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Inspectors General Serve as In-House Watchdogs

By Eva Rosenzweig

In the 1970s, the Vietnam War, oil shortages, scandals such as Watergate, and a presidential resignation, all covered intensely by the media, diminished Americans' faith in their federal government. During the 1976 presidential campaign, Jimmy Carter promised to restore a government that would be competent and trustworthy.

President Carter and Congress helped address these issues in 1978 through the creation of the Office of Inspector General, an independent mechanism tasked with evaluating federal programs. The inspectors general would act in the interest of the American people, bringing to light shortcomings within the government so that these could be corrected.

"The American people are fed up with the treatment of American tax money in a way that involves fraud and mismanagement and embarrassment to the government," President Carter said at the bill-signing ceremony. He emphasized that the responsibility of the inspectors general was not to any individual but to the public interest. The 12 freshly appointed inspectors general were given a multipart charge:

- Protect the integrity of the government.
- Improve program efficiency and effectiveness.
- Prevent and detect fraud, waste, and abuse in federal agencies.
- Keep agency heads, Congress, and the American people fully and currently informed of their findings.

They became semiautonomous entities that could



Flanked by Michael J. Missal (left), inspector general for the Veterans Administration and Carter-Mondale alumnus, and Michael Horowitz (right), inspector general for the Department of Justice, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter holds a photo signed by all inspectors general serving in the federal government.

make recommendations for change, conduct internal audits, and investigate allegations of misconduct.

On Oct. 12, 2018, a 40th anniversary celebration and assessment of the Inspector General Act took place at The Carter Center. Carter administration alumni reflected on their work and discussed the future of inspectors general.

After a brief introduction video, former U.S. Sen. George Mitchell of Maine spoke on the importance of good government and on his role in establishing 45 additional inspector general offices in 1988. Greg Friedman,

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former inspector general for the Department of Energy, and Kurt Mullenburg, the first inspector general for the General Services Administration, answered questions about their roles and the challenges they encountered during their tenure. Stu Eizenstat, chief White House domestic policy advisor to President Carter, addressed the context and impact of the Inspector General Act. Another panel asked current inspectors general to look forward and answer questions about the future of the role. Panelists were Michael Horowitz, inspector general for the Department of Justice; Allison Lerner, inspector general for the National Science Foundation; and Carol Ochoa, inspector general for the General Services Administration. President Carter thanked the current and former members of the inspector general community, saying, “The need for accountability, transparency, and oversight is as important today as it was on October 12, 1978.”

The inspectors general have demonstrated their worth and evolved into a more efficient and effective office. The original 12 have grown to a community of 73, appointed by the president and by agency heads, overseeing nearly all aspects of the federal government. The 2008 establishment of the Council of the Inspectors General on Integrity and Efficiency (CIGIE) led to an increase in communication among the IGs, allowing them to share information and best practices. Investigations, reviews, and audits are initiated by the inspectors general, sometimes based on allegations put forth by whistleblowers. Inspector general investigations save taxpayers billions of dollars a year.

Qualitative reports, systems corrections, standardizations, and suggestions issued by the inspectors general are equally valuable. In August 2018, the Office of the Inspector General for the General Services Administration released a report reviewing the GSA’s plan for the new FBI headquarters. Carol Ochoa and her team uncovered major issues, including omitted costs from a presentation to Congress and evidence that President Trump may have an undisclosed financial interest in the project. Ochoa said she hopes the report “will help the GSA and the FBI present their case to Congress in a more compelling way.”

Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz called his office’s oversight of various Bureau of Prisons programs some of the most important work it has done. For example, Horowitz and his team examined how prisons are handling aging infrastructure and aging inmates and the accessibility issues presented by both. They found



This display shows President Carter signing the Inspector General Act on Oct. 12, 1978.

serious problems and issues that had not been properly addressed due in large part to the massive increase in the federal prison population over the past 20 years.

Horowitz also highlighted a report exploring how the Bureau of Prisons changed its policies on approaching inmates with mental health issues.

One 2006 case, handled by the inspector general for the Department of Health and Human Services, incorporates the budgetary savings and public interest protection that the IG Act envisioned. Following a thorough investigation, a dermatologist was sentenced to 22 years in prison, ordered to pay \$3.7 million in restitution, forfeit an additional \$3.7 million, and pay a \$25,000 fine for performing more than 3,000 medically unnecessary surgeries on more than 800 Medicare beneficiaries. The dermatologist was found guilty of health care fraud and making false statements following a 4-week trial in which the prosecution demonstrated that the doctor routinely falsely diagnosed patients with skin cancer to bill Medicare for expensive and unnecessary invasive surgeries.

Thanks to the efforts of President Carter and Congress 40 years ago and the diligence of the IG offices, a considerable effort is being made to correct problems, punish offenders, and restore confidence in our federal government. The work of the inspectors general has made countless improvements to the function of government, saved billions of taxpayer dollars, and led to the prosecution of individuals attempting to cheat the federal government.

About the Author: Eva Rosenzweig was an intern at The Carter Center in fall 2018.

1970s Provide a Cautionary Tale for Health Care Reform

By Richard Moe

With the 2020 presidential election around the corner, both parties appear headed, once again, for a train wreck on health care. While scores of Democrats in Congress and on the presidential campaign trail advocate a single-payer health care system for all Americans immediately, other Democrats embrace the idea of universal coverage as the ultimate goal but believe it should be achieved incrementally. To some this seems like a repeat of the late 1970s, when Democrats allowed the perfect to become the enemy of the good, and nothing was done on health care for another 30 years.

Meanwhile, the unrelenting opposition of Republicans to the Affordable Care Act suggests the GOP has no serious interest in offering an affordable health care plan. The voters punished them for it last year. “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it,” George Santayana famously said, offering an immutable truth that should be embedded in the mind of every member of Congress.

Health care coverage in the United States has had a compelling but sometimes fraught history that is essential to understand before it is reconsidered. Theodore Roosevelt first proposed national health care in his 1912 platform, but he lost that election. Subsequent Democratic presidents including Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman and John Kennedy supported the idea, but it was Lyndon Johnson who achieved Medicare for seniors with the Medicare Act of 1965. At last every American 65 and over became eligible for federal health insurance regardless of income or medical history; it also included coverage for low-income Americans in the form of Medicaid. It was a landmark achievement, made possible by a unique moment in history and the tenacity of Democratic presidents in keeping the Republican Roosevelt’s 1912 idea alive.

The next Democratic president, Jimmy Carter, was in step with his predecessors as he wanted to extend health care to all Americans, but the economic conditions of that time were very different from 1965. While both houses of Congress were Democratic in 1977–78, inflation was out of control and the economy as a whole was weak, straining the resources of the federal budget. Carter had

been a progressive governor of Georgia but a fiscal realist; he believed the country couldn’t afford such an enormous cost at that time without serious economic consequences.

While Carter embraced universal coverage as the ultimate goal, he believed it should be achieved incrementally, not only for affordability but also for feasibility. An incremental approach, Carter contended, would aid the federal government’s ability to digest and administer such a huge and complex new system. Additionally, proposing a stepped approach would make it more likely to attract bipartisan support, which he believed was important for its long-term sustainability.

Not everyone agreed. Eight years after Johnson’s Great Society was enacted, there were still unmet demands among congressional Democrats for new federal spending. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Massachusetts) was the most vocal spokesman, and he was also, many suspected, planning to challenge Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1980, using national health care as a defining issue.

In 1977, Carter’s White House reached out to Kennedy to find a middle ground. It became clear early on that there was a significant difference between the two camps. Over many months, the two parties tried to compromise, but the talks eventually faltered over the specific phasing-in of Carter’s proposal. The unbridgeable gaps were fully revealed at the final meeting between Carter, Kennedy, and their staffs in the Oval Office on July 28, 1978. When they first appeared, Carter, according to one participant, told Kennedy, “It will doom health care if we split . . . I have no other place to turn if I can’t turn to you . . . I must emphasize fiscal responsibility if we are to have a chance.” Kennedy left the White House and soon announced that he couldn’t support whatever the administration offered on health care and he would write his own comprehensive bill, which he unveiled on May 19, 1979.

A month later, Carter delivered a message to Congress calling for catastrophic coverage for all Americans so that families who incurred severe and costly injuries or illnesses would not be financially destroyed. He also called for “comprehensive” coverage of 16 million low-income Americans (Medicaid). It was a thoughtful,

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generous, and responsible proposal, and it won significant early support on Capitol Hill, not least because many Democrats saw it as an essential step toward universal coverage.

In the previous fall, Kennedy had addressed the Democrats' mid-term convention in Memphis and thrown down the gauntlet to Carter: "There are some who say we cannot afford national health insurance . . . but the truth is, we cannot afford not to have national health insurance."

