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Eizenstat Reflects on Administration's Foreign and Domestic Accomplishments

Editor's Note: During the 2017 Carter Center Weekend in California's Olympic Valley, former Ambassador Stuart Eizenstat, President Carter's chief White House domestic policy advisor, assessed the Carter-Mondale administration's accomplishments in both foreign and domestic affairs. This article is based on his remarks and was edited by Carter Center intern Melissa Cooley.

Stuart Eizenstat said he modeled his career after President Carter's exceptional example as a tireless public servant. He expressed his appreciation for President Carter's confidence in him and credited his appointment as the chief domestic policy advisor in the Carter administration with making his later career possible. After serving under President Carter, Eizenstat was appointed by President Clinton as ambassador to the European Union and as deputy secretary of the Treasury, among other governmental assignments. Named Department of State special advisor on Holocaust issues in December 2013, he continues to serve in that role. Looking back, he described his work in the Carter White House as "the most exciting, challenging four years of my life." He said that being a part of the administration was an honor, and he praised the "seriousness of purpose and tremendous breadth of knowledge that Jimmy Carter possessed on issues both foreign and domestic." Eizenstat described President Carter as "the most successful one-term president in modern American history, with myriad accomplishments at home and abroad that have



Eizenstat walks the White House grounds during the Carter-Mondale administration.

withstood the test of time and rival those of virtually any two-term president since FDR."

Foreign Policy—Human Rights and Latin America

In the wake of the May 2017 passing of Carter-Mondale administration National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, it is fitting to reflect upon the administration's foreign policy achievements. The administration made historic changes in U.S. foreign policy by placing human rights at the forefront of decision-making in matters of international relations. In a

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distinct shift from previous administrations, President Carter oversaw the beginning of a new era of mutual respect in U.S. relations with Latin America. He accomplished this renewal in U.S. and Latin American affairs in two ways.

First, he successfully negotiated the Panama Canal treaties, relinquishing control of the canal to the Panamanians after 1999. President Carter succeeded in this effort where four previous presidents had caved to political pressure and failed to complete negotiations. Gaining ratification of the treaty in the Senate proved to be his most challenging battle with Congress, and success was made possible by the courageous Republican minority leadership of Sen. Howard Baker, who engaged in a political act of bipartisan support almost unheard of today. The Panama Canal treaties effectively demonstrated to Latin America, and the rest of the world, that it was a new day in American foreign policy.

The second element of President Carter's Latin American policy was his commitment to human rights as an essential component of American foreign policy. He demonstrated his dedication to this principle by withholding arms sales to Latin American dictators who were known human rights violators. This action not only confirmed his commitment to human rights and his unwillingness to support leaders who would violate those rights, but it also created a conducive environment for democratic movements across Latin America. Many Latin American leaders credit President Carter with making the wave of democracy in their countries possible. This commitment to human rights throughout the world is one of his greatest legacies; he has forever changed our vision of foreign policy. Future presidents might not always duplicate President Carter's emphasis on human rights, but his commitment has irreversibly altered and elevated human rights in the U.S. foreign policy agenda.

The Soviet Union

President Carter entered the White House at the height of the Cold War. He made significant contributions to the demise of the Soviet Union by using a combination of soft and hard power. He effectively used soft power by championing his human rights policy, advocating for the improved treatment of Soviet dissidents and an increase in Jewish emigration.

President Carter's human rights policy provided the United States with the moral authority to undermine communism by putting the Soviets on the ideological defense. As in Latin America, the new U.S. human rights foreign policy emboldened and catalyzed democratic movements in Eastern

Europe, especially the Solidarity movement in Poland. During a visit to the White House on Oct. 6, 1979, Pope John Paul II, a native of Poland, and President Carter released a joint statement in support of human rights and the Helsinki Accords. This powerful moral statement further compromised Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe and contributed to the beginning of the end of communism there.

President Carter's commitment to arms control was equal to his dedication and efforts to improve human rights. As a nuclear engineer, he knew the destructive power of atomic weapons, and he sought and achieved a landmark arms control agreement, SALT II. The treaty was not ratified, due to the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, yet both the Reagan administration and the Soviet Union honored the conditions of SALT II.

Though it is little known, President Carter successfully used hard power against the Soviet Union, and his efforts contributed to a turning point in the Cold War. He reversed the post-Vietnam era trend of declining defense spending and increased the defense budget by 3 percent per year. He also secured a similar commitment from NATO allies. President Carter supported significant advances in stealth technology, still critically important today, to effectively evade enemy radar. He also introduced the MX mobile missiles. He convinced our reluctant European allies to accept the placement of intermediate-range nuclear weapons within their borders. The "Carter Doctrine" assured our Persian Gulf allies of U.S. military support to counter Soviet aggression in the region. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev later admitted these actions significantly contributed to the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

President Carter responded to the December 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan with effective sanctions and a grain embargo as well as a boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow. Instead, the United States hosted the Freedom Games with our allies in Philadelphia. President Carter armed the Afghan opposition, the mujahedeen fighters, and their support was further enhanced by the Reagan administration, weakening the Soviet Union and ultimately contributing to its demise.

China

President Carter and National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski were successful in making historic progress in normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China in 1979. The re-establishment of diplomatic relations has allowed the U.S. to fully engage with China in trade, economic, and environmental concerns while bolstering

stability between the two nations. The first state visit from China in January 1979 was Deng Xiaoping's nine-day trip to the United States. Deng sought to put the late Chairman Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution behind him in order to normalize and strengthen relations between the two nations. With the timing of this visit at the height of the Cold War, the normalization of relations with China was also an effective lever against the Soviet Union.

The importance of President Carter's bold initiative is even more critical today as tensions over trade and the South China Sea linger. Despite some challenges, the resulting \$648 billion in two-way trade in goods and services in 2016 is a testament to his efforts. The student exchange that President Carter implemented has resulted in 120,000 Chinese students studying in the United States this academic year.

The story of the 21st century "will be written by the bilateral relationship between China and the United States, the two strongest economies with the two strongest militaries," Eizenstat predicted. "And it will be a more peaceful, stable relationship because of the courage of President Carter."

The improved economic circumstance for China has lifted many of the Chinese people out of poverty and has remarkably improved their average standard of living. The Chinese revere Deng due to his economic reforms and his role in establishing diplomatic and trade relations with the United States and the rest of the world.

To their great credit, President Richard Nixon and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, began opening relations with China but faced stiff opposition from the Taiwan lobby. President Carter overcame this challenge by pushing through the Taiwan Relations Act, which assures Taiwan of U.S. protection against aggression from China, provides weapons, and establishes cultural ties. The act remains in effect today.

Middle East Peace

The 1978 Camp David Accords are considered the crowning achievement of the Carter presidency, and these historic



A meeting in the Oval Office included (from left) President Carter; Jim McIntyre, director of the Office of Management and Budget; Stuart Eizenstat; Jim Schlesinger, secretary of energy; and Frank Moore, assistant to the president for congressional affairs.

peace talks led to the signing of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty the following March. Despite many challenges, the tenacity, dedication, and complex diplomatic maneuvering by all those involved prevailed. President Carter and his team endured 13 grueling days and 20 drafts of the accords until the negotiations were successful. Afterward, President Carter remained engaged in the peace process, even traveling to the Middle East when the treaty seemed at risk of failing. The treaty has successfully kept the peace between Egypt and Israel; the Israelis credit Carter with the fact that they no longer live in fear of the most powerful Arab country. Eizenstat called the peace treaty "a lasting testament." No violations have occurred since it was signed.

The Camp David Accords went beyond the relationship between Egypt and Israel. Had all the provisions been implemented, providing full autonomy for the Palestinian people, today's impasse between the Israelis and Palestinians could have been avoided, Eizenstat said. Despite the tension and conflict that have escalated between Israel and Palestine in the intervening years, the accords' and treaty's contribution to stability are difficult to measure, and they remain an excellent foundation upon which to build a more comprehensive peace between the Israeli and Palestinian people.

