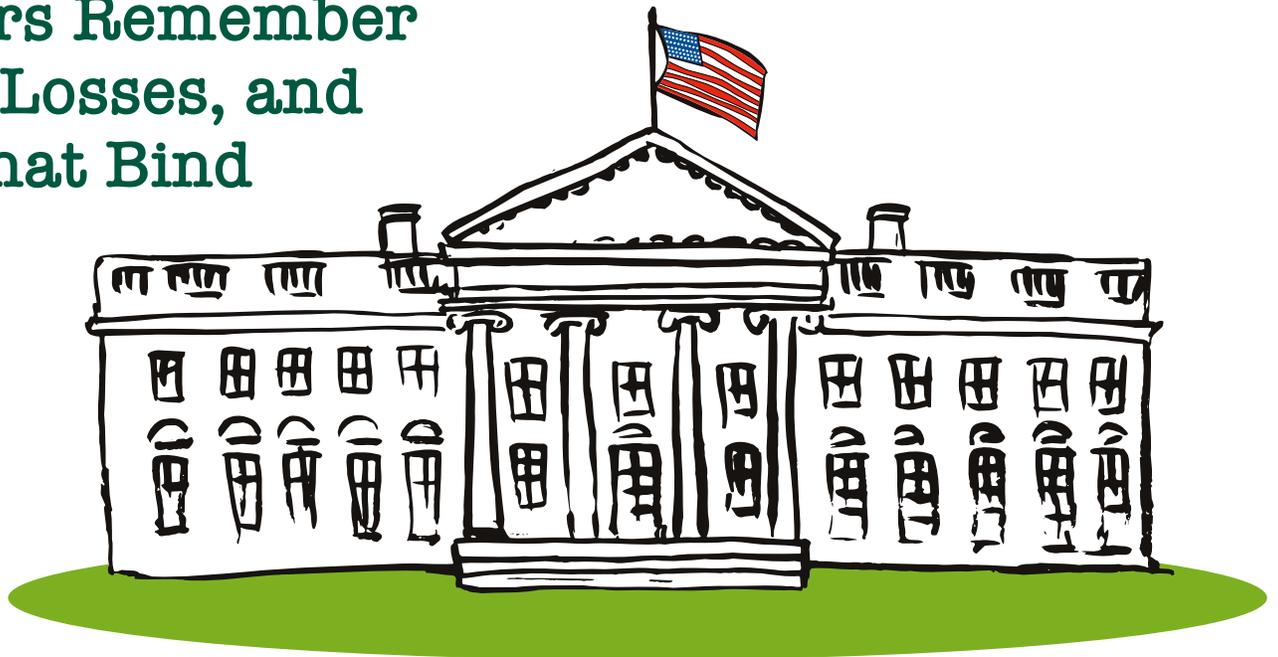


# THE Carter Mondale *Letter*

Summer 2021

Vol. 16, Issue 1

## Staffers Remember Wins, Losses, and Ties that Bind



**W**henever Carter-Mondale alumni get together, stories are shared of our remarkable time together over 40 years ago. Here are a few that we hope you will enjoy.

### **I'll Have What He's Having**

As the associate director for drug policy in the White House, **Lee I. Dogoloff** focused a lot of attention on Colombia, which was a major player in drug production and trafficking. On several trips to Colombia, he stayed at the American ambassador's residence in Bogotá, and Dogoloff and the ambassador got to know each other quite well.

In 1980, the ambassador, Diego Asencio, was held hostage for 61 days when members of the guerrilla group 19th of April Movement (M-19) seized the Dominican Republic's embassy in Bogotá.

After Asencio was released and returned to Washington, Dogoloff invited him and his wife, Nancy, to lunch at the White House mess. The Asencios were interested in having a film made about the kidnapping experience, and Nancy wanted

Robert Redford to play her husband. As it happened, Redford was having lunch at the next table; Nancy was impressed because she was absolutely convinced that Lee had arranged for that seating!

*continues on p. 2*



### **Walter Frederick Mondale 1928-2021**

*Vice President of the United States*

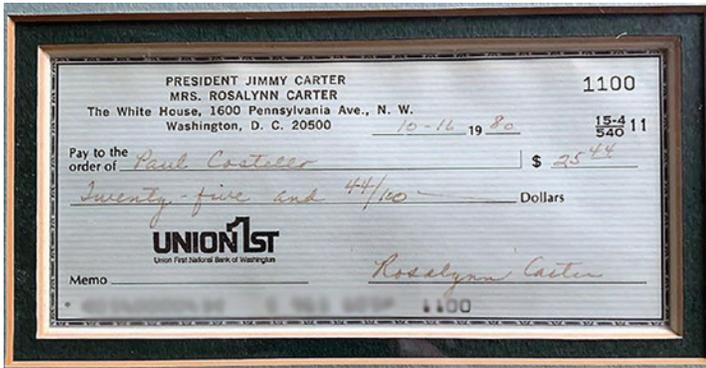
President and Mrs. Carter and the staff of The Carter Center mourn the recent passing of former Vice President Walter Mondale. We will pay special tribute in the next issue of the Carter/Mondale Letter and welcome your personal memories and anecdotes for publication. Please send them to Jay Beck at [jay.beck@cartercenter.org](mailto:jay.beck@cartercenter.org).

Continued from p. 1

## The Check Is in the Mail

In the fall of 1980, **Paul Costello**, assistant press secretary, Office of the First Lady, accompanied Mrs. Carter as she criss-crossed the country, campaigning in constant motion toward the November election. Often, they would leave Andrews Air Force Base before sunrise and visit three or four cities by late evening. At one stop, Mrs. Carter went into a store and selected a few books for Amy. She asked Costello if he would pay for them and get reimbursed when they returned to Washington. A few days later, back at the White House, a personal check for \$25.44 arrived on Costello's desk.

Instantly, he knew he would not cash it. After all, who has a check from the president and first lady?



**Mrs. Carter wrote a personal check to reimburse Paul Costello for the purchase of books for her daughter, Amy. He still has the check, 40 years later.**

A few weeks later, Madeline MacBean, Mrs. Carter's executive assistant, called Costello. "Rosalynn is balancing her checkbook, and you have not cashed that check," she said. Costello sheepishly told MacBean he did not plan to cash it and wanted to keep it for historical purposes. There was a pause on the phone, and then MacBean said, "We know the public doesn't cash checks like this. We just didn't think staff wouldn't."

A few days later, \$25.44 in cash was sitting on Costello's desk. He still has the check, shown above.

*Editor's Note: Costello just retired from Stanford University, where he served as chief communications officer for the School of Medicine for 17 years.*

## His Own Best Salesman

**Dan Tate**, the person primarily responsible for lobbying

the United States Senate for the White House Congressional Liaison office, shared these memories:

President Carter was his own most effective and successful lobbyist. His personal intervention won diverse and contentious issues—from approval of the Panama Canal Treaties, to guaranteeing through industry deregulation today's low airline fares, to the creation of the Department of Education and Department of Energy. Senators were amazed that President Carter did not tackle the easily achievable, and instead he often delivered the kicking-and-screaming approval of Congress. The list of his successes is impressively long, and its common thread is his personal dedication, tenacity, and advocacy.

Regularly, the Senate would conduct crucial votes to amend or pass key elements of President Carter's multifaceted legislative agenda. He was always eager to make calls directly to recalcitrant, unconvinced, or uncommitted senators. I would send him a briefing memorandum containing squibs of pertinent information on each of the 10 or 12 Senate targets. (This data was gathered by the hardworking congressional relations staff of the department responsible for the legislation's subject matter, e.g., the Transportation Department for airline deregulation legislation.) Then, I would add my own recommended talking points for every senator, noting each one's peculiar hang-ups or reservations. This was especially challenging because President Carter often knew the nuts and bolts of his initiatives better than I did—a sincere and admiration-filled compliment to him more than a confession by me.

The president's making these calls served three key objectives. First, we wanted to keep the other side off balance by never letting them be confident of their vote counts. Second, we made them continually double-check their perceived commitments so they could not spend all their time lobbying and recruiting uncommitted colleagues. Finally, we sought to demoralize the other side by taking away a senator's vote they thought was sewn up.

President Carter thoroughly enjoyed demonstrating to each senator his seemingly inexhaustible knowledge of an issue. Plus, he was uncannily successful in convincing practically every targeted senator to vote in favor of his position. (Eventually, without telling anyone, I had the president call one or two additional senators whom I knew to be opposed to our position—and amazingly, he often made a convert!) After the vote, my briefing memorandum would be returned. It always contained the president's handwritten notes on each conversation as well as his underscored notation that the

senator had committed to vote with the president. There was almost a swagger in his pen strokes.

President Carter had the decisive hand both in proposing bold initiatives to solve our most vexing problems at home and abroad, and then in working directly with lawmakers to ensure final, frequently arduous, congressional passage. At every step, from initial drafting to presidential signature, he was committed, inspiring, indefatigable, and relentless. Stuart Eizenstat has written that Jimmy Carter had arguably the most comprehensive record of domestic and foreign policy achievements of all the 20th and 21st century presidents. In fact, the others who might be in the conversation are FDR (who served for 13 years) and LBJ (six years).

It's also instructive to focus on how President Carter conducted himself and what he accomplished for the nation in the transition period between his November 1980 election loss and his opponent's January 1981 swearing-in. Rather than pout childishly and incite an insurrection to overturn the election results, he personally led the effort to complete his legislative agenda.

One of these Carter transition achievements merits special attention. Robert (Bob) Maher, a soft-spoken longtime Capitol Hill veteran on Frank Moore's staff, vociferously argued for devoting our efforts to passing the so-called Superfund legislation, a controversial Carter administration proposal to provide a detailed framework and payment mechanism under which business and industrial polluters would clean up hundreds of our nation's most egregious chemical waste sites. I opposed Bob, arguing that we should save whatever ammunition we had for more readily achievable issues. I lost. Bob personally got the Superfund legislation passed by both the House and the Senate. The enactment of Superfund is an important example of how talented but unheralded members of Frank Moore's staff got landmark legislation adopted against overwhelming opposition.

Jimmy Carter has never received the enormous credit he deserves for his numerous and commendable legislative and foreign policy accomplishments for our nation. Why? There are several not especially pretty but readily understandable reasons.

First, he lost his re-election. President-elect Reagan and his staff only had disparagement for Carter's domestic and overseas achievements. Second, many senior and usually outspoken Democratic senators lost their 1980 re-elections, and those who remained had little incentive to praise Carter's four years. Third, and most devastating, Sen. Ted Kennedy—who mortally wounded Carter with his 1980



Jimmy Carter Library and Museum

**Dan Tate remembers President Carter successfully lobbying Congress for his legislative agenda with key phone calls.**

primary challenge—became the Democrats' go-to guy and most frequent spokesman. He and his devotees continually demeaned Carter and never tolerated praise for the former president from any quarter.

There was an almost blissful ignorance among print and broadcast journalists and commentators in blindly heaping praise on Reagan and his team. An apt illustration is the weeks-long campaign that resulted in the House of Representatives' passage by only a single vote of a proposal to cut every American's personal income taxes by 25%. How much legislative acuity does one need to persuade a politician to slash his constituents' taxes by a whopping 25%? Contrast that with the Carter White House effort to gain adoption of the Panama Canal Treaties by 68 votes in the Senate—which historians are now coming to characterize as the single most astounding legislative or foreign policy achievement in the past century!

### **On That Midnight Train to Georgia**

**Beth Byrd** was the special assistant to Jim Free in congressional relations in the White House. During the primaries for the 1980 campaign, she took a leave of absence and volunteered in support of the campaign in Alabama. She remembers one of the staff there, W.C. Bradley, who came in every day and worked really hard ... and everyone became close friends.

After work some late nights, everyone would go out to eat or to a club somewhere in Birmingham to let off steam. W.C. had great moves on the floor, and when the dancing started, the rest of the office staff would just stop to watch

*continues on p. 4*

Continued from p. 3

him perform. He was very shy about the whole thing—yet as it turned out, he was one of the original “Pips” from Gladys Knight and the Pips! You never know. W.C. Bradley later managed the D.C. primary and subsequently went to work for Sterling Tucker in the Washington city government.