Tensions between the two men, already high, came to a boil when Kennedy formally announced his candidacy for president on Nov. 7, 1979. With no major issues dividing the candidates—save for the timing but not the goal of universal coverage—Kennedy's campaign got off to a faltering start. It was apparent he needed strong support from the more liberal trade unions, and some did sign on with Kennedy, including the United Auto Workers, which had been a longtime supporter of national health care. The UAW's leadership pledged it would use its clout to see the plan enacted. Even after Carter captured sufficient delegates to win the nomination following a brutal series of primaries, the UAW would not back down from its all-or-nothing position. Neither would Kennedy.

The hard-fought contest took its toll on both candidates and, tragically, on the issue of health care. In short, the dynamics of the 1980 primary campaign inevitably precluded the kind of legislative process that might have enabled universal catastrophic coverage to become law. An important opportunity was lost; the American people would have to wait another 30 years for major health care reform.

It finally arrived in 2009 when President Barack Obama unveiled the Affordable Care Act as his highest legislative priority. The ACA or, as it became known, Obamacare, bore a striking resemblance to Carter's proposal three decades before. New to the presidency, Obama was sometimes hesitant and failed to articulate a strong and consistent public case for his proposal, making passage more difficult. At a joint session of Congress in September 2009, Obama read an endorsement from Kennedy, written



U.S. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts meets with President Jimmy Carter in the Oval Office. The two could not agree on a plan for universal health care.

before the senator had died the month before. Obama rallied the congressional Democrats, and, with the indispensable help of Speaker Nancy Pelosi, the ACA became law in 2010. It was a historic achievement, representing the most significant regulatory overhaul and expansion of coverage since 1965.

With few Republicans supporting Obamacare, GOP leaders made its repeal their rallying cry for nearly a decade. Yet they failed even when Republicans controlled both houses of Congress and the White House. With Democrats now in control of the House of Representatives, the ACA would finally appear secure—if not for the fact that that President Trump's Justice Department is trying to overturn it altogether.

Republican control of the Senate and White House makes it a difficult time to attempt any major expansion of health care. There is, nonetheless, an opportunity for Democrats—and hopefully Republicans—to prepare for the future by working together during the next two years to fix and strengthen the ACA so that it actually delivers the care it is meant to deliver. They should also come together to significantly reduce the cost of medications, for which there is an undeniable bipartisan public mandate. Who knows where this could lead? If led by serious people on both sides, it could yield yet more success stories like criminal justice reform and conservation of public lands. Whatever it is, it's better than polarized stalemate.

Thus, if the ultimate goal is to expand affordable health

care to every American, history offers important lessons. It tells Democrats that in the next two years they must be politically savvy and, in some instances, uncharacteristically restrained if they want to be poised to offer a viable form of expanded health care in 2021. They must acknowledge that 2021 is the first time a plan realistically can be considered. Before then, they must avoid the public perception of “overreach,” a political deadly sin that penalizes politicians who appear to offer grand proposals that are hugely expensive, complex, and unwieldy. “Medicare for All” comes to mind as something many people already see as overreach. Voters have finely tuned antennae, and most can tell when they’re being played by a slogan.

Americans will respond favorably to reasoned proposals even for aspirational goals, as they did in 2018. They will do so again if a plan is couched in language they can understand, such as supporting a proposal that offers “affordable health care for every American regardless of income or existing conditions.” At the same time, liberal Democrats should resist the siren song of ideological purity and embrace instead a pragmatism that will assure ultimate success. The run-up to 2020 will be better than

the 1970s unless Democrats take their eye off the ultimate goal and again allow a deep division within the party.

As for Republicans, history tells them that if they want to help shape America’s health care of the future, they should 1) accept the legitimacy, if not every detail, of the ACA, which is, after all, a direct philosophical descendant of the thinking of the conservative Heritage Foundation, as well as the first cousin of Republican Gov. Mitt Romney’s plan for Massachusetts, and 2) abandon their blind opposition to any expansion of health care. They should engage in a constructive and serious conversation with Democrats so that by 2021 we will have something approaching a national consensus on how to care for our health.

About the Author: Richard Moe, a writer who divides his time between Washington and Santa Fe, New Mexico, served as chief of staff to Vice President Walter Mondale and as a member of President Jimmy Carter’s senior staff 1977–1981. He is the author, most recently, of “Roosevelt’s Second Act: The Election of 1940 and the Politics of War.”

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Carter Turned Exile into Welcome

By Robert Hunter

In 1980, when I was working on Middle East issues on the National Security Council staff, I became engaged to Shireen Tahmasseb, the first woman in the Shah of Iran’s foreign service—and an exile following the Islamic Revolution. Even though she had no association with the new regime in Tehran and suffered from its actions, given the hostage crisis it would have been natural for the administration either to deny her the chance to remain in the United States or, at the very least, to deem our relationship “inappropriate.”

Not at all. Not only did my immediate boss, Zbig Brzezinski, say “So what? I’m an immigrant, too,” but President Carter personally went out of his way to make her feel welcome. When I introduced her to him in the receiving line at the White House reception on the first anniversary of the Camp David Accords, I told him that Shireen was my “wife of six days.” The president immediately embraced her and later inscribed a photo of the three of us that we treasure.

When Shireen later took part in a Middle East

symposium at The Carter Center, she was the only woman in the room. President Carter said to her: “Now, don’t be intimidated by these people, you speak out.” When he invited her to sit next to him at lunch, the point was made clear to everyone. Also present was Prince Bandar, Saudi Arabia’s ambassador to the United States. “Bandar,” the president said, “you have your own plane. Give Shireen a ride back to Washington!”

Truly “a president for all seasons.”

About the Author: Robert Hunter was a member of the National Security Council staff during the Carter administration.



*To my good friends
Shireen & Robert Hunter - Jimmy Carter
1980*

Robert and Shireen Hunter treasure this inscribed photo of themselves with President Carter.

Carter Got FEMA Off the Ground in 1979

By Eva Rosenzweig

The forerunner of the Federal Emergency Management Agency began with the Congressional Act of 1803, which provided relief to a New Hampshire town after a widespread fire. This was followed by almost 200 years of piecemeal disaster legislation until President Jimmy Carter saw the need for an all-encompassing disaster-response agency and in April 1979 signed Executive Order 12127, establishing today's FEMA.

Scattershot legislation, a decade of startling natural disasters, and a plea from the National Governors' Association to reduce the number of agencies dealing with various aspects of disaster response showed a real need for change. As a former governor, Carter was familiar with the problem and wanted to solve it. Amid efforts to establish FEMA, an accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania brought attention to the nation's lack of emergency preparedness and cemented recognition of the federal government's role in responding to large disasters. President Carter officially authorized FEMA three days after the Three Mile Island accident.

Prior to this time, ad hoc legislation was passed to deal with each new disaster or emergency, resulting in hundreds of pieces of duplicative legislation—and sometimes delays in delivering relief.

As national disasters increased the need for a comprehensive plan in the 1930s, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Bureau of Public Roads were given authority to provide funding and make loans toward the reconstruction of public facilities and highways or bridges, respectively, following natural disasters. The Federal Disaster Assistance Administration (FDAA) was established within the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1973. President Richard Nixon then signed the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, giving the president the authority to provide various forms of disaster relief, including declaring a major disaster at the request of a governor.

Initially, FEMA was tasked with fulfilling one purpose: absorbing the responsibilities of many agencies—the FDAA, the National Fire Prevention and Control Administration, and the National Weather Service Community Preparedness Program, among others. Reducing the sheer number of agencies attempting to cooperate during a disaster would help smooth the response process. Carter appointed John Macy the

first director of FEMA in August of 1979. Macy jokingly referred to himself as the “master of disaster,” a title he would reinforce with his thoughtful handling of disasters during his tenure.

During his administration, President Carter made 171 disaster declarations, second only to Nixon's 196. The eruption of the Mount St. Helens volcano in Washington state on May 18, 1980, was one of the most destructive natural disasters in U.S. history.

President Carter visited the site on May 21, 1980, promising that FEMA would coordinate relief programs. On the same day, Carter declared a federal emergency at Love Canal in Niagara Falls, New York, to speed the evacuation of 710 families because of chemical contamination. FEMA took financial responsibility for the evacuation of the residents as well as for temporary housing. Managing these two emergencies efficiently, effectively, and in rapid succession was an early testament to FEMA's necessity and President Carter's deftness in federal disaster management and relief.



A crew removes radioactive contamination at Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island nuclear power plant following a partial meltdown of a reactor on March 28, 1979. The accident demonstrated the need for a federal role in emergency response.

The federal government has declared over 3,000 disasters since the establishment of FEMA. 2011 saw the highest number of disaster declarations after wildfires swept through Texas, caused in part by a drought that affected most of the southern United States.