President Carter revived the diplomatic policy of

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presidential mediation in disputes between other countries, and this practice has been emulated by subsequent U.S. presidents, to one degree or another, while promoting peace on the international stage. His diplomatic efforts combined with his emphasis on the issue of human rights represented a seismic shift in our foreign policy that endures and will continue to drive international relations for many years to come.

Domestic Policy

“President Carter compiled a remarkable string of legislative accomplishments,” Eizenstat said. This led independent authorities like National Journal and Congressional Quarterly to rank Carter at the very top of modern presidents for his legislative achievements.

Honesty and Accountability in Government and the Private Sector

From the beginning of his campaign for the presidency, Jimmy Carter promised the American public, “I will never lie to you,” and established himself as the man who would best be able to restore integrity, honesty, and confidence in the government in a tumultuous post-Watergate America. As part of an effort to restore confidence in the Oval Office, he established the ethics guidelines of 1977, enacted into law by Congress in 1978, which required senior presidential appointees to disclose and disgorge assets for any potential conflicts

of interest. It also placed strict limits on gifts received while in office and set limits on the “revolving door” of lobbying by limiting former government employees’ lobbying of their previous departments. These critical limits remain highly relevant today. Another consequential change in government accountability came through the Inspectors General Act of 1978, which President Carter championed. The effects of this act also endure, and the independent inspectors are essential in rooting out waste, fraud, and abuse in government.

President Carter applied the same high standard of ethical conduct to the private sector through the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, which prohibited U.S. corporations and individuals from obtaining foreign contracts and projects through bribes. Like President Carter’s other ethics reform initiatives, this act remains relevant, and cases are still prosecuted under this law. He also signed the anti-boycott laws to prohibit American companies from participating in the Arab boycott of Israel.

The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (CSRA) brought about much-needed reforms to increase the appeal of public service jobs, insulate the civil service from political pressures, and attract young, talented people to careers in public service. This act included the creation of the Senior Executive Service, which is designed to ensure that career executive federal employees possess exceptional leadership skills and accountability and provides a vital link between presidential appointees and the rest of the civil service.

Additional reform efforts by President Carter included

his instrumental role in convincing Congress to consolidate overlapping governmental functions and approving seven government reorganization plans. They also created the Emergency Preparedness Agency and the Paperwork Reduction Act, which, for the first time in 40 years, attempted to reduce the paperwork burden on citizens and private business.

The Modern Vice Presidency

President Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale worked together to create



Officials meet to discuss labor issues: (from left) George Meaney, CEO of AFL-CIO; President Carter; Ray Marshall, secretary of labor; Vice President Walter Mondale; and Stuart Eizenstat.

a model for the role of the modern vice presidency, which elevated the position of the vice president from a disengaged bystander, outside of the loop of active governing, to an engaged, active member of the administration. Carter made Mondale a full partner, met with him routinely to discuss relevant issues, considered his advice on policy decisions, and used him as a highly active and respected representative in numerous administrative tasks. The Office of the Vice President was relocated to the West Wing of the White House to be close to the action and to accommodate the enhanced role in the administration. Mondale was privy to much more policy information than any previous vice president. President Carter developed a cooperative staff structure; his staffers were told to treat Mondale as they would the president, keeping him in the loop with necessary information and cooperating on agenda efforts. Mondale was an integral partner in all the significant accomplishments of the administration. His knowledge of the Senate and his enthusiastic lobbying efforts were productive and made the administration's record of legislative success possible. This elevation of vice presidential responsibilities set a precedent that has been emulated by subsequent administrations.

The First Lady

First Lady Rosalynn Carter embraced and expanded her duties, setting a new standard for future first ladies to follow. She worked to promote mental health issues and testified before Congress on her mental health bill, becoming only the second first lady, along with Eleanor Roosevelt, to do so. Mrs. Carter was the first wife of a president to have an East Wing office and staff. She was a tireless, determined advisor and supporter of the president.

Civil Rights and Women's Rights

From the time of his refusal to join the local White Citizens Council in 1954, despite the negative repercussions on his business, to his inaugural address as governor in 1971, Jimmy Carter defied expectations and stepped outside the mold of the typical Southern Democratic politician. He continued these efforts in the White House. Despite the risk of losing his Southern base of voters, he steadfastly "walked the walk" and set to work appointing record numbers of African-Americans, Hispanics, and women to various positions throughout the federal government. During his tenure, President Carter appointed a record 41 women to federal judgeships; when he took office, there was only one female federal judge. While Carter never had the opportunity to appoint a Supreme Court justice, he appointed Ruth Bader Ginsberg to the U.S. Court of Appeals. In a recent interview,

when asked why she was a judge, Ginsberg replied, "Because of Jimmy Carter, that's why."

He appointed three women as Cabinet secretaries: Juanita M. Kreps to Commerce, Shirley Hufstедler to Education, and Patricia Roberts Harris to Housing and Urban Development. Harris also served as secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) and later as secretary of Health and Human Services after the division of HEW. These appointments doubled the total number of women in American history to serve as Cabinet secretaries. He also appointed a record number of women to subcabinet officer positions. With help from First Lady Rosalynn Carter, he worked to extend the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by three years and established the first National Advisory Commission on Women.

President Carter supported legislation that expanded protection of the Civil Rights Act to the disabled, paving the way for the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act. He supported and signed an amendment to the Age Discrimination in Employment Act that expanded the protection of employment rights for people over the age of 40, to 70 years old.

Consumer Champion

"There has never been before or since a president more dedicated to the protection of the consumer than Jimmy Carter," Eizenstat declared. President Carter appointed Esther Peterson as the first and only consumer advisor to the president. He also named consumer advocates to critical regulatory agencies. Mike Pertschuk was appointed to head the Federal Trade Commission (FTC). Charlie Ferris was named to lead the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Fred Kahn was appointed to head the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB). Carter appointed Darius Gaskins as head of the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), making Gaskins the first African-American to head a federal regulatory agency. Those appointees were instrumental in writing pro-consumer legislation to deregulate federal agencies to make them economically viable, competitive, and accountable to the consumer. Significant deregulation included airlines in 1978, trucking in 1980, railroads in 1980, communication in 1980, and the beginning of banking reforms in 1979 and 1980. In the case of airline deregulation, these efforts ended monopolies on routes and pricing, allowing genuine competition and lower fares for consumers. While some problems have developed in the intervening years, due, for instance, to lax anti-trust enforcement since President

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Carter left office and inadequate investment in infrastructure in airports, the overall improvement in competition, which led to affordability and innovation, has greatly benefited the American consumer.

After the challenging effort to deregulate the airlines, Eizenstat said that he, personally, was inclined to pause before tackling trucking, due to its complexity and labor organization challenges. Despite Eizenstat's reservations, President Carter insisted on continuing to work on deregulation of the trucking industry, which was successful despite some obstacles and made possible a more competitive environment, resulting in better pricing for goods and services for both businesses and consumers. Railroad deregulation saved the railroad industry from bankruptcy. Communications deregulation made possible the remarkable revolution in communications we enjoy today. Through the leadership of Charlie Farris at the FCC, the cable industry was created, and regulations that had been stifling competition and innovation were dismantled.

The Great Environmentalist

Eizenstat also recognized President Carter's environmental contributions, defining him as "the greatest environmental and conservation president since Theodore Roosevelt created the national park system." President Carter doubled the size of the national park system in one four-year term, he said. The passage of the National Parks and Recreation Act in 1978 designated nearly 2 million acres in eight national parks as wilderness and created 15 new national park system trails. It also extended protection to eight additional rivers, identifying them as scenic and wild, and selected 17 rivers to be reviewed for preservation. Additionally, the act authorized funding to renovate recreational facilities in urban areas. President Carter demonstrated his continued commitment to the environment with his successful negotiation of the landmark 1980 Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA), also known as the Alaska Lands Act, during the postelection session. This act expanded varying degrees of protection to national parks, forests, recreation and conservation areas as well as wild and scenic rivers in Alaska. By the end of his administration, Carter had doubled the acreage of protected forests, preserved wild and scenic rivers, and expanded the national park system more than all the presidents since Teddy Roosevelt combined.

