

THE Carter Mondale *Letter*

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Carter-Mondale Administration Pushed Women's Empowerment

Editor's Note: In June 2019, a forum at the Carter Center Weekend focused on the Carter-Mondale record on women. Administration alumnae Alexis Herman, who was director of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor and later became secretary of labor under President Bill Clinton, and Margaret McKenna, former White House deputy counsel, illuminated the topic. This article, written and edited by Carter Center interns Riya Kalra, Eva Rosenzweig, and Jack Spalding, relies heavily on the forum presentation.

When the Carter-Mondale administration began in 1977, women faced numerous inequities in the American workplace. In the mid-1970s it was difficult, and in some states impossible, for women to get a loan, buy a house or car, obtain a credit card, or get a job without the approval or support of a man or her parents.

The few women who attained leadership roles and responsible positions were often stigmatized. The Carter-Mondale administration made a conscious effort to correct this situation. It achieved many successes, despite objections from within federal bureaucracies bound by tradition.

"I really believe that President Carter does not get the credit that he deserves for truly laying the foundation, the infrastructure, of every single initiative that advanced women in the workplace," Herman told forum attendees. "That is his legacy."

Within the Carter administration, as many as 22% of 2,110 appointments were women—including three of the first five women who had ever served as Cabinet secretaries: Patricia Roberts Harris, secretary of housing and



Ruth Bader Ginsburg is the highest-profile example of President Carter's appointments of women to the federal bench.

urban development and later secretary of health and human services; Juanita Kreps, secretary of commerce; and Shirley Hufstедler, secretary of education. (Presidents Gerald Ford and Franklin D. Roosevelt each had one woman in their respective Cabinets.) Not only were these women essential to the Carter administration's work, but their appointments afforded them access to future opportunities in both private industry and other presidential administrations.

"The Carter administration created the pool from which all subsequent Democratic administrations could then draw," Herman said. "...These women all trace their legacy, experience, and history back to Jimmy Carter."

The impact of President Carter's diverse appointments
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truly changed the composition of not only the executive branch but the judicial branch as well. According to McKenna, President Carter stated, “I don’t want judges to look like who is on the bench today, I want judges to look like America. I want people to have faith in our court system, and they are not going to have faith in the court system if they look like the courts today.”

By January 1982, 42 of the 46 women on the federal bench had been appointed by President Carter.

McKenna recalled that during a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the landmark 1954 school desegregation case *Brown v. Board of Education*, President Carter announced his historic appointment of Nathaniel Jones, general counsel for the NAACP, to the U.S. Court of Appeals. In 2012, at an awards ceremony, Jones got the chance to express his gratitude and thank President Carter for his courageous work in increasing diversity on the federal bench.

“President Carter, by virtue of his core values, had a capacity to identify wrong and a capacity and the courage to correct it,” Jones said in presenting President Carter with the

Just the Beginning Foundation’s Trailblazer Legend Award. “You have given justice, American justice, a good name around the world.”

Before President Carter was even inaugurated, he began advocating for merit panels to propose judicial nominations, McKenna said. These panels would include both women and people of color. Additionally, President Carter forced the American Bar Association to change the way it evaluated judicial nominees after he rejected the ABA’s conclusion that two women were unqualified because they lacked experience with big firms. It was President Carter who appointed current Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, an academic, to her first federal judgeship; under the old rules, she would have been disqualified.

The diversification of the bench gained traction through a surge of women entering the legal profession in the late 1960s and early 1970s and the passing of the Carter-sponsored Omnibus Judgeship Act of 1978, which created 152 new federal judgeships. Thanks to the groundwork laid by President Carter, today there are more than 360 female federal judges, including three on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Title IX

The Carter administration significantly improved gender equality in school-sponsored athletic activities by reinforcing and clarifying Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX was intended to prevent gender-based discrimination in educational institutions, including school-sponsored sports. However, by the time President Carter entered office, it was clear that interpretation and implementation of this landmark law varied drastically across the country. By 1978, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare had received over 100 complaints of discrimination in athletics, mostly against higher-education institutions.

The Carter administration in 1979 produced a compliance framework to guide implementation of Title IX in school-sponsored sports. The policy interpretation established three criteria for compliance: the number of athletic opportunities for females and males a school provides must be proportional to their institutional enrollment; the school must continuously and equitably reevaluate and accommodate the athletic interests and abilities of the underrepresented sex; and it must provide equitable treatment, benefits, equipment, facilities, financial assistance, and opportunities to both male and female athletes.

This three-prong test has been widely acknowledged as the most important Title IX compliance mechanism in



At Carter Center Weekend last year, Carter-Mondale alumnae Alexis Herman (left), who was director of the Women’s Bureau in the Department of Labor and later became secretary of labor under President Bill Clinton, and Margaret McKenna, former White House deputy counsel, discussed the administration’s record on women.

intercollegiate athletics. In 1979, only 1.9 million girls participated in high school athletics; by 2016, 3.3 million girls were members of high school sports teams. Today, female athletes compete in 70% of conference championships administered by the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

The Pregnancy Discrimination Act

As more women joined the workforce in the 1970s, companies were facing new human resources challenges. Many companies chose not to provide any accommodation for pregnancy and would give no guarantee that a woman would still have her job after having a baby.

“General Electric would give a man six weeks off to have a hair transplant, but they wouldn’t give a woman 6 weeks off to have a baby...and we are talking about unpaid leave,” Herman said. “The first leave policy ever was started with Jimmy Carter.”

At the time, women only sought job security. The current idea that the company should pay for maternal leave was then unfathomable. The Carter administration helped to correct this discrimination in the workplace by passing the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 (PDA). It was passed in response to two U.S. Supreme Court decisions that found no sex discrimination had taken place when companies (including General Electric) had denied women pregnancy-related benefits. Seeing the gap in protection, President Carter signed the PDA, which amended Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited discrimination by covered employers based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The PDA “prohibits sex discrimination on the basis of pregnancy” and labels pregnancy a temporary disability. As a result, pregnant women gained the same protections afforded people with disabilities.

While passing the PDA was an integral step toward equality in the workplace, pregnant workers still face discrimination, McKenna noted. In 2015, in response to the high volume of pregnancy discrimination charges, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission released a lengthy notice that provides guidance on the PDA and the Americans with Disabilities Act as they apply to pregnant workers. The Carter-Mondale administration is responsible



President Carter signs 1978 legislation extending the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to 1982.

for the existence of this protective legislation, McKenna and Herman added.

Equal Rights Amendment

Laws all across the country established different rules for men and women, often keeping women from accessing information and employment. In response to these inequities, the women’s movement gained followers and fought to dismantle sex discrimination and debunk gender stereotypes. Congress approved the Equal Rights Amendment in 1972. It was just 24 words long: “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.” Rosalynn Carter became an adamant supporter of the amendment and lobbied for states to ratify it.

“Today the only right the Constitution guarantees women is the right to vote,” she wrote in her book “First Lady from Plains.” “It contains no clause granting women legal status as persons or guaranteeing equal protection for them.”

President Carter actually tackled this issue early on in his political career, advocating for the ERA right after his stint with the Georgia legislature. During his presidency, he held an ERA Summit of 800 activists and officials from states that had not ratified it. Although the ERA fell just short of ratification, President Carter achieved a small victory by getting

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the ratification period extended from 1979 to 1982. Within his own administration, he issued an executive order that outlawed sex discrimination in the federal government.

“In 1977 [there] was the first sex discrimination lawsuit, and in 1978 Jimmy Carter signed an executive order that said that you could not discriminate by sex,” McKenna said. “Even though it was only one lawsuit, Carter promulgated [the order] to the entire federal government.”

Department of Labor Initiatives

Along with the administration as a whole, the Department of Labor, led by Assistant Secretary Ernest Green, focused specifically on improving employment opportunities for minorities, Herman told the forum. Green was the oldest of the Little Rock Nine, the first students to integrate Central High School in Arkansas in 1957. The Department of Labor initiatives between 1977 and 1981 reflected a commitment to increasing the financial confidence and independence of women in the labor market. In 1977, there were about 40 million women in the labor force. By October 1980, that number was more than 45.25 million, or about 43 percent of the labor force. More than half of all women 16 years and older worked for pay by 1979. This rapid movement of women into the labor force has been hailed by labor economists as the most significant economic phenomenon of the 20th century.

The Department of Labor also had substantial impact on minority employment and training opportunities. It participated in the development of the revised Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1978. Several new provisions of this act focused on increasing youth and veteran training programs as well as finding new ways to meet the needs of rural and Native American workers. Certain programs also provided employers incentives to hire people in need and focused on retraining displaced workers with new skills. These programs were expanded or reduced based on national unemployment rates. Specifically, in regard to women, these new provisions of the CETA helped increase job training programs for both rural and urban low-income women; nontraditional job exploration, training, and work experiences in school-to-work transition projects for young women; and a variety of projects that placed emphasis on the special needs of black, Hispanic, Asian-Pacific American, and Native American women. Other efforts included funding model programs that encouraged young mothers to continue their education and obtain employment experience, and helping ex-offenders re-enter the labor force. The CETA

also focused on overcoming sex stereotyping of jobs, flexible work and training schedules, services for displaced homemakers, research and evaluation, and training for nontraditional work.