While FEMA's initial objectives continue to steer its work, FEMA's structure and responsibilities have evolved since 1979. Following an investigation of the Three Mile Island accident, the Radiological Emergency Preparedness (REP) program was formed within FEMA to respond to incidents involving commercial nuclear power plants.

FEMA's mandate grew further when the Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act of 1988 was signed into law by President Reagan, decreeing that a declaration of disaster by the president triggers financial and physical aid through FEMA, allowing FEMA to provide assistance for disasters regardless of the cause, and giving FEMA new responsibilities, including dam safety. The Weapons of Mass Destruction Act of 1996 gave FEMA authority to act in a counterterrorism capacity. After the attacks of September 11, 2001, and consequent formation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS),

FEMA lost its status as an independent federal agency. FEMA remains a constituent of DHS, though the 2006 Post-Katrina Emergency Reform Act brought a significant reorganization of FEMA.

The caliber of aid FEMA provides, while working with a budget that is minuscule compared to the cost of damage done by disasters, is awe-inspiring. In fiscal year 2017, Congress allotted FEMA's disaster relief fund \$7.3 billion. Among the 137 federally declared disasters in 2017 were Hurricane Irma and Hurricane Harvey, whose damage totaled over \$175 billion. With a fund that accounted for only 4% of the damage caused by two hurricanes, and not considering the costs of the catastrophic West Coast fires, FEMA was able to assist those affected by these disasters through individual and public assistance grants.

As climate change and human causes trigger more disasters, FEMA will retain an important role. The Carter-Mondale administration had the foresight to provide this valuable resource to support the needs of our country in times of significant peril.

About the Author: Eva Rosenzweig was an intern at The Carter Center in fall 2018.

A New Agency Seeks to Streamline Foreign Aid

By Thomas Ehrlich

One day in 1978, Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher called me and said President Carter would like to appoint me as the first head of a new agency, reporting directly to the president and with policy responsibility for all aspects of foreign assistance, both unilateral and bilateral.

I had previously been the dean of Stanford Law School and was then serving as the first president of the Legal Services Corporation. Christopher was a Stanford Law School graduate and good friend, and he and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, also a good friend, had both been extremely helpful in my work at the Legal Services Corporation. Both knew I had taught international law as well as international development law and economics and had previously worked in the State Department in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

In the new agency, called the International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA), the Agency for

International Development would be under my agency's jurisdiction along with U.S. policy for the World Bank and the regional development banks. I would be in charge of shaping U.S. development policies relating to all Third World countries. This was the chance I had been hoping for, and I did not hesitate to accept. A primary opportunity would be to work directly for President Carter, whom I greatly admired.

It was not until later that I learned that the reorganization that would create the new agency had not yet been approved by Congress and that there was significant opposition among both Republicans and Democrats. The opponents argued that the reorganization would simply create a new layer of federal bureaucracy on top of already large and lumbering bureaucracies. When Christopher asked me to accept the position, he told me that my job would be to coordinate policy, not to be responsible for operating programs, and that an assistant secretary of state, Doug Bennett, would leave that position and take charge of

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AID. Naturally, we would both be subject to Senate confirmation, and I would have four positions under me that would be appointed by the president and subject to Senate confirmation.

Fortunately, Republican Sen. Jacob Javits of New York was a co-sponsor of the reorganization bill along with many Democrats. Lee Hamilton, Democratic congressman from Indiana, was head of the House Foreign Relations Committee and a strong backer of the reorganization. We became friends as we worked together on foreign-aid issues, and our friendship deepened when I went to his home state as president of Indiana University. The reorganization was ultimately approved by Congress, though not without a tough struggle. Subsequently, Bennett and I were both approved by the Senate, and we began work together.

When we first met, the president told me he proposed IDCA because he found there was little coordination between AID, the major U.S. bilateral foreign aid agency; other bilateral aid programs such as Food for Peace, which is run by the Department of Agriculture; and the multilateral aid efforts, including the World Bank and the regional banks, such as the Inter-American Development Bank. Further, President Carter said, U.S. development policies ought to be coordinated with U.S. international trade policies and with other U.S. international policies. He told me that these were my responsibilities and that he would back me.

President Carter made clear to me that his priorities were long-term economic development on the one hand and human rights on the other. These were to be my priorities in decision-making on foreign aid; fortunately, they were priorities that I thought were exactly the right ones. For too long, I thought, the United States had supported regimes through foreign aid that abused human



In a photo taken earlier this year, two children run across the desert near a camp for displaced persons in Mali. Article author Thomas Ehrlich remembers President Carter asking during his presidency how the United States could help the impoverished nation, even though it was of no strategic importance.

rights and gave foreign aid based on short-term foreign policy interests rather than on long-term development prospects. This would be a wonderful chance to put my beliefs into practice.

I still have in my office a picture of President Carter shaking hands with me. Underneath he signed the picture and wrote, “Tom: You are the boss. Act boldly re bureaucratic coordination and efficiency. I’ll back you up. Keep me informed re problems & progress.”

In fact, however, as I slowly began to realize, too few in the upper levels of federal officialdom other than President Carter fully supported the two priorities that he had given me. As a practical matter, my job was to step into other agencies’ responsibilities and tell them that they could not do what they wanted to do because their proposed actions or inactions were inconsistent with President Carter’s priorities.

Warren Christopher and Cyrus Vance were deeply committed to international human rights and were architects for President Carter of a powerful set of policies in that arena that shaped U.S. policies in important ways and made the U.S. a moral exemplar to the rest of the

world. But they both also had responsibility for handling scores of hot spots around the world, and foreign aid money was one of the ways to do that. U.S. ambassadors in Third World countries might understand the president's priorities, but they had to deal with the governments in the countries where they were stationed, and foreign aid money was often the "coin of the realm."

I recall a visit to Brasilia, for example, where I stayed at the residence of the U.S. ambassador at the start of an extended trip throughout South America. The ambassador wanted to use U.S. foreign aid as a carrot to persuade the Brazilian government to support one of our foreign-policy objectives—I forget which one—while I insisted that the aid was available only for promoting long-term economic development in Brazil. By the end of my visit, the ambassador was furious with me. When I left, he called together all his senior staff and presented me with a heavy onyx ashtray as a parting gift, knowing full well that I did not smoke, that I was not checking any of my luggage on airlines when I traveled, that the 10-pound ashtray was the last thing I needed, but that I would be forced to carry it throughout South America and back to the U.S. Only sometime later was I able to appreciate the humor of his move.

Difficult as were my hurdles in terms of U.S. bilateral aid, those involving multilateral aid were even more challenging. The Treasury Department had long been the decision maker in dealing with the World Bank and the regional banks. The secretary of the Treasury and his colleagues had no interest in allowing a young upstart to horn in on their prerogatives. The same was true of the Department of Agriculture in terms of food aid, and for the U.S. Special Trade Representative, who was responsible for U.S. trade policy.

To my surprise, President Carter called me directly a number of times to express his interest in a particular foreign-aid project or to ask me what could be done to promote the development of a country in which he was interested. Mali, I recall, was one of those countries. It had the lowest per capita income of any country in Africa and was of absolutely no strategic interest to the United States. But President Carter knew of the pressing poverty facing the country and wanted to help. Moreover, he read carefully each of my budget proposals and sat in on some of my budget presentations to the staff of the Office of Management and Budget.

The IDCA experience gave me a chance to travel to developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

I headed delegations of U.S. officials from many agencies to international conferences and helped set the policies regarding those countries. I stayed at the U.S. ambassadorial residences in scores of countries. I learned a great deal about poverty throughout the world to supplement my knowledge through Legal Services of poverty in the U.S. And I came to have a deep appreciation for the wisdom, dedication, and hard work of the women and men who made the U.S. foreign service or the civil service the civic work of their lives.

I began many meetings I had with other agency officials, and also ones with foreign government representatives, by stressing the twin mandates that President Carter had given me. I insisted that whatever particular policy was being proposed had to further one or both of those objectives or it would not involve U.S. bilateral or multilateral aid. This did not make me popular. I can still remember then Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, a man for whom I gained enormous respect, exploding in anger because I was blocking what I viewed as his demand for "walking around money" for some African leader. In Holbrooke's view, of course, the funds were essential to persuade that leader to do something Holbrooke thought was in U.S. interests.

In November 1980, the election of Ronald Reagan ended President Carter's bid for a second term. My colleagues and I, in a spirit of bipartisanship, prepared detailed briefing materials for the new administration explaining the key goals of the International Development Cooperation Agency and the ways those goals could be realized in the years ahead. But the "transition team" assigned by President-elect Reagan had no interest in long-term development assistance or in human rights. In effect, the new agency was scrapped in all but name, and foreign aid was focused solely on furthering national security vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

I cherish the memories of my time working for a great president and a great human being.