President Carter changed the conversation in America on big water projects, putting a stop to expensive, and often inefficient, unnecessary, and environmentally damaging

projects. He vetoed numerous dam projects throughout the United States, protecting wetlands, wild rivers, and streams, successfully curtailing the era of big dams.

President Carter supported the Clean Air Act Amendments (1977 CAAA), which bolstered the previously established National Ambient Air Quality Standards (NAAQS) for mobile and stationary sources. The amendments prevented the deterioration of NAAQS in geographical areas that previously met air quality standards and set new, achievable goals and permit-review procedures for the attainment and maintenance of standards for areas that were still noncompliant.

The Carter administration also introduced the "bubble" concept of regulation, which allowed companies more flexibility in cleaning up their environmental waste. This flexibility encouraged more innovation and efficiency, which reduced the costs of pollution control for corporations.

The 1977 Clean Water Amendments increased restrictions on the corporate discharge of pollutants into waterways. These amendments resulted in far cleaner waterways, a significant reduction of industrial pollution, a reduction in the loss of wetlands, and reduced soil erosion.

In the wake of the Love Canal toxic waste environmental disaster in Niagara Falls, New York, President Carter helped create and signed the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA), also known as the Superfund Act, to deal with the cleanup of toxic waste sites. The legislation authorized the Environmental Protection Agency to either compel the company responsible for the environmental disaster to clean up hazardous waste sites or, if the liable party cannot pay for cleanup or cannot be located, to use the Superfund, a trust fund paid for by a tax on petroleum and chemical companies. Since the implementation of CERCLA, 70 percent of contamination cleanup has been paid for by the environmental offender.

Energy Revolution Brings America Back to Energy Security

The Carter administration's most significant domestic policy achievement, Eizenstat said, was the establishment of the first comprehensive U.S. energy policy, which was successful in weaning the United States off its dependency on the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) for imported oil. President Carter saw America's reliance on foreign oil as a threat to national security. To combat the dire energy situation, he worked to pass three major energy bills in 1978, 1979, and 1980. The creation of the



A discussion of tax policy included (from left) Stuart Eizenstat; Al Ullman of Oregon, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee; Frank Moore, assistant to the president for congressional affairs; and President Carter.

Department of Energy (DOE) ushered in an era of strategically planned energy policy that would ensure our energy security into the 21st century. The formation of the DOE elevated energy to a Cabinet-level concern and increased its importance in the policy agenda. The department combined the energy functions of seven other departments, and President Carter selected Jim Schlesinger as the first secretary of energy. President Carter successfully cut U.S. dependency on foreign oil in half by the time he left office.

The spirit of conservation that he brought with his bold environmental agenda was also demonstrated in his approach to energy legislation. He signed the first significant national energy conservation incentives for both household and industrial conservation, setting stricter fuel efficiency standards for automobiles and more stringent standards for household appliances and industrial equipment. He encouraged the conservation of gasoline by both consumers and auto manufacturers by passing a “gas guzzler” tax.

His toughest battle came when he ended federal price controls on crude oil and natural gas, which had previously impeded domestic production and efforts at conservation.

The deregulation was successful in putting the energy industry on the road to market-based pricing, which in turn stimulated competition, efficiency, and innovation in the industry. Without President Carter’s efforts, we might not be experiencing our current natural gas production boom.

President Carter also created the Energy Security Corp., but President Reagan subsequently dismantled it. Before its demise, it promoted energy conservation and synthetic and alternative energy production. It was also responsible for the shale and heavy oil revolution, allowing America to improve its energy profile.

President Carter supported the Public Utilities Regulatory Policies Act (PURPA), the only federal law to date that encourages renewable energy and encourages competition in the utility industry. This bill required utilities with natural monopolies to allow small producers of alternative energy to sell that energy, creating competition and keeping rates down for consumers.

“Jimmy Carter is the father of solar energy, period,” Eizenstat declared. Carter was a pioneer in supporting

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alternative energy sources by creating solar and wind energy tax credits. He set an example for the American public by installing solar panels on the roof of the White House. Ronald Reagan removed the solar panels, but they were later reinstalled by President Obama. Solar is currently the fastest-growing sector of energy production in the United States.

What Went Wrong? Conflicting Priorities

With all these remarkable accomplishments in both foreign and domestic policy, it is difficult to understand why President Carter did not win a second term in office. One problem, by his own admission, was his overly ambitious and optimistic initial legislative agenda sent to Congress. He buried Congress in an avalanche of comprehensive, sometimes contradictory programs, creating conflicting priorities on the toughest issues. He was quick to recognize and correct this flaw by entrusting Vice President Mondale to work with Brzezinski and Eizenstat to develop legislative priorities. Despite this more focused approach to the legislative agenda and his overall legislative success, the

initial damage done by overloading Congress was difficult to overcome.

One of President Carter's great strengths is his willingness to take on challenging and complex policy issues. Eizenstat described his "fearless determination to walk where only angels tread." His willingness to tackle difficult topics and engage with demanding groups, including powerful lobbies like those in the energy industry, further complicated the picture of President Carter's legislative accomplishments. He pursued a long-term outlook in making policy decisions where the details were complex and not entirely understood by the American public and the full benefit was, in some cases, not wholly felt until after he left office, such as his work on energy policy and monetary policy. He never was politically expedient; instead, he always was fully engaged in doing what was best for the American people despite the political consequences and was determined to pursue policies that were advantageous to all Americans, particularly the poor and minorities, even at the risk of alienating his white Southern base.

The post-Watergate electorate and press also negatively impacted President Carter's progress and perceived success while in office. He entered the White House at a time when public confidence in government, especially the presidency, was at a record low. Throughout his term in office, the press focused on any missteps by the administration and did little to highlight his successes. With the media guiding the focus and perception of much of the American electorate, this did nothing to help President Carter's re-election bid. There was a distinct disconnect between the perception of his performance and his actual legislative success with Congress.

The Divided Democratic Party

The Democratic Party came out of the 1960s deeply divided. Evidence of this even surfaced in the lead-up to the 1976 election when Carter's lead over President Gerald R. Ford dwindled to only a few points. At the start of his campaign he presented the image of a "New Democrat"—one who was fiscally prudent but socially progressive and a liberal internationalist. Some of the Carter political advisors believed that after winning the primary he began to look more like a typical Democratic candidate, embracing the



Stuart Eizenstat discusses the Carter administration at Carter Center Weekend in 2017.

party's program platform and gaining the party's traditional supporters, such as organized labor, liberal activists, and big-city mayors. Jimmy Carter was an increasingly rare breed in American politics, a centrist. Throughout his presidency he gradually lost support from many liberals in his own party; conversely, he was too liberal for conservatives. With a restrictive budget due to stagflation, which will be discussed at length below, he was unable to bridge the gap between these two opposing forces.

Jimmy Carter was the first president elected from the Deep South since Reconstruction, and his election brought the South out of isolation and back into the mainstream of American politics. He accomplished this by appealing to the best instincts of the American people and uniting an effective but unlikely coalition of conservative Southern white voters, blue-collar workers, organized labor, liberal academics, and African-Americans. The winning coalition that elected him in 1976 was difficult to re-create during his re-election bid in this increasingly politically divided country.