**At a night out during the 1980 campaign, Beth Byrd (in pink) noticed the smooth dance moves of W.C. Bradley (top row, third from left). Turns out, he was once a “Pip” from Gladys Knight and the Pips. Standing, left to right: Judy Cohen, Beth Byrd, W.C. Bradley, Bob Ellzey. Sitting, left to right: Kim McGuire, two unidentified people, Jay Beck, Cindy McCain.**

## Human Rights Case Breaks New Ground

**John Huerta** was one of two deputy assistant attorneys general during the Carter-Mondale administration and was involved in the important decision to adopt the view that torture is a violation of international law (the “law of nations”). This is a case that arose while the Paraguayan dictator Alfredo Stroessner’s regime was in power.

On March 29, 1976, the chief of police in Asuncion, Paraguay, Americo Peña-Irala, appointed by Stroessner, kidnapped, tortured, and killed the 17-year-old son of a political dissident, Dr. Joel Filártiga. That night police dragged the boy’s sister, Dolly, to view the mutilated corpse of her brother, who had been whipped, slashed, and tortured with electrical devices.

When Dolly reported to her father what she had seen, they concluded the death was because of the father’s

outspoken opposition to the Stroessner regime. Filártiga brought suit in Paraguayan courts, but after four years and endless harassment, he and his daughter left Paraguay and moved to New York City.

A few months later while having coffee with Dolly Filártiga in New York, a fellow Paraguayan expat pointed out Peña, the murderous police chief, in a nearby café. Dolly Filártiga reported Peña, who was arrested and held by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for having entered the country illegally.

Joel and Dolly Filártiga, with the help of the Center for Constitutional Rights, filed a wrongful-death lawsuit against Peña in U.S. district court. The lawsuit contended that U.S. district courts have jurisdiction over civil tort claims where both parties are aliens if the tort violates international law or a treaty of the United States.

Huerta, who handled the Carter Justice Department’s domestic and international human rights matters, drafted an amicus brief that held that under U.S. law, an alien can sue another alien in U.S. courts for a violation of international law. The U.S. 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals agreed.

The Filártigas eventually were awarded over \$10 million in damages but never were able to collect. The principle of the Filártiga case has been upheld by the Supreme Court, and the precedent has been followed by numerous other countries in recognition that torture is a violation of international law.

## A Savvy Lawyer Makes Her Case

Deputy White House Counsel **Margaret McKenna** remembers that a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Supreme Court’s *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision was planned for the East Room in 1979, with civil rights leaders from all over the country in attendance.

At the same time, there was an opening on the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals. The nomination had been in limbo for over nine months because the two senators from Ohio, John Glenn and Howard Metzenbaum, supported different candidates of the three options. Attorney General Griffin Bell supported either of the other two candidates but was opposed to the third, Nathaniel Jones, legal director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. Jones would be attending the East Room event.

Sensing the serendipity of the day, McKenna went to White House Counsel Bob Lipschutz and urged him to go see the president and recommend Jones for the judgeship. After all, Jones had actually worked on the *Brown* case.

Lipschutz went into the Oval Office while McKenna

hovered at the door. President Carter agreed to appoint Jones and as he left for the event told Lipschutz to call Bell and inform him of the decision. The appointment of Nathaniel Jones was announced in the East Room, and the cheers were heard throughout the West Wing and the Old Executive Office Building. When it came down to it, the president chose to do the right thing, not the politically easy thing.

## **The Rule of Law Has Ripple Effects**

**Homer Moyer** served as deputy general counsel for the Department of Commerce and later became Juanita Kreps' counselor to the secretary and then general counsel under Philip Klutznick. The following brief accounts of ripple effects grew out of Moyer's time in the Carter administration and parallel the values of The Carter Center.

In his international law practice, started after the administration, Moyer could see the impact of the anti-bribery Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA), enacted in the first year of the Carter-Mondale administration. It continues to transform business practices worldwide and is making the world a fairer and better place. Moyer has had opportunities to help guide Canada's and Morocco's efforts to conclude free trade agreements with the United States and to resolve numerous international trade disputes, all from his roots in the Commerce Department during the Carter administration.

More important have been pro bono projects for which the Carter Center's values of peace and hope seem apt. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, Sandy D'Alemberte, a president of the American Bar Association, and Moyer co-founded a project to provide technical legal assistance to countries emerging from the Soviet bloc and seeking to establish democratic societies. Called the Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI), this grew to become the largest pro bono project the ABA has ever undertaken, with more than 5,000 American lawyers and judges participating. (White House Counsel Lloyd Cutler, Sandra Day O'Connor, and Max Kampelman were charter board members.)

CEELI worked in 28 countries, led to the founding of the CEELI Institute—a flourishing rule-of-law training institute in Prague—and has evolved into the ABA's ongoing global Rule of Law Initiative, ROLI. This year, the 30th anniversary of CEELI-ROLI and the 20th anniversary of the CEELI Institute (<https://ceeliinstitute.org>) will be commemorated by the publication of "Building the Rule of Law: Firsthand Accounts from a 30-Year Global Campaign." The publication will include reminiscences of some 40 of the more than 500 lawyers who lived and served without pay for a year or more in remote countries around the world helping to build the rule of law.

---

***The Carter-Mondale administration has inspired so many things in which we can all take pride. They reinforce the values for which the United States has been regarded, until recently, as the international gold standard.***

---

Their service, and much of these overall initiatives, reflects a public service ethic that began with President Carter.

The Carter-Mondale administration has inspired so many things in which we can all take pride. They reinforce the values for which the United States has been regarded, until recently, as the international gold standard.

## **Defense Budgets Spark Battles**

**Randy Jayne** was the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) associate director for national security and international affairs from April 1977 to August 1980. He remembered these two stories of interaction with the president, vice president, and other senior leaders:

In my OMB role, I led the usually lengthy budget review meetings for these programs, held in the Cabinet Room, attended by President Carter, Vice President Mondale, senior White House staff (Ham Jordan, Stu Eizenstat, Frank Moore, Jody Powell, etc.). My portfolio meant three separate meetings (defense, foreign affairs, and intelligence) in November and December for decisions to form the president's budget to be presented to the new Congress after the first of the following year.

There were two very memorable White House budget review meetings, both on the defense budget, and one with a humorous footnote afterward. I have not changed the names to protect the guilty.

First, it is important to note that I was the only one of the four OMB associate directors (each of which had review responsibility for about a quarter of the total federal program and departments) who was not a card-carrying member of the Kennedy/Mondale/Muskie moderate-to-liberal side of the Democratic Party. I, on the other hand, was a Missourian, a Harry Truman Democrat, very much aligned with President Carter himself, Sen. Sam Nunn, Sen. Gary Hart, and others on the many issues for which I was responsible.

*continues on p. 6*

Continued from p. 5



U.S. Air Force

**Randy Jayne remembers being on the receiving end of relentless detailed questions about the budget for developing the F/A-18 Hornet, pictured here.**

This political reality led to barbs hurled my way in almost every budget meeting that I led, both from across the table and from the vice president, Fritz Mondale. The basic tenor was always, “So when might you cut some real fat out of the defense budget and not just approve anything they ask for?” Never doubting that my approach was very consistent with that of the president and my OMB bosses, Burt Lance and Jim McIntyre, as well as the other senior advisors to the president, I just basically nodded to these frequent volleys and went on with the discussions.

As is well documented, President Carter was and is both highly intelligent and technically savvy, and he had a penchant for detail. His questions drilling down lower and lower on an issue were legendary, particularly in budget reviews. In what has to have been the longest presidential defense budget review meeting in history, a meeting scheduled to run from 1 p.m. to 3:30 or 4 p.m. went on and on.

Late in the day, the topic was one of the major defense program issues of the decade, the question of whether or not to proceed with full-scale development of the F/A-18 Hornet jet for the Navy. Because the Hornet would replace existing aircraft on the carriers, the defense industry was split and lobbying hard for their desired outcome: Northrop and McDonnell Douglas, the F/A-18 team, pushing us to proceed, and Grumman and LTV, builders of legacy carrier aircraft to be replaced (F-14, A-6, A-7), arguing not to go forward and instead buy upgraded aircraft from them.

As on all budget issues, I had coordinated face to face in detail with Defense Secretary Harold Brown, Undersecretary

Bill Perry, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. David Jones, and three members of Navy leadership, Secretary Graham Claytor, Undersecretary Jim Woolsey, and Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) Adm. Tom Hayward. The three Department of Defense/Joint Chiefs of Staff executives were strongly supportive of the Hornet program, as was the CNO. Both Claytor and Woolsey were far less so, clearly influenced by the industry opponents and their congressional supporters, seeming to prefer not moving forward at that time.

As we began to present the F/A-18 budget issue to the president, Brown and Jones voiced their support, and I provided a brief description of the budget year dollars and tasks that would be completed in the first year of full-scale development. The president asked a question at a level of detail one step below what I had just said, and I answered him. He then went a level below that with another technical question, one that I did not know the answer for, but Perry answered. It was time to move on, but the president was in his engineer mode and asked yet another question, drilling below Perry’s answer. When Brown, Perry, and Jones shook their heads at me, I turned around to the staff members sitting in the chairs along the wall, behind the Cabinet table, to our OMB Defense Division chief and 30-year budget office veteran David Sitrin. Dave had a comprehensive, 6-inch-thick data book in his lap, and after paging through it, gave President Carter the answer. I relaxed, thinking, “Boss, since that level of detail required a 6-inch-thick reference book, that must be the logical end of your questioning on the matter.” But, as it turned out, I was wrong!

By this time, Mondale, Jordan, and others were rolling their eyes, and my one and only hope was for this drill-down to end with David’s obviously complete and detailed answer. But no, President Carter was not finished, and he asked yet another technical question, digging even deeper. The whole room of course was now looking at Sitrin, since none of the rest of us had any clue as to the answer. When Dave shook his head no, the president seemed unhappy that we could not answer. Totally exasperated, quite tired, and in hindsight more than a little insubordinate, I looked across at the president of the United States and said, “Well, Mr. President, I guess we’ve gotten down to a level of detail that even you don’t need to know.”

The minute it was out of my mouth, I realized how inappropriate it had been, and the president was clearly not happy, his face in a scowl. The room was dead silent, and I slowly sank as low into my chair as my 6-foot-4-inch frame would allow. Then, from absolutely the most unlikely source, came

salvation. My usual nemesis, Vice President Mondale, leaned over, put his arm around Carter's shoulders, and said in a voice that all in the big Cabinet Room could hear, "Well, boss, I think Randy got you that time." The president quickly smiled, the whole room broke out in laughter, and President Carter gave me a knowing look and smile, and we went on! Even though my entire life had passed before my eyes for a second or two there, I was still alive, breathing, and employed!

In the next few days, in quiet conversations in offices or hallways, many who had been in the room that day told me that they were at first horrified and then delighted that I had made a point that they too had felt on occasion but never voiced. I explained that common sense and good judgment clearly influenced them in ways that somehow had escaped me at that very moment. No wonder I can still recall to the last decimal point all the details of the first-year program for F/A-18 full-scale development.

Much later, I attended another budget review in the Cabinet Room with the president, vice president, and senior White House and Defense Department leaders. After Vietnam there were significant reductions in domestic operating bases, and a continuing effort to close these required a high level of administration political effort. The mere hint of a closure guaranteed a clamor from local congressional members and staff, state and local elected officials from the targeted area, and business interests whose business in part benefited from the people and programs on the particular base.

In each of our annual budget reviews, the vice president was a particularly vocal critic of the lack of speed and success that we were having in these closures. In Mondale's often and eloquently voiced view, this was defense budget waste at its worst. In the months preceding this meeting, the Navy had recommended, and Department of Defense concurred, closing the legendary Philadelphia Navy Yard, opened in 1776, the Navy's first shipbuilding yard for the young nation. While closure was endorsed by OMB and the president, it had become a lightning rod in national Democratic Party politics. The entire Democrat-dominated House and Senate complement from Pennsylvania, and the local city leadership, were vocally telling President Carter what a mistake he was making with this planned closure.

In the summer of 1978, Mondale was supporting Democratic candidates in Philadelphia, and on a trip there he announced publicly that "the administration has decided not to close the Philadelphia Navy Yard." This was of course received with great approval and glee by the state and local leadership but caught all of us in the White House completely



U.S. Navy

**Proposed closure of the Philadelphia Navy Yard (pictured here in 1955) was a divisive issue in the Carter administration.**

by surprise. I talked directly with at least three senior advisors to the president, all of whom said that this had not been discussed, or approved, by President Carter. While I found that hard to believe, my sources were those who would know best. For historical completeness, I should add that I was later told by Jim Johnson of Mondale's staff that there was indeed a pre-trip discussion and a genuine misunderstanding between Carter and Mondale. The president thought he said, "We'll think about it," and the vice president thought he heard, "We will not close it."