“I am pleased that we have moved from a period of problem-posing to one of real problem-solving,” Herman said.

Many of the displaced-homemaker provisions of the CETA legislation were implemented by the Women’s Bureau. It prepared and distributed data identifying the number of CETA-eligible women and displaced homemakers by age, race, and geographical area. The bureau monitored contracts that provided technical assistance to 30 prime sponsors and six nonprofit organizations, each funded to develop programs for this target group. Significantly, the first federally funded battered women’s shelter was established during the Carter-Mondale administration.

“One of the things that President Carter did was talk about violence against women and fund women’s shelters,” McKenna said. And he didn’t just highlight the problem, he sought solutions.

The Department of Labor’s efforts expanded opportunities for women in apprenticeship programs and the construction industry. A lot of this effort was directed toward women in federal and state prisons. Apprenticeship programs were established in each of the four federal correctional facilities that housed women, and initiatives were taken to promote similar programs in state facilities.

Women’s organizations were encouraged to contribute to policy initiatives, and their input was emphasized in the policymaking processes. These efforts culminated in Executive Order 12138, which established a national policy on women’s business enterprise. Further, the order directed federal agencies to establish goals for contract awards to women-owned businesses.

The Women’s Bureau began holding quarterly meetings with constituency groups to brief members of women’s organizations on Department of Labor priorities and initiatives. Ten regional offices worked directly with women’s groups, employers and unions, and state and local policymakers in their communities. Internationally, the bureau either visited or received official visits from women associated with the governments of Spain, Ecuador, Canada, China, and Israel; and it provided information and technical assistance on women’s employment programs specific to each country.

Information and Technical Assistance

The bureau prepared and disseminated various publications

on the economic status and legal rights of women. Through this spread of information, the bureau was able to support a CETA-funded program for displaced homemakers, another program on training childcare workers, and two that recruited and trained women for nontraditional jobs in the skilled trades.

In support of the apprenticeship initiatives, materials were developed to explain how to find a job in the construction industry. Several publications were prepared to inform women and community-based organizations about the revised CETA. Other materials provided information about employment rights, legislation, and regulations that affected women's employment and the economic status of women.

Additional first-time programs to support women include the following:

National Advisory Committee for Women (1978)

This 30-member committee, composed of women appointed by the president, provided a forum for influential women to regularly advise the president "on the initiatives needed to promote full equality for American women."

Interdepartmental Task Force on Women (1978)

This task force consulted directly with the National Advisory Committee for Women. It was responsible for "reviewing the applicability of initiatives designed to promote full equality for American women."

Department of Justice Task Force on Sex Discrimination (1978)

This task force worked with each agency to survey and eliminate sex discrimination from programs and procedures throughout the federal government and to recommend needed changes in existing laws.

National Advisory Council on Women's Education Programs (1978)

The council provided recommendations and advised the commissioner of education and the assistant secretary of education on programs, policies, and the allocation of funds for the improvement of women's education.

National Women's Business Enterprise Policy (1979)

This order directed each federal agency to take appropriate action to facilitate, preserve, and strengthen women's business enterprise by ensuring their participation in all business-related activities, including procurement. The head of each agency was to designate a high-level official to take responsibility for the participation and cooperation of that

agency in carrying out the order.

Though the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1975 officially prohibited discrimination in extending credit, women still faced obstacles to taking out loans. Other signifiers of financial independence for women, such as home ownership, were still negligible when President Carter took office, and his administration sought to improve these levels. President Carter prompted the Department of Housing and Urban Development to launch a two-year project to inform women of their rights under credit laws, to help them understand mortgage markets, and to help real estate salespeople and creditors recognize the growing market of creditworthy women.

The Carter Center on Women's Issues

In the post-presidency years, The Carter Center, under the leadership of President and Mrs. Carter, continues to correct the imbalance of rights for women. The following are some of the areas where the Center is currently involved.

Human Rights Program

Since 2003, the Carter Center's Human Rights Program has held 10 Human Rights Defenders Policy Forums, which support the work of courageous activists around the world. This global convening provides an opportunity for leading human rights activists to amplify their collective voice on growing threats to human rights, particularly to the rights of women and girls. The active participation of influential religious leaders in these forums has facilitated collaborative partnerships with grassroots activists and has generated new initiatives to elevate women's and girls' human rights. From these exchanges sprang the Human Rights Program's initiatives Mobilizing Faith for Women and Girls and The Forum on Women, Religion, Violence, and Power.

The Mobilizing Faith for Women and Girls initiative aims to equip women and girls in West Africa with practices that introduce equality of opportunity. The Center anticipates that through intervention the leaders and believers of major faiths can actively work to end human rights abuses of women and girls. Mobilizing Faith for Women and Girls works to achieve this through several interrelated activities:

- Giving seminars for religious and community leaders to promote interactions that respect and empower women and girls within their communities.
- Joining partners in Ghana on a media campaign that produces and shares informed, influential, culturally relevant content on the legally and religiously backed human rights of women and girls.

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- Developing a scripturally annotated (both biblical and Koranic) Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a resource for human rights defenders to religiously justify their efforts to protect and promote the rights of women and girls.

In 2015, The Carter Center also launched an online forum, The Forum on Women, Religion, Violence, and Power, to connect activists, host roundtable video discussions, highlight success stories, and serve as a resource library and archive.

The Carter Center has also appointed Karin Ryan as special representative on women and girls. Ryan's work is dedicated to confronting serious abuses, including sexual exploitation and trafficking, and the disproportionate impact of warfare and violence on women and girls.

Rule of Law Program

Access to information is a fundamental right enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and is critical for the exercise of basic socioeconomic and political rights. However, women are unable to access information as easily as men. Lack of information is harmful to women, and

insufficient attention has been paid to this challenge. Some argue that women are less likely to demand information, so they are perhaps in greater need of this potent tool.

The Carter Center's Rule of Law Program (formerly called the Global Access to Information Program) works to advance the right of access to information for women in select countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

The Right of Access to Information Project within the program focuses on raising awareness of the value of access to information, identifying the main obstacles facing women in exercising their right through a multicountry research study, designing innovative solutions in collaboration with key stakeholders, supporting government in creatively ensuring women's equitable access, and increasing women's capacity to use the right of access to information for the achievement of economic empowerment.

Women often face the double burden of sustaining income generation while caring for their families. They are increasingly becoming key decision makers as the number of female-headed households rises due to civil conflicts and as men find work farther from home. As a result of limited economic and educational opportunities, women represent a disproportionate number of people living below the poverty

line and make up two-thirds of the world's illiterate. With access to information, women can gradually transform their lives, families, and communities. Access to information:

- Empowers women to make more effective decisions in relation to education, crop production, land ownership, and health care.
- Enables women to understand and exercise their full range of rights.
- Helps women to participate more fully in public life.
- Is critical for holding government and service providers accountable.
- Bridges gender gaps and helps to shift power in decision-making processes.
- Can link women with the needed resources for achieving economic empowerment.



Women in Bangladesh attend a village courtyard meeting to learn how to obtain information from their local government. The Carter Center is working in Bangladesh to help women access information via a law that was passed in 2009.

The Day I ‘Stole’ Jimmy Carter’s Car

By Leon Alligood

In front of my parents and wearing my Boy Scouts uniform, I was stealing Jimmy Carter’s car.

I first crossed paths with Jimmy Carter in the fall of 1969, 50 years ago last October. In those days, the White House did not have his attention. As a 45-year-old former state senator from Plains, Carter was running for governor, traveling through Georgia on his first statewide campaign.

The occasion was the Sweet Potato Festival, the one weekend of the year when my small hometown, Ocilla, became a destination. Thousands of visitors came to see the parade, to witness the crowning of the new Sweet Potato Princess, and to marvel at the display of the newest tractors and farm equipment.

In election years, the festival also attracted politicians looking to shake hands with as many voters as possible.

I saw Carter’s entourage park outside the elementary school grounds where the tractors were on display, and I moved closer to get a glimpse of this man with the wide, toothy smile who would be governor. I was there that morning because my Boy Scout troop was volunteering in some way. I don’t recall the specifics.

Among Carter’s group I recognized a familiar face. It was my neighbor, a guy who was six or seven years older than me, in college but spending time working on the campaign. He saw me about the time I saw him and made a beeline in my direction.

I don’t remember him saying hello. He asked me if I had my driver’s license. When I replied in the affirmative, he said, “I need you to take Mr. Carter’s car to a mechanic.” He told me which mechanic’s shop and what needed to be done and gave me the keys. “Tell them to hurry,” I remember him saying before rushing off.

I turned to see the car that went with the keys now in my hand. There before me, glistening in the morning sun, was one of the largest vehicles ever to come south out of Detroit. I don’t remember the make and model, but it was a magnificent machine.

And it was Jimmy Carter’s car.



And I had the keys.