The primary challenge from Sen. Ted Kennedy, who siphoned off disaffected liberals and the liberal-labor base of the party, damaged President Carter in his re-election bid against Ronald Reagan. Incumbent presidents who face a tough primary challenge from within their party are critically weakened and often experience the same fate as President Carter. Kennedy used his proposed universal national health insurance proposal to drive a wedge in the Democratic Party, despite the fact that it was not even supported by liberal Democrats in Congress due to its unrealistic cost during a period of high inflation. President Carter's own proposed \$17 million, first-phase national health-care program would have covered all children, provided catastrophic illness coverage for everyone, and dramatically expanded Medicaid for the poor. President Carter's health-care legislation laid out a plan with a clear timetable to eventually provide universal health-care coverage. Kennedy's inability to compromise created a debilitating divide within the Democratic Party and made a health-care plan impossible to pass. Unfortunately, the health-care debate remains a contentious issue in the American political landscape today. Despite losing his primary challenge against President Carter by a 2-to-1 ratio in the delegate count, Kennedy was unwilling to reconcile his differences to help unite the disaffected liberal base of the party and coalesce support for President Carter's re-election.

President Carter supported labor law reform, an increase in the national minimum wage, and the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill. Additionally, his actions to save autoworkers' jobs through the Chrysler bailout went

unappreciated, as labor leaders threw their support behind Kennedy. Similarly, New York City Mayor Ed Koch did not support President Carter, even though the administration had saved the city from bankruptcy. President Carter and his administration were shocked not to enjoy support from those groups. AFL-CIO President George Meany referred to Carter as the most conservative Democratic president since Grover Cleveland. After President Carter had supported labor rights, proposed a health-care bill that would benefit the poor, elderly, and children, and devoted tireless efforts to a comprehensive energy policy and consumer protection to the benefit of all Americans, this statement was unquestionably undeserved.

The Democratic Party's divisions stood in contrast to Ronald Reagan's successful use of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority to organize and galvanize the Christian right. The Republican Party continues to utilize the Christian right as an effective political tool today. During President Carter's re-election campaign, the tactics of the Moral Majority and its support of Reagan outmatched everything the disaffected Democratic Party could muster.

Stagflation

President Carter inherited the decade-long affliction called stagflation—simultaneous slow growth and high inflation, a contradiction of the prevailing economic theory that was unheard of before the 1970s. Richard Nixon was the first president to oversee double-digit inflation, and no other president of the 1970s was able to bring inflation under 5 percent, which was twice the historical average. Numerous economists from various political and ideological backgrounds agree that there is a straight line to stagflation from President Johnson's "guns and butter policy," that is, the simultaneous funding of the Vietnam War and the Great Society programs. Richard Nixon's wage and price controls, which were put in place to contribute to his re-election and then removed, resulted in an explosion in inflation. Two oil shocks exacerbated stagflation. The first was in 1973, the result of the OPEC oil embargo following the Yom Kippur War and was met by an ineffective response from the Ford administration. The second oil shock occurred during the Carter administration, after the Iranian Revolution, and resulted in a 50 percent crude oil price increase in a 12-month period, feeding directly into the Consumer Price Index. Inflation was a product of external issues, mostly out of the administration's control—the oil shocks, soaring food prices, and historically low productivity rates that are still not fully understood by economists.

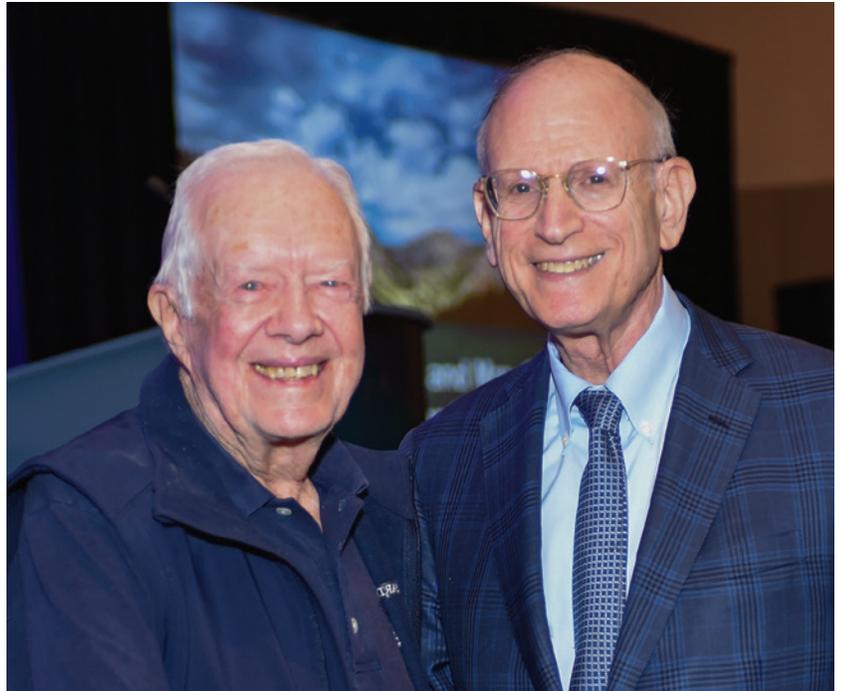
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Even though some members of the Carter administration did initially fail to recognize the full force of underlying inflation and the psychological toll that years of inflation had inflicted on the American public, President Carter realized very early on, even before most of his advisors, that inflation would be a very challenging problem. He did everything humanly possible to counter inflation, following every recommendation his economic advisors gave him. He delivered his first of four inflation speeches in April 1977, just three months into his presidency. Carter tightened budgets, pulled his \$50 tax credit from a stimulus bill, enacted voluntary price and wage controls, appointed two anti-inflation czars, deregulated industries, and imposed credit controls.

After trying every conceivable idea to bring down inflation, the Carter administration was out of tools to combat it. Vice President Mondale's chief of staff, Dick Moe, was tasked with finding the best candidates for chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Moe came back with a list upon which Paul Volcker, then president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, was at the top. He argued that Volcker would be the most effective appointee to instill confidence in the market, but he would squeeze the economy to reduce inflation through efforts such as increasing interest rates, which would inevitably result in higher unemployment. President Carter made the difficult decision to appoint Volcker, despite the political risk. The immediate beneficiary of Carter's political sacrifice was Ronald Reagan. As president, Reagan was able to incur huge budget deficits because the Fed had demonstrated that it wasn't going to allow inflation to get that out of hand again. "I always give Jimmy Carter a lot of credit in my mind," Volcker once said. "I may be the only person in the United States who appreciated that he sat there as much as he did and took a lot of guff on monetary policy."

Despite the enduring stagflation plaguing the economy, the United States experienced four years of growth under President Carter, except for one quarter of self-induced recession. During his term, 10 million new jobs were created, more than during any previous presidential term. These employment gains were similar to job growth in Reagan's second term, but double the number of jobs created during Reagan's first term, nearly four times the job growth during George H.W. Bush's only term, and just slightly less than employment gains during Clinton's first term.



President Carter greets Stuart Eizenstat following the latter's presentation at Carter Center Weekend last year.

In the midst of the 1980 election, President Carter tried to address the difficulties of stagflation, while attempting to bridge the gap among liberal factions, by protecting funding to significant programs such as Head Start. This funding was not enough for the liberal Democratic base. At this same time, the Republican Party went through a transformation and adopted the supply-side economic theory, based on the so-called Laffer Curve. This theory, which even George H.W. Bush described as "voodoo economics," suggested that deep tax breaks for the wealthiest Americans would increase federal revenue because of the resulting economic growth. Despite the fact that supply-side economic theory has never been proven effective to increase revenue, only to increase the deficit, numerous members of the Republican Party have promoted the theory for years, including Presidents Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush. It continues to be supported by many Republican politicians even today, despite its demonstrated ineffectiveness. Instead of taking the easy way out and caving to the temptation to enact tax cuts, which would have benefited him politically in an election year, President Carter identified inflation as the primary enemy and adhered to fiscally responsible budget cuts as he prepared his 1981 budget. The long-term beneficiaries of President Carter's economic policies are the American people. "We now enjoy record low inflation; there is not one central banker

anywhere in the world that would not lay that at the doorstep of Paul Volcker, whom Jimmy Carter appointed,” Eizenstat said.