Anyway, back to the usual defense budget review meeting in the Cabinet Room that fall, about two months after this Philadelphia turnaround. All these years later, I am fuzzy as to the exact issue. (I believe it was Army production approval for the new M1A1 Abrams Main Battle Tank.) However, in voicing OMB's agreement with the DOD, National Security Council, and other White House offices, I once again was the recipient of a Mondale barb from across the table, to the effect of "Here again, you're not exercising any constraint on DOD's proven ability to waste money." It was, to this then young (33) defense wonk, one too many jibes from someone who had no clue as to the dozens and dozens of major defense budget decisions that we had always brokered in the Pentagon with the secretary and the services before we ever

*continues on p. 8*

Continued from p. 7

got in front of the president, so that we presented him with a total budget already far smaller than that originally proposed by the Defense Department.

In a moment similar to my retort to the president on the F/A-18, the fighter pilot in me fell back to that cartoon of the vulture on the branch leering out at the horizon, muttering, “Don’t just sit there, kill something!” I had worked for over a year on the tedious process of securing administration approval and support to shut down the facility in Philadelphia, including many trips to Capitol Hill with Frank Moore and his legislative team, and the vice president had instantly and completely undone that. Leaning across the table, I looked at the vice president and asked, “Is that just like the Philadelphia Navy Yard?”

Mondale’s face clearly reddened, and his fists clenched on the tabletop, and the room again fell completely silent. While I knew the president and his other advisors agreed with me on the principle, I was clearly out of line in my comeback. Before the VP could say anything, President Carter reached over, patted Mondale on the back, and said, “You know, Fritz, I have to agree with Randy on that.” Appropriately, laughter and smiles broke out, and the vice president nodded his head. I must say that he never again hurled a “cut more from defense” barb my way after that, including during my work to support him in his 1984 presidential campaign.

And if you think base closure is easy, the Philadelphia Navy Yard continued to receive Navy-directed overhaul and repair work, generally accomplished at costs almost exactly double that of commercial yards doing the same kind of work (Bath, Newport News, etc.) for over a decade longer. It was not until 1991, in the seventh year of the Reagan administration, that the Navy finally shuttered the yard.

## **Carters Decide for Themselves**

**Gail Harrison** worked for Walter F. Mondale, the highly respected young senator from Minnesota, before joining the Carter-Mondale transition team and the White House staff as the vice president’s domestic policy advisor.

An early meeting of the combined staffs to review the president-elect’s Cabinet picks took place at the president’s mother’s (Miss Lillian’s) home, known as the Pond House, in Plains, Georgia. Before most guests arrived, Rosalynn Carter decided that the kitchen floor could use a good sweeping, so she picked up a broom and went to work. Harrison tried to take over the chore, but instead Mrs. Carter continued to sweep, telling her a story about how she and the president-elect once decided that Miss Lillian, at 80-plus years old,

**First Lady Rosalynn Carter relayed a story to Gail Harrison about how President Carter’s mother, Miss Lillian (pictured), refused help from a cleaning lady, even though Miss Lillian was more than 80 years old.**



Jimmy Carter Library and Museum

ought to have a cleaning lady to help out twice a month with the vacuuming and such. According to Mrs. Carter, on the day the cleaning woman arrived, Miss Lillian welcomed her warmly, invited her to sit her down for a cup of coffee and a good, long chat, and then sent her home. She didn’t want someone else to do work she felt she was perfectly able to do herself.

President Carter and his family consistently displayed the same gracious down-to-earth manner in the White House that they did during the early meetings in Georgia.

In the White House, an overwhelming number of decision memos were sent to the president and vice president. The two decided they needed to clamp down on the volume by separating higher-priority issues from lower-priority ones. Harrison assisted the vice president in his efforts to develop a much more rigorous priority-setting process. This process helped to prevent departments and agencies from asking the president to get involved in secondary issues they should have been handling themselves.

One exception took place in late 1978 over finalizing the budget for the upcoming year, a process that dovetailed with the timing of, and reflected key decisions contained in, the annual presidential agenda.

President Carter and Vice President Mondale had an agreement that they would review the budget one last time together after the rest of the president’s advisors had had their say. The president preferred to take a tough-as-nails position on holding deficits in check, but he asked the vice president privately to find out and tell him when muscle and bone and not just fat were being cut. Harrison’s job included additional fact-finding as required, including having confidential conversations with each Cabinet officer’s chief of staff or top policy advisor.

In early 1979, Harrison learned that a high-ranking Cabinet member had just written a personal letter to President Carter saying she had been undermining the integrity of his budget process by making calls to multiple

agency staff encouraging them to overturn Cabinet-level and presidential decisions.

Perhaps this Cabinet member was well intentioned, but they were branding Harrison's actions as disloyal. She was profoundly shocked and expected to be fired the next day. That didn't happen. Instead, a few days later, she received a personal letter from President Carter concerning the presidential agenda they'd just completed, with a handwritten note saying she was doing a great job.

President Carter is widely respected for his honesty, efficiency, discipline, and intellect. To these Gail Harrison would add two qualities: President Carter is also consistently fair and fundamentally kind.

## **President Put Human Rights Front and Center**

**Roberta Cohen** worked in the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Department of State, with Assistant Secretary Patt Derian. Previously Cohen had been United Nations representative of the International Federation for Human Rights. She recalled the following:

Jimmy Carter changed our lives. Campaigning for president in 1976, he announced he would infuse a new morality into American diplomacy, one grounded in the pursuit of human rights. He then thrust us and the issue into the international limelight and made human rights a goal of American foreign policy. Not only did he declare America's commitment to international human rights legal norms, but he made known that his personal beliefs, religious convictions, and values aligned with this view. He acted like a man with a mission, and his words came as a waterfall of relief after Vietnam and Watergate. And for those of us in the human rights movement, it gave gravitas and legitimacy to our work. As I told the New York Times in 1977, "Human rights is suddenly chic. For years we were considered preachers, cock-eyed idealists or busybodies, and now we are respectable."

Presidential Directive No. 30 ran our lives. I remember it to this day: "It shall be a major objective of U.S. foreign policy to promote the observance of human rights throughout the world." For a human rights advocate, that was exhilarating enough. Then, it went on to say that the U.S. shall use "the full range of its diplomatic tools" to accomplish that goal and listed cooperation with NGOs and work with international organizations as examples. That became my job. I also served as human rights officer for Latin America's Southern Cone, special advisor on the Soviet Union, and then deputy assistant secretary of state for security and economic assistance.

It was not until 2019, 40 years later, that I had the

---

***President Carter is widely respected for his honesty, efficiency, discipline, and intellect. To these Gail Harrison would add two qualities: President Carter is also consistently fair and fundamentally kind.***

---

opportunity to tell President Carter directly what it had meant to work for his administration in human rights. There was a near miss in 1981 when he awarded Roger Baldwin the Presidential Medal of Freedom. I had put Baldwin's name forward for two years running at State and was asked to accept the prize on his behalf (he was 97), but I got held up at my office—which I have regretted forever and a day. I then sent President Carter an article I published in 1982 on the Carter administration and the Southern Cone, and he thanked me personally with a handwritten acknowledgement.

But in 2019, The Carter Center invited me to its annual event for donors for a panel on human rights. The panel consisted of President Carter, Vice President Mondale, and center official Karin Ryan, followed by a lunch and discussion with President Carter about human rights. At the lunch, I went over to President Carter, who was 95, and told him how he had altered my life, how I relocated from New York to Washington and worked 24/7 because I found it so thrilling to hear an American president tell the United Nations that no member of the U.N. could claim that mistreatment of its own citizens was solely its own business. He listened, then looked at me and asked, "What is your name?" When I told him, he said "Ohhh, Roberta!" Then he smiled, leaned over and gave me a kiss on the cheek. When I returned to my seat, staff from The Carter Center asked, "What did you say to him?" because "he never kisses anyone."

My connection to President Carter's innate moral integrity, respect for human dignity, belief in international human rights standards, and willingness to champion them in his dealings with the rest of the world was one of the most uplifting and meaningful experiences of my life. I found it enabled me to maintain my idealism, optimism, and hope in confronting human rights and humanitarian emergencies later on in my professional career. It helped strengthen the voice inside that allows one to get in touch with light when facing dark, difficult times.

# Carter Was Far Ahead of His Time on Energy

By Jay Hakes

**M**y new book, “Energy Crises: Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Tough Choices in the 1970s,” reexamines the most momentous decade in U.S. energy history. It also identifies ideas and programs that affect how we use energy today and the prospects for grappling with global climate change.

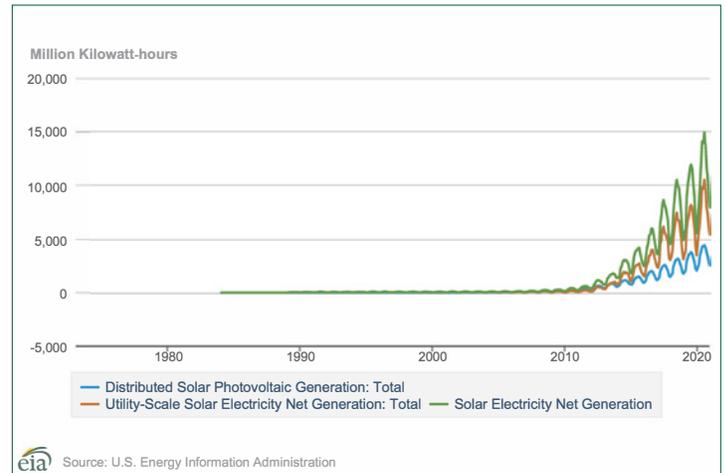
We’ve now had seven new occupants of the Oval Office since President Carter. Nonetheless, some influential figures in Washington today were part of the Carter energy story. In 1977, for instance, when the administration was seeking a home for the new Department of Energy, White House aide Marcy Kaptur suggested that an abandoned historical landmark just two blocks from the White House might fill the bill and contribute to the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue. As it turned out, Energy moved into the Forrestal Building rather than the (now refurbished) Willard Hotel.

Post White House, Kaptur won a congressional seat in Ohio. Today, she chairs the House Appropriations subcommittee on energy and water, where she holds considerable sway over investments in the energy technologies of the future.

To secure passage of its energy legislation in 1978, the



**Solar panels can be seen behind President Carter at the 2017 ribbon-cutting ceremony for a solar project in Plains, Georgia. President Carter leased the land for the 10-acre site.**



**Figure 1. Solar Energy, Net Generation by Year.** Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration (<https://www.eia.gov/totalenergy/data/browser/index.php?tbl=T10.06#/?f=M>), retrieved April 13, 2021.

Carter White House launched a barrage of telephone calls toward Capitol Hill, many featuring the administration’s greatest expert on the ways of the Senate, Vice President (and former senator) Walter Mondale. Commenting on the repeated calls to Sen. Patrick Leahy of Vermont, an aide exclaimed: “It’s been Carter, [James] Schlesinger, [Bob] Strauss, Mondale, and then they start all over again.” This January, Leahy was elected president pro tempore of the Senate, No. 3 on the presidential succession list.

Congressman Ed Markey of Massachusetts attended Carter’s dedication of solar collectors on the White House roof in June 1979. Markey has become one of the most influential members of the U.S. Senate on climate policy.

President Carter’s energy policies affect life today in many ways. He was, for instance, the first president to implement stringent regulations on automobile fuel efficiency. (The authorizing legislation passed under Gerald Ford.) Like most energy initiatives of the period, the standards grew out of the desire to avoid the dangerous dependence on foreign oil that the 1973–74 Arab oil embargo had exploited.

If the standards had continued to be regularly updated, as Carter envisioned, we would be in a stronger position today to meet our energy and climate goals. Still, Carter’s actions combined with 2007 energy legislation and aggressive rulemaking by Barack Obama have contributed to U.S. energy independence and put us in a stronger position to meet the Paris Agreement’s goals on climate change than we would

have been in without them.