If the sins of omission will get you into hell just as quick as the sins of commission, I am in trouble. What I hadn’t told my neighbor was that I had possessed a Georgia driver’s license for all of one month, having turned 16 in September. This, no doubt, was a fact that might have convinced him to look for another friendly face in the crowd to complete this errand. He probably would have been also interested to know that I had almost failed my driving test because I went wide making a turn at an intersection, my front wheel crossing briefly into the opposite lane. Fortunately, there was no oncoming traffic for me to hit. More fortunately for me, the stoic driving examiner let me make the turn again. I nailed it the second time and got my license.

The behemoth started, and I could tell immediately this was not my father’s Pontiac. It was as if I were floating on air instead of rubber. I pulled the transmission lever on the steering column down to “D” and began my mission. I drove half a block, stopping behind a line of cars waiting to pull out onto Fourth Street, the main thoroughfare.

When I got to the front of the line I looked to the right. No traffic in sight. I looked to the left and no cars were coming.

But there on the sidewalk, waiting to cross, stood my parents. They were gobsmacked, their jaws slack from disbelief. In front of them, their oldest son, wearing his Boy Scouts uniform no less, was stealing Jimmy Carter’s car. Their faces reflected utter confusion, along with the specter of woe and embarrassment and scandal. It was obvious they feared next week’s headline in the Ocilla Star would be “Preacher’s kid takes joy ride while candidate presses flesh.”

I simply waved at them and stepped on the gas, a little

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too enthusiastically. I peeled rubber for what seemed a full minute, but I know it was probably only a second or two.

An hour later I eased the car back into its spot on a side street and returned the keys to my neighbor. My duties were done. Somehow, I felt older, as if the experience had aged me a year or two.

I hung around hoping to shake hands with the future governor of Georgia, but a lot of people had the same idea. Finally, I gave up and went home to explain to my parents that I wouldn't be charged with grand theft auto.

I didn't get to shake Carter's hand until many years later.

The behemoth started, and I could tell immediately this was not my father's Pontiac.

In 2004, my wife and I arrived in Plains early one Sunday morning to hear President Carter teach his Sunday school class at Maranatha Baptist Church. The place was packed with people from all over the United States. Afterward, the former president and first lady graciously stood outside for more than an hour as attendees were allowed to stand with them for a photo. As I recall, it was a Secret Service agent who used my camera to take the photo that now hangs in my home office.

There was no time for pleasantries. I said, "Thank you Mr. President," and we drove back to Tennessee.

But I would have enjoyed a conversation. Indeed, I have much to say to the 39th president of the United States.

As a native Georgian, I would say how proud I am of him, for being the kind of president he was and for his example of humanitarianism.

I would thank him for his works of faith and courage, from ending disease to monitoring elections in countries where leaders would prefer he didn't show up at all.

I'd tell him how he inspired a small group of us in Wilson County, Tennessee, to form a Habitat for Humanity affiliate back in 1989. Today it's part of the Greater Nashville Habitat for Humanity, and more than 50 homes have been built in Wilson County. I would tell him my years as a Habitat board member were the most challenging and rewarding of my life.

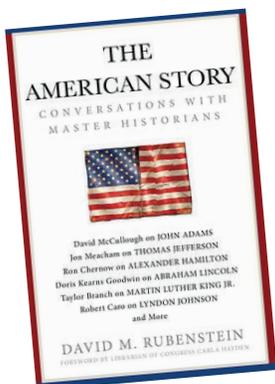
And, of course, I would not be able to resist telling him of that day five decades ago when I took his car to the shop and in the process frightened my parents, while giving my teenage ego a considerable boost.

I would be sorely disappointed if Jimmy Carter didn't smile at that.

This article first appeared in The Tennessean newspaper in Nashville.

About the Author: Leon Alligood became an associate professor at Middle Tennessee State University following almost 30 years as a reporter.

BOOK CLUB



In "The American Story," Carter-Mondale alumnus, co-founder of The Carlyle Group, and philanthropist David M. Rubenstein takes readers on a sweeping journey across the grand arc of U.S. history through revealing conversations with our greatest historians.

Through his eponymous TV program, Rubenstein has established himself as one of our most thoughtful interviewers. In "The American Story," he captures the brilliance of esteemed historians as well as the souls of their subjects. Through these captivating exchanges,

these bestselling and Pulitzer Prize-winning authors offer fresh insights on pivotal moments from the Founding Era to the late 20th century.

The book features a foreword by Librarian of Congress Carla Hayden, the first woman and the first African American to lead our national library. Richly illustrated with archival images from the Library of Congress, the book is destined to become a classic for serious readers of American history.



David M. Rubenstein

Photo by Robert Severi

Budget Task Force Was White House's Secret Weapon

By Les Francis and Chris Davis

Jimmy Carter became president at a time when Congress was reasserting itself as a co-equal branch of government. After the Vietnam War, Watergate, and Richard Nixon's efforts to impound funds authorized and appropriated by Congress, institutional tensions were high. Moreover, President Carter's efforts to restrain federal spending went against the grain of Democratic Party orthodoxy, further complicating relations between the president and Congress.

Against that backdrop, President Carter nevertheless had a broad policy and legislative agenda that included such complex and controversial issues as ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties, development of the nation's first comprehensive energy policy, civil service reform, deregulation of major elements of the transportation and telecommunications industries, civil rights, government ethics, creation of two new Cabinet departments (Energy and Education), normalization of relations with China, and much more.

President Carter's efforts to restrain federal spending went against the grain of Democratic Party orthodoxy, further complicating relations between the president and Congress.

To develop and execute effective legislative and communications strategies, the Carter White House set up multiagency and multioffice task forces composed of administration legislative affairs officers, public liaison, press, and policy staffs. The task forces reported to the White House Office of Congressional Liaison, headed by Assistant to the President Frank Moore.

There was no more vital task force than the Budget Task Force, devoted solely to the federal budget and the various appropriations bills that Congress is required to pass each year. Chaired by the Office of Management and Budget's Congressional liaison director, Hubert L. "Herky" Harris, the White House Budget Task Force was the administration's first line of defense against unwanted and unnecessary spending measures. It consisted of both OMB and White House staff as well as legislative affairs people from several

departments loaned to work with the Executive Office of the President. The task force members were Susie Elfving (Smith), human resources; Gael Sullivan, natural resources; Ron Garant, defense; and Chris Davis, general government.

"The Budget Task Force provided actual, dependable information about what was happening on Capitol Hill and could tell those of us who thought our job was to get the president's programs passed—unlike too many in the government—where to go, to whom we should talk, and what we should say," said W. Bowman "Bo" Cutter, associate director of OMB during the Carter administration.

Cutter also addressed the larger challenge of acquiring knowledge in a timely fashion and then matching it to effective lobbying and communications strategies. "Back then, OMB's biggest gap was political intelligence and knowledge," he said. "I thought then (and think now) that the OMB professional staff was the best in government, but its expertise was in the details of policy and programs. We weren't set up to know (and didn't have the people or the systems to let us know) in real time what was happening on the Hill."

The task force was organized to match the OMB program directors with legislative affairs specialists on the task force. As OMB divided the federal government's budget into four key quadrants—defense, human resources, natural resources, and general government—each quadrant had a task force representative.

The task force provided unanticipated benefits, largely outgrowths of the political and legislative intelligence its members gathered from their close contacts on the congressional appropriations committees and Senate and House leadership. For example, in 1979 there was growing congressional resistance to further expenditures for NASA's yet-to-launch space shuttle. Gael Sullivan, who supervised the natural resources area, identified legislators' concerns and alerted senior White House staff early enough to develop a quiet but effective congressional liaison effort to head off any further resistance.

Another example arose from the task force's work to support the proposed cutbacks to a wildly inefficient Amtrak passenger rail program. As Chris Davis developed strong contacts in the transportation area, he gathered key intelligence and spotted an opportunity to recharge efforts

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to enact the federal railroad deregulation legislation, which ultimately passed in 1980 with a nudge from Vice President Walter Mondale.

Cutter noted, “I know I spent about one half of any given week going where Herky Harris or the four members of the task force told me to go.

“Second, the task force could tell OMB Director Jim McIntyre and Herky Harris what the agencies were doing to support (a rare but welcome activity) or oppose (a common but expected activity) the president’s program. There were too many advocates for other initiatives in the agencies and

on the Hill—and too few on the Budget Task Force really to stop the insurgent activity, but we could sometimes counter the most extreme efforts.

“The Budget Task Force was the first organized effort in any administration, at least that I know of, to address the critical need of providing accurate legislative and political information to OMB policymakers to support President Carter’s budget and other initiatives,” Cutter said.

About the Authors: Les Francis served in the Carter administration as deputy assistant to the president for congressional liaison and deputy chief of staff. Christopher Davis was special assistant to the president for congressional liaison and a member of the White House Budget Task Force.