Iran Hostage Crisis

More than 60 American diplomats were taken hostage at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran on Nov. 4, 1979, beginning the 444-day ordeal that would stress and sap the political strength of President Carter and his administration. The seeds of the Iranian Revolution and dissatisfaction with U.S. support of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi predate Carter’s presidency; it was just Carter’s misfortune that the revolution occurred on his watch. Specifically, it was the deposed shah’s admission to the United States for cancer treatment that triggered the hostage crisis. President Carter was the lone voice of hesitation in discussions about the shah’s request for medical treatment, for fear of the repercussions. It was a difficult decision to make, but the administration sincerely believed that refusing to help a long-term ally in need of medical treatment was not an acceptable option. Carter nurtured the shah’s remaining administrative officials and military against the Ayatollah Khomeini’s forces. He worked tirelessly to secure the release of the hostages, never giving up on his attempts to safely get them home. He even sanctioned a daring rescue attempt, but it was unsuccessful due to an unfortunate series of events. Not only was the failed rescue attempt a tragedy, but it had adverse political consequences as well; both Kennedy and Reagan used the hostage crisis against President Carter in their presidential campaigns. Eventually, President Carter was successful in getting every hostage home safely, but it was too late to affect the election results, and this challenging ordeal caused anger and frustration in the United States during the final year of his presidency.

Conclusion

We should not allow stagflation or the Iranian hostage crisis—two events that were inherited circumstances, mostly out of President Carter’s control, which he worked tirelessly to solve—to tarnish what was otherwise a remarkable presidency. The Carter administration successfully tackled numerous challenges facing our country and the world. It takes time to put a president’s contributions in the proper perspective, and we understand Carter’s presidency and policies better with each passing year. Eizenstat’s book, “President Carter: The White House Years,” released in March of 2018, will undoubtedly increase our understanding of the administration’s accomplishments and the circumstances under which he served. Eizenstat defended President

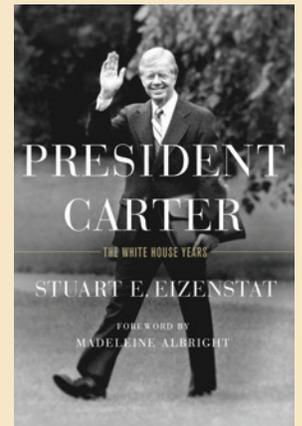
Carter’s record, saying, “It’s more than time that people recognize the great contributions that Jimmy Carter made.... He had tremendous accomplishments, and it’s important that the American people understand that. Our country and our world are a better place because Jimmy Carter was the 39th president of the United States.”

President Carter ended the program by thanking Eizenstat for his contribution to the administration. “A lot of the best ideas that Stu described came from Stu Eizenstat,” he remarked. “A lot of the other ideas that I might have had, with Fritz Mondale’s help, were put into legislative proposals that went to the Congress and passed because of Stu Eizenstat. He was a key player in everything we did domestically, and quite often in international affairs too, so I am deeply grateful to Stu. Just as he has been expressing all the good things about me, there is nothing I could say bad about him. He is a wonderful supporter, and one of the best Americans and producers of good legislation that I have ever known.”

President Carter: The White House Years

by *Stuart E. Eizenstat*

Stu Eizenstat’s book presents a comprehensive history of the Carter administration. Eizenstat documents Carter’s many lasting accomplishments that continue to shape American politics at home and abroad. As Carter’s chief White House domestic policy advisor, Eizenstat had a front-row seat for both the large and the small decisions in the administration, and he bases his book on over 5,000 pages of contemporaneous notes, more than 350 interviews (five with President Carter), and a trove of declassified documents. He takes a balanced view, candidly admitting the president’s shortcomings as well as his own, while noting Carter’s achievements. It is also a book about the presidency itself and the turbulent decade of the 1970s, in which Carter was governor and president. At a time when the state of the modern presidency is in flux, this book sets high standards of ethics and respects the institution of the presidency.



President Carter's Notes Provide Legislative Insight

by Jim Copeland

Most historians and political observers rank President Carter's legislative batting average the highest of any president since Lyndon Johnson. It included the establishment of two Cabinet departments, Energy and Education; the most significant reform ever of the civil service system; and deregulation of trucking, airlines, interstate buses, and railroads. He began a phase-out of price controls for crude oil and natural gas and on countless occasions moved to successfully check congressional spending. He gained passage of the Panama Canal Treaties and one of the largest pieces of conservation legislation in history, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act. By the end of his single term in office, nearly 80 percent of President Carter's legislative agenda had been enacted.

President Carter's White House congressional liaison staff, led by Frank Moore, witnessed and participated in negotiations that produced agreements key to the passage of this legislation. Some of these negotiations involved the principals—the president and congressional leadership—but more often than not they were conducted by members of Congress, their staffs, and officials of the administration. Each week a team of congressional liaison staff chronicled conversations and negotiations in documents known as Weekly

May 20, 1978: Commenting on a report that a House Appropriations subcommittee had added \$200 million above the administration's request for the Army Corps of Engineers, Carter writes, "It will be a pleasure to veto."

Legislative Reports. These reports from Frank Moore to the president were summarized from written submissions from Cabinet departments and oral reports from White House staff.

Each report was sent to the president late on Saturday and invariably was returned by Monday morning with

President Carter's comments and annotations, which became that week's "marching orders" for White House staff, the vice president, and Cabinet officials. These reports supplemented frequent meetings and phone calls the president held with senior staff, Frank Moore, and other congressional liaison staff.

A review of these reports and President Carter's notes, which are housed in the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, reveals much about President Carter's involvement in selling his legislative program. His notes provide a sense of his priorities and are a window into the way he interacted with staff—frequently making tactical decisions, directing, cajoling, and requesting additional information.

One sees the president hungering for intelligence about congressional attitudes and frequently offering advice. Strikingly, even in difficult times his comments reflect a sense of calm, and though direct, they never include profanity.

In a 2016 Carter Center Weekend panel discussion on congressional relations moderated by Frank Moore, participants cited President Carter's personal involvement as the primary factor in achieving the administration's remarkable record of legislative accomplishment.

Control of Government Spending

One theme that emerges from President Carter's notes is his focus on restraining government spending and a need for members of the administration to be vigilant regarding congressional attempts to add to his budget requests.

March 4, 1978: Responding to a report that a House subcommittee had added \$159 million for the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, President Carter writes, "Let's fight."

May 20, 1979: "Frank—be tough, firm & clear against new spending."

May 20, 1978: Commenting on a report that a House Appropriations subcommittee had added \$200 million above the administration's request for the Army Corps of Engineers, Carter writes, "It will be a pleasure to veto"; responding to more reports of additions to the president's requests, "We should tabulate all proposed add-ons & send cautionary letter to Congress," and later, "Our position against add-ons should be as uniform as possible."

June 24, 1978: “Again, watch present/future budget levels.”

Sept. 1, 1978: Responding to an amendment to provide federal financing for mass transit deficits, “Veto is a strong possibility.”

June 2, 1979: “Frank—You + OMB give me the potential veto list. Don’t be timid.” Regarding Title V Regional Commissions, “Most are a pure waste of money.”

March 1, 1980: “We should announce soon that any appreciable increases in my budget requests will result in vetoes.”

Intense Involvement in Congressional Relations

His notes show the president intimately involved in developing and implementing legislative strategy.

Sept. 24, 1977: Responding to a report that senators were requesting access to working documents from the Panama Canal Treaty negotiations, he writes, “Be careful.”

Oct. 1, 1977: Regarding a report that Rep. Clarence “Doc” Long, D-Md., was resisting a Treasury-developed compromise on foreign assistance, he notes, “Get (Chairman of the Federal Reserve) Arthur Burns to help with Long.”

June 3, 1978: His response to the question of whether to move first on natural gas deregulation or on a tax bill is “My inclination is to move on tax.”

June 17, 1978: On a report of the likelihood that we would have to resort to the use of legislation to achieve natural resources reorganization, he comments, “This won’t work.”

Regarding legislation being considered to reduce tariff on spark plug insulation, he notes, “Tell (United States Trade Representative Robert) Strauss to be strict in order to minimize need for vetoes.”