About the Author: Thomas Ehrlich has held a number of public-service positions since the administration of President John F. Kennedy. He was the first head of the Legal Services Corporation and was director of the International Development Cooperation Agency, reporting to President Carter.

This article was excerpted from the book "Civic Work/Civic Lessons: Two Generations Reflect on Public Service," by Thomas Ehrlich, written with Ernestine Fu, a Stanford University student, and aimed at encouraging young people to enter public service.

Photographer Captured Candidacy on Film

By Mikki Ansin

In early 1976, I received a call from a political activist asking me to spend a day photographing one of the 10 Democratic presidential candidates who would be campaigning in Massachusetts for its March 2 primary. As a committed Democrat, I was happy to agree. I had recently finished graduate school, so I had time to give to a campaign. The candidate was Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

We met at the airport and spent the day traveling all over the state, talking with all sorts of people: from the editorial board of the Boston Globe to regular workers on the Amtrak train. I liked everything the governor said. He spoke with knowledge and passion and treated everyone with respect. By noon he had asked me to come to work for him and said I would be the first person hired in Massachusetts. I remember my answer: "It's not on my path, but I'll give you till the end of the Massachusetts primary, Jimmy." By the time of the New Hampshire primary on Feb. 24, I knew he was going to win.

The Atlanta office sent a scheduler up to teach me how to do that job, and I was off and running. I was in charge of the Massachusetts schedule and photographed every event. Tim Kraft hired me to do Rosalynn Carter's scheduling in Pennsylvania and to continue taking photos. I also photographed events in New Hampshire, New York, and Rhode Island. I was totally committed and believed wholeheartedly in the candidate.



President-elect Jimmy Carter and Mrs. Carter leave Blair House on the way to the Inauguration on Jan. 20, 1977.

Charles Rafshoon included me on the inaugural photographic team. It was thrilling to document all the events. The morning after the presidential balls, I went on the press plane to Plains, Georgia. Overall, it was an honor to watch participatory democracy in action: one speech at a time, one handshake at a time.

After the campaign, I continued on my career path: I made a film about the life of Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy for the Kennedy family, joined a French news agency, and was accepted into the camera union, which enabled me to work on feature films. Currently I am working on a photo book about what goes on behind the scenes in movie making. To say the least, my affiliation with the future President Jimmy Carter gave me a wonderful start in my career.

About the Author: Best known for her behind-the-scenes stills of Hollywood films, Mikki Ansin has traveled the world as a photojournalist for over 40 years. Her photos have been published in the International Herald Tribune, The New York Times, The London Times, Time, Life, People, and Paris Match.



Jimmy Carter holds a campaign event at the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia in 1976.



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Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter campaigns with a handful of peanuts in Boston in 1976.



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Jimmy Carter stumps at a street corner newsstand in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1976.



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Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, candidate for president, carries his bag to a plane in Worcester, Massachusetts.



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A guest at the Inaugural Ball holds up a homemade T-shirt, Washington, D.C., January 20, 1977



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President Jimmy Carter arrives in Plains, Georgia, Jan. 21, 1977. Charles Rafshoon is photographing him.

Peanut Brigade Opened All Kinds of Doors

By Ron May

One day in 1976 I got a phone call at home in Sandersville, Georgia, from Mr. Howard Sheppard. He invited me to join something called the Peanut Brigade to go up to Cincinnati by bus on the weekend before the Ohio primary. I was really reluctant but was finally convinced to go, and boy was I glad that I did. What an experience!

After arriving that Thursday night, we met up with local Carter people and were divided up into teams of four and assigned a guide. My team consisted of Wayne and Edna Lewis, Deenie Phillips, and myself. We had a young man, a college student, as our guide. We met him at 6 a.m. Friday and left for our first assignment. We went to the gates of a local manufacturing plant and passed out Carter brochures, shook hands, and asked folks to vote for Jimmy Carter as the morning shift was going in and the night shift was coming out.

When the flow of people stopped, we went to a restaurant for breakfast and discussed our next assignment. We were given lists of addresses on several streets.

All the registered Democrats were highlighted in yellow. We were not to waste time knocking on known Republican doors. It was very well organized.

We took our time at breakfast because we didn't want to knock on doors too early, and then

began our long day of talking to the everyday citizens of Cincinnati. Things went well for the most part. Then I had an extraordinary experience.

On a tree-lined street where the houses were no more than 15 feet apart, I climbed up three flights of concrete steps and finally reached the porch of a nice older home on a hillside.

I rang the doorbell and waited. Nothing. I opened the screen door and listened as I rang the bell again. I could



not hear the bell ringing inside the house so I knocked on the glass of the door with my college ring. Nobody came to the door, so I placed some Carter brochures in a chair on the porch and was about to leave when I heard a knock from inside on the glass door. There stood a short elderly white lady saying something. I put my ear close to the door to hear her.

She was telling me she didn't open her doors to strangers. I nodded and said that I certainly understood. I held up a brochure that had Jimmy Carter's picture on it and told her I was leaving that on her chair. She started saying hold on, hold on. She began unlocking about four deadbolt locks and finally opened the door and said, "Are you here to talk to me about Jimmy Carter?"

"Yes ma'am, I am."

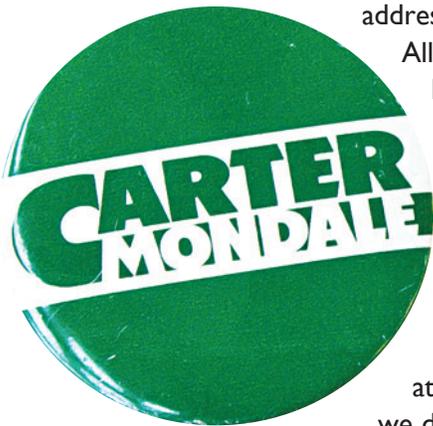
"Sit down right here, young man, and let's talk," she said.

The lady, whom I will call Mrs. Smith because I can't remember her real name, told me she had always voted Democratic since she had gained the right to vote in 1920. She told me that Jimmy Carter was the most Christian man this country ever had to run for president. I told her that was great, then, that she was going to vote for him.

"No," she said, "I am afraid I can't."

Of course I told her I didn't understand.

"I am 85 years old, can't drive anymore, don't have any family nearby to take me," she said. "I have a neighbor that takes me to get groceries every week and takes me to the doctor if I have an emergency. But I can't ask her to take



me to vote. That is not an emergency.”

I asked her if she would vote if I could arrange a ride.

“Can you do that?” she asked.

Well, I wasn’t sure, but thought I could, so I said I was going to try. She gave me her name, address and phone number. As I was writing it down, she made the comment that she could die a happy woman if she could talk to Jimmy Carter. When I left, she was excited and happy about her prospects for voting the next week.

When our team met up, I asked the driver if we could go to Carter headquarters before going back to our hotel. He said sure, it was on the way. I relayed the information to the man in charge, and he called Mrs. Smith while we were still there. She wanted to go vote around 3 p.m. on Tuesday, and the man assured her someone would be there for her.

That night at our hotel, one of Jimmy Carter’s sons was there. I gave him Mrs. Smith’s name, address, and phone number and told him what she had said about wanting to talk to Jimmy Carter.

The next Wednesday, after the primary, I called Mrs. Smith. “Did you go vote?” I asked her.

“Yes, I did, but I almost didn’t,” she replied. Of course I asked her why.

“I was sitting on my porch a little before 3 o’clock, when this big dump truck pulled up and stopped,” she told me. “This big black man got out and started looking for numbers on the houses. He spotted my number and started up the steps. I almost got up and went inside, but then I thought of you. You came all the way up from Georgia to ask me to vote for Jimmy Carter.

“Keep in mind, now, that I never had any dealings with any black people in my entire life,” she went on. “Never lived near any, never went to school with any, didn’t work with any. So I changed my mind and stayed outside.

“When he got to my porch, he asked if I was Mrs. Smith and was I looking for a ride to vote. I told him I was and let’s go. He helped me down the stairs, and when we got to his truck, it was so high off the street he had to pick me up and put me in it.

“We had the best time!” she said. “He told me about his life and family, and I told him about mine. When we got back home and got back on my porch, he said, ‘Mrs. Smith, if Jimmy Carter gets the Democratic nomination, do you want to vote in November?’ And I told him, ‘Yes. How about 3 o’clock?’ He told me he would be here, and he also told me if I needed a ride for anything else to please call him.”

After describing her voting experience, she told me again, “I could die a happy woman if I could talk to Jimmy Carter.”

I called again the day after the election and asked her if she had made it out to vote. She was so excited to tell me that the same man, whom I’ll call Joe, had picked her up again and she had gotten to vote. She was so proud to cast her vote for the next president of the United States. She thanked me for spending part of that day asking her to vote for Jimmy Carter. She said she had two new friends in me and Joe and we had the most Christian man ever who was going to be the next president. Again she told me she could die a happy woman if she could talk to Jimmy Carter.

**“Guess who called me today?
President-elect Jimmy Carter called
me today! He wished me Merry
Christmas and thanked me for voting
for him. I told him it would not
have happened if not for you.”**

The story does not end there. I called Mrs. Smith again on Christmas Day. When she answered the phone I belted out a loud “Merry Christmas!”

“Oh Ron, merry Christmas to you too!” she said.

“Today keeps getting better and better!”

“So you are having a great day?” I asked.

“Yes!” she replied. “Guess who called me today? President-elect Jimmy Carter called me today! He wished me Merry Christmas and thanked me for voting for him. I told him it would not have happened if not for you.”

I was, of course, flabbergasted. I told her I was so happy for her. She thanked me again for coming into her life and said, “Now I can die a happy woman!”

I never spoke to her again, but I think of her often. I also think about how that message got to President-elect Carter and how together we made a special dream come true for a nice lady. President Carter probably doesn’t remember her because those days after the election were likely filled with many phone calls to a lot of people. But I can assure you that was one phone call that was never forgotten.

About the Author: Ron May was a member of the Peanut Brigade, a grassroots group that campaigned for Jimmy Carter.

Carter Struck a Chord with Music Makers

The bond Jimmy Carter had with Capricorn Records co-founder Phil Walden yielded some successful fundraising early in the 1976 Carter presidential campaign. Capricorn was a successful business in Macon, Georgia, and Walden introduced Carter to a number of popular musicians, many of whom became supporters and friends. Some have referred to Carter as “the first rock-and-roll president.”

Thanks to Mark Pucci and Herb Kossover for the Capricorn photos.

Gov. Jimmy Carter visits with newspaper publisher Don Carter and Allman Brothers Band member Dickey Betts.



Gov. Jimmy Carter visits Capricorn Records in Macon. Foreground, left to right: Capricorn producer Johnny Sandlin;

Don Carter, a cousin to Jimmy Carter and owner of the Macon and Columbus newspapers; Cloyd Hall, journalist; Dickey Betts of the Allman Brothers Band; Capricorn co-founder Phil Walden; Jimmy Carter. Rear, left to right: Carter security chief Stock Coleman and top aide Hamilton Jordan.

Rosalynn and Jimmy Carter and newspaper publisher Don Carter listen to Capricorn Records co-founder Phil Walden, right.

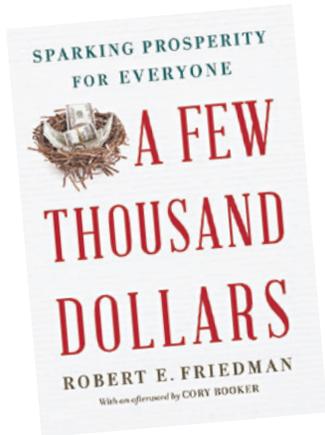


Rosalynn Carter speaks with her husband during a visit with record company co-founder Phil Walden, center.



Newspaper publisher Don Carter, left, and Capricorn Records co-founder Phil Walden huddle with presidential candidate Jimmy Carter; Rosalynn Carter can be seen in the background.

BOOK CLUB



“A Few Thousand Dollars: Sparking Prosperity for Everyone” (New Press) maps a path to opening real economic opportunity for all Americans by allowing everyone to build a nest egg of a few thousand dollars a year without spending an additional dollar. Author Robert E. Friedman says this could be done simply by reappropriating

\$700 billion in annual federal family wealth-building tax subsidies in a fair and sane manner. The book profiles common economic heroes and describes 40 years of study that demonstrate that, given a reasonable chance—as little as a few thousand dollars and peer support—low-income and very poor people will save,

start businesses, buy and keep homes, go to college, and build economic futures for themselves, their families, their communities, and the nation as a whole. It proposes a GI Bill for the 21st century—a Prosperity Bill—for everyone. It argues that such an approach could add millions of new entrepreneurs, jobs, homeowners, college students, and skilled workers to the American economy.

Friedman worked as chief of special projects in the Georgia Department of Natural Resources under Gov. Carter and then with the National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life, which President Carter abolished for not being productive enough.

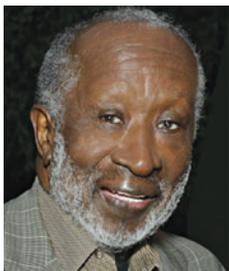


Bob Friedman

Comings & Goings

Urban music pioneer **Clarence Avant** was named the 2019 Grammy Salute to Industry Icons honoree for his groundbreaking contributions to the music industry. He was active in the 1976 Jimmy Carter presidential campaign in fundraising and political support.

Other awards Avant has received over the course of his 50-year career include a Thurgood Marshall Lifetime Achievement Award, an NAACP Image Awards Hall of Fame Award, a BET Honors Entrepreneur Award, and the Recording Academy’s Trustees Award.



Clarence Avant

“For several decades, Clarence Avant has been the quintessential advisor to almost every successful African-American music executive and artist,” said Clive Davis, co-host of the pre-Grammy gala. “He defined the term ‘master mentor’ and

definitely has played a vital role in music history.”

At the same Grammy Awards ceremony, **President Jimmy Carter** was awarded the Grammy for the Spoken Word category for the audio recording of his latest book, “Faith: A Journey for All.” He also walked away from the Grammy Awards ranking No. 3 on the list of the oldest winners in Grammy history.

Carter, at 94, went into the 2019 Grammy Awards ceremony already no. 3 on that list (behind Pinetop Perkins at 97 and George Burns at 95), having taken the Spoken Word category in 2016 for his audiobook “A Full Life: Reflections at Ninety.” This year’s recognition gave him his ninth Grammy nomination and third win.

Les Fettig, formerly the administrator for federal procurement policy at the Office of Management and Budget, now leads the Mandate Democracy Foundation,

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a nonpartisan 501(c)3 that uses advanced information technologies for voting referenda with the 2020 elections. This is an independent initiative of Caltech alumni to educate and empower the electoral voice. Contact Fettig at www.MandateDemocracy.org for information or to send resumes for volunteers or staff positions or internships.



Les Fettig

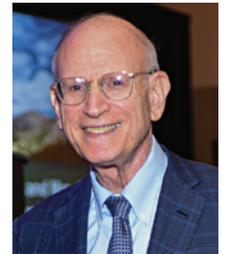
Stuart Eizenstat's work continues to result in benefits for Holocaust survivors and their families.

Seventy years after World War II, 49 Holocaust survivors are receiving \$402,000 each in reparations from the French government for deporting them by rail to Nazi concentration camps. The U.S. State Department approved 386 of the 867 applications for reparations filed

by relatives, children, and spouses of individuals who were deported from France. Thirty-two surviving spouses of deportees who died following the war will receive up to \$100,500 each, officials said. Most of those who'll get payments are Americans or Israelis.

This is the second installment of payments following a 2014 agreement between France and the U.S. in which France agreed to pay \$60 million in reparations for Holocaust deportations to U.S. citizens and those who resettled in other countries following the war. In exchange, the U.S. government asked courts to dismiss any lawsuits against the French government and the French railway, SNCF.

Eizenstat, chief domestic policy advisor to President Carter from 1977 to 1981, is a partner at Covington and Burling LLP, where he heads the firm's international practice.



Stuart Eizenstat

Passages



Bob Bergland

Bob Bergland was a Minnesota Democrat who as a liberal congressman and President Jimmy Carter's secretary of agriculture was a zealous advocate for America's consumers and farmers.

Bergland represented a rural district in Congress from 1971 to 1977, and then as a member of the Carter Cabinet he spoke passionately about his hard-pressed constituents. In the House, he backed farmer, consumer and environmental causes. There was little surprise when President-elect Carter, a farmer, chose Bergland as agriculture secretary.

"I know what it's like to be poor," Bergland told *The New York Times* in 1978. "I know those times when we lost a crop and couldn't find steady work. I couldn't buy milk for my kids then. I'm terribly upset when people who don't know what they're talking about criticize the poor who are struggling and want to work."

Bergland tempered his advocacy for farm subsidies and price supports and offered evenhanded encouragements for inflation-weary consumers.

"I regard the consumer as the farmer's customer, not his enemy," Bergland told *The New York Times*, compressing the conflict into a kind of brotherhood of interests. "And

neither side is right every time in every argument."

"There's no quick fix or free lunch in this business," he said. "It's not the role of the federal government to guarantee all farmers a profit year after year. We have the responsibility to keep agriculture productive and strong, but the nation does not have the responsibility of assuming all the risks of farming."

Among his signature achievements, Bergland helped steer the Farm Act of 1977 through Congress. It created a grain reserve that became a primary weapon to flatten boom-and-bust cycles. Under the plan, the government paid farmers to store grain on their own farms, holding it during fat years when prices were low and marketing it in lean years when supplies were low and prices rose.

Bergland also created an assistant secretary position to protect consumer interests and named Carol Tucker Foreman, executive director of the Consumer Federation of America, to fill it.

Harold Brown was a brilliant scientist who helped develop America's nuclear arsenal and negotiate its first strategic arms control treaty and was President Carter's secretary of defense in an era of rising challenges from the Soviet Union.



Harold Brown

During Brown's tenure, the Carter administration maintained the strategic balance, countering Soviet aircraft and ballistic innovations by improving land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, upgrading B-52 strategic bombers with low-flying cruise missiles, and deploying far more submarine-launched missiles tipped with multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles, or MIRVs, multiple warheads that split into separate trajectories to hit many targets.

"When I became secretary of defense in 1977, the military services, most of all the Army, were disrupted badly by the Vietnam War," Brown wrote. "There was general agreement that the Soviet Union outclassed the West in conventional military capability, especially in ground forces in Europe."

Among his achievements were technological advances in defense systems, especially weapons systems such as precision-guided cruise missiles, stealth aircraft and advanced satellite surveillance. Wary of the growing Soviet threat, Brown sought to withstand the pressure to cut defense spending and, gradually, managed to increase it.

"The constant Cold War competition raged hot during the Carter administration and preoccupied me throughout the four years," Brown wrote. He noted that "the Defense Department budget in real terms was 10 to 12 percent more when we left than when we came in," which he said was not an easy accomplishment.

By the time he joined the Carter administration, Brown had played important roles in the defense establishment for two decades—in nuclear weapons research, in development of Polaris missiles, in directing the Pentagon's multibillion-dollar weapons research program, and in helping to plot strategy for the Vietnam War as secretary of the Air Force.

As the first scientist to become defense secretary, Brown knew the technological complexities of modern warfare. He began the development of stealth aircraft, which have low profiles on radar. He accelerated the Trident submarine program and the conversion of older Poseidon subs to carry MIRVs. And, with an eye on cost-effectiveness, he and President Carter halted the B-1 bomber as a successor to the B-52.

Brown laid the groundwork for talks that produced the Camp David Accords, mediated by President Carter and

signed in 1978 by President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel. The accords led to an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty in 1979.

President Carter awarded Brown the Presidential Medal of Freedom. President Bill Clinton gave him the Energy Department's Enrico Fermi Award for achievement in science and technology.



Pat Caddell

Pat Caddell was the pollster for the 1976 Jimmy Carter for President campaign. Throughout his life, Caddell retained an uncompromising view of political honesty and railed against the degraded intellectual status of our current political system. He fought passionately to redirect the left and the right to a more realistic footing that was never likely to be accepted by either side. Through his career, his Cassandra-like voice undermined the footing of the knee-jerk and predictable politicians and their campaigns.

Caddell served as chief public opinion pollster and senior advisor for the campaigns of Democratic presidential candidates George McGovern (1972) and Jimmy Carter (1976). Caddell went on to serve as a personal advisor for President Carter from 1977 to 1981.

"Math was not my favorite subject," he said, but at 16, for a mathematics project in his junior year, he fashioned a "voter election model" of the Jacksonville, Florida, area for predicting elections based on early returns. "I set up at the courthouse and called all the elections early with great abandon, with no idea what I was doing," he said. "And they all turned out right." That was the extent of Caddell's training in public opinion research.

He advised over 150 political campaigns, including those of Gary Hart, Walter Mondale, Jerry Brown, Joe Biden, Edward Kennedy, Edmund Muskie, and Mario Cuomo. He was the co-founder and president of Cambridge Survey Research, Inc., a firm that provided public opinion research for institutional clients such as Exxon, Westinghouse, General Electric, and Citibank.

By the late 1980s, Caddell had become alienated from the Democratic Party, and appealing to disaffected voters became a major element of the advice he delivered to candidates. In 2016, Caddell became a frequent commentator on Fox News and advised Steve Bannon, who became President Donald Trump's chief White House strategist.

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Jim Calaway

Jim Calaway was a Texas oilman who helped raise funds for Jimmy Carter's 1976 presidential campaign.

Calaway and his wife, Connie, relocated in retirement to Colorado's Roaring Fork Valley in the 1990s and immediately began giving to the many institutions whose missions they supported. Most of that effort centered around education, the arts, animals, and health care.

Calaway's name graces the main academic building at Colorado Mountain College's residential campus at Spring Valley, and he was the primary funder and co-founder of the Colorado Animal Rescue animal shelter across from the campus.

Calaway also was the principal donor for the Thunder River Theatre in Carbondale, Colo., and has a room named after him in Carbondale's Third Street Center, which he also helped to fund.

He was a major contributor to the Aspen Institute, serving on that organization's executive committee. He also donated generously to the Garfield County Libraries over the years.

"They just don't make people any better than Jim," said Walter Isaacson, a fellow contributor to the college. "He was not only a good person, he made everyone around him into a better person. You couldn't help but want to be more like him."

In an article that Isaacson and Hauser wrote for *Philanthropy* magazine in 2015, they noted that the sharecropper's son fashioned himself into an oil tycoon and then into a philanthropist. "At about the age of 40, the trappings of success—fancy penthouses, private planes, sailboats, fast cars—lost their appeal to him," according to the article. "He realized that the more he gave away, the happier he was."



Douglas M. Costle

Douglas M. Costle was an early architect of the Environmental Protection Agency who became the regulatory agency's top administrator during the Carter administration and helped initiate the Superfund program to clean up hazardous waste sites. He was instrumental in outlining the scope of an independent

agency designed to coordinate efforts to enforce environmental laws to prevent pollution and protect citizens' health. "Clear air is not an aesthetic luxury," Costle said upon taking office. "It is a public health necessity."

At his first news conference, he went after the country's best-known luxury-car brand—Cadillac. He called on the company to recall 135,000 of its automobiles from the 1975 model year, particularly those with giant 500-cubic-inch engines, because they emitted excessive amounts of carbon monoxide, in violation of the Clean Air Act.

When Cadillac conducted tests on its cars, Costle noted, they "yielded a 100 percent failure rate for carbon monoxide."

In his first two months on the job, Costle added 600 scientists and other professionals to the EPA staff.

"We are past the social debate over whether it is a good thing to protect the environment," he told *The Washington Post* in 1977. "The debate now is how to do it. We're at the difficult stage of practical problem-solving. You can't have growth without effective pollution control."

In his efforts to balance the needs of public health with corporate financial interests, Costle came under attack from both sides.

In 1979, the EPA and other federal agencies secured a \$400 million consent decree with the country's largest steelmaker, U.S. Steel, to make major upgrades to reduce air pollution at its manufacturing plants. Costle called the accord "the largest environmental agreement in the history of the steel industry."

Costle became one of the leading advocates of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980, better known as Superfund, which has resulted in the cleanup of hazardous waste sites around the country.



Helen Parker Dougherty

Helen Parker Dougherty was politically active throughout her life, and she and her husband volunteered with Jimmy Carter's 1970 gubernatorial election and 1976 presidential election. She became Rosalynn Carter's personal secretary during the presidential campaign and worked in the White House. She worked on mayoral campaigns for Maynard Jackson and Sidney Marcus, then helped Max Cleland become secretary of state. She wrapped up her professional career as the director of ceremonies for the 1996 Paralympic Games in Atlanta.

She was also very active in the United Nations Association and the Voters Guild of Metro Atlanta.



Richard Gardner

Richard Gardner was a Columbia University law professor who was appointed by President Carter as the American ambassador to Italy during a period of political violence there and concern in Washington about the Italian Communist Party's growing strength.

Until then, American officials had long supported Italy's Christian Democrats, who dominated politics there, and kept the door closed to leftist parties. It was the height of the Cold War, and Washington was worried about Communist influence in Western Europe, especially in France and Italy.

The administration had loosened its position on Eurocommunism when it sent Gardner to Italy, but he was instructed not to be the first one to articulate this new policy.

When reporters asked him on his arrival what his policy on the Italian Communist Party was going to be, he answered diplomatically with an old Venetian proverb, "Prima de parlar, tasi" — "Before you speak, be quiet."

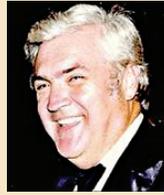
In 1979, in a diplomatic accomplishment that many credited to Gardner, the United States secured Italy's agreement to accept placing new American missiles there as part of NATO's program to modernize nuclear forces.

Italy was the first European country to do so, despite having the largest Communist party in the West, and Germany followed. The leader of the Italian Socialist Party, with whom Gardner was on good terms, also supported the decision, despite the party's having once rejected NATO.

And it invited prominent Italian leftists, including the filmmaker Federico Fellini, the writer Alberto Moravia, and the painter Renato Guttuso, to embassy functions.

"We are denying our foreign policy one of our greatest sources of strength as a nation—our system of higher education and our rich pluralistic culture," he wrote in a New York Times commentary in 1983. "We have also shamefully neglected the education of our young people in foreign languages and foreign area studies. All this seems to me the height of folly."

Robert J. "Bob" Keefe was a much-loved political operative and consultant with a brilliant mind and an affable personality.



Bob Keefe

Keefe was a "nuts and bolts" man, who placed party-building above ideological purity and winning above all else and who would have loved the wheeling and dealing of the smoke-filled rooms a hundred years ago.

He had a long career as a Washington political advisor and associate of former Democratic Party chair and Washington power broker Bob Strauss. Keefe helped shape the DNC in the 1970s and 1980s and became a mentor to many Democratic political campaign workers.

Keefe was a practical moderate who loved to win. He got his start in presidential politics volunteering in the 1952 presidential campaign of Adlai Stevenson and from then on seemed to be always involved in one campaign or another.

In 1963, he joined the staff of freshman Sen. Birch Bayh, D-Ind., and rose to become Bayh's right-hand man (and, as he loved to reminisce, "the occasional baby sitter for Evan Bayh"—the senator's son, who went on to serve as governor and senator himself).

After working in Hubert Humphrey's presidential campaign in 1968 and serving on the staff of AFL-CIO Political Director Al Barkan, Keefe helped fellow moderate Robert Strauss win a heated battle for chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Strauss named Keefe executive director of the DNC.

Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson tapped Keefe to run his presidential bid in 1976. After Jackson dropped out, Keefe helped the nominee, Jimmy Carter. His last active management role in a presidential campaign was in 1984, as senior consultant to Ohio's Sen. John Glenn.

Later on, Keefe retired from active campaign work in Democratic politics and became a successful domestic and international political consultant who never lost his love of politics.



Jim King

James "Jim" King worked for Jack, Bobby, and Ted Kennedy, for Michael S. Dukakis and John Kerry, and for President Jimmy Carter and President Bill Clinton.

King served in the Carter administration as head of the National Transportation Safety Board. President Carter said he and his wife, Rosalynn,

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were “deeply saddened to learn of the death of Jim King. I was proud to appoint him as a White House special assistant and to the National Transportation Safety Board, where he became chairman. Jim dedicated his life to public service, and his tireless work for the public good was coupled with a delightful sense of humor and a zest for life.”

Later President Clinton tapped King to direct the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, where he trimmed the government work force.

He may have been best known as the extraordinary podium manager of several Democratic National Conventions’ stages. King was a towering behind-the-scenes presence respected for his acumen and finesse, for his wisdom and wit, and for the mere fact that at 6-foot-5, he cast his gaze downward to meet the eyes of some of the nation’s most powerful politicians.

“He was one of the special people in American politics,” said John Kerry, a former U.S. senator and U.S. secretary of state who benefited from King’s expertise at the 2004 Democratic National Convention in Boston, when Kerry became the party’s nominee.

“If you saw Jim King on the podium managing things, you knew it was going to work out and you didn’t have to worry. He took the worry and the concern away,” Kerry said, adding that “he launched an awful lot of careers off that podium along the way.”

Though King deftly shaped how Americans viewed the conventions, this work was only part of a resume that took him from jumping out of planes as an Army paratrooper to jumping into any manner of political fray.

“Jim set the gold standard as an advance man and outstanding public servant,” said Paul Kirk a former Democratic National Committee chairman. “He embodied that same standard as a human being for the very same reasons. He was a force for goodness in all he accomplished by the example he set in treating every person he met with decency, respect, good humor, and genuine warmth.”

King joined the Army, opting for the paratroopers in an unsuccessful attempt to dispense with his fear of heights. After his service, he finished high school and received a bachelor’s degree from American International College, which awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1983. King was also an associate vice president at Harvard University, a senior vice president at Northeastern University, and a

presidential fellow at Trinity College in Hartford.

Part of King’s legacy can be seen in the careers of the key campaign workers and managers he trained while working in over 100 campaigns over the years.

George R. McCarthy, former mayor of Everett, Massachusetts, was an early supporter of presidential candidate Jimmy Carter and an Ambassadors Circle donor to The Carter Center.



George McCarthy

McCarthy was a longtime resident and business owner in Everett. He owned and operated the Home Appliance Service for over 45 years. He dedicated his life to public service and

served on the Everett School Committee and the Board of Aldermen and was elected to six terms as mayor. During his last term, President Jimmy Carter appointed him regional representative for the U.S. Department of Transportation. McCarthy and his wife, Charlotte, enjoyed a friendship with President and Mrs. Carter that spanned many years and were frequent travelers to The Carter Center in Atlanta and to Plains, Georgia.

McCarthy was president of the Massachusetts Mayors’ Association, was chairman of the Budget Committee of the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA), and served on the National Finance Council of the Democratic National Committee and several state, civic, and religious organizations.

McCarthy was a U.S. Army veteran, leaving high school before graduation to enlist on his birthday in 1945. He was deployed to Camp Wheeler in Macon, Georgia, for basic training and then to Germany as part of peacekeeping forces at the end of World War II. Subsequently, he was assigned to guard a sailing ship in Bremerhaven that had been a German training vessel.



Tony Mendez

Tony Mendez, a 25-year veteran of the CIA, was effectively in the business of geopolitical theater. Pulling techniques from magicians, movie makeup artists and even the television show “Mission: Impossible,” he changed one person into another, transforming agents into characters with backstories, costumes and documents that helped them evade detection and avoid capture in foreign countries.

Appropriately for a man whose career seemed drawn

from a Hollywood thriller, his greatest triumph hinged on a bogus sci-fi film, a sham production office in Los Angeles and a fake location-scouting expedition to Iran. Disguising himself as a filmmaker, Mendez smuggled six State Department employees out of Tehran during the 1979–1981 Iran hostage crisis, passing them off as a Canadian movie crew in a daring mission that formed the basis of the movie “Argo” (2012).

The idea for the “Canadian caper,” as Mendez’s mission came to be known, was an idea so bold, he believed, that Iran would never consider that it might be fake.

Mendez called his friend John Chambers, a makeup artist who had won an honorary Oscar for work on “Planet of the Apes,” given Spock his pointy ears, and assisted the CIA on old assignments. With another makeup artist, Bob Sidell, who later worked on “E.T.,” they opened a production office in Los Angeles; created business cards for their fictional company, Studio Six Productions; and developed backstories and career histories for the six escapees.

With a Canadian passport, Mendez flew to Tehran on Jan. 25, under the name Kevin Costa Harkins. Supported by a second CIA agent, he spent a few days preparing the six diplomats, teaching them their new identities—including as a cameraman and set designer—and preparing them for potential interrogations at the airport.

The diplomats returned to a heroes’ welcome in the United States, where Canadian flags were flown from town halls and billboards reading “Thank you, Canada” cropped up. Mendez met with President Carter and received the Intelligence Star, one of the CIA’s highest honors. But his and the CIA’s role in the rescue operation was concealed until 1997.



Curt Moffatt

James Curtis “Curt” Moffatt was the general counsel of energy infrastructure company Kinder Morgan Inc. Terry Sanford, president of Duke University, set Moffatt on course for his future law degree and interest in public policy and public service. Curt worked on Sanford’s campaigns for president as well as for Senators Mo Udall and Fritz Hollings, and Jimmy Carter.

Subsequent to working in the advance office of President Carter’s 1976 campaign, Curt served on the Presidential Inaugural Committee, then joined the Federal Power Commission (now the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission) as special assistant and advisor to the

chairman, Charlie Curtis, which began his lifelong career in the energy field.

After the FPC, Moffatt joined the firm of O’Neill and Haase, followed by Van Ness Feldman as a senior partner until 2014. In 2014, Moffatt joined Kinder Morgan, Houston, Texas, as deputy general counsel of the Gas Group, a company that Moffatt represented during his years at VNF.

The KMI chief executive officer, Steve Kean, said “Moffatt was a leading figure in the energy bar, and his contributions to the energy sector and to federal law and policy are legion.”

But the qualities that Moffatt is most remembered for were his generous spirit, his love of and gratitude for life, his love of family and friends, an enduring smile and infectious laugh, and the warmest greeting with truly embracing hugs. He would do anything for his friends and family without exception and without expectation of favors in return.



Betty Pope

Elizabeth Deriso “Betty” Pope

was the widow of John Pope. The couple were longtime friends and supporters of President and Mrs. Carter and donors to The Carter Center.

“I have never known anything about Betty Pope that did not make me proud,” said President Carter. “Whenever

Rosalynn or I embarked on a major new adventure, the Popes became immediate and powerful leaders in the project. In fact, there was rarely an initiative to improve the lives of people in our community that did not benefit from their generosity and enthusiastic support.”

The Popes were members of the Peanut Brigade. Betty Pope attended many Carter Center Weekend events where she made new friends and always added a cheerful presence.



Frank Redmond

Francis Matthew “Frank”

Redmond Jr. was a proud member of the Peanut Brigade. Redmond graduated from Marist College and Emory University, where he was a member of the Kappa Alpha Order. He was a captain in the U.S. Air Force and a charter member

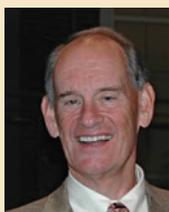
of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and worked there until his retirement.

Redmond worked on Johnny Isakson’s first campaign

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for the U.S. Senate and became a field representative for the senator from 2005 to 2019. Redmond was senior lifetime member of the Piedmont Driving Club.



Bob Schule

Robert M. “Bob” Schule became special assistant to President Jimmy Carter. His time serving the American people at the White House was his greatest honor.

From the age of three he lived in the Washington area. After college, he joined the U.S. Air Force and was stationed in northern Virginia, where he made his home with his wife, Marilyn, and daughter, Lisa. He started a lifelong career in government and politics with jobs at the League of Cities and U.S. Conference of Mayors.

He then was hired by New York Governor Hugh Carey in his Washington office to work on energy and environmental legislative work. Following that, he went to the FEA to assist in the development of the U.S. Department of Energy. At DOE, he served as the head of Senate liaison. After the Carter presidency, he was a founding partner of Wexler Reynolds Harrison & Schule, where he served until his retirement.



Walt Wurfel

Walter W. “Walt” Wurfel was a longtime journalist and Washington public relations executive who served as deputy press secretary to President Jimmy Carter from 1977 to 1979. Throughout his life he remained an active volunteer with presidential and statewide Democratic campaigns. He and his wife, Sarah, were

active supporters of The Carter Center.

Wurfel began his journalism career as a reporter for The Washington Evening Star from 1962 through 1964. He moved into politics as press secretary to the 1972 presidential primary campaign of Democratic Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. He became foreign editor and political editor of The St. Petersburg Times (1972–74) and press secretary to Democratic Sen. Richard Stone of Florida (1975–76).

Wurfel became vice president of corporate communications of Gannett Co., Inc. (1979–84) and senior vice president of communications of the National Association

of Broadcasters (1986–97). He served in the Africa Bureau of the U.S. Agency for International Development and worked for other media companies in Puerto Rico, New York City, and California.

Wurfel was always active in charitable service and served on the boards of the National Press Foundation and the Arlington Symphony. An Eagle Scout, he served on the Boy Scouts’ National Public Relations Advisory Committee (1979–83). He also chaired the Communications Advisory Committee of the American Red Cross.



Patricia Wald

Patricia Wald was an assistant attorney general under President Jimmy Carter, who in 1979 appointed her to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit—often described as the country’s most important bench after the U.S. Supreme

Court. Wald was the first woman to serve on the D.C. circuit court and was its chief judge from 1986 to 1991. Later, she was a member of the United Nations tribunal on war crimes and genocide in the former Yugoslavia.

President Barack Obama called Wald “one of the most respected appellate judges of her generation” when he awarded her the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2013.

In 1977, President Carter named her assistant attorney general for legislative affairs. Her judicial nomination two years later—at a time when Carter was adding substantial numbers of women to the federal bench—ran into conservative opposition on the Senate Judiciary Committee.

She had a stunning mind and was highly available, kind, relaxed, and down to earth as a mentor.

Wald was a great example of nonpartisan justice. She believed in “equal justice under law” and worked tirelessly to make it reality, rejecting a competing view often followed by some of her colleagues, “What goes around comes around.”

Colleagues described her as a judge who viewed the law as a tool to achieve social progress and a role model for all women lawyers.

In a speech at Yale in 1988, she likened judges on the appeals court to “monks or conjugal partners locked into a compulsory and often uneasy collegiality. ... I constantly watch my colleagues in an effort to discern what it takes to be a good appellate judge: alertness, sensitivity to the needs

of the system and one's colleagues, raw energy, unselfishness, a healthy sense of history, some humility, [and] a lively interest in the world outside the courthouse and what makes it tick."

"If the law is to survive and flourish," she concluded, "it must change and develop through experience, application to new situations, testing in new circumstances, infusion of new knowledge. Today, it seems, we shy from that philosophy for fear it may draw the stigma of 'legal activism.' But labels are deceiving and too often intimidating. The truth is that life does change, and the law must adapt to that inevitability."

On the D.C. Circuit, Wald served on three-member panels that decided some of the most complicated legal disputes on the federal docket. She wrote more than 800 opinions during her tenure—many on technical matters involving separation of powers, administrative law, and the environment.

Wald wrote a book, "Law and Poverty," in 1965, and in 1968 joined the staff of Neighborhood Legal Services, a legal-aid group in the District. One of her early cases challenged the rulings of a domestic-relations judge who refused to waive divorce fees for indigent women. The judge reasoned that taxpayers had not forced people to marry and should not be expected to pay the costs of their separation. Wald led a team that successfully argued in 1970 before the D.C. Circuit federal appeals court that the financial barrier was effectively an unconstitutional denial of access to the courts.

Wald's subsequent work for the Center for Law and Social Policy, a public-interest law firm, led to one of the first court decisions requiring that school districts provide an adequate education to the mentally and physically disabled.

Wald was a former vice president of the American Law Institute, an organization of legal professionals. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, she participated in American Bar Association efforts to assist structural changes to the legal systems of former communist nations in Eastern Europe.

In 1999, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan named her one of 14 judges to serve on the war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia at The Hague.

Phyllis Mills Wyeth, a philanthropist, successful owner of thoroughbred racehorses, and wife of renowned American realist painter Jamie Wyeth, was active in the 1976 presidential campaign and introduced many artists to

Jimmy Carter.

Wyeth was a noted philanthropist, conservationist, environmentalist, arts supporter, accomplished horsewoman and staunch advocate for the rights of the handicapped and disabled.

The Farnsworth Art Museum in Rockland, Maine, issued a statement mourning Wyeth's death, calling her a longtime friend, a steadfast supporter for decades, and a key advisor.

Wyeth was injured in an automobile accident that left her with a physical disability at the age of 20 and forced her to use a wheelchair. Despite that, museum trustees said, "Wyeth's spirit remained ever determined, steadfast and positive throughout her entire life."

Jamie Wyeth is the son of famed American artist Andrew Wyeth and the grandson of N.C. Wyeth, also a distinguished artist.

Wyeth founded the Herring Gut Learning Center in Port Clyde, Maine, in 1999, with the goal of teaching local children about aquaculture and marine conservation. She hoped the center's work would help preserve Maine's fishing communities.

She worked as a consultant for the National Endowment for the Arts and as vice chairperson of the National Committee on Arts for the Handicapped.



David Woodham

David Hulon Woodham Sr. was one of the first volunteers to join the Carter for President campaign. Woodham developed and implemented the campaign's first financial reporting system, enabling the campaign to properly comply with federal election laws. He subsequently worked as part of the Carter-Mondale

Transition Planning Group.

During the first two years of the Carter administration, Woodham served as a loaned executive to the White House and the Office of Management and Budget, working on the administration's efforts to make improvements in the organization and structure of the federal government.

He was a retired partner of Accenture and Arthur Andersen following his career as a partner in Andersen's Office of Federal Services in Washington, D.C.

Woodham served in the U.S. Army and completed specialized training in cryptography, after which he served for two years in the Pentagon in the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence.

THE CARTER CENTER
One Copenhill
453 Freedom Parkway
Atlanta, GA 30307
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Carter-Mondale alumni gathered for breakfast during Carter Center Weekend in Lansdowne, Virginia, in June.

About This Newsletter

The Carter/Mondale Letter is sent to individuals who were associated with the campaign and administration of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale. Please send us news, photos, and other items that will interest your fellow alumni and let us know of others who need to be added to the mailing list. Contact Jay Beck, The Carter Center, One Copenhill, 453 Freedom Parkway, Atlanta, GA 30307; Phone (404) 420-3809; 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.

To keep our records up to date, please provide your best email address and current phone number. Send to jay.beck@cartercenter.org.