Comings & Goings



During the National Association of Former United States Attorneys’ 2018 annual conference in Nashville, a group of Carter appointees and their guests gathered for dinner. At the table in the foreground are, on the left, Karen Barnes (guest), Rich Rossman (Michigan), and Patty Rossman; on the right, Jim Reynolds (Iowa), Peter Vaira (Pennsylvania, obscured), Mary Vaira, Atlee Wampler (Florida), Susie Wampler, and association Immediate Past President Hal Hardin (Tennessee). At the rear table are, on the near side, Andrea Ordin (California), Victoria Ordin, and association Deputy Director Lisa Rafferty; on the far side an unidentified attendee, Dick Eagleton (Missouri), Joyce Eagleton, Bob Fisk (New York), Cathy Brady, and Jim Brady (Michigan).

Former Carter chief domestic policy advisor **Stuart Eizenstat** gave a talk in August 2019 at Collected Works Bookstore in Santa Fe, New Mexico, about his book “President Carter: The White House Years.” Among those on hand were former Assistant Attorney General **Anne Bingaman**, her husband, former U.S. Sen. **Jeff Bingaman**, and current U.S. Sen. **Tom Udall**. **Richard Moe**, Vice President Walter Mondale’s chief of staff, introduced Eizenstat. **Chris Brown**, Jimmy Carter’s campaign manager in New Hampshire in 1976 and 1980, took photos of the event.



From left, Sen. Tom Udall, his wife, Jill; Richard Moe; and former Sen. Jeff Bingaman listen to Stuart Eizenstat’s talk.

Right: Chris and Georgia Brown, who reside in New Mexico, greet the author, Stu Eizenstat.



Campaign Helped Turn the Tide in Virginia

By Mary Dixon

I worked on the Carter presidential campaign of 1976, but not from the Atlanta headquarters. I was in the Tidewater region—Virginia’s First Congressional District.

At first, it didn’t seem to me that anything I had to say about that time would be of much interest, but then I realized there were a lot of people participating in the 1976 campaign who were, like me, out there somewhere doing what they could to get Gov. Carter elected president. Many of them, also like me, were learning about political campaigns on the job. We had what could be called the “worm’s eye view” of a presidential campaign.

I was born and raised in an Air Force family, but Birmingham, Alabama, has always been home to me. By the time State Sen. Carter became Gov. Carter, my parents had retired from the Air Force in Warner Robins, Georgia. By 1975, Carter was running for president. By the end of 1975, I decided maybe I could do something to help. My own young Air Force family was based in Hampton, Virginia, at that time.

Rex Granum’s mother, Eleanor, and my mother were good friends in Warner Robins. Rex had gone to work for the Carter campaign, so Mother and I decided to go to Atlanta and ask Rex what I could do to help Carter in Virginia.

Rex sent me to Shirley Cooper in Yorktown, Virginia. She was on the York County Board of Supervisors and was leading the Carter effort in the First District.

Shirley Cooper is a firecracker. She is not a big woman, but she has the political knowledge and moral authority of 10 people—plus a wicked sense of humor. Shortly after we connected, Lisa Bourdeaux came to town. I gave Lisa a place to stay at my house, and on we went.

The First Thing I Learned

Virginia was a presidential caucus state that year. All of the Virginia Democratic Party “powers that were” wanted delegates to go uncommitted to the Democratic convention rather than to support any one candidate.

The job that Lisa, Shirley, and I, among others, had taken on was to outflank, outmaneuver, and beat that attitude by electing Carter delegates instead of uncommitted delegates. Lisa and Shirley told me I had to go down to the voting

registration office and pre-file to run as a Carter delegate in the caucuses, which came up quite early in the year.

That meant I had to register to vote in Virginia. As an Air Force spouse, I had voted in my husband’s home state of Pennsylvania. But in Virginia I learned my vote was more valuable there than in Pennsylvania. Thus began my practical understanding of the impact of the Electoral College on presidential politics.

I registered for \$5, and as it turned out I became the first person in the First District of Virginia to pre-file as a Carter delegate. The next task was to ask other people to pay the \$5 and also pre-file as Carter delegates, and get them to persuade other people to do the same. I got a few to sign up and do their own delegate-recruiting outreach.

The results of the Hampton caucus were that Carter took the most delegates and I learned how caucuses work. In fact, Carter carried the First District, much to the chagrin of the local Democratic Party power structure. This, of course, was how the Carter campaign was able to win the nomination eventually. Having built its own infrastructure and fundraising base completely separate from the Democratic Party organization, the Carter campaign outflanked and outworked everyone else and took the nomination. Lisa Bourdeaux went on to her next assignment, hoping to return to Tidewater in the fall.

While I was not going to be a delegate to the national convention, I was a delegate to the state and congressional district conventions. Shirley Cooper became one of the Virginia national convention delegates, a well-deserved honor.

It was a long time between the caucuses and the convention, so Shirley recommended me to a local candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress. The First District’s representative, Tom Downing, a Democrat, was retiring and there would be a contest for the Democratic nomination. I became press secretary to George Grayson, a William and Mary professor who was running against Downing’s hand-picked successor, Bob Quinn.

Long story short, Grayson did not win the nomination, but I learned a lot about working the news media in the First District of Virginia. (Ask me sometime about the bus and train trip from hell.) I met Bob Beckel, who was advising the Grayson campaign on behalf of the National Committee for an Effective Congress and who always had great stories

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to share. I also got to work with Phil Sparks, who is still a friend. He later served on President Carter's Commission on Pension Policy.

When time came to ramp back up for the Carter campaign in the general election, I was ready to help.

By the fall we also had leadership from Charlotte Wilmer, our regional director. At the time it did not seem remarkable to me, but looking back now, I know how unusual it probably was back then for all of the hands-on campaign leaders in my area to be women.

The Campaign Kickoff Event

Our state press secretary was Ted Rohrlich, a career journalist. He called me shortly after he came to the state. We had been told that Gov. Carter would come to town for a big Labor Day event at the Azalea Court of the Norfolk Botanical Gardens. Ted was mildly surprised, but relieved, to learn that I already had contacts with the local Tidewater news outlets, including the Associated Press, and knew how to get information on the day book at the AP, write and distribute media advisories, etc. (I did not tell him that my toddler daughter had learned she could get as many ginger snaps as she wanted if Mama was on the phone for Jimmy Carter, because Mama did not want to be interrupted.)

For several months, the phone at our house was answered only by me, and my greeting was always "Carter Press." It was slightly discombobulating to people who were not members of the press or campaign, but they soon took for granted that this was how it would be until November. One radio news guy asked me if I was from East Alabama because of my accent. Since I am an Auburn graduate, I said sure. It was close enough.

The press advance guy for the Labor Day event was Jim Gaines—a great guy to work with. As a suggestion for an irresistible-to-the-media visual, I volunteered to purchase a bouquet and to have my preschooler daughter present it to Gov. Carter at the rally. Jim decided he liked that idea. He said something like "Cute kid, nice flowers—let's do it." My thought was to get a lot of free coverage (free coverage was always the goal) by the newspapers and TV stations and to let my little ones find out who this Jimmy Carter was that Mama was always going out to work for that year. One of my neighbors, who also had little girls, would watch my girls when their dad was not available so I could volunteer, thus providing her in-kind campaign contribution.

The Labor Day event was a great success, with photos



Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter receives a bouquet from Claire Trullinger, Mary Dixon's 4-year-old daughter, during a Labor Day Campaign Kick Off Rally on Sept. 6, 1976, at the Norfolk Botanical Gardens in Virginia.

of my daughter, Claire, all over local TV and newspapers. We sent copies of news articles back to Atlanta, and Claire was the toast of her Montessori preschool for a few days. (Eventually, her baby sister, Irene, having seen Claire with Gov. Carter at the Gardens, informed me that she wanted Walter Mondale to pick her up, thus demonstrating her view of her own position in the family order.)

Jack Carter's Visit

On Monday, September 21, Jack Carter came to town. Shirley and I were in charge of his agenda. We had laid out a series of stops, carefully chosen and advertised to attract free media coverage. We had driven the route in the car so we knew that we could make the schedule and were familiar with locations and distances.

Not only was Tidewater a sizeable media market, but by then Ted Rohrlich knew no Tidewater press opportunity

would remain unexploited, so he just let us roll.

Jack was a natural campaigner, and it was a delight to work with him and Shirley for the day. We asked him if he would come back the next year to help with Henry Howell's campaign for governor. He said he would. (That eventual visit is another story entirely, but suffice it to say it was also successful and crazy fun.)

Mrs. Carter's Visit, or How I Learned to Drive in a Motorcade

On Friday, Oct. 8, Mrs. Carter came to Tidewater. Shirley and I headed out to Virginia Beach, where her event was being held. I had no real assignment beyond notifying the news media that Mrs. Carter would be visiting and what her availability would be. Somehow, as the event ended, Shirley and I found ourselves in the motorcade, driving in my car. Since it was a campaign, all the vehicles were private cars owned by campaign volunteers.

The Secret Service agents told me I had to drive about two inches from the bumper of the car in front of me, keeping one foot on the accelerator and one foot on the brake pedal. I don't remember if anyone from the traveling party was in the car, but we managed to get to the airport without incident. There Mrs. Carter shook all our hands and thanked us for our help. I have always driven with two feet since then.