July 22, 1978: His response to a report on the National Energy Act is “Do we need to be more active? Yes.”

Oct. 7, 1978: Responding to a statement that members would be in their districts the following week and therefore difficult to reach, “Easier to call them without competition. Call all of them.”

July 15, 1979: In response to a report that a Senate committee was waiting for the administration’s new energy proposals, “We must move fast!”

Aug. 31, 1979: On a report saying an oil company told Sen. Pete Domenici, R-N.M., that a windfall profits tax was not needed to finance synfuels, since oil companies were prepared to produce synfuels on their own, he writes, “Jody (Press Secretary Jody Powell) start publicizing.”

Oct. 1, 1979: A note to Frank Moore on windfall profit tax says, “Frank—My main concern is with responsible Finance Committee. Redouble your efforts in the absence of (Secretary of the Treasury G. William) Miller. Be sure (Secretary of Energy Charles) Duncan stays on top of it.”

Sept. 24, 1977: Responding to a report that senators were requesting access to working documents from the Panama Canal Treaty negotiations, he writes, “Be careful.”

March 21, 1980: Regarding Energy Mobilization Board, “(Rep.) Tim Wirth (D-CO) wants me to meet with the conferees.”

June 3, 1978: On a report stating the next House Commerce Committee vote count on hospital cost containment will reflect the results of his calls, he notes, “Not too good.”

Jan. 22, 1979: On a report indicating that four or five of the new Ways and Means members’ votes would be necessary to pass hospital cost containment, he writes, “Bad.”

Reliance on Mondale

Throughout his notes, President Carter’s reliance on Vice President Mondale is evident.

July 23, 1977: In response to a statement that we were in trouble in the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, “Do I & VP need to help?”

June 2, 1979: Regarding Department of Education legislation, “Get Fritz to help.”

July 15, 1979: On hospital cost containment in the Senate Finance Committee, “Get the VP working on this.” Later, in response to a report that some in Congress were working to increase VA personnel, “Get VP to help & (Administrator of Veterans Affairs Max) Cleland.”

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Continued from p. 13

July 18, 1980: In response to a list of problems presented by Sen. Don Stewart, D-Ala., “Let Fritz talk to him.”

Feb. 24, 1979: On a report that Ways and Means Committee members had problems with real wage insurance, he notes, “I will (talk with them) if necessary—or Fritz if you prefer.”

Jan. 18, 1980: “Fritz—OK Local Rev(enue) Sharing?”

June 23, 1979: Regarding problems concerning a presidential appointment with Reps. Parren Mitchell, D-Md., and Cardiss Collins, D-Ill., he writes, “Let VP coordinate this one with you.”

Acceptance of Bad News

The reports contain many frank assessments of congressional attitudes. President Carter’s comments generally reflect his calm acceptance of bad news. On rare occasions he does express frustration.

April 3, 1978: In response to a lengthy report saying that our political capital was exhausted as a result of the divisive fight on Panama, he writes, “Mood of the congress (or your staff) seems to be 100% negative. I don’t mind the criticism, but is morale this low?”

May 25, 1979: On a report describing problems with Appropriations subcommittees adding funds above administration requests, he writes, “Depressing.”

March 4, 1978: In response to a description of Rep. William Cohen, R-Me., announcing a visit to Maine by an astronaut, which Cohen released ahead of Sen. William Hathaway, D-Me., even though Hathaway had been pushing for the visit, he instructs, “Try to find culprit.”

March 3, 1979: On a report describing an effort by Sen. Mike Gravel, D-Alaska, to load up a water resources bill, claiming the administration needed his vote on other issues so it will acquiesce, he writes, “I won’t be bluffed.”

Feb. 24, 1979: In response to a description of a jurisdictional dispute between Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., and Sen. Howard Cannon, D-Nev., over trucking deregulation, “Silly.”

Support of Staff

White House staffs have frequently experienced much dissension and high levels of personnel turnover. Neither was the case with the Carter White House. Although there are many reasons for the relative calm of this White House, a significant factor was President Carter’s support of his staff. This support is seen repeatedly in his notes on the weekly legislative reports. Many weekly legislative reports were returned with a simple “Good report” or “Good.” Rarely were comments critical, and most indicated the president’s acceptance of staff’s descriptions of situations that had created controversy or discord on the Hill. Two incidents illustrate this point:

Aug. 12, 1978: A report notes that a state Senator told Cong. (Butler) Derrick (D-S.C.) one week before about the president’s South Carolina trip. Derrick was amazed that he had not been informed until Friday by the White House. President Carter comments, “That’s about when I knew it.”

In the same report, President Carter is informed that at least one Republican is upset about preferential treatment being given to Democrats concerning grant announcements. We received a letter to that effect from (Rep. Bill) Harsha (R-Ohio). President Carter’s response is “Good.”

Conclusion

There may be no single best model of presidential engagement in the legislative process, but it certainly is true that no president should remain removed from it. President Carter was intimately and intensely involved in all phases of legislation—from preparation to introduction to the sometimes ugly “sausage making”—to provide guidance and help ensure final passage. His notes on the Weekly Legislative Reports provide historians and other students of the presidency with proof of that assertion.

Note: Members of the White House Congressional Liaison Office who contributed to Weekly Legislative Reports include Dan Tate, Jim Free, Les Francis, Bill Cable, Bob Thomson, Jim Copeland, Ronna Freiberg, Valerie Pinson, Bob Schule, Ev Small, Bob Maher, Bob Beckel, Lisa Bourdeaux Percy, Anne Dye, Joan Hendricks, and Ruth Rodgers. Also contributing were Herky Harris with Office of Management and Budget and Budget Task Force members Susy Elving Smith, Gael Sullivan, and Chris Davis.

Jim Copeland is the former deputy assistant to the president for congressional liaison.

Comings & Goings

Joe Foley and Frank Phifer, two Carter/Mondale administration veterans still working on Capitol Hill, are evening regulars at the National Democratic Club. They're joined in the photo by Steve Rukavina, who was deputy



Frank Phifer (left), Joe Foley (center), and Steve Rukavina

press secretary in Ohio for the 1980 Carter-Mondale presidential campaign. Phifer was a member of Vice President Mondale's staff and lead advance for the president's trip to Saudi Arabia. Foley left the floor of the House of Representatives to help pass the administration's legislative initiatives in response to the Christmas 1979 invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. Frank can be reached at phifer@hecht.com and Joe at info@foleycoinc.com.



Ken Hays

Ken Hays, who was assistant chief of protocol for the White House and the State Department during the Carter administration, now heads the Chattanooga, Tenn., Enterprise Center. He is working on a plan for a better University of Tennessee at Chattanooga presence downtown, adding affordable housing and modern office space.

Joe Lockhart has been hired by CNN as a political commentator. Lockhart served as Bill Clinton's White House press secretary from 1998 to 2000 and in the Carter-Mondale administration in the White House Press Office.

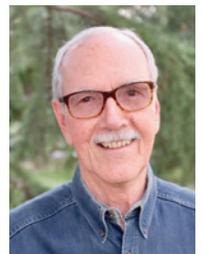


Joe Lockhart

Peter Petkas, who was deputy director of the President's Reorganization Project in the Office of Management and Budget and then director of the Regulatory Council, owns and runs a company called HoldTight Solutions in Houston. His former wife, Martha Alexander Petkas, was the administrative officer for the planning group in Atlanta headed by Jack Watson that, after President Carter's election, became the transition team. Martha went on to work for Esther Peterson, President Carter's consumer advisor, and later worked at Health and Human Services.

Petkas and his wife, Belle, participated in the Spring Executive Briefing at The Carter Center in Atlanta. You can reach Peter at peter.petkas@holdtight.com.

Bob Rackleff, speechwriter, has returned home to Tallahassee after five years in the Obama administration to run for Congress in Florida's 2nd District to unseat first-term Republican Neal Dunn in 2018. Rackleff advocates expanding the Affordable Care Act and a strong infrastructure jobs program. His website is www.bobrackleffforcongress.com.