Carter also started the phased decontrol of crude oil prices, a decisive step in the transition to the transparent trading markets we have today. His creation of the Department of Energy included the Energy Information Administration, which would provide what he called “facts we can rely on.” Today, EIA is one of the few sources of official energy information around the world not behind a paywall. Its website provides critical information to policymakers and the public. Its data and forecasts even move the energy markets that evolved from the decontrol of prices and make those markets more efficient.

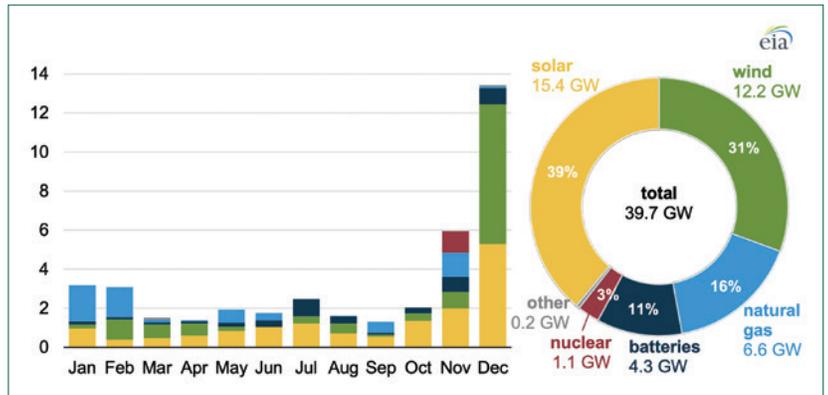
It is easy to overlook Carter’s investments in energy research and development because of the long time between the scientific innovations in energy technology and their impact on commercial markets. Still, in “real dollars” (controlled for inflation), Carter spent more on energy R&D than any president before or since. Heavy funding stimulated progress on several high-impact technologies, from the hydrofracturing (“fracking”) of oil and gas in tight geologic formations to photovoltaic (PV) cells that convert sunlight to electricity. But neither fracking nor PV became commercially viable until the 21st century.

Carter’s generous support for energy technologies came at a price. Because of his commitment to balanced budgets, the new spending on energy was possible only because of the passage of the “windfall profits” tax on decontrolled oil. The tax-alienated supporters in oil-producing states that had cast their electoral votes for him in 1976.

Carter’s investments in photovoltaics were not viewed as a significant part of his energy legacy when he left office. With the focus on the threat of reliance on foreign oil and little discussion of electric-powered vehicles, it was not clear how solar energy would displace petroleum products or when it might prove affordable.

Nor would solar energy be considered a significant part of his legacy at the turn of the century. The panels were still too expensive to be commercially viable, even with generous government subsidies. Solar power appeared to be, as one documentary film suggested, “a road not taken.”

In recent years the price of solar energy panels has plunged and their efficiency has soared. The solar industry is growing at an astonishing pace. In 2017, the Carter farms near Plains started producing one megawatt a day from state-of-the-art PV panels that track the sun. A recent study calculated that solar PV is already the cheapest source of power in 16 states!



**Figure 2. Planned U.S. Utility-Scale Electricity-Generating Capacity Additions (2021).** Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration (<https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=46416#>), retrieved April 13, 2021.

The rapid progress in solar and other energy technologies has led numerous experts, including many investor-owned utilities, to conclude that a net-zero carbon goal for 2050 is achievable.

A graph tracking the progress on solar technology (see Figure 1) demonstrates that Carter’s funding of the Solar Energy Research Institute in Golden, Colorado (now named the Renewable Energy Laboratory), got the United States off to a speedy start. After Carter, the Department of Energy lost most of its budget for solar R&D. Fortunately, Germany, Japan, and China picked up some of the slack. States around the country adopted renewable portfolio standards. The stimulus program under President Obama injected hefty funding into solar. In combination, these factors got us to where we are today.

In addition, the tightening of vehicle fuel efficiency standards in recent years has brought us to the point where manufacturers have to produce more electric cars and trucks to keep pace. So we now contemplate the prospect of electric vehicles powered by a zero-carbon grid.

It is clear that solar investments created a road eventually taken, and efficiency standards contributed to an energy future where electric cars and trucks will dominate the highways (see Figure 2). Both strategies constitute essential parts of President Carter’s legacy. In 30 years, I venture to say, it will be even more evident that they should be considered his energy accomplishments with the most enduring impacts.

Jimmy Carter was just a little ahead of his time.

*About the Author: Jay Hakes served in the Carter administration at the Interior Department and the White House and then as head of the Energy Information Administration in the Clinton administration. He later spent 13 years as director of the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum.*

# Harris to Build on Modern Vice Presidency

By Richard Moe

**N**ow that Kamala Harris has become the first woman as well as the first person of color to be sworn in as vice president of the United States, she and President Biden are already tackling arguably the most formidable set of challenges to face the country since Abraham Lincoln confronted the prospect of civil war in 1861. Significantly, she is serving with almost surely the most consequential vice president in American history, Joe Biden, who will be transferring much of his successful experience to her, with the two of them building on the 40-year transformation of the office.

All this means, in short, that “the modern vice presidency” has achieved an optimal moment in its steady evolution because the president of the United States, Joe Biden, has enhanced the office he held under President Obama and is already hugely invested in Kamala Harris’ success; he will have his own ideas, as well as hers, and every incentive to further enhance her role.

The Georgia Senate election results mean that Harris’s duties will immediately include performing her only constitutionally specified duty: presiding over the Senate and breaking tie votes, which are likely to be frequent in a body

now divided 50-50.

An additional benefit to Harris in her other work is that the White House chief of staff, Ron Klain, has previously served as chief of staff to Vice President Biden and is thus familiar with how the new arrangement works and will likely have her back when difficulties arise. Moreover, Harris and Klain will inevitably become the two most important players in the West Wing and, if history is any guide, they will be in and out of each other’s adjacent offices frequently seeking consensus on recommendations to the president and dealing with the crises of the day.

It’s a far cry from the 200 years during which the vice presidency was a position of neglect and ridicule. That changed in 1976 when Jimmy Carter decided to lift the office from its obscurity and make it instead an “asset” of the presidency itself and integral to the governing process. While interviewing potential VP candidates, he encountered Minnesota Senator Walter Mondale, who had witnessed his friend Hubert Humphrey, and later Nelson Rockefeller, suffering under presidents who gave them little to do as vice presidents and kept them removed from serious policy discussions. Mondale came to the meeting with Carter determined not to be similarly marginalized; he was only interested if he would have a “substantive” role.

Carter selected Mondale, and after a successful election, I sat down with the two of them at Blair House in December for the first discussion of Mondale’s role. Mondale proposed that his principal activity be as an across-the-board advisor to the president; to do that he needed unfettered access to the president and the information flow through his office, including national security discussions. After an hour’s discussion, Carter said he liked Mondale’s ideas and requested a memo detailing them. We quickly drafted and sent an 11-page memo to the president-elect, who approved it in its entirety two days later.

President Carter soon offered his own thoughts, all of them insightful



Archana Nautiyal / Shutterstock

***Kamala Harris is expected to build on the 40-year transformation of the vice presidency, which began with Walter Mondale in the Carter administration.***

and unprecedented. He gave Mondale an office in the West Wing; he told his cabinet and staff to regard a request from the vice president as if it came from him, the president; he added that he would not tolerate anyone trying to undercut his vice president. He made me, Mondale's chief of staff, a member of his own senior staff. All of this sent a clear signal that the nation's second highest office had been fundamentally changed or, as Carter later put it, "executivized."

---

***Out of the gate, she needs to move quickly to where she can make the most difference.***

---

The Carter-Mondale model has been used, sometimes with variations, by nearly every subsequent administration to the point where it has become virtually "institutionalized through use" (no constitutional or legal change necessary). The keys to the success of the arrangement are candor and mutual trust. Carter and Mondale had a weekly lunch where just the two of them could speak frankly about anything on their minds. These confidential moments helped shape a unique partnership based on trust that worked well for four years.

Although the modern vice presidency has become a major asset to the president, it's nonetheless an office of almost total dependency, and therefore still a fragile instrument wholly reliant on mutual respect, which, happily, was already evident in Harris' full inclusion in the Biden cabinet interviews and other key transition meetings and now in the new administration's first days.

The vice president's most valuable asset, like the president's, is time. One of the features of the modern vice presidency is that the chief executive can delegate tasks to his number two, who can carry them out, in the view of others, *with authority*. This makes it essential that the two decide how Vice President Harris can best help President Biden pursue his first-year agenda, keeping in mind that she can be called to the Senate any time a tied vote seems possible.

Out of the gate, she needs to move quickly to where she can make the most difference. That was essentially the Mondale model, but other principals have decided that the

vice president should head up major administration initiatives, such as Biden performed for Obama in implementing the Recovery Act and other priorities. Both models have merit and legitimacy; the answer in ordinary times lies in how the needs of the president can best be matched with the abilities and experiences of the vice president.

But these are not ordinary times, and there is only one other nationally elected official who can speak with authority for the president on the urgent issues of coronavirus, the economy, racial injustice, climate change, and civil insurrection.

They should consider delaying for six months a hard decision on which model to follow, allowing Vice President Harris to spend time in or near the Senate, with the flexibility to go where President Biden believes she can be most effective in pursuing his agenda. That time will give them both a clearer perspective on how they can best work together, and which model—or even a new one—is best suited to them and their agenda. The modern vice presidency can have its brightest moment yet if Kamala Harris can take it to another new level for her successors to emulate, as Biden has before her.

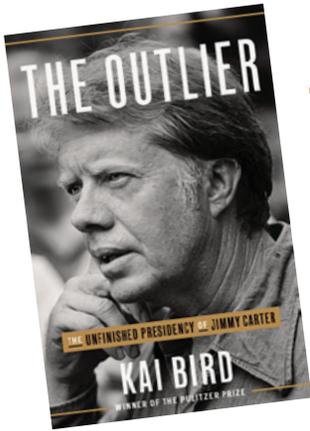
Joe Biden surely agrees that a vice president's serious engagement in White House decision-making is the best preparation anyone could have if called upon to be president. Our first vice president, John Adams, who had no such preparation, captured it perfectly: "I am nothing, but I may be everything,"

I once asked President Carter what had caused him to focus on enhancing the role of the vice president. He said unhesitatingly that it was when he learned that Vice President Harry Truman was unaware of the atomic bomb before he succeeded to the presidency. President Carter deserves great credit for having the historical insight to reconsider how we govern ourselves at the highest levels of our government; we should be grateful that he has lived to see this time when his idea has reached this moment of such acceptance.

*Editor's Note: This article originally appeared on the History News Network (<https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/178880>).*

*About the Author: Richard Moe was chief of staff to Vice President Walter Mondale and assistant to President Jimmy Carter. He wrote the memo that Senator Mondale sent to President-elect Carter outlining what has come to be known as "the modern vice presidency." Moe is the former president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the founder of President Lincoln's Cottage in Washington, D.C.*

# BOOK CLUB



## **The Outlier** **The Unfinished Presidency** **of Jimmy Carter**

By Kai Bird

Four decades after Ronald Reagan's landslide win in 1980, Jimmy Carter's one-term presidency is often labeled a failure; indeed, many Americans view

Carter as the only ex-president to have used the White House as a stepping-stone to greater achievements. But in retrospect, the Carter political odyssey is a rich and human story, marked by both formidable accomplishments and painful political adversity. In this account, Kai Bird unfolds the Carter saga as a tragic tipping point in American history.

As president, Carter was not merely an outsider but an outlier. He was the only president in a century to grow up in the heart of the Deep South, and his born-again Christianity made him the most openly religious president in memory. This outlier brought to the White House a rare mix of humility, candor, and unnerving self-confidence that neither Washington nor America was ready to embrace. Decades before today's public reckoning with the vast gulf between America's ethos and its actions, Carter looked out on a nation torn by racial strife and demoralized by Watergate and Vietnam and prescribed a radical self-examination from which voters recoiled. The cost of his unshakable belief in doing the right thing would be a second term.

Bird traces the arc of Carter's administration, from his aggressive domestic agenda to his controversial foreign policy record, taking readers inside the Oval Office and through Carter's battles with both a political establishment and a Washington press corps that proved as adversarial as any foreign power.

