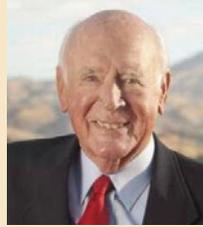
**Margaret Poer Allen**, the widow of Ivan Allen III, embraced her role as a devoted wife, supporting her husband in his business and civic endeavors. She was an outstanding hostess, equally comfortable entertaining at their home or family farm. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree from Hollins College and graduated in three years in order to marry Ivan. She later earned a master’s in political science from the University of Georgia. She was active in the Peanut Brigade, volunteered as a fundraiser for The Carter Center, and was a co-founder of the Carter Center’s Board of Councilors.



*Margaret Poer Allen*

**Cecil D. Andrus** was the only four-term governor of Idaho. As secretary of the interior under President Carter, he helped assign vast expanses of Alaska for parks and reserves.

With Andrus leading the way, the Carter administration set aside more than 100 million acres in the state for federal protection, including what became the Arctic



*Cecil D. Andrus*

National Wildlife Refuge. The measure was completed in a lame-duck session of Congress in the final weeks of the Carter administration.

“Even though we were creating tomorrow’s controversies, a 103-million-acre plan—amounting to more than 25 percent of Alaska—was a helluva lot better than nothing,” he said in his 1998 memoir, “Cecil Andrus: Politics Western Style,” which he wrote with Seattle journalist Joel Connelly.

President Carter saw the Alaska legislation as one of his biggest accomplishments. “Together we made conservation history,” he said in his statement on Andrus’ passing. “Americans are better off because of his service,” he added, “and I am better because of his friendship.”

Andrus also may have been the first governor of either party to win by running on an environmental issue. His opposition to a proposed molybdenum mine in the White Cloud Mountains of central Idaho was at the core of his campaign. The mine never was built, and Andrus cruised to re-election in 1974. Halfway into his second term, he received a call from another rural Democrat, Jimmy Carter, the former governor of Georgia. They had become friends over the years while attending meetings of governors’ groups.

In 1988, during a dispute with the federal government over the storage of nuclear waste in Idaho, Andrus won new supporters when he ordered state troopers to block a railroad car filled with nuclear waste from entering a storage site. Two years later, he confounded some supporters when he vetoed a bill that would have given Idaho one of the strictest anti-abortion laws in the nation. Once again, he appealed to his state’s independent streak. “We Idahoans are a fiercely independent group,” Andrus said at the time. “We call them as we see them, and I have done that. I know there will be some fallout. I can’t do anything about that.”

The Legislature, which included an evenly divided Senate and a Republican-controlled House, upheld his veto of the anti-abortion bill. Of more than 100 vetoes he issued while in office, lawmakers overturned just one.

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**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 adviser to Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus on energy and natural resources issues.



Joe Bartles Browder

Browder played key roles in a number of environmental projects, including providing strategic leadership in designating Biscayne Bay National Monument, which became Biscayne National Park; blocking the planned world's largest airport in the Everglades; creating the Big Cypress Preserve; and adding almost 1 million acres of lands and waters to the national park system in south Florida. The National Park Service recognized Browder as the "Citizen Father of the Big Cypress Preserve." Respected nationally and internationally for his strategic environmental leadership, Browder averred, "Nature is my client."

After serving as Southeast representative for National Audubon, he moved to Washington to become the first conservation director of Friends of the Earth and was co-founder of the Environmental Policy Center and Environmental Policy Institute, with Louise Dunlap and others, where the first public interest interdisciplinary advocacy team was organized on environmental and energy issues. His environmental and energy consulting firm, which became DunlapBrowder, provided strategic services to businesses, government agencies, public interest groups, and Native American tribes including the Miccosukee, Seminole, Klamath, Navajo, and Hopi. He was an advisor to automotive manufacturers on advanced technologies, alternative fuels, and fuel economy.

Browder either chaired or served numerous conservation organizations, in which he played vital roles in such efforts as establishment of the new Everglades Headwaters National Wildlife Refuge and served on the advisory board of Smithsonian Environmental Research Center.

**Zbigniew Brzezinski**, a Polish-born scholar, had considerable influence in global affairs, both before and long after his official tour of duty in the White House. The hawkish strategic theorist, who was national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter in the tumultuous years of the Iran hostage crisis and the Soviet invasion of

Afghanistan in the late 1970s, was one of the few foreign policy experts to warn against the invasion of Iraq in 2003. In essays, interviews, and television appearances over the decades, Brzezinski cast a sharp eye on six successive administrations, including that of Donald J. Trump, whose election he did not support and whose foreign policy, he found, lacked coherence.

His bond with Jimmy Carter developed through the Trilateral Commission, the group David Rockefeller created in 1973 as a forum for political and business leaders from North America, Western Europe, and Japan to consider the challenges facing industrialized countries. Brzezinski was the commission's first director.



Zbigniew Brzezinski

In 1974, Brzezinski invited Carter, then the governor of Georgia and a rising Democratic star, to become a member. Two years later, Carter was the Democratic nominee for president, and he hired Brzezinski as a foreign affairs adviser.

During his four years in the Carter administration, thwarting Soviet expansionism at any cost guided much of American foreign policy. He supported billions in military aid for Islamic militants fighting invading Soviet troops in Afghanistan. He tacitly encouraged China to continue backing Cambodia, lest the Soviet-backed Vietnamese take over that country. He got permission to go to Beijing in May 1978, over State Department resistance, to begin talks that would lead to full diplomatic relations seven months later.