Bob Rackleff

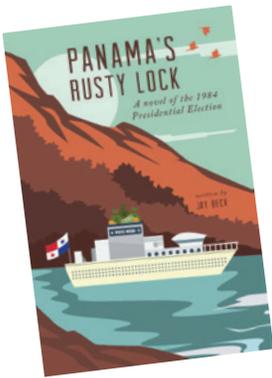


Scott Widmeyer

Finn Partners managing partner **Scott Widmeyer** has been named chief strategy officer of the global independent agency's D.C. office in a bid to bolster that outpost's ongoing growth. Widmeyer, who formerly led press secretary duties for former West Virginia Gov. (and later Sen.) Jay Rockefeller as well as Walter Mondale's 1984 presidential bid, founded Washington-based Widmeyer Communications in 1987.

The firm's D.C. office specializes in public affairs, education, professional services, government agencies, digital marketing/creative services, and qualitative/quantitative research.

BOOK CLUB



Panama's Rusty Lock

Jay Beck

A small team of political consultants working on a presidential campaign to break the military rule of Gen. Manuel Noriega and return the nation of Panama to self-determination runs into mine fields of

fraud, CIA-sponsored wars, manipulation of world-wide commerce, and drug trafficking. The historical novel reveals a trail of international intrigue and espionage. In 1984 the election would begin a 25-year process to return the Panama Canal, as mandated in the 1977–1978 Panama Canal Treaties. No one at the time could have imagined the effort it would take to change 16 years of government corruption and oppression in the most important nation of Central America. Author Jay Beck combines a lifetime of experience into this novel. He worked in the Executive Office of the President under Jimmy Carter and is a decorated Vietnam veteran. In 1984, as an international political consultant, he worked in the campaign to elect Panama's first president in almost two decades. This is his second novel.

Hells Heroes: How an Unlikely Alliance Saved Idaho's Hells Canyon

Chris Carlson

Chris Carlson, the veteran Idaho journalist and former press secretary to the late Idaho governor and interior secretary Cecil D. Andrus, has

released a new book on how Idaho's Hells Canyon was saved. The book traces the political history of Hells Canyon, including why and how it garnered protection as a national recreation area, and focuses on the catalytic role played by the Sierra Club's Brock Evans. Carlson tells the story from the standpoint of both user and environmental interests and castigates the U.S. Forest Service for its questionable management of the resource.



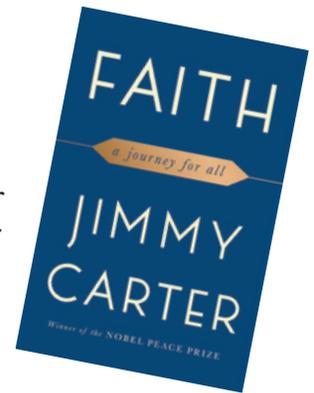
Carlson

Faith: A Journey for All

Jimmy Carter

All his life, President Jimmy Carter has been a courageous exemplar of faith. Now he shares the lessons he learned. He writes, "The issue of faith arises in almost every area of human existence, so it is important to understand its multiple meanings. In this book, my primary goal is to explore the broader meaning of faith, its far-reaching effect on our lives, and its relationship to past, present, and future events in America and around the world. The religious aspects of faith are also covered, since this is how the word is most often used, and I have included a description of the ways my faith has guided and sustained me, as well as how it has challenged and driven me to seek a closer and better relationship with people and with God."

In this, his 33rd book, President Carter examines faith's many meanings and describes how to accept it, how to live it, and how to doubt and find faith again.



Peace Works: America's Unifying Role in a Turbulent World

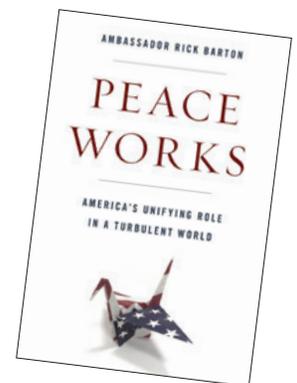
Rick Barton

Rick Barton's book, based on his government and U.N. work in over 40 conflicts since 1994, makes the argument that U.S. leadership in conflict places is necessary, that it must improve by relying on local people more, and that the humble application of American ingenuity will produce enduring peace. He uses a mix of stories, history, and analysis for a transformative approach to foreign affairs and offers concrete and attainable solutions for the future.



Barton

Insisting that the United States must maintain focus on people, he outlines a few key directives: remain transparent with the American public, act as a catalyzing (not colonizing) force, engage local partners, and measure results. Barton can be reached at barton@princeton.edu.



Passages

Charles M. (Chuck) Campion

was a political and public affairs advisor who specialized in presidential campaigns. He was part of the advance team for the 1980 Carter-Mondale campaign, where he met his wife, Heather Pars, at that time a staff member working for Anne Wexler in the Office of Public Liaison.

Campion was first exposed to politics as a child when he campaigned for his grandfather, a representative in the Massachusetts Legislature from Boston's West Roxbury neighborhood. He said, "I went door-to-door with nominating papers for my grandfather when I was 7 or 8 years old, and I remember how shocked I was when one lady said, 'I can't sign that. I'm a Republican.' I had no idea what a Republican was." By the late 1970s, he was a special assistant to Vice President Walter Mondale and later worked on Mondale's 1984 presidential campaign, serving important roles in New Hampshire, Ohio, New Jersey, and Illinois.

Campion was chairman of the Dewey Square Group, a Boston-based political consulting and lobbying firm that he co-founded 25 years ago.



Charles M. Campion

James (Jim) Tyrrell Flood

served on the California staff for the 1976 Carter-Mondale campaign. He produced a show featuring *The Fifth Dimension* for the California delegation at the Washington Hilton. He and his wife, Bonnie, attended the 1977 inauguration and some of the inaugural balls.



James Tyrrell Flood

During a full and varied media career with the legendary entertainment public relations firm Rogers and Cowan, Flood assisted in the production of many television programs, including telethons such as the Jerry Lewis muscular dystrophy telethons. He was successful in creating and implementing a nationwide public education campaign on behalf of the MedicAlert Foundation. A multitude of television public service spots featuring celebrities, plus National MedicAlert weeks established during the Carter administration, helped elevate the visibility of MedicAlert.

Dr. Mathilde Krim, who along with her late husband, Arthur, was a Carter Center founder, was a geneticist and virologist with wide experience in cancer research and a passion for causes. Perhaps best known for her crusade against the scourge of AIDS, she was the founding chairwoman of the Foundation for AIDS Research. She became America's foremost warrior in the battle against superstitions, fears and prejudices that have stigmatized many people with AIDS, subjecting them to rejection and discrimination.

Krim mobilized a galaxy of friends from the worlds of politics, the arts, entertainment, society, and Wall Street. She organized art sales, auctions, fashion shows, and other fund-raisers; held benefit parties at her Manhattan townhouse; gave television interviews; lobbied government officials; and testified before Congress.

Krim's many awards include the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor.



Mathilde Krim



Zell Miller

Zell Miller was one of Georgia's longest-serving public servants and held a greater variety of public offices in Georgia than anyone in history. Over his career he was executive secretary to a Georgia governor, executive director of the Georgia Democratic Party, mayor of Young Harris, state senator, lieutenant governor, governor, and a U.S. senator. He and his wife, Shirley, were active in the Peanut Brigade and in political and fundraising support for Jimmy Carter's 1976 presidential campaign.

Miller was a leader in hiring and promoting minorities, including Leah Ward Sears, the first woman and youngest person to sit on the Georgia Supreme Court, who also became the first African-American female chief justice of a state supreme court.

His U.S. Marine Corps background gave him a patriotic love of both his state and his nation. His straight-talking demeanor left no one in doubt of his views on any subject.

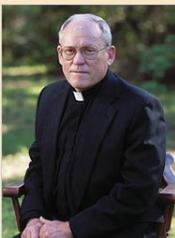
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He was the only person in history to make keynote speeches at both Democratic and Republican conventions.