Drawing on interviews with Carter and members of his administration and recently declassified documents, Bird



**Kai Bird**

delivers a clear-eyed evaluation of a leader whose legacy has been misunderstood. "The Outlier" is an account of an enigmatic presidency, both as it really happened and as it is remembered in the American consciousness.

## **Energy Crises** **Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Hard** **Choices in the 1970s**

By Jay E. Hakes

The 1970s were a decade of historic American energy crises—major interruptions in oil supplies from the Middle East, the country's most dangerous nuclear accident, and chronic shortages of natural gas. In "Energy Crises," Jay Hakes brings his expertise in energy and presidential history to bear on the questions of why these crises occurred, how different choices might have prevented or ameliorated them, and what they have meant for the half-century since—and likely the half-century ahead.

Hakes intertwines the domestic and international aspects of the long-misunderstood fuel shortages that still affect our lives today. This approach, drawing on previously unavailable and inaccessible records, affords an insider's view of decision-making by three U.S. presidents, the influence of their aides, and their often tortuous relations with the rulers of Iran and Saudi Arabia. Hakes dissects inept federal attempts to regulate oil prices and allocation, but he also identifies the decade's more positive legacies, including the nation's first massive commitment to the development of alternative energy sources other than nuclear power and the initial movement toward a more efficient energy economy.

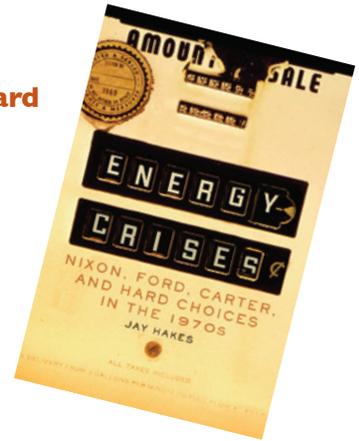
The 1970s brought about a tectonic shift in the world of energy. Tracing these consequences to their origins in policy and practice, Hakes makes their lessons available at a critical moment as the nation faces the challenge of climate change resulting from the burning of fossil fuels.

Jay Hakes has a long history of working on energy issues, including as administrator of the U.S. Energy Information Administration during the Clinton administration



**Jay E. Hakes**

and as director for research and policy for President Obama's BP Deepwater Horizon Oil Spill Commission. He also served for 13 years as the director of the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library.



# Passages Spring 2021

*Editor's note: Information for these obituaries was gathered from multiple published sources, including the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, the New York Times, the Washington Post, and other newspapers and magazines, as well as Legacy.com, Wikipedia, and the personal recollections of Carter-Mondale alumni and family members.*



Hank Aaron

**Henry Louis “Hank” Aaron** was more than a member of the Baseball Hall of Fame and arguably the greatest ever to play the game.

He was a longtime friend of President Carter from his days as governor of Georgia and served on the President's Council on Physical Fitness during the Carter presidency. President Carter said in a statement, “Rosalynn and I are saddened by the passing of our dear friend Henry Aaron. One of the greatest baseball players of all time, he has been a personal hero to us. A breaker of records and racial barriers, his remarkable legacy will continue to inspire countless athletes and admirers for generations to come.”

Aaron received almost every award that could be named in baseball, and others were created in his name. He also achieved great success in many business ventures and in the Braves organization, but he never lost his humble nature.

Yet he was more than an honored player and successful businessman.

The Braves baseball team moved to Atlanta in 1966 at a time when the civil rights movement had been gaining momentum for more than a decade, and Hank Aaron became an icon of civil rights. Remarking upon the Braves' move, Aaron said, “Knowing that Dr. King was here, Andy Young and some of the other great civil rights leaders that made their home here, and I'm coming from Milwaukee where there was no activity at all. ... It makes you start thinking about what it is, what can you do, what role you can play. And makes you feel like you kind of shortchanged everybody really, you didn't do your job.”

Aaron did his job and co-founded with his wife, Billye, the Hank Aaron Chasing the Dream Foundation to help children develop their potential, encouraged by his extraordinary philanthropic efforts.

He became a supporter of The Carter Center and in his quiet way helped give direction and advice to many underprivileged kids in the Center's programs. His example of hands-on stewardship characterized much of his work that was obscured by the accolades of his sports celebrity.

For many reasons in addition to the sports honors, he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Presidential Citizens Medal, the Thurgood Marshall Lifetime Achievement Award, the NAACP's Spingarn Medal, the Lombardi Award of Excellence, and the Portrait of a Nation Prize. He also received the American Academy of Achievement's Golden Plate Award, and the Emperor of Japan gave him the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold Rays with Rosette. He was a trustee of the Georgia Historical Society and on the list of 100 Greatest African Americans.

Boxing great Muhammad Ali once famously said Aaron was the only man he idolized “more than myself.”



Bess Abell

During the Carter administration, **Bess Abell** was executive assistant to Joan Mondale, the wife of Vice President Walter Mondale. Later, Abell operated Bess Abell Enterprises, a Washington public relations firm, and with her husband oversaw the development of Merry-Go-Round Farm, a community of

homes in Potomac, Maryland.

She was the White House social secretary during the Lyndon Johnson administration; she orchestrated state dinners, wedding celebrations for the president's daughters, and a calendar of receptions that made her, in the estimation of first lady Lady Bird Johnson, “the greatest showman since P.T. Barnum.”

Her husband, Tyler Abell, served in the final months of Johnson's presidency as chief of protocol. His appointment carried ambassadorial rank and, along with his wife's position, placed the Abells among the elite Washington power couples of that era.

Perhaps the best-known woman to have held the role, Bess Abell set her clock five minutes fast to ensure the timely execution of her job. In the Johnson White House, her duties required military-level precision and

*continues on p. 16*

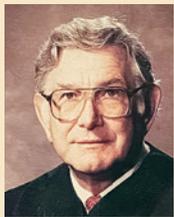
*Continued from p. 15*

coordination with the head usher, chef, florist, and service staff of the White House—not to mention the entourages of visiting dignitaries from around the world.

In her more official state functions, Abell was responsible for finding gifts for visiting dignitaries. Instructing her on that duty, Johnson told her to “spend more imagination and less taxpayer money,” she later recalled.

There were occasional slip-ups, such as the time she arranged a performance at the White House by the operatic baritone Robert Merrill for a visit by British Prime Minister Harold Wilson.

“You can’t be serious,” National Security Advisor Walt W. Rostow exclaimed when he saw Merrill’s proposed program. “This must be a joke. To the prime minister who pulled the British out of Suez, you’re singing ‘On the Road to Mandalay.’ And you serenade the man who devalued the British pound with ‘I’ve Got Plenty of Nothing?’” The story leaked, and the British Embassy decided that Wilson couldn’t survive a change of program. So Merrill sang it all, and added one—“It Ain’t Necessarily So.”



*Judge G. Ross  
Anderson Jr.*

**Judge G. Ross Anderson Jr.** was nominated by President Carter to a seat on the U.S. District Court for the District of South Carolina in 1980.

During his career, Anderson was the recipient of many awards, including Outstanding Trial Judge, the War Horse Award, and the Distinguished Judicial Service Award, and was awarded

honorary degrees from the University of South Carolina, Anderson University, and the Charleston School of Law.

He was one of the founders of the South Carolina Trial Lawyers Association, served as the president of the state Bar Association, and was a member of the Board of Governors for South Carolina. He was an avid supporter of Anderson University, and the G. Ross Anderson, Jr. Student Center was dedicated in 2016. In 2002, Anderson was awarded South Carolina’s highest civilian honor, the Order of the Palmetto, from Gov. Jim Hodges.

Anderson was a veteran of the Air Force and a graduate of Southeastern University, George Washington University, and the University of South Carolina School of Law. He began his political career as an assistant to U.S. Sen. Olin Johnston and was elected to the South Carolina

House of Representatives in 1954. He operated his own law firm in his hometown of Anderson for over 26 years.

On April 5, 2002, the federal courthouse in Anderson was renamed the G. Ross Anderson Jr. Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse in his honor. He retired in March 2016.



*Ambassador  
William Bodde Jr.*

**Ambassador William Bodde Jr.**

was appointed by President Carter as ambassador to Fiji, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Kiribati. He was a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor. He was also the first executive director of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, establishing the international secretariat for the organization in

Singapore. He was active for over 30 years as an American diplomat and was a senior advisor to Presidents Carter, Ronald Reagan, and George H.W. Bush. He also wrote and lectured on foreign affairs.

He volunteered to join the Army during the Korean War and served in Germany. Upon returning to the U.S., he put himself through college using the GI Bill while working full time and raising a family. He went on to join the civil service at the Housing and Home Finance Agency before joining the Foreign Service. He found his calling and went on to serve as a consul general, as a deputy assistant secretary, and later as ambassador to the Marshall Islands during the Bush administration.

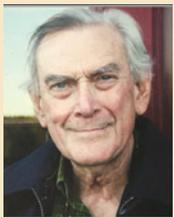
Bodde earned a master of international public policy degree from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He also authored a book titled “The View from the 19th Floor: Reflections of the First APEC Executive Director.” Bodde was renowned as a mentor, lecturer, and instructor. He took every opportunity to share his pride in public service and his views of the positive role of the United States in the world as well as the lessons learned from living in and interacting with a wide variety of countries and cultures. Most of all he enjoyed time spent with friends and family. He was a serious jazz and movie fan and a voracious reader with many interests.

Additional postings in the Foreign Service included stints as political officer and special assistant to the ambassador in Vienna from 1962 to 1965. From 1965 to 1966, he was a public information officer at the State Department. He became a political officer in Stockholm from 1967 to 1970 and was the desk officer for Sweden and Finland in

the Department of State from 1970 to 1972. Bodde also served as senate liaison officer in Berlin (1973-1974) and chief of the Internal Political Section in Bonn (1974-1977). He again served as a political officer in the Office of Papua New Guinea and Pacific Islands at State (1977-1978). In 1978 Bodde became the director of the Office of Pacific Islands Affairs at State and retained that position until 1980.

He was later a diplomat in residence for the East-West Center in Hawaii from 1982 to 1983. He then returned to Germany as a consul general in Frankfurt (1983-1986). He served as deputy assistant secretary for European and Canadian affairs at State from 1986 to 1989. From 1989 until his appointment as ambassador to the Marshall Islands, he was the dean for senior seminar at the Foreign Service Institute at the Department of State in Washington.

He worked in the Policy Planning Office of the Bureau of Oceans, Environment, and Science at the Department of State from 1992 until 1993. He retired in 1994 after returning from Singapore.



Lynn Rogers Coleman

**Lynn Rogers Coleman** was a prominent lawyer in Washington, D.C., and recognized as an energy policy expert in and outside of the federal government. President Carter appointed Coleman general counsel to the Department of Energy. His abilities led him later to be made the deputy secretary of energy.

At a memorial service, friends and colleagues spoke of Coleman's brilliance as an attorney. Attorney Harry Reasoner said that Coleman grew up in rural Texas, selling Bibles door-to-door as a schoolboy. "His gravitas, his charm ... led me to trust his judgment and delight in his company," Reasoner said. "He was one of the best energy lawyers in the country."

Mike Naeve said he first met Coleman in 1977 and immediately felt a connection. "We both grew up in Texas. ... We both found ourselves in Washington, working on some of the biggest issues of our times. ... He helped define energy policy for the Carter administration. ... If you were on the Hill, dealing with energy, you had to work with Lynn. He was a driving force to get legislation through." Naeve added, "He was as comfortable in his own skin as anyone I've ever known."

Washington Post foreign policy columnist David Ignatius spoke of Coleman's laugh as "somewhere between a cackle and a guffaw. He was not a man who complained, ever." He said Coleman "kept his Texas accent longer than Kissinger kept his German accent. ... He was a rocket ship that launched from the heartland, an American original who changed our country for the better. He was an example of American exceptionalism. ... Lynn's motivation was exceptional. He wanted to do good in the world."

Chris Miller, president of the Piedmont Environmental Council, said Coleman, a longtime supporter and board member of the PEC, had a deep and passionate interest in the issues of energy, the environment, and practical solutions to climate change. He was a passionate champion of historic preservation and conservation. Many of the successful reforms of energy policy in Virginia in the past decade have precedents in the work led by Lynn Coleman as a member of the PEC board."

U.S. Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-Rhode Island) spoke of Coleman's love of the Virginia countryside, recalling Coleman's efforts to block the construction of a Disney theme park and a major power line—"It would have cut through the countryside, leaving a blight behind it," he said.