The Williamsburg Debate

The third presidential debate was held the evening of Oct. 22 at the College of William and Mary. Ted Rohrlich called me ahead of time to say I would be running all the Virginia state media because he was going to be tied up with national media. Not a problem.

I don't remember exactly how many days I spent in Williamsburg working the pre-debate press preparation, credentials, and so on with the Secret Service. I got to say hello to Rex Granum and observed the many Carter people who were becoming famous and who would soon be part of the Carter administration. There was an atmosphere of anticipation for the debate, and also excitement about the future. It was beginning to seem that Gov. Carter would become President Carter for real.

I learned that working with Secret Service agents was great. They wanted to support activities if possible and support those of us working events as creatively as possible. I also learned some valuable tips about security from them. Being behind the scenes and learning how things worked,

while I worked, was exciting. One of the most important things I learned was that either you can be at an event, or you can work an event, but you can't do both. Clearly, I preferred to work events.

The Astronaut

On Oct. 25, Shirley and I met Sen. John Glenn to take him to events in Hampton and Williamsburg. We prepped him on the local political situation, which in Virginia at that time, at least, was always convoluted if not downright bizarre. He was a strong Carter supporter and took that to the podium at both events. Not surprisingly, I found him to be a dream to work with.

The End of the Campaign

Lisa Bourdeaux returned to Tidewater for get-out-the-vote (GOTV) activities the last two weeks of the campaign and again stayed at my house. My two daughters considered her part of the family by then, and in between the comings and goings associated with GOTV she enjoyed them. The team effort paid off as Carter carried the First District. Lisa and I stayed in front of the TV at my house until Mississippi was called for Carter—somewhere around 2 a.m., if memory serves. I remember crying and being so amazed that I had actually been part of it all.

It was a split decision locally, however, as Democratic Senate candidate Adm. Elmo "Bud" Zumwalt lost to independent incumbent Harry F. Byrd Jr. and Democratic House candidate Bob Quinn lost to Republican Paul Trible. Carter won the First District, and Hampton went for Carter 53.3 percent vs. 41.7 percent for Gerald Ford. Overall, Virginia went to Ford 49.29 percent vs. 47.96 percent for Carter. Turnout statewide was 80.8 percent of registered voters, according to the Virginia Department of Elections.

That campaign marked the birth of the comeback effort of the Virginia Democratic Party. Virginia Democrats had been down so low that the bottom looked like up. Over time, and with consistent work, Virginia has become at least a purple state, and more often a blue state. I live in the very blue city of Alexandria, but it was not always so blue. I have been involved in various campaigns at various levels over the years in Virginia and elsewhere. The bottom line was, and always is, I.D. your vote and turn it out.

Editor's Note: The Carter-Mondale newsletter appreciates stories from our alumni that remind us of our work so long ago and the bonds that keep us close.

The Carter Presidency Deserves to be Reconsidered

by Richard Moe

This article was first published by The History News Network.

There are at least two compelling reasons why this is a good time to reassess the presidency of Jimmy Carter. First, he has passed his 95th birthday and holds the record as America's longest-living former president. Second, during a brief but revealing dustup between Donald Trump and Jimmy Carter recently, the current president of the United States told us he thought his predecessor was a "terrible" and "forgotten" president. Having served four years in the Carter-Mondale White House, I believe strongly that both assertions are dead wrong, and I will argue here that Carter's was one of the most consequential presidencies in recent history, particularly in his commitment to human rights.

When Americans think of Jimmy Carter today, they often hasten to commend his work after he left the White House. He and his wife, Rosalynn, founded The Carter Center in Atlanta, dedicated to promoting democracy in emerging countries, to resolving international disputes peacefully, and to eradicating, especially in Africa, chronic and deadly diseases such as Guinea worm. He has set a new standard for former presidents by selflessly dedicating himself to helping people around the world improve their lives.

As worthy as Jimmy Carter's post-presidency has been, however, it shouldn't overshadow his time in office, which has been too often overlooked and which stands in sharp contrast to

what we see in the White House today. President Carter was well known for tackling almost every tough issue that came his way, usually regardless of the political cost:

- Carter struggled with a chronic energy crisis, but in the end he put the country on a clear path to energy independence.
- By deregulating natural gas and appointing Paul Volcker to head the Federal Reserve, he brought inflation under control, where it remained (prior to COVID-19).
- Carter appointed more women, African Americans, and Hispanics to judgeships and senior positions than all of his 38 predecessors combined.
- He created new departments of Energy and Education, but perhaps the most significant structural change he made was the creation of "the modern vice presidency," which he



Egyptian President Anwar Sadat (left), U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin make a three-way handshake at the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, one of the foreign policy achievements of the Carter administration.

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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.

and Walter Mondale shaped to enable the nation's No. 2 elected official to reside just steps from the Oval Office, with complete access to the president and the White House information flow, and to be available to the chief executive for advice and/or special assignment. This model has been replicated, with appropriate modifications, by almost every subsequent administration.

- With the use of administrative tools and the cooperation of Congress, President Carter successfully led the effort to protect, incredibly, 140 million acres as new parklands, wildlife refuges, national forests, and wilderness areas in Alaska.

Carter's accomplishments in the international arena were equally impressive:

- He brought about a lasting peace between Israel and Egypt after 13 intense days at Camp David with Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin.
- He proposed transferring control of the Panama Canal to the people of Panama, perhaps the toughest issue of all by his own account. The canal today under the Panamanians is an unqualified success story.
- He also reached an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union and normalized diplomatic relations with China.

The list goes on, all of it spelled out in Stuart Eizenstat's splendid and thorough new book, "President Carter." Other Carter biographies are in the works, ensuring that his presidency will not be "forgotten."

In the administration's final days, Vice President Walter Mondale famously summarized the four years: "We told the truth, we obeyed the law, and we kept the peace," words Carter had inscribed on the wall of The Carter Center. In 2015, in the introduction of his then-new book, "A Full Life," he repeated the Mondale quote and then wrote, "I would add, 'We championed human rights.'"

It was an appropriate addition to his legacy, because, as he said later, "I decided that human rights would be the centerpiece of our foreign policy." More than any other president since Abraham Lincoln, Carter consistently embraced human rights, whatever other issues required attention. Even Panama was a human rights issue because U.S. control of the canal embodied America's flirtation with imperialism in an earlier era and thus impeded our ability to promote democracy in a region enamored of authoritarianism.

After years of American neglect, the president dispatched his U.N. ambassador, Andrew Young, and others to Africa to

bring aid and American values, a combination that won many new friends. He sent Mondale to meet with Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa to state America's unequivocal opposition to apartheid. Mondale also sought Vorster's assistance in bringing majority rule to Zimbabwe/Rhodesia. Virtually all of these Carter initiatives were ultimately successful.

He ordered a reluctant U.S. Navy to rescue refugees fleeing Southeast Asia in unseaworthy boats on the high seas, seeking safe havens hundreds of miles away. The rescue operation probably saved thousands of lives.

It was this kind of principled and courageous leadership that earned Jimmy Carter the Nobel Peace Prize for his "untiring effort to find peaceful solutions to international conflicts, to advance democracy and human rights, and to promote economic and social development."

As impressive as all this is, the administration was not without setbacks. In the early years, the American people were hurt by high prices and long gas lines, painful reminders of a staggering economy and an uncertain energy future. By the end of his term, however, solid policies were in place in both sectors, and prosperity was in sight, if not yet fully in place.

Carter was committed to achieving universal health care but believed it had to be brought about incrementally, so he proposed a universal catastrophic plan ensuring that no family's resources would be depleted by a serious illness or injury. But Sen. Ted Kennedy, who planned to challenge the president for the 1980 nomination, insisted that the nation move immediately to universal coverage. Negotiations between the two broke down; Kennedy refused to compromise even after he lost his campaign for the nomination; sadly, the nation had to wait another 30 years to advance the cause of universal health care.

When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, Carter imposed stiff economic sanctions, a controversial decision in the Farm Belt. He began a buildup of American military might—to be continued by President Reagan—that the Russians were compelled to match, eventually bringing on the economic crisis that caused the Soviet Union to disintegrate.

Perhaps most damaging to Carter, Iranians took 52 diplomats and others from the U.S. Embassy in Tehran hostage. Working patiently to secure their release through diplomacy with no results, he finally ordered the military to plan and execute a risky rescue mission, which tragically fell victim to desert sand fouling the helicopter engines on which

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the mission depended. Dejected but still determined, Carter continued to negotiate for the release of the hostages, which he ultimately secured, although the Americans did not clear Iranian air space until minutes after Carter officially left office.

If Jimmy Carter had a flaw as president, it wasn't in the areas of policy or principle, but rather in the politics

I saw him soon come to recognize that effective governance requires a mix of both policy and politics, in the right measure at the right time.

surrounding an issue. He believed the campaign was over, and he hated hearing political arguments in policy discussions. I remember sitting in the Cabinet room early on when someone made a political point about welfare reform.

