THE Carter Mondale Letter

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How Carter Protected Consumers

By Benjamin Levitt

When Jimmy Carter campaigned for president, he told a luncheon in August 1976 that he intended to challenge Ralph Nader "for the title of top consumer advocate in the country."

Nader had achieved national recognition back in 1965 when he took on the American automobile industry and published "Unsafe at Any Speed." He had followed that by creating organizations that would work to protect consumer interests and rights. The Center for the Study of Responsive Law, Public Citizen, and the group of law students called Nader's Raiders brought numerous people into the field of consumer advocacy. Others also were inspired to begin similar organizations and government watchdog groups, such as Common Cause.

After winning the election, President Carter looked to these groups for committed and talented consumer advocates. He filled more than 60 positions in his administration with staff from the organizations. As Kai Bird writes in "The Outlier," "These quite radical appointments signaled that Carter was going to use the executive branch's regulatory powers to protect consumers from dirty air, dangerous automobiles, and big corporations." Many of these consumer advocates held high-ranking jobs in key government regulatory agencies under Carter. They worked to shift the focus of their agencies by reducing the influence of special interests and prioritizing consumer safety as a top concern of government.

Greater automobile safety is an enduring legacy of the Carter administration.

Road Safety Efforts Under the Carter Administration

As the administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA), Joan Claybrook sought to challenge the influence of automobile companies. She was committed to adopting sensible policies to reduce preventable roadway deaths.

In 1977, Claybrook worked with Carter to issue an executive order requiring

continues on p. 2

Continued from p. 1

automakers install airbags and seatbelts within five years. The regulation was controversial because it challenged the lobbying efforts of automobile manufacturers in Washington. After a tough fight by Claybrook's team at NHTSA, the airbag rule passed through the House Commerce Committee by a margin of just two votes.

Automobile safety is one example of the administration's enduring legacy. According to a recent report for the 55th anniversary of "Unsafe at Any Speed," an estimated 600,000 lives were saved between 1960 and 2012 due to the adoption of various federal motor vehicle safety standards; efforts specifically under the Carter administration—particularly the airbag rule—have saved several thousand lives annually since Carter left office. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Claybrook cites the airbag rule as one of her proudest accomplishments from her time at NHTSA.

Other Consumer Protection Efforts Under President Carter

Many other government agencies worked to improve consumer protection between 1977 and 1981. As dozens of consumer advocates were appointed to leadership positions, the federal government developed a renewed focus on health and safety in the respective agencies. "He appointed consumer advocates, not industry stalwarts, to regulate industries and gave them a charge which he backed up with legislation," Stu Eizenstat, Carter's chief domestic policy advisor, wrote in his book, "President Carter."

Under Michael Pertschuk's leadership, the Federal Trade Commission restricted sugary food advertisements targeted at children and created the National Do Not Call Registry to protect individuals from telemarketers. The registry, which works to ensure consumer privacy is respected, remains one of the most popular government initiatives.

Under the leadership of Barbara Franklin and Susan B. King, the Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) promoted standards for products that posed a hazard or injury risk. Despite facing opposition from sleepwear producers, the CPSC issued a ban in 1977 on the use of Tris, a chemical fire retardant in children's sleepwear that was linked to higher incidences of cancer. The Department of Health and Human Services also began investigating the hazards of tobacco. The Environmental Protection Agency and Department of Agriculture strongly enforced existing regulations on pesticide labeling and exposure to toxic chemicals.

There were far too many contributors to the Carter consumer legacy to name in this article. Some key people involved included Douglas Costle at the Environmental Protection Agency, Carol Tucker-Forman as assistant secretary of food and consumer services at the Department of Agriculture, Donald Kennedy at the Food and Drug Administration, Eula Bingham at the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and Reuben B. Robertson at the Civil Aeronautics Board's Bureau of Consumer Protection. Additionally, Henry Geller became the first administrator of the newly formed National Telecommunications and Information Administration, which strived to protect consumers through policies pertaining to radio, television, and phone service.