Whitehouse also remembered Coleman's efforts to save the Waterloo Bridge in Hume, Virginia, where he lived. "VDOT wanted to replace it with a concrete slab. But Lynn wanted to protect that little bridge as a memento of rural Virginia. ... He was wise, and he was strategic, and he was fun in a fight. He eagerly brought his skills to bear on the problem," Whitehouse said. "Lynn left his mark; it's in the countryside all around us."

Longtime friend Jessica Matthews said Coleman was one of the rare people who are "equally admirable for their intellect, energy and excellence in what they do, and for their gentle, lovable, human qualities."



Richard N. Cooper

**Richard N. Cooper** was a Harvard University professor of international economics who served as a policy advisor to Democratic presidents from John F. Kennedy to Bill Clinton and wrote extensively on trade, monetary markets, climate change economics, and the interdependence of nations in the world

*continues on p. 18*

*Continued from p. 17*

economy.

On the heels of a global recession, an oil embargo and rising inflation, Cooper served in the Carter-Mondale administration as undersecretary of state for economic affairs from 1977 to 1981, helping to shape President Carter's multinational fiscal policy coordination objectives at the Group of Seven summits, the annual economic forums of the leading industrialized countries. He also provided analysis on the economic effects of the Camp David Accords.

Cooper was interested in the practical application of economic theory and research. He took occasional leaves of absence to serve as a senior foreign policy advisor in Washington, traveled widely to study the economies of developing countries, spoke at forums addressing geopolitical issues, and lent his scholarly expertise as a consultant to the United Nations, the Rand Corp., and other organizations and policy-oriented institutions.

After serving two years as chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, he was President Bill Clinton's chairman of the National Intelligence Council from 1995 to 1997, a post he accepted at the behest of John M. Deutch, a fellow Boston-area academic who at that time was serving as CIA director.

In the mid-1960s, during the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson, Cooper oversaw international monetary affairs as a deputy assistant secretary of state. A few years earlier, at 26, he was a senior staff economist on President John F. Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers. He came to the Kennedy White House's attention while conducting research on his doctoral dissertation at the Brookings Institution.

After World War II, Cooper spent four years in Frankfurt, Germany, where his father helped to establish press reforms as a political and public affairs officer with the High Commission for Occupied Germany.

Cooper spent the bulk of his career in academia, teaching at Yale University from 1966 to 1977 and then at Harvard from 1981. He wrote and edited books on macroeconomic subjects. One of his earliest publications, "The Economics of Interdependence: Economic Policy in the Atlantic Community" (1968), led him to become a strong advocate of the concept of governments' coordinating economic policies with other countries to maximize economic gains.



*Chester C.  
Davenport*

**Chester C. Davenport** remembered his first lecture on his first day as the first Black student at the University of Georgia School of Law, looking up to find that none of his fellow students had sat within 15 chairs of him in any direction. Before the next class, the professor made up a mandatory seating chart.

After graduating in the top 5% of his class, he began his career in the tax division of the Justice Department, followed by stints on the Senate Banking Committee staff and with a mortgage banking venture backed partly by Salomon Brothers. "Back then, for an African American, you always had to be the best," he said. "It was always, if you're not better than everybody, you're not going to get anything."

He added, "It was my mentality then, it is my mentality today, that you have to be better and you have to be smarter."

He returned to Washington around 1973 and eventually joined Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign. After the election, he became assistant secretary of transportation and soon became friends with two men who would come to be among the most influential Black power brokers in Washington, the late Ronald H. Brown and the late Vernon Jordan, who later became his lawyer. Davenport stayed in the government for about 18 months, then made his first big business deal.

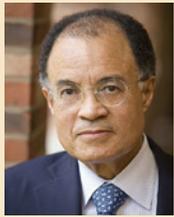
He became involved in Washington's redevelopment in the late 1970s and continued to work mostly in the Washington real estate market through most of the 1980s.

He founded Georgetown Capital around 1989 to take advantage of new financing opportunities. Davenport and his partners acquired United Technologies' automobile emissions testing business. After Congress passed a law requiring uniform automobile testing procedures, he sold that business for a substantial profit.

He then moved into the wireless telecommunications business as the founder and managing director of Georgetown Partners, a Bethesda, Maryland-based private equity investment organization. His investments were sold to GTE, making Davenport one of the wealthiest Black entrepreneurs in the nation. He was a supporter of The Carter Center.

Davenport was an incredibly important figure in the University of Georgia's history. He was a regular supporter

of the School of Law and the university throughout his life. The UGA chapter of the Black Law Students Association bears his name, and he received the law school alumni association's highest honor—the Distinguished Service Scroll Award—in 2016.



*Drew Saunders  
Days III*

**Drew Saunders Days III** was a leading civil rights attorney and former U.S. solicitor general. President Carter nominated him in 1977 to be the first Black assistant attorney general in the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. In that capacity, he was responsible for nationwide enforcement of federal civil and criminal civil rights laws.

In 1978, he led the successful effort to endorse affirmative action programs in the landmark case *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*.

Early in his career, Days worked at the NAACP Legal Defense Fund in New York City as its first assistant counsel, where he litigated cases in the areas of school desegregation, police misconduct, employment discrimination, and prisoners' rights until 1977. At the age of 30, Days won a lawsuit that desegregated his childhood schools in Tampa, Florida.

Days joined the Yale Law School faculty in 1981. His teaching and writing were in the fields of civil procedure, federal jurisdiction, Supreme Court practice, antidiscrimination law, comparative constitutional law (Canada and the United States), and international human rights. In 1991, he was named Alfred M. Rankin Professor of Law. From 1988 to 1993, he was also the founding director of the Orville H. Schell Jr. Center for International Human Rights at Yale Law School. From 1993 through 1996, Days served as the solicitor general of the United States for the Clinton administration. In that position, he was responsible for representing the positions and interests of the United States in arguments before the Supreme Court.

Days was named a New Haven "proprietor"—a member of The Committee of the Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands at New Haven, which has owned the New Haven Green since the 17th century. He was the first Black member of the group.

From 1996 to 2008, Days served as a board member of the MacArthur Foundation. He also served on the board of trustees at Hamilton College, which named its

Days-Massolo Center for him in 2011. The center promotes diversity awareness and fosters dialogue among the growing number of cultures on the Hamilton campus.

In 2003, Days received the Award of Merit from the Yale Law School Association, the alumni organization of Yale Law School, in recognition of his public service and contributions to the legal profession.



*Arthur J. "Art"  
Decio*

**Arthur J. "Art" Decio** was an Indiana businessman and philanthropist who was never happier than when he was helping others. A first-generation American, he became one of the most successful businessmen in Indiana after he took over Skyline Coach Co., which his father had started in a rented garage, and led Skyline to become the nation's largest

mobile home builder. In 1978, he was named by President Carter to be on the Commission on Presidential Scholars and the Advisory Committee on Housing.

Throughout his life, Decio supported charitable and political causes, including Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign. He was also an active supporter of Bobby Kennedy, and through the Kennedy family he joined the international board of Special Olympics.

In his hometown of Elkhart, he led fundraising campaigns to build St. Thomas the Apostle Catholic Church, remodel Elkhart General Hospital, and renovate the Lerner Theatre. In 2016, Beacon Health System dedicated the Arthur J. Decio Pavilion at Elkhart General Hospital to honor his 60 years of financial support. Decio was instrumental in establishing and sustaining an Indiana University campus in Elkhart. In 1984, United Way of Elkhart County honored him by establishing the Arthur J. Decio Volunteer of the Year Award. He was a life member of the Elkhart County chapter of the NAACP and was active in the Elkhart Urban League.

He was among the founders of WNIT-TV, and with his wife underwrote "Sesame Street" and other public television programming. He was awarded the station's first Lifetime Achievement Award in 1999.

Decio was a founding director of the Community Foundation of Elkhart County. He served as a trustee at the University of Notre Dame (1971-2001) and later was appointed a life member and fellow. In 1989, he received

*continues on p. 20*

*Continued from p. 19*

Notre Dame's Rev. Howard J. Kenna C.S.C. Award, as well as the Rev. John J. Cavanaugh C.S.C. Award for distinguished public service and community involvement from the National Notre Dame Alumni Association. In 1990, the Notre Dame Club of St. Joseph Valley named him Man of the Year. A lifelong friend of Notre Dame President Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, Decio was deeply moved and honored to be named a Hesburgh Trustee in 2018. Three U.S. presidents appointed Decio to federal commissions. He served on the boards of more than 40 civic, religious, educational, and financial organizations, including the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago.

### **Jacquelyn "Jacque" Ruth Struble Dinwiddie**

served on the Carter-Mondale Election Committee and transition staff and then on President Carter's personal staff in the Office of the Counsel, managing the White House Security Office.

Dinwiddie graduated from Pennsylvania State University with a pre-med bachelor's degree. She moved to Washington, D.C., to do a residency at Doctor's Hospital. There she worked with the doctor who was developing the proper dosages and usage of penicillin and became a registered medical technologist, ASCP.

She liked the idea of helping young women, so she also established and helped raise money for the Edith Anderson Endowment Fund, a scholarship awarded to an Alpha Omicron Pi (AOII) graduate student in the medical field. In 2003 she was awarded the Barbara Daus Hunt award, which biennially recognizes an alumna who has demonstrated outstanding lifelong service and support to AOII.

With extensive management and supervisory experience of medical laboratories and blood banks, Dinwiddie was an adjunct professor and developed a new curriculum in medical laboratory techniques at Prince George's Community College. After moving to Alexandria, Virginia, she became politically active, serving on Charles Robb's gubernatorial campaign staff and coordinating fundraising events for the Robb for Senate campaign.

After the Carter White House, Dinwiddie worked for President Bill Clinton. The Clinton people were advised that if they hired her to run the White House Security Office again, they would never have any trouble with the FBI, CIA, or any of those other ominous three-letter federal agencies. They hired someone else—and Clinton had

plenty of trouble with those agencies.

In the Clinton administration, she served in the administrative office of the Peace Corps and later as an administrative assistant to the director of management of USAID. Toward the end of Clinton's second term, she returned to the White House and assisted the director of presidential personnel before joining first lady Hillary Clinton's staff. In between President Carter's and President Clinton's administrations, she received a master's degree in American political and diplomatic history from George Washington University.

Dinwiddie was a gracious, elegant, and classy lady who will be missed by many. The house at "The Farm," a property on Smith Mountain Lake, Virginia, has a resident ghost, who was remarkably active in the days before Dinwiddie died. Lights flickered, things were mysteriously moved from place to place, and the CD player went haywire until Christmas carols were played. It was obvious that the resident spirit needed Dinwiddie in the afterlife PDQ.

She was sent off in her mink coat, without which she would never leave the house in winter.



*H. Lehman  
Franklin Jr.*

**H. Lehman Franklin Jr.** was an early and active supporter of Jimmy Carter in Democratic politics and served as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1976 and 1980. In addition to becoming involved in many campaigns at the local, state, and national levels, he was active in grassroots efforts such as the Peanut Brigade.

He was a member of Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society and practiced law in Statesboro, Georgia, for over 50 years as well as being a member of the State Bar of Georgia, American Bar Association, and American Association for Justice. He was admitted to the Supreme Court of Georgia, Georgia Court of Appeals, the U.S. District Court, Southern District of Georgia; the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals; and the U.S. Supreme Court. He attained an AV (Preeminent) rating by Martindale-Hubbell.

Franklin was actively engaged in business at an early age and became involved in the development of apartments, offices, subdivisions, motels, and restaurants, primarily in the southeastern United States. He was involved in many local business ventures, including

Statesboro CATV, Bel Air Estates, and Irongate Subdivision. He also owned or operated several motels and restaurants in the Southeast for many years, having served as a member of the board of directors of the Restaurant Council of the Howard Johnson Company. Franklin was a past member of the board of directors of the Herty Foundation, developing wood-based products, and served as chairman for many years.

Earlier in his life he had a stellar athletic career and was inducted into the Statesboro High School Athletic Hall of Fame. He played running back on the Statesboro High championship football teams in 1956 and 1957 and was named All State in '57. He was captain of the Statesboro High School track team in his senior year. He went on to play football at the University of Georgia.