Brzezinski was also a prime mover behind the commando mission sent to rescue the American hostages held by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's revolutionary forces in Iran after the overthrow of the shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

A prolific author, Brzezinski published a memoir in 1983 about his White House years. In "Power and Principle," he recalled a range of policy objectives that went beyond containing the Soviets. "First," he wrote, "I thought it was important to try to increase America's ideological impact on the world"—to make it again the "carrier of human hope, the wave of the future."

In "Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of American Superpower," published in 2007, he criticized the successive administrations of George Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush for failing to take advantage

of the possibilities for American leadership from the time the Berlin Wall came down in 1989.

**William M. “Bill” Cox** of Madisonville, Ky., was active in business and politics in many capacities at the state and federal level. He was appointed to the Federal Highway Administration under President Carter, was in the Kentucky Legislature, and served as executive assistant to the lieutenant governor, vice chair of the Public Service Commission, vice chair of the Kentucky Council on Higher Education, and mayor of Madisonville.

**Charles N. Duncan** of Raleigh, N.C., was involved in many political campaigns over the past 40 years, helping Democrats nationwide. His ever-present smile and easygoing demeanor made him a welcome asset to any campaign, and his skills as a field organizer were unequaled.

Duncan held senior management positions on the staff of eight presidential campaigns. He served with distinction in the administrations of President Jimmy Carter, where he served as scheduler, and President Bill Clinton, where he was a special assistant to the president and associate director of the Office of Presidential Personnel.

In presidential personnel, Duncan was responsible for coordinating the selection process of senior-level presidential appointees at all Cabinet agencies dealing with national defense, foreign affairs, trade, finance, and intelligence. His portfolio also included independent regulatory agencies, presidential boards, and commissions in the aforementioned areas for the U.S. government.

For more than 35 years, Duncan worked in the arena of electoral politics at the state, local, and national levels. He had a significant advisory role in many political campaigns, including the elections of Virginia Gov. Doug Wilder, Detroit Mayor Kwame Kirkpatrick, New Jersey Gov. Jon Corzine, and Maryland U.S. Sen. Ben Cardin; the re-elections of Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon and Missouri Sen. Claire McCaskill; the re-election campaign of Colorado Sen. Michael Bennet; and the campaign of Virginia Gov. Terry McAuliffe, to name just a few.

A former Peanut Brigader, **Angie Levin** worked in the office of Rep. and then Sen. Wyche Fowler where she developed a passion for helping immigrants and refugees adjust to life in a new country.

She also handled significant military casework and took great joy in assisting our military men and women.

In 1998, she became American assistant at the Korean Consulate in Atlanta, which started her lifelong love of all things Korean.

In 2000, she started work at Georgia Tech at the Sam Nunn School’s Center for International Strategy, Technology and Policy, founded by professor John Endicott. Her work included being secretary of the Limited Nuclear Weapons Free Zone for Northeast Asia, administrator of the Korea Initiative, and administrator of the General Ray Davis and Colonel Lesley Callahan Funds.



*Anne Wakefield  
Gowen Spalding*

**Anne Wakefield Gowen**

**Spalding**, a journalist for The Atlanta Constitution, was a Peanut Brigade member who campaigned for Jimmy Carter in frigid Iowa during the winter of 1976.

Upon graduation from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Anne Gowen took a job as a reporter with The Atlanta Constitution, where she had interned the summer before. She was initially assigned to the federal beat and later covered the Fulton County Courthouse and politics for the newspaper. While at the Constitution, she became good friends with many of the female writers there, including Celestine Sibley, Margaret Shannon, and Pat Lahatte Langley.

When fellow Constitution reporter Jack Spalding was assigned to cover her father’s campaign for governor, a romance developed. The couple married on St. Simons Island on June 25, 1955. Within a little more than a year, Anne had borne their first of five children, and Jack was promoted to editor of The Atlanta Journal, a position he held until his retirement in 1978. Anne quickly plunged into a life of civic leadership and raising her children.

She was an active member of the Junior League of Atlanta, winning the coveted Volunteer of the Year Award. She also served as president of the Mimosa Garden Club; during her presidency, the rock quarry at the Atlanta History Center was transformed into a unique wild garden extending over three acres and planted with wildflowers, shrubs, trees, bulbs, ferns, and vines native to Georgia. She was a natural gardener and could name any flower, tree, or weed without effort. She was a charter member of The Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation and an active member of The Georgia Conservancy.

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## Today's Washington Is a Different Place

*Editor's Note: This story was shared by Frank Moore, on the congressional liaison staff during the Carter-Mondale administration.*

**D**uring the 1977 discussions on the Panama Canal treaties, draft documents began to circulate on Capitol Hill containing rumors critical of the Torrijos government and family. A "senators only" meeting was called with all the senators in attendance. The allegations were discussed, along with the pros and cons of a treaty.

At that time, Barry Goldwater was considered the most conservative Republican senator in Washington. He spoke to the group and stated that he was disposed to vote against

the treaty. However, he looked directly at the Republican senator who had started the rumors and said that he would have no part in dirty tricks and spreading unfounded rumors. He added that if it did not stop he would vote for the treaty and bring many Republican votes with him.

The rumors and draft documents ceased.



**Sen. Barry Goldwater**

### 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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Fax (404) 420-3816; Email [jay.beck@cartercenter.org](mailto:jay.beck@cartercenter.org).

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