The president looked at him with his steely blue eyes and said, "I want to hear substantive arguments. I'll take care of the politics." Well, sometimes he did and sometimes he didn't, but I saw him soon come to recognize that effective governance requires a mix of both policy and politics, in the right measure at the right time. He continued to grow in the office and never strayed from what he thought was best for the country. Through four years in the White House, I never failed to feel proud to be there and to work for this president.

It was true what Mondale had said, as amended: "We told the truth, we obeyed the law, we kept the peace, and we championed human rights." Those words deserve serious reflection, because they bear virtually no resemblance to what we see in the presidency today, certainly not on our southern border.

About the Author: Richard Moe served from 1977 to 1981 as chief of staff to Vice President Walter Mondale and as an assistant to President Jimmy Carter. He is the author, most recently, of "Roosevelt's Second Act: The Election of 1940 and the Politics of War."

Passages

Shirley Bitting was an early Jimmy Carter supporter who many of us knew from her role years ago as the primary alumni contact at The Carter Center. She started this newsletter and was its editor for many years. Her infectious laughter and amiable demeanor greeted many inquiries from interested alumni.

Earlier, Shirley was involved in the Georgia Conservancy in its formative stages when Jimmy Carter was a charter member. She helped the conservancy protect Georgia's natural resources by advocating sound environmental policies, advancing sustainable growth practices, and facilitating common-ground solutions.

Her early activities in politics came when she volunteered at the Georgia Democratic Party offices. She was active in the Carter for President campaign, where she worked for Morris Dees in fundraising. She worked in the Office of the First Lady before returning to Atlanta, where she later worked at The Carter Center.

Wadie Deddeh was a California state legislator who was an early Carter supporter in 1976 and again in 1980.

He was born in Baghdad, Iraq, and grew up in a



Wadie Deddeh

Chaldean family with a passion for politics. He came to California to teach Arabic at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, and later he joined the political science faculty at Southwestern College in Chula Vista. He was first and foremost a teacher, an Iraqi American who understood the history, culture, and government of both his native country and his adopted one, and relished sharing his insights.

He spent 16 years in the California Assembly and 11 in the State Senate, earning a reputation for bipartisanship. "The word 'compromise' need not be offensive to people," he once told the San Diego Union-Tribune.

He had a particular interest in transportation and in 1972 authored legislation creating the California Department of Transportation. Previously, highway functions had been handled by a division in the state Department of Public Works.

He also worked as a lobbyist and as a consultant for a corporation that recruited Iraqi translators for the military.



Leslie H. Gelb

Leslie H. Gelb observed and influenced U.S. foreign policy for decades as a government official, journalist, and president of the Council on Foreign Relations, where he sought to bring common sense to international power struggles.

In the 1960s at the Defense Department, he edited the *Pentagon Papers*, a history of U.S. involvement in Vietnam that was later leaked to the press. In the 1970s, Gelb worked at the Brookings Institution, taught at Georgetown University, and was a diplomatic correspondent for the *New York Times*.

He served in the State Department during the administration of President Carter, helping negotiate a strategic arms limitation treaty with the Soviet Union.

“When Jimmy Carter talked about being true to our values, it had a lot of resonance in the country,” Gelb once said. “At the beginning of the Carter administration, I don’t believe there was any higher priority for the president than arms control.”

At the *Times*, he shared a Pulitzer Prize in 1986 for a series of articles about the implications of the Strategic Defense Initiative—dubbed “Star Wars”—proposed during the administration of President Ronald Reagan.

He later became president of the Council on Foreign Relations, where he sought to address the growing threat of violence from loosely organized terrorist groups.

Gelb published several books on foreign policy. In his 2009 book, *Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy*, he called for a pragmatic approach to international relations but warned that the United States was “at the point of declining as a nation and a world power.” To retain its influence abroad, he wrote, the United States would first have to improve its infrastructure, health care, and education at home.



F. Allen “Tex” Harris

F. Allen “Tex” Harris was a 6-foot-7-inch Texan who was assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires in 1977, soon after Jimmy Carter became president and made human rights a cornerstone of his foreign policy.

He had a key role in exposing human rights abuses in Argentina, which was controlled by a group of military leaders who had seized control of the government in 1976 after the

chaotic two-year presidency of Isabel Peron and imprisoned and killed thousands of people.

Prior to the Carter-Mondale administration, the Argentina military leaders were applauded by the United States for providing stability. Harris soon learned of widespread efforts by the government to stifle dissent, often through kidnappings and killings.

He compiled thousands of note cards documenting cases of disappearance, torture and death, reporting to the State Department that Argentina’s military leaders had “a clear intention to exterminate” anyone who opposed them. Even children and babies were seized from parents deemed to be dissidents. Harris said, “There was no due process. There were no trials. There were no appeals.”

From 1977 to 1979, Harris filed 13,500 complaints about human rights violations. He and his family came under threat from Argentine authorities and militia groups.

When his career was resurrected in the late 1980s, he served in South Africa during the final years of apartheid and helped with efforts to limit the spread of AIDS in Africa. He also served at various times in Venezuela and Australia before retiring from the State Department in 1999.

Harris was a longtime force in the American Foreign Service Association, an advocacy organization for State Department officials, and served two times as its president. In 2000, the association named an award “for constructive dissent” in his honor. In recent years, Harris spoke out about climate change and the importance of using diplomacy to solve the world’s problems.

Richard Gordon Hatcher, former mayor of Gary, Indiana, was the first African American mayor of a major American city and advised President Jimmy Carter on issues of civil rights and urban policy.

He was elected to the Gary City Council in 1963, at which time he sponsored and implemented Gary’s first Open Occupancy Law, allowing African Americans to live outside of the Midtown area where they had been previously restricted.

Later, as mayor, Hatcher fought tirelessly to improve the lives of residents.

He developed and hosted the National Black Political Convention in Gary in 1972 and went on to be deemed nationally the “Dean of Black Politics.” When

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he left office in 1987, there were more than 300 African American mayors in cities across the country. This success is attributed to Mayor Hatcher's trailblazing leadership and national organizing.

He was vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee from 1981 to 1985, and he chaired Rev. Jesse Jackson's 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns.

Judge G. Conley Ingram was an early and active supporter of Jimmy Carter both in the governor's office and as a presidential candidate. He was a former member of the Carter Center Board of Trustees and was on the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games.

His career was filled with honors from the legal profession and from his many civic activities.

Ingram was special assistant attorney general for the State of Georgia from 1979 to 1986 and was a member and vice chairman of the State Commission on Compensation from 1987 to 1996. He served as a judge on the Cobb County Juvenile Court 1960-64; on the Cobb County Superior Court 1964-68; as a justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia from August 1, 1973, to August 1, 1977; and as a senior Superior Court judge, State of Georgia, in the Cobb Judicial Circuit from 1998 until his retirement on Nov. 1, 2019. He also was a partner at the law firm of Alston & Bird from 1977 until 1998.

Ingram's professional achievements and activities included serving as a trustee of the Georgia Bar Foundation, a fellow of the American College of Trial Lawyers, and a fellow of the American Academy of Appellate Lawyers.

He was a member of the Old War Horse Lawyers Club's Board of Governors, a member of the Georgia Arbitrators Forum, and a trustee of the Georgia Bar Foundation.



Ray Jenkins

Ray Jenkins, a former Baltimore Evening Sun editorial page editor and a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, was special assistant to President Jimmy Carter and a deputy to press secretary Jody Powell.

He was born in Sylvester, Georgia, was raised on his family's farm in South Georgia, and graduated from the Grady School of Journalism at the University of Georgia in 1950.

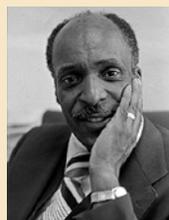
Jenkins began his career as a reporter in 1951 with

the Columbus (Georgia) Ledger and was a member of the team that won the 1955 Pulitzer Prize for exposing political corruption in Phenix City, Alabama, an Army post town near Fort Benning, Georgia. His stories about gambling, prostitution and corruption culminated in the arrest and indictment of the city's mayor.

He was promoted to city editor of the Ledger, a position he held until 1959, when he became city editor of the Alabama Journal in Montgomery; later he was promoted to its editorial page editor. In 1976, he became editorial page editor of the Montgomery Advertiser.

He spent nearly two decades covering the civil rights movement. Shortly after arriving in Montgomery, Jenkins befriended Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. It was a professional relationship and friendship that enabled him to provide readers in a deeply segregated South with a deeper understanding of King's mission and his personal convictions. Jenkins followed King on the civil rights trail, including the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery and the 1963 March on Washington.

The most significant story he ever wrote was a routine story that didn't even carry a byline. It was about an advertisement in The New York Times in 1960 that requested funds to defend King in a Montgomery perjury case, while at the same time castigating Alabama justice and Alabama officials. Jenkins' story set in motion a series of events that led to the Supreme Court's landmark *New York Times v. Sullivan* libel decision, which stiffened criteria for public officials to pursue libel cases.



Nathaniel R. Jones

Nathaniel R. Jones, a former chief legal spokesman for the civil rights movement who was appointed a federal appeals court judge by Jimmy Carter, devoted his long career to eradicating the legacy of slavery endured by his own family.