Donald L. Fowler

**Donald L. Fowler** was the former chairman of the Democratic National Committee and mainstay of South Carolina and national politics for decades. He led the Democratic Party in South Carolina from 1971 to 1980 and supported the Carter campaigns and administration.

In 1988 he oversaw the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta, which launched Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis with fanfare to battle unsuccessfully against GOP rival George H.W. Bush.

Fowler served as the DNC's national chairman from 1995 to 1997 and helped bring in a huge influx of donor money during President Bill Clinton's reelection campaign. He worked closely with Sen. Christopher J. Dodd of Connecticut, who was named DNC general chairman. The split duties, with Fowler running the party's day-to-day operations and Dodd serving as more of the public face and speech giver, reportedly caused tensions over hiring and other functions.

Fowler was credited with vastly expanding the donor and volunteer base and generating a successful voting drive aimed at African Americans. He faced enormous pressure to rake in top dollars—he helped attract \$67 million in one year, the Washington Post reported in 1996—which helped the party win 29 out of 30 special elections nationwide.

He later taught politics at the University of South Carolina and other colleges in the state and ran an

advertising and public relations firm in Columbia, South Carolina. He also served in the Army Reserve.



Henry Haller

**Henry Haller** was the longest-serving executive chef in the history of the White House. He planned and executed countless extravagant banquets, three wedding receptions, and more than 250 state dinners for five presidents.

He was a Swiss-born French chef who joined the White House in 1966 after impressing President Lyndon B. Johnson years earlier with his cooking at New York City's Sheraton-East Hotel. He remained at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. late into the Reagan administration, mastering the tastes of five first families over a span of 21 years and pulling off impressive culinary feats on short notice. In 1978, for a celebratory dinner after the signing of the Camp David Accords, Haller had just one week to pull off an event for 1,300 guests.

A consummate professional who was never known to gossip about what he saw or heard at the White House, Haller catered to the tastes of the first families, whether asked to prepare deluxe continental cuisine or simple home-style American meals. For Johnson, that was Texan food and tapioca pudding. For the family of Richard M. Nixon, it was classic French dishes, red snapper, and broiled lamb chops. Haller said Gerald and Betty Ford enjoyed roast beef cooked with whole onions as well as red cabbage with pork chops; Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter liked fried chicken, ham, okra, and string beans; and Ronald and Nancy Reagan valued variety and beautiful presentation.

Haller also admitted to two occasions on which he was reprimanded. The first was when he told the news media that Nixon liked to mix his own martinis before dinner; the second was when he failed to remove the strings from the green beans he served Johnson. That night, after dinner was served, the butler told Haller the president wanted to see him. "I went in, and he had some strings from the beans in his hand," Haller told the Philadelphia Inquirer. "He handed them to me and said, 'I saved these for you.'"

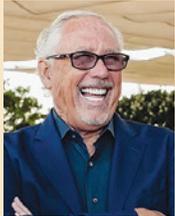
The rest of his employment, however, was marked by one culinary coup after another. In 1973, he produced a dinner for 1,300 people honoring returned Vietnam prisoners of war. The event was held under a giant tent, with a menu that included an elaborate seafood salad, roast sirloin,

*continues on p. 22*

*Continued from p. 21*

and strawberry mousse. Because the White House didn't have enough ovens and stoves, much of the cooking took place at the nearby Mayflower Hotel.

After leaving the White House in 1987, Haller published "The White House Family Cookbook," filled with dozens of recipes. He later created menus for Norwegian Cruise Lines and an assisted living company, partnered with a supermarket to create a line of gourmet foods, and was featured in 1996 in a PBS cooking series called "The Presidential Palate."



*Dick Heckmann*

**Richard James "Dick" Heckmann**

fought bravely in the Vietnam War in 1965 and then attended the University of Hawaii and completed the Small Business Management Program at Harvard Business School.

He moved to Washington, D.C., where he worked as associate administrator for finance and investment of the Small Business Administration, responsible for small business lending and venture capital investments made by the federal government. He also served as the White House liaison for the SBA during the Carter administration and was a former director of the Advisory Board of the Kennedy Center.

Heckmann was the founder of Tower Scientific Corp., a prosthetics company, which he sold in 1977. He retired to Sun Valley, Idaho, to ski and was elected the mayor of Sun Valley in 1979.

He later moved to the Palm Springs, California, area and became a stockbroker and set the record for highest trade volume in a single day in 1987. He was also chairman of the Listed Company Advisory Committee of the New York Stock Exchange and a member of the exchange's Special Governance Committee.

Heckmann founded U.S. Filter Corp., a water filtration company, in 1990 and embarked on a series of 260 acquisitions aimed at building the world's largest water treatment company. Nine years later, U.S. Filter was acquired by Vivendi SA, an international water products group, for \$6.2 billion.

Heckmann served as executive chairman of K2 Inc., a sporting goods company, which he sold for \$1.2 billion in 2007. He was director and owner of Smith Goggles and a founding shareholder of Callaway Golf Inc. He was

the chairman of Nuverra Environmental Solutions Inc. He also founded the Heckmann International Center for Entrepreneurial Management at UC Riverside's Palm Desert campus. Heckmann was also an owner of the NBA Phoenix Suns basketball team.

A perfect Saturday afternoon for him was hanging out with his children, with the grandchildren bopping around, watching a Notre Dame football game. He never missed a T-ball game, soccer game, wrestling match, or football game for any of his children and was a great coach himself.



*James A. Johnson*

**James A. Johnson** was a former Democratic campaign operative who led Fannie Mae in the 1990s and transformed the mortgage giant into a political powerhouse. He was averse to publicity but for years played an outsize role in Washington's business, political, and cultural life, simultaneously chairing

the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the Brookings Institution think tank, and Fannie Mae. Johnson enjoyed a long association with Walter F. Mondale, the U.S. senator from Minnesota who became Jimmy Carter's vice president. He chaired Mondale's White House campaign in 1984.

Johnson's reach extended so far that Harold M. Ickes, President Bill Clinton's deputy chief of staff, once joked that Johnson was "the chairman of the universe." Politicians on both sides of the aisle praised his stewardship of Fannie Mae and efforts to promote homeownership, which Johnson considered a vehicle for social improvement.

At Fannie Mae, Johnson set about expanding the company's portfolio, leveraging his political connections and turning a sleepy, quasi-public mortgage utility into "the largest and most powerful financial institution in the world," according to a 2011 account by Gretchen Morgenson.

Fannie Mae took on a new affordable-housing focus, requiring it to use its mortgage purchases to help low-income and "underserved" families who previously had been unable to afford homes. The company began acquiring mortgages with lower down payments, and Johnson spoke glowingly of the "revolution" in homeownership that his company helped fuel.

"We think everything gets better with more

homeownership. ... And we have been working very aggressively on that,” he told the Washington Post in 1998. He and his industry had increasingly reached out to poor and moderate-income home buyers, including African Americans, Hispanics, and “new immigrants,” he added. “And it’s working. We have systematically reduced the level of down payment required.”

Johnson had joined the board of Goldman Sachs by the time Fannie Mae was rocked by a multibillion-dollar accounting scandal in the early 2000s and when the company collapsed during the 2008 financial crisis. Johnson seldom addressed criticism but insisted that the company’s “broad political support” was simply the result of its success in promoting “more homeownership for more people at a lower price.”

Johnson studied political science at the University of Minnesota, where he was elected student body president and graduated in 1965, and he received a master’s degree in public policy from Princeton University in 1968.

By then, he had immersed himself in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements, driving to Alabama to march with the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. from Selma to Montgomery. He attended a gathering of antiwar activists on Martha’s Vineyard, Massachusetts, where he roomed with a young Rhodes scholar named Bill Clinton.

In 2004, he chaired the vice presidential selection committee for Democratic candidate John F. Kerry. He briefly held a similar role for Barack Obama in 2008 before stepping down as a campaign advisor.



Stan Juneau

**William Stanley “Stan” Juneau**

was appointed by President Carter to the National Advisory Council on Indian Education. He also served on the Buffalo Bill Museum Indian Board of Directors, the Haskell Institute Board of Regents, the Montana Committee for the Humanities, the Blackfeet Community College Board of Trustees, and the National Congress of American Indians.

Juneau believed in social justice, civil rights, and Native rights. He was an activist throughout his life, attending marches and protests to make positive change in government and society. He was a proud Democrat and an original member of Team Juneau. He worked hard to get his wife, Carol, elected to the state legislature and his daughter

Denise elected state schools superintendent.

As a young man, Juneau worked as a ranch hand, a construction worker on a pipeline and tribal housing, worked at grocery stores and service stations, and spent nearly a decade as a wildland firefighter. Later he graduated from Haskell Institute with a certificate in business administration, Eastern Montana College with a bachelor’s degree in secondary education, and the University of Montana with a master’s degree in school administration. He also served as the superintendent of Heart Butte Schools and Browning Schools. When he retired, Juneau continued his public service and was elected to Browning’s school board, where he was a fierce student advocate. He also served as the vice chairperson for the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council.

Juneau always said his favorite job was being the Browning athletic director. As the athletic director, he challenged the National High School Association Wrestling Committee’s rule about athletes’ length of hair when some of Browning’s athletes wore braids and were not allowed to compete. He won this fight and provided opportunities for Native athletes to maintain their cultural identity while participating in sports.

Juneau was most proud and happy when he and his family spent time together driving and hiking around the mountains, the many beautiful sites on the Blackfeet Reservation, and throughout Montana. He loved fishing the many streams and lakes on the Blackfeet Reservation and attending athletic and social events throughout Montana, as well as out of state, giving relatives and friends a tour of the reservation and Glacier National Park, and just visiting with family and friends.



Phyllis Landrieu

**Phyllis Landrieu** was a businesswoman and activist whose causes included health care, education, and the rights of children — along with a healthy dose of politics. Landrieu worked tirelessly in campaigns across the country and, on the state and national levels, in the workings of the Democratic Party.

She organized a reception for President Carter on his first campaign trip to Louisiana in January of 1975 and was helpful during the campaign. She continued her

*continues on p. 24*

*Continued from p. 23*

communications with President Carter during the administration and was active with the alumni association.

She founded her own public relations agency and served as the first female leader of the Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee and a member of the Democratic National Committee. She was a friend of Presidents Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama.

“She was just an amazing bundle of joy and had a special force about her, but it was a joyful force,” former U.S. Sen. Mary Landrieu, a niece, said. “She approached everything with passion and vigor and energy.”

Phyllis Landrieu was “a woman of steel,” New Orleans Mayor LaToya Cantrell said in a statement, describing Landrieu as “a passionate champion for our children and for early childhood education.”

Landrieu also was president of the Orleans Parish School Board. Said Tony Gelderman, a neighbor and friend, “She felt that it [education] was what was going to help New Orleans become the city it could be, that education is the path to a better New Orleans. She was the best kind of person to be in politics. She knew where everyone was politically. She could be disappointed by someone, but she never held a grudge.”



*Edward C. Meyer*

**Edward C. Meyer** was a four-star general and a combat veteran of both the Korean and Vietnam wars before being selected as Army chief of staff by President Carter in 1979. There he led an effort to restructure what he called a “hollow Army” to describe how the military branch had been beset by staffing

problems, outdated equipment, and general malaise after the Vietnam War.

He was moved ahead of at least 15 higher-ranking officers and, at 50, was one of the youngest chiefs of staff in history. When he took over the Army’s top post, he said only six of its 10 divisions at the time were combat-ready. In Meyer’s first year on the job, more than 20 senior generals retired or were replaced, easing the way toward new approaches to the Army’s internal organization and procedures. It was essential, Meyer said, to create a “vision of where we were going so that we weren’t trapped, as armies in the past have been, into just being a mirror of the kind of army we were before.”

“Soldiers should not go off to war without having the nation behind them,” he said. One of the lessons of Vietnam, he added, was that “it became quite clear that the will of the people, the resources of the nation, and the Army weren’t clearly linked in that war.”

Meyer sought to improve the pay and educational benefits for enlisted service members and noncommissioned officers, which helped in recruitment. He toughened the Army’s training requirements, adding two weeks to basic training and an hour to each day’s drills.

One of Meyer’s most notable innovations was the cohort program, which kept company-size units, generally consisting of about 120 troops, relatively intact for three years, creating greater cohesion. He used a similar approach for larger units of 1,000 soldiers or more, maintaining stability when they were deployed to bases abroad.

Some changes that seemed minor to outsiders—such as allowing members of airborne units to wear distinctive burgundy berets—helped boost esprit de corps.

Throughout his four-year tenure as chief of staff, Meyer sought to modernize the Army’s weapon systems, moving away from the heavy tanks built for the Cold War to lighter and more mobile vehicles and equipment.

Meyer was credited with raising the Army’s professionalism and developing a system that would allow for faster, more flexible deployments, as evidenced a decade later in the Desert Storm operation in 1991.

As a young officer, Meyer served in Korea and Vietnam. He was awarded the Bronze Star and Silver Star for actions in Korea and the Silver Star, Distinguished Flying Cross, and Purple Heart in Vietnam, where he served in 1965 and again in 1969 and 1970.

He attended many specialized military training programs, including the National War College, and received a master’s degree in international affairs from George Washington University. After serving in Europe, he became the Army’s deputy chief of staff for operations and planning before being named Army chief of staff.

**Vera Elizabeth Murray** entered the world of politics by taking a temporary job with the Democratic National Committee, working for then Treasurer Robert S. Strauss at its Watergate headquarters in Washington. Excelling in this role, Murray was asked to stay long term, quickly becoming Strauss’ right-hand associate and trusted advisor through his election as chairman of the DNC later that year.



Vera Elizabeth Murray

Murray's keen problem-solving abilities and uncanny knack for getting the job done led to a position as Strauss' top executive assistant during his appointments by President Carter as U.S. trade representative in 1977 and special envoy to the Middle East in 1979. These roles saw her travel from the White House to the Middle East for peace negotiations, to Japan for trade discussions, and back to Washington, where she eventually became a partner at the law firm of Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP.

When President George H.W. Bush appointed Strauss as the United States ambassador to Russia in 1991, Murray joined him as chief of staff, spending two years at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. After returning to Washington she rejoined Akin Gump, where she spent the remainder of her career. Her political career afforded her the opportunity to participate in some of our country's most important historical moments.



Arnold H. Packer

**Arnold H. Packer** served as assistant secretary of labor for policy, evaluation, and research, where he co-authored the influential publication *Workforce 2000*. He was known for his intensely held convictions that centered on contributing solutions to labor market challenges.

Earlier in his career he worked as an information systems analyst for Aerojet-General Corp. and later as a project leader at Research Triangle Institute in North Carolina, working on problems in economic planning and on community health systems. He received a Ph.D. in economics from the University of North Carolina in 1969.

He was an economist on the director's staff in the Office of Management and Budget from 1969 to 1971. Packer was senior economist on the Committee for Economic Development from 1971 until 1974, when he became chief economist for the Senate Budget Committee, headed by Sen. Edmund Muskie.

Packer was executive director of the SCANS Commission chaired by Sen. William Brock; in that role he was a pioneer in identifying the "soft skills" required by youth for success in the workplace.

From 1992 through 2004 he was a senior fellow at

the Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies, where he directed the SCANS 2000 Center focusing on education and workforce development.



William C. Pryor

**William C. Pryor** was appointed in 1979 by President Carter to the D.C. Court of Appeals—the district's equivalent of a state supreme court. Five years later, he was named chief judge of the nine-judge court. When he formally retired in 1988, colleagues credited Pryor with a calm and mannerly personality that helped create harmony in the dual appellate and trial court system.

Pryor attended segregated D.C. schools before completing high school at what is now Northfield Mount Hermon, a private boarding school in Massachusetts. He graduated in 1954 from Dartmouth College, where he was a member of the basketball and tennis teams. He had thoughts of becoming a doctor until he switched his attention to law school, inspired by the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling that banned segregation in public schools.

After two years in the Army, Pryor entered law school at Georgetown University. After graduating in 1959, he was not offered a job by any large law firm in Washington.

"I was told—both directly and indirectly—that race was a factor," Pryor said.

He went to work for the U.S. Justice Department and later gained the attention of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who encouraged him to become a courtroom litigator. He later spent two years as a corporate lawyer with the old Bell Telephone Co. in Cleveland before returning to Washington in 1967 to become an assistant U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia.

In a 1995 D.C. Bar newsletter interview, Pryor recalled that he was playing basketball at the YMCA on a Saturday morning when he received an urgent call from his wife, telling him that President Johnson wanted to see him at the White House at once. She brought him a suit and tie, but not a pair of dark socks.

"So, I showered and hurried down to the White House to meet the president—unshaven and wearing dirty white gym socks," Pryor said. "I was ushered in, and President Johnson looked me over. He looked at the socks but didn't

*continues on p. 26*

*Continued from p. 25*

mention them. I said, ‘Mr. President it is my pleasure to be here. I hope you understand that half an hour ago I was playing basketball.’” It was then that Johnson offered him a position as a judge.

He took his seat on the bench soon after the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., as Washington erupted in rioting and unrest. “The city really was on fire,” Pryor said. “The situation was so volatile that there were armed guards posted outside my house.”

For the next 20 years as a full-time judge, followed by another 30 on part-time senior status, Pryor built a reputation as a low-key, moderate jurist. He seldom handled high-profile cases, presiding mostly over such day-to-day concerns as criminal offenses, commercial contracts, landlord-tenant disputes, and juvenile and domestic matters.

“I think I derived my greatest satisfaction from being able to get heated-up, angry people to calm down and walk away from the court without feeling frustrated and angered,” he said in the D.C. Bar interview. “That’s not the kind of thing that makes the newspaper, but I did enjoy the human uplift derived from getting people to reach some sort of an accommodation.”



*Amelia Parker*

After she had worked at the Democratic National Committee for several years as a communications officer, **Amelia Parker** served in the Carter White House as a research assistant for policy analysis and assisted in public outreach activities with Mark Siegel.

Later she became the executive director of the Congressional Black Caucus and of the Executive Leadership Council, and executive assistant to the Rev. Dr. H. Beecher Hicks for the Metropolitan Baptist Church in Washington.

She was also the executive director of the International Civil Rights Center & Museum in Greensboro, North Carolina. Parker understood the importance of carefully transforming the three floors of the Woolworth’s Building into an institution that could tell the inspiring stories of the struggle for civil rights across the 20th century. Using artifacts, documents, and images, Parker oversaw the development of compelling storylines for visitors at the museum, creating a path for them to move seamlessly through

the galleries of the permanent exhibit, “Battlegrounds.” Parker did not pretend that the struggle for civil rights was complete. She encouraged programming that connected the lessons embedded in the museum to the pressing issues of social justice today.

Parker was a proud member of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority Inc. She received two master’s degrees from Iowa State University before being admitted to the Georgetown University School of Law.

**John Menges Struble**, an avid political and football raconteur, worked as the deputy to the acting deputy undersecretary of commerce in the Carter-Mondale administration. Earlier he worked on Capitol Hill, including in the office of Congressman Dan Rostenkowski.

He attended the University of Nebraska on a football scholarship and was an Honorable Mention All Big Eight safety. “I wasn’t that big, but I was fast and hit hard,” he said. After a late-night infraction with other teammates, he left Nebraska and finished up playing football at North Texas State University.

The son of a military officer, Struble grew up on military bases around the country. After college he joined the Army and was an Airborne Ranger in Vietnam, where he was shot out of a helicopter and suffered a back injury.

After his work in the administration, Struble went to work in Dallas as a commercial real estate broker in transactions involving nursing home chains and huge warehouses. He also put together oil and gas and real estate limited partnerships. He prospered in the big leagues of commercial real estate in the Dallas area, where his work ethic and sense of family responsibility made him a success and a good provider.

Struble was also an avid hunter and recently retired from the board of Safari Club International, Dallas-Fort Worth Chapter. John loved to discuss politics and had a healthy loathing of the kind of deceit and smarminess that we are witness to today.

**Peter L. Szanton** managed the Carter-Mondale government reorganization study for the areas related to national defense. Earlier in his government experience he had been on the team of bright young management experts studying the Defense Department of Robert S. McNamara under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

Although he was a lover of peace, Szanton’s patriotism

motivated him to serve proudly as an enlisted man in the Korean War.

After the war he became an attorney and moved his family to Washington, where he began a career in federal government service.

Szanton's steady intelligence, optimism, idealism, and good judgment were on full display in his work during the reorganization study. Everyone who worked with him remembered him as a marvel of determined happiness and skillful design. The more complex the problem, the more remarkable was the wisdom, clarity, and calm of the advice. "Not to worry" was a favorite phrase.

Szanton wrote four books, tackling complex subjects with writing as clear as a pane of glass. His knack for analyzing problems and explaining them clearly made him a natural as a consultant to foundations and Jewish organizations.



*Bob Thomson*

**Bob Thomson** joined the Carter administration as deputy director of congressional liaison and was instrumental in the development and passage of such major legislation as the Panama Canal Treaties and the establishment of the Department of Education.

Thomson met and married his wife, Anita, in Washington. They later moved to Stamford, Connecticut, where he worked as senior vice president for public policy at Moore McCormack Resources. He was appointed to the Planning and Zoning Commission in Stamford and was elected chairman. Following the birth of their two sons, Matthew and Andrew, Thomson accepted a position as vice president of communications and policy planning with Telecommunications Inc. (TCI) in Denver.

Earlier in his life, Thomson joined the Army and served in Vietnam as a first lieutenant in the 199th Light Infantry Division. He was awarded the Bronze Star and the Army Commendation Medal for Valor for his exemplary service to his country. Thomson took the LSAT with his rifle propped beside him in Vietnam and immediately returned to the battlefield. Following graduation from Georgetown Law School, he joined the Washington, D.C., office of the Seattle-based firm Preston Thorgrimson Ellis & Holman.

He was a proud and loving father who raised his family in Colorado. He believed in giving his sons experiences of the wider world, encouraging them to hike and ski in the Rockies, engage in sports, travel internationally, and participate in humanitarian service.

Active in the Denver community, Thomson was appointed to the Scientific and Cultural Facilities District and served as chairman of the board of the Denver Museum of Nature and Science. He was instrumental in the formation of the National Interfaith Cable Coalition and later joined the board of Faith and Values Media, which became the New York City-based Odyssey Network. He eventually transitioned into the world of television production, organizing the purchase and restructuring of a small company, and then serving as the managing partner of Pipeline39.

After his retirement and permanent return to Denver, Thomson devoted himself to mentoring George Washington High School students and developing educational opportunities for students in the Denver area. He was also active in the South Sudanese refugee community in Denver and co-founded South Sudan Reborn, a nonprofit education and advocacy organization committed to reconciliation and democracy.



*Stanley Capers Weinberg Jr.*

**Stanley Capers Weinberg Jr.**

was the political director for the 1976 Jimmy Carter presidential campaign in Connecticut. He was strong-willed, believed in breaking down barriers between people, and remained passionate about politics.

Weinberg was raised in Roanoke, Virginia, lettering in many sports at Roanoke High School. He served in the Navy during the Korean War and attended Boston University, where he met his wife, Barbara. He graduated in 1958, and the couple moved to Manchester, Connecticut.

Weinberg worked for Texaco, owned his own business, served as regional director of the Small Business Administration, and was co-owner with Barbara of Re/Max East of the River in Manchester for 25 years. They lived in Massachusetts and Florida upon retirement. Stanley Weinberg was a devoted UConn women's basketball fan. He enjoyed cooking and sharing meals with family and friends. He had a deep faith and was a lay leader in the United Methodist Church.

THE CARTER CENTER  
One Copenhill  
453 John Lewis Freedom Parkway  
Atlanta, GA 30307  
ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED

THE  
CARTER CENTER



**The Carter Center welcomes the support of Carter-Mondale alumni. We invite you to join us at [CarterCenter.org](http://CarterCenter.org) and make a donation to support our activities.**

## Ahead of His Time

**F**ormer U.S. President Jimmy Carter endorsed the use of solar power as part of a comprehensive plan to strengthen the nation's energy security by conserving energy and developing alternative energy sources.

On June 20, 1979, he showed reporters and other guests new solar panels on the West Wing providing hot water for the White House. See p. 10 in this newsletter for an article on the most momentous decade in U.S. energy history—the 1970s.



## 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 John Lewis Freedom Parkway, Atlanta, GA 30307; Phone (404) 420-3809; Fax (404) 420-3816; Email [jay.beck@cartercenter.org](mailto: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](mailto:jay.beck@cartercenter.org).**