No one represents the Carter administration's focus on consumer affairs better than Esther Peterson. In a powerful symbol of the importance of consumer affairs to his presidency, President Carter moved the Office of Consumer Affairs closer to the Oval Office and tasked Peterson with overseeing it. An outspoken veteran of the consumer rights movement, Peterson was the only person ever to fill the position of special assistant to the president for consumer affairs. She had the ear of the president and worked closely with him to advance the consumer movement's goals.

All together, the cadre of consumer advocates in the Carter administration played a substantial role in changing the focus of government work. These appointments empowered the existing staff of bureaucrats by refocusing their work on the agency's missions in contrast to previous administrations' focus on serving special interests.

Opposition to Consumer Protection

As the Carter administration worked to make progress on consumer issues, opposition grew from the business community, lobbyists, and within Congress. Michael Pertschuk explained in his book, "Revolt Against Regulation," that the shifting discourse around government regulatory overreach in this period poisoned the administration's ability to succeed on some of its consumer protection priorities.

Several initiatives were blocked in Congress. Federal no-fault auto insurance legislation, a perennial goal of consumer advocates, did not pass the House Commerce Committee due largely to the lobbying of special interest groups. In 1977, President Carter introduced a major consumer protection bill. The bill would have established a federal Office of Consumer Representation with the power to take other government agencies to court for advancing special interests and failing to enforce laws. As Nader quipped in an interview two decades later, "[The agency] could've had an enormous leverage effect. The problem was it was too

good of an idea."

Corporations caught wind of the bill, which would have forced them to spend money to ensure compliance with federal regulations. The Business Roundtable, a lobbying group representing the collective interests of corporate America, lobbied intensely against it. In February 1978, the bill was defeated in Congress by a vote of 227 to 189, serving as a potent reminder of the power of special interests to influence politicians in Washington.

The failed consumer protection bill, however, did pave the way for future progress. Arguably, the bill set the precedent for future consumer protection efforts such as the 2010 Dodd-Frank Consumer Protection Act, which saw the formation of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau.

Ongoing Efforts to Dismantle the Carter Legacy

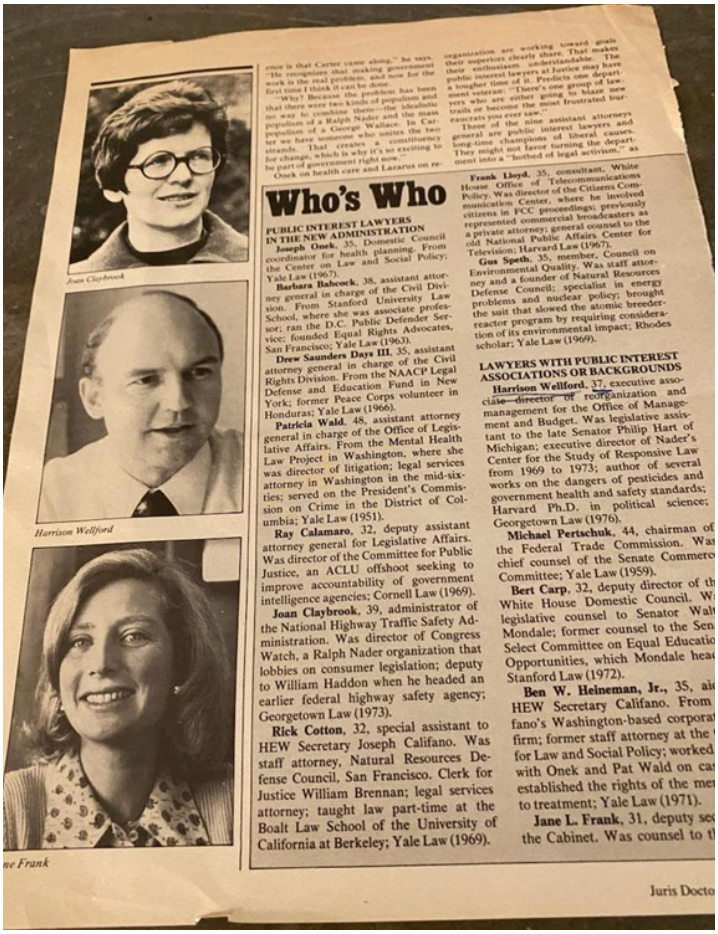
Expectedly, the administration's consumer protection agenda prompted backlash. Efforts to dismantle Carter's consumer legacy occurred during his presidency and escalated under the Reagan administration.

During the late 1970s, Chief Counsel Frank Berndt worked to defend NHTSA's regulations against relentless legal challenges by the automobile industry. "Frank Berndt was a fantastic lawyer," Claybrook said, praising his legal work for the Department of Transportation. Impressively, Berndt won every case brought against NHTSA by the industry.

Once Reagan assumed office in 1981, his administration revoked Claybrook's landmark airbag rule. The decision was challenged by insurance companies and consumer groups, leading to a prolonged court battle. In a 9-0 decision in 1983, the Supreme Court ruled that the Reagan administration must reinstate an airbag rule. Even once the rule was reauthorized, Claybrook and other Carter administration alumni continued to fight against legislative loopholes as they sought to ensure the highest standards of auto safety.

The Carter Administration's Consumer Legacy and the Path Forward

Despite efforts to challenge the administration's legacy on consumer rights, the accomplishments were substantial. As Eizenstat explained, "Opposition to Carter's consumer agenda was not enough to deny him lasting accomplishments through his regulatory appointees; on occupational health and safety, automobile airbags, limits on advertising aimed at children, transparency on funeral charges that bilk grieving families; and a National Consumer Bank to make loans for housing,


Who's Who

PUBLIC INTEREST LAWYERS IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

Joseph Onek, 35, Domestic Council coordinator for health planning. From the Center on Law and Social Policy; Yale Law (1967).

Barbara Babcock, 38, assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Division. From Stanford University Law School, where she was associate professor; ran the D.C. Public Defender Service; founded Equal Rights Advocates, San Francisco; Yale Law (1963).

Drew Saunders Days III, 35, assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Rights Division. From the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund in New York; former Peace Corps volunteer in Honduras; Yale Law (1966).

Patricia Wald, 48, assistant attorney general in charge of the Office of Legislative Affairs. From the Mental Health Law Project in Washington, where she was director of litigation; legal services attorney in Washington in the mid-sixties; served on the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia; Yale Law (1951).

Ray Calamaro, 32, deputy assistant attorney general for Legislative Affairs. Was director of the Committee for Public Justice, an ACLU offshoot seeking to improve accountability of government intelligence agencies; Cornell Law (1969).

Joan Claybrook, 39, administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Was director of Congress Watch, a Ralph Nader organization that lobbies on consumer legislation; deputy to William Haddon when he headed an earlier federal highway safety agency; Georgetown Law (1973).

Rick Cotton, 32, special assistant to HEW Secretary Joseph Califano. Was staff attorney, Natural Resources Defense Council, San Francisco. Clerk for Justice William Brennan; legal services attorney; taught law part-time at the Boalt Law School of the University of California at Berkeley; Yale Law (1969).

Frank Lloyd, 35, consultant, White House Office of Telecommunications Policy. Was director of the Citizens Communication Center, where he involved citizens in FCC proceedings; previously represented commercial broadcasters as a private attorney; general counsel to the old National Public Affairs Center for Television; Harvard Law (1967).

Gus Speth, 35, member, Council on Environmental Quality. Was staff attorney and a founder of Natural Resources Defense Council; specialist in energy problems and nuclear policy; brought the suit that slowed the atomic breeder-reactor program by requiring consideration of its environmental impact; Rhodes scholar; Yale Law (1969).

LAWYERS WITH PUBLIC INTEREST ASSOCIATIONS OR BACKGROUNDS

Harrison Wellford, 37, executive associate director of reorganization and management for the Office of Management and Budget. Was legislative assistant to the late Senator Philip Hart of Michigan; executive director of Nader's Center for the Study of Responsive Law from 1969 to 1973; author of several works on the dangers of pesticides and government health and safety standards; Harvard Ph.D. in political science; Georgetown Law (1976).

Michael Pertschuk, 44, chairman of the Federal Trade Commission. Was chief counsel of the Senate Commerce Committee; Yale Law (1959).

Bert Carp, 32, deputy director of the White House Domestic Council. Was legislative counsel to Senator Walter Mondale; former counsel to the Senate Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunities, which Mondale headed; Stanford Law (1972).

Ben W. Heineman, Jr., 35, aide to HEW Secretary Califano. From Califano's Washington-based corporate firm; former staff attorney at the Center for Law and Social Policy; worked with Onek and Pat Wald on cases established the rights of the mentally ill to treatment; Yale Law (1971).

Jane L. Frank, 31, deputy secretary to the Cabinet. Was counsel to the

Joan Claybrook

Harrison Wellford

ne Frank

Juris Docto

Image courtesy of Harrison Wellford

The National Journal listed many of the consumer activists with a newly appointed role in the Carter-Mondale government in April 1977.

food, clothing, retail, and insurance co-ops. The administration also accelerated… fuel-efficiency standards the auto industry wanted to delay."

On a more foundational level, the administration reminded the American people of the importance of government to preserve health and safety. As Bird writes, "in four years… [the Carter administration] legitimize[d] the fact that the federal government had a role to play in protecting the average citizen from fraud, safety, and environmental concerns when they go into the market to buy a product." Consumer safety and protection became an assumed obligation of governing.

Carter also championed the idea of designing smart government policies that are responsive to market incentives. As Peter Petkas, an executive in President Carter's effort to reorganize government, explained, "You have [the advancement of] a consumer protection agenda [under Carter] without creating unnecessary bureaucratic or regulatory entanglements."

continues on p. 4

Continued from p. 3

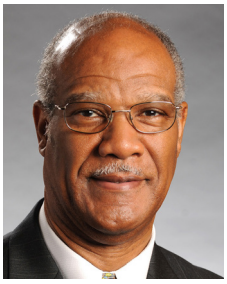
Although Ronald Reagan sought to reverse some of the key accomplishments on consumer protection, the Carter administration nonetheless made substantial progress. Carter's impact on consumer protection can serve as a catalyst for current and future Democratic administrations to take substantive action to protect consumers.

About the Author: Benjamin Levitt was a 2021 intern at The Carter Center.

Author's Note: Thank you to those who provided advice and direction for this piece: Harrison Wellford, Kai Bird, Joan Claybrook, Michael Pertschuk and his wife, Anna Sofaer, and Peter Petkas.

Editor's Note: Read more about Kai Bird's book, "The Outlier: The Unfinished Presidency of Jimmy Carter," at www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/538942/the-outlier-by-kai-bird/. More on Stuart Eizenstat's book, "President Carter: The White House Years," can be found at www.us.macmillan.com/books/9781250104557/president-carter.

Comings & Goings



Rep. Calvin Smyre

President Joe Biden has nominated Georgia state **Rep. Calvin Smyre** to serve as the U.S. ambassador to the Dominican Republic, rewarding the longest-serving legislator in Georgia—and one of the president's earliest allies in the South—with a diplomatic post, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution's Greg Bluestein reported.

First elected in 1974 at the age of 26, the Columbus Democrat emerged as one of the most powerful members of the Georgia House when it was dominated by Democrats. Smyre's roots in Democratic politics run deep. He campaigned for President Jimmy Carter during his 1980 reelection bid, traveling to Kentucky in a Buick to stump for him.

He co-chaired Bill Clinton's Georgia campaigns in 1992 and 1996, and he was a key Al Gore deputy in 2000.

In 2001, Smyre was appointed chairman of the Democratic Party of