The general counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the 1970s, Jones revealed unwelcome truths by challenging school segregation in the North and racial bias in the military justice system, in which, among other things, black defendants had complained of being unable to trust white lawyers. He was also a strong defender of affirmative action programs and other measures to address historic discrimination.

His invitation to the White House in March 1979

for the 25th anniversary of the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* school integration decision turned into a personal celebration as well: President Jimmy Carter named him to the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit in Cincinnati. He retired from the bench in 2002.

In 1985, Jones was arrested in South Africa for protesting the country's apartheid policies. He later helped draft the constitution that ended that country's system of legal racial segregation and advised emerging African nations in designing judicial systems.

During the Kennedy administration, Jones had been the first black person to be named assistant United States attorney for the Northern District of Ohio. Under President Lyndon B. Johnson, he was assistant general counsel to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, known as the Kerner Commission, which famously concluded in its report, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

In 2016 he received the NAACP's highest honor, the Spingarn Medal.

Jones held to a simple but powerful credo. As he told *The Cincinnati Enquirer* in 2012, "The key to prevailing as a minority in a segregated, oppressive society is to not let the prevailing stereotypes define who you are."

Michael Kraft, brother of Tim Kraft, was a longtime resident of Washington, D.C., and a native of Noblesville, Indiana. He was an officer in the U.S. Navy, a journalist, a staffer in both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, a political consultant, a director of development for an international medical organization, and a renovator of business and residential properties.

His love of all things Hoosier was legendary, and he was a generous friend who was quick to offer advice, a job connection, or a place to stay. For years he was a weekly driver of McKenna's Wagon, a food truck that fed Washington's homeless population. He ran his first marathon on his 50th birthday and became a passionate rower on the Potomac River. He will be remembered for his customary farewell to friends and family: "Go forth and do good."

In 1977, **James Lipton** produced President Jimmy Carter's inaugural gala, the first ever to be televised. The gala event was hailed as a great success despite the freezing temperatures uncommon to many Georgia attendees.



James Lipton

James Lipton was best known for his in-depth conversations with celebrities on the popular show "Inside the Actors Studio" for 23 seasons on Bravo. Lipton was a knowledgeable interviewer who focused on craft while avoiding gossip.

"Inside the Actors Studio" became a coveted stop for writers, directors, and performers, many of whom would give some of their longest and most unguarded interviews to Lipton. The show was nominated for 21 Primetime Emmys over the years. In 2013 it won the Emmy for outstanding informational series or special. And in 2016, Lipton won the Critics' Choice Television Award for best reality show host.

Peanut brigadiers **Dee and Bob Milledge** were supporters of The Carter Center and passed away within months of each other.

Dee was the most affable of people, widely curious, generous, and encouraging, and as unflaggingly positive as could ever be. She was a spirit without complaint and a dear and lasting companion who made and kept friends everywhere she went. She was famously talented and industrious at domestic arts, particularly cooking and needlecraft. At Christmas, the world around Dee awaited her miraculous eggnog. With a similarly semi-magical touch, Dee grew supermarket basil seedlings into shrub-sized herbal wonders whose leaves graced pastas, salads, and dinner guest to-go sacks all the summer long.

Bob was a man of science and faith and a perpetual student of varied interests, from astronomy and natural history to religious studies, Renaissance art, and Italian language. He was a proper bibliophile, an incessant reader across genres and fields of history, politics, theology, fiction, poetry, and how-to manuals.

A wryly funny and committed contrarian, he became a doctor in a family of lawyers, a fan of Trollope over Dickens, a cheekily sparring viewpoint to the local paper's editorial page, and a trusty spokesperson for traditions and institutions, lest they be forgotten, misremembered, or meddled with. He was also an inquiring and adventurous traveler (encouraged and accompanied by Dee), a capable electronics tinkerer, a ham radio builder and operator, and an avid collector of tools, machines, clocks, and stray cats.

At work, he was treasured as a conduit for a seemingly

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oceanic current of good to bad jokes that coursed through the operating rooms of his medical career.



Terrence M. O'Connell

Terrence M. O'Connell was a walk-on member of the 1964 University of Michigan Big Ten and Rose Bowl Champion Wolverine Football team and worked briefly as a junior high school teacher in Amherst, New York, until his enlistment in the U.S. Army.

He was a commissioned officer and a platoon leader with the 25th Infantry Division in Vietnam, where he was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, three Purple Hearts, the Bronze Star with "V" Device, the Air Medal with "15" Device, the Combat Infantryman Badge, and the Parachutist Badge. During combat he once threw himself on a grenade to protect his fellow soldiers.

Most knew O'Connell in his civilian capacity, as advisor under both President Carter and President Clinton. In addition to his national experience as political director and assistant to the executive director of the Democratic National Committee, he worked with state and local governments in the United States and abroad beginning as early as the DNC in 1973.

He brought his gregarious larger-than-life personality and booming voice to campaigns along with his superb management skills. O'Connell began with Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson in 1976 and then moved on to manage the Carter campaign in California and the Carter-Mondale ticket in the 1976 general election. He served as a consultant on Jack Carter's U.S. Senate campaign in Nevada in 2006.

O'Connell's efforts included extensive work with national, state, and local election campaigns, as well as government reorganizations. He was founder of The Keefe Company and later the founder and chief operating officer of Davis O'Connell, a Washington, D.C.-based governmental relations firm.

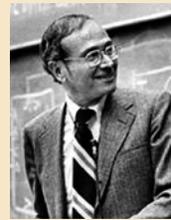
O'Connell was appointed Chairman of the Reserve Forces Policy Board by Secretary of Defense William J. Perry, where he served from 1994 to 2001.

Edward "Ned" John Parrish III worked in the Correspondence office of the Carter-Mondale administration. His parents were detained in a Japanese prison camp

in Manila, Philippines, and he was raised in Pelham Manor, Westchester County, New York. He was an undergraduate at Monmouth College in Illinois, majoring in business administration until he was drafted into the Army in 1966.

After his service, Parrish managed three departments at Sears on Wisconsin Avenue in Washington. He also bought, renovated, and sold houses.

Up until 2018, Parrish turned his hobby of buying and selling antiques into a vocation while working at Michael Getz Antiques in Georgetown, specializing in the sale of silver, andirons, and antiques. He served many politicians, dignitaries, and celebrities.



Dr. Frank Press

President Carter named **Dr. Frank Press** director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy in 1977. In that role he was the president's top science advisor, concerned with ensuring that the United States stayed at the forefront of scientific research and with pursuing international alliances and agreements.

Press was a geophysicist by training when he began consulting for the federal government—first for the Navy, then the United States Geological Survey, the State Department, the Department of Defense, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, among other agencies.

Early in his career he worked on a nuclear test-ban treaty with the Soviet Union at a time when Cold War tensions still predominated. He prophetically told a dignitary-filled banquet in Beijing in July 1978, at the end of a visit to China aimed at breaking down barriers, "Cooperation among scientific communities in all countries will become even more important in the years ahead as the problems we face increasingly will transcend national boundaries." He was proud of his role in opening the U.S. to Chinese students, many thousands of whom have stayed to become American citizens.

President Carter described in 2013 how that influx of Chinese students came about.

"A president, when he's sleeping in the White House, is rarely disturbed unless there's some crisis that arises, something that he needs to address that won't wait until morning," President Carter said. "One night, Rosalynn and I were sleeping in the bedroom and the phone rang about 3 o'clock in the morning, and I thought, 'Oh, my, there's a

tragedy somewhere in the United States.”

He was surprised to find Dr. Press on the line.

“I said, ‘Frank, what’s happened, another Mount Etna or something like that exploded?’” President Carter recounted. “He said, ‘No, I’m in China with Deng Xiaoping,’” the Chinese leader.

“He said, ‘Deng Xiaoping insisted I call you now to see if you would permit 5,000 Chinese students to come to American universities,’” President Carter continued. “And I was very angry. I said, ‘Tell him to send a hundred thousand,’ and I slammed the phone down. Within five years, we had 100,000 Chinese students with us.”

Press taught geophysics at Columbia and directed the Seismological Laboratory. He helped apply early computer technology to measuring earthquakes and worked to improve monitoring equipment and to develop a worldwide network of monitoring devices. He was among the scientists who brought this equipment to bear on measuring the explosions from nuclear testing.

In 1994 Press was awarded the National Medal of Science.



Robert "Robby" E. Rivers Jr.

Robert "Robby" E. Rivers Jr. was a Carter campaign supporter who earned a bachelor's degree in political science with honors from the University of Georgia in 1973 and a Juris Doctor degree from the Emory University School of Law in 1977.

He entered public service as assistant district attorney for the Coweta Judicial Circuit from 1984 to 1986. He began in state government as a legal assistant for the Speaker's Office of the Georgia House of Representatives from 1986 to 1991, then became acting clerk of the Georgia House of Representatives in 1991, and then served as the clerk of the Georgia House of Representatives from 1992 to 2013.

Rivers loved his state and the Georgia House of Representatives. As clerk, he was known for his knowledge of the law and the rules of the House, but more importantly for his willingness to help.

Paul F. Shone Jr. was a lifelong resident of Marshfield, Massachusetts, and a 1968 graduate of Catholic Memorial High School in West Roxbury. He received his BA from Suffolk University in 1973 and a master's in public administration from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. His career as a political consultant,

strategist, and pollster spanned 50 years, during which time he managed campaigns for a variety of politicians.

He is remembered by many Carter-Mondale alumni as an excellent field operative. No mission and no state was too tough for Shone, and he never complained. Shone's skills were applied to the campaigns of Joseph Timilty for Boston mayor, 1975; Paul Tsongas for Senate, 1978; John Glenn for president in New Hampshire, 1984; Tsongas for president, 1992; Michael Dukakis for president, 1988; John Kerry for president, 2004; and Barack Obama for president, 2008. There were many others.

Shone always just went out and did his job, always skillfully and pleasantly. Staff colleagues and volunteers alike loved working with him. He was a man of intellect, humor, and devotion who made a huge difference in many lives and many elections.



Edwin D. Spivia

Edwin D. Spivia is best known for putting the state of Georgia on the map as a great location for filmmakers and as a favorite destination for millions of tourists from all over the country and the world.

In 1968, Spivia went to work for the State of Georgia Department of Industry and Trade, where, after visiting the "Deliverance" film site, he conceived the idea of Georgia becoming a desirable location for movie and television producers. He presented this concept to Gov. Jimmy Carter, who chose Spivia to develop the Georgia Film Commission, which lured film production to the state as part of his economic development initiative.

The effort began in earnest in 1972, and in the next 10 years over 200 films were produced in Georgia.

Carter then asked Spivia to head up the Georgia Tourism Division. During his seven-year tenure, Spivia developed the concept of promoting the different regions of Georgia, halting communities' practice of competing against each other for tourists. This innovative approach increased the state's tourism budget threefold and moved Georgia from 27th in tourism revenue and visitation nationally to seventh and second only to Florida in the Southeast.

Spivia's entrepreneurial spirit led him to the Lakewood Fairgrounds in South Atlanta with the idea of developing the property to include a major film studio. Through his

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contacts at Universal Studios, Spivia convinced Universal to build the 18,000-seat Lakewood Amphitheater on the site, which became a major entertainment venue.

His efforts culminated in Georgia being ranked in the top three film, video, and music production states in the country.



Angelique O. Stahl

Angelique O. Stahl's dedication to candidates and causes helped chart the course of Democratic politics in Broward County, Florida. Her long career in public life included serving on the U.S. delegation to the United Nations in 1978–79 by appointment of President Jimmy Carter.

She worked tirelessly in support of Democratic candidates for national, state, and county office and for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. “Those who have a little more should give back a little more. Politics is a way of giving it back,” she once said.

Stahl was heavily involved in the community, serving on organizations that included the Broward Planning Council, the Council for the Arts, and the Fort Lauderdale Museum of Art. In 1978, she helped found Broward Federal Savings and Loan, becoming one of the few women at that time to chair the board of a financial institution and serve as CEO.



Richard Swann

Richard Swann, a key Democratic Party fundraiser and former finance chair for President Jimmy Carter, was called “the godfather of Democratic fundraising in Florida.” For over 30 years he was the key Democratic Party fundraiser in Florida and was influential in business and political circles.

Swann became friends with Edna Langford, a close friend of Rosalynn Carter. Langford brought the future first lady to Orlando to enlist Swann's support for her husband's presidential campaign in 1974. Swann became finance chair for Jimmy Carter's runs in 1976 and 1980.

Swann grew up in Orlando and began his long career as a fundraiser by backing his friend Bill Gunter's races for the Florida Legislature in 1966, the U.S. House in 1972, and the U.S. Senate in 1974.

Swann also helped launch the career of Terry

McAuliffe, a longtime friend who married Swann's daughter Dorothy. McAuliffe became President Bill Clinton's finance chair in 1992.

Swann would hold several fundraisers for both Bill and Hillary Clinton over the years. McAuliffe was elected governor of Virginia in 2013, and Dorothy became the state's first lady.

He served as finance chair for both Bill McBride in his unsuccessful Democratic run for Florida governor in 2002 and McBride's wife, Alex Sink, in her gubernatorial run in 2010, likewise unsuccessful.



Charles Berkley Tisdale

Charles Berkley Tisdale was a larger-than-life figure in Bridgeport, Connecticut, who became the face of the region's anti-poverty movement. He was the only African American to be nominated by voters to serve as a major party candidate for Bridgeport mayor and was the first African American to get the Democratic nomination for U.S.

Congress in Connecticut.

Tisdale was a football player at North Carolina A&T and an inductee in the school's sports hall of fame. After his college career, he was called to try out for NFL teams, but there were no opportunities at the time for black quarterbacks, and he refused to change his position. Tisdale went on to play football during his time of service in the U.S. Army in the United States and Germany.

Tisdale served as executive director for the Action for Bridgeport Community Development. “He created so many opportunities in Bridgeport,” said Carolyn Vermont, the mayor's communication liaison. “He was an icon in the community.”

Tisdale's work at the agency caught the eye of President Carter, who in 1977 asked him to join his administration as an economic policy advisor at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. President Carter then promoted Tisdale to the Federal Interagency Committee on Integration of Human Delivery Systems, where he held the position of staff director for three years.

After leaving the White House, Tisdale served as field director for World Vision, which brings humanitarian aid to millions of refugees and children worldwide. He also operated his own consulting firm, JST, Inc., which developed public- and private-sector initiatives.



Sterling Tucker

Sterling Tucker was a Washington-based civil rights organizer and politician who in 1974 became chairman of the first popularly elected D.C. Council in more than a century.

Tucker was a central player in D.C. politics and political activism for more than three decades. He rose to prominence in the 1960s as director of the Washington Urban League, a civil rights organization, and as a principal organizer of the 1968 demonstration known as the Poor People's Campaign.

"We hope to create not a climate of fear, but a climate of hopefulness," he said at the time. "Poverty and violence are about to bring our nation down if we do not stand up now."

Tucker was affected by his experience with the Washington Urban League, where he worked for 13 years before his D.C. Council appointment. The organization focused mainly on jobs and employment opportunities for African Americans. Tucker was one of the chief architects of the league's decision to organize poor blacks in city ghettos and became recognized as a key spokesman for D.C.'s disenfranchised African American community.

As vice chairman, Tucker worked with other political leaders and activists to bring about long-sought home rule for the District. He resigned as the Urban League's director in 1974 and ran that year virtually unopposed for D.C. Council chairman in the first election after home rule was enacted.

In 1979, President Carter appointed Tucker to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development as assistant secretary in charge of fair housing and equal opportunity programs.



Paul Volcker

Paul Volcker was the Federal Reserve Board chairman appointed by President Carter who took charge of the Fed in August 1979, when the U.S. economy was in the grip of runaway inflation.

At the time, inflation had emerged as a serious economic and political challenge. Volcker's monetary policies were widely credited with curbing climbing prices. U.S. inflation, which peaked at 14.8% in March 1980, fell below 3% by 1983. Nevertheless, Volcker's Fed drew sharp attacks.

Working relentlessly to bring prices under control, Volcker raised the Fed's benchmark interest rate from 11% to a record 20% by late 1980 to try to slow the economy's growth and thereby shrink inflation. Those high interest rates made it so expensive for people and companies to borrow that the economy weakened steadily.

By January 1980, a recession had begun. It lasted six months. A deeper and more painful downturn took hold in July 1981. It endured for 18 months and sent unemployment up to 10.8% in November and December 1982, the highest level since the Great Depression. Volcker was vilified by the public for having triggered a severe recession in order to curb runaway price increases.

In a statement after Volcker's passing, President Carter called him a "giant of public service."

"Paul was as stubborn as he was tall (6'7"), and although some of his policies as Fed chairman were politically costly, they were the right thing to do," the statement said.

However, the combination of the Fed's tight money policies and the expansive fiscal policy of the Reagan administration (large tax cuts and a major increase in military spending) produced large federal budget deficits and significant macroeconomic imbalances. The combination of growing federal debt and high interest rates led to a substantial rise in federal net interest costs, prompting Congress to take some steps toward fiscal constraint.

By sticking with his policies in the face of ferocious opposition, Volcker asserted the Fed's independence from political and public interference. Throughout its history, the Fed has been seen as needing to operate independently to properly carry out its key functions of maximizing employment and stabilizing prices.

As a senior Federal Reserve official from 1975 to 1987, Volcker sought to limit the easing of financial regulations and warned that the rapid growth of the federal debt threatened the nation's economic health.

President Barack Obama tapped Volcker to chair his Economic Recovery Advisory Board, formed in response to the 2008 financial crisis. In this, his last official post, Volcker persuaded lawmakers to impose new restrictions on big banks—a measure known as the "Volcker Rule."

Volcker interlaced his long stretches of public service with a career on Wall Street, most prominently as chief executive of the investment bank Wolfensohn & Company.