While governor, Miller got a 4 percent a year raise for teacher salaries for four straight years. His crowning achievement and enduring legacy is the founding of the Georgia HOPE Scholarship.

Jim Purks, a Georgia native, had an illustrious career in journalism, politics, and business before his ordination as an Episcopal Church deacon. He began his career as a journalist, covering important Civil Rights-era stories including the Ku Klux Klan bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala. In 2015, he received the Walter Cronkite Award in recognition of his work on the front lines of the civil rights movement and in his community.



Jim Purks

Following a career with Associated Press in Alabama and Florida, Purks entered politics, working as press secretary in state government and on the successful campaign of Richard Stone, the second Jewish senator elected from Florida. He subsequently worked on then-Gov. Jimmy Carter's successful presidential campaign, thereafter serving President Carter as assistant press secretary. He was inspired by the Carters' faith during their turbulent White House years.

Purks then joined Habitat for Humanity, working at its international headquarters in Americus, Ga.

Later, as an ordained deacon at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Albany, Ga., he constantly sought ways to serve others, both in the church and in the wider community.

Stephen Reinhardt, a liberal federal judge from California serving on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in San Francisco, was the last of President Jimmy Carter's federal judicial appointees.

Reinhardt made himself an inviting target of conservatives. The conservative *Weekly Standard* described Reinhardt as "the liberal bad boy" of the federal bench.

Over the years, Judge Reinhardt ruled as unconstitutional the phrase "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance; a Washington state law banning the procedure that abortion opponents call "partial-birth abortion"; Arizona's English-only official language law; and a

2008 California ballot referendum, Proposition 8, barring same-sex marriage.

Rita Samuels began her career with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and with the Rev. Martin Luther King, participating in many of his epochal marches and speeches, including the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery. She was the first black woman to serve on the staff of a Georgia governor—Gov. Jimmy Carter—and later served as a consultant on Carter's White House staff. She was a confidante of nearly every major Atlanta civil rights leader and founded a number of women's organizations, while tackling issues ranging from women's rights to civil rights, voting rights, and politics.



Rita Samuels

Later in her career, Samuels founded and became executive director of the Georgia Coalition of Black Women, whose primary focus was on registering black women to vote. For the last 20 years, Samuels focused on *Women Flying High*, which she created to help black women land major contracts with the city and state and to see black women excel, get equal opportunities in jobs, and run for public office.



Barbara O'Loughlin Silby

Barbara O'Loughlin Silby had a successful business career, including director of fundraising for the Carter-Mondale campaign, executive director of *Athletes and Artists* for the Carter-Mondale campaign, and deputy director of fundraising for Mondale-Ferraro for President. During the Carter presidency, she was an assistant to Annette Carter and was honored to have attended state dinners for Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Pope John Paul II. She started her own political fundraising business, *Barbara Silby and Associates*. She went on to serve as chief of staff of the General Services Administration and the Indian Gaming Commission under President Clinton.

A fierce advocate for women's rights, Silby served as chairman of the board and foundation of *NARAL-Pro Choice America* and was a co-founder of the wom-

en's council for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and the Women's Leadership Forum of the DNC.

Stansfield Turner, who led the Central Intelligence Agency under President Jimmy Carter, joined the Naval Reserve before being admitted to the U.S. Naval Academy in 1943, where one of his classmates was Jimmy Carter.

Promising a fresh start in both foreign and domestic policies after the scandals of the Nixon administration, President Carter called on Turner to take the helm of American intelligence. Turner later wrote that the CIA he inherited was demoralized and disorganized after the Watergate scandal. The organization had been dragged into that political swamp after Nixon admitted that he had used the CIA to try to obstruct the federal investigation of the political burglary at the DNC headquarters. Turner noted that President Carter shared his view of the importance of good intelligence operations and had an intense interest in understanding its mechanisms.

Under Turner, the CIA mounted covert actions aimed at Moscow, Warsaw, and Prague—printing and distributing magazines and journals in Poland and Czechoslovakia, circulating the written work of dissidents in the Soviet Union, and placing fax machines and tape cassettes in the hands of people behind the Iron Curtain. These acts, approved by President Carter and his national security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, sought to subvert the control of information that was the foundation of repression in the Communist world.



Togo D. West Jr.

Togo D. West Jr. was a government lawyer and high-ranking administration official in the Carter and Clinton administrations.

During the early 1970s, West served in the U.S. Army as a judge in the Judge Advocate General Corps, and earned both the Legion of Merit award and the Meritorious

Service Medal. He was appointed by President Gerald Ford as deputy attorney general. President Jimmy Carter



Stansfield Turner

appointed West as general counsel to the Navy, and during the Carter administration he also served as deputy secretary of defense and general counsel to the Department of Defense.

West became the second African-American to serve as Army secretary when President Bill Clinton nominated him to the post.

West also orchestrated a rise in the number of opportunities for women in the military. In perhaps his most prominent action as Army secretary, he ordered an investigation into senior officers' responsibility for sexual abuse at Aberdeen Proving Ground in northern Maryland, where three male instructors were charged with rape and other sex crimes against female recruits. More than 50 recruits eventually came forward with allegations of sexual abuse at the base. West went on to launch an investigation into each Army base that trains female soldiers and appointed a nine-member civilian-military panel that proposed changes in Army training and sexual harassment policies.



Sam Zagoria

Sam Zagoria was a Washington Post political reporter after World War II who returned to the paper in the 1980s as its ombudsman. In the intervening years he worked as a congressional aide, labor relations official, and consumer product safety commissioner.

He spent a decade as administrative assistant to a liberal-moderate Republican, Sen. Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, before President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed him to the National Labor Relations Board. President Richard M. Nixon did not reappoint him in 1969, and Zagoria joined the U.S. Conference of Mayors as director of the labor-management relations service.

In 1978, President Jimmy Carter nominated Zagoria to a Republican seat on the Federal Election Commission, but the candidate asked to have his name withdrawn after GOP leaders protested that he was too liberal. Soon afterward, Carter appointed Zagoria unopposed to a seven-year term on the Consumer Product Safety Commission. He left the commission in 1983 to return to the Post for a two-year term as ombudsman, addressing reader complaints and making his own critiques of news judgment, tone, and perceived bias.

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THE
CARTER CENTER



New Book a Thorough Look at Carter Presidency

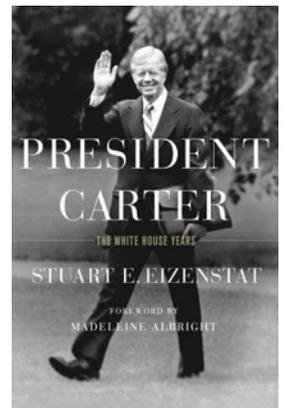
Stuart Eizenstat has written a comprehensive and authoritative account of the Carter presidency in his new book “President Carter.” Some of the early buzz:

“Stuart Eizenstat’s “President Carter: The White House Years” is an epic biography and first-class administrative history of our vastly underrated 39th president. Such Carter accomplishments as Camp David, the Panama Canal Treaty, Alaska Lands and formal recognition of China pile up in a dramatic fashion. The amount of new documentary evidence unearthed by Eizenstat is staggering. A landmark achievement!”—Douglas Brinkley, CNN Historian and author of “The Unfinished Presidency: Jimmy Carter’s Journey Beyond the White House”

“At a time when Americans are yearning for moral leadership, this is exactly the right book written by exactly

the right person. Jimmy Carter was not a perfect president but he came close to being a saintly president. Stu Eizenstat, his right-hand assistant on domestic and other affairs, draws from more than five thousand pages of notes he took at the time to draw a balanced, insightful, and uplifting portrait of a president whose moral courage we miss today.”—David Gergen, presidential adviser to presidents Reagan and Clinton, and co-director for the Center for Public Leadership at the Harvard Kennedy School

Read more about the book on page 11.



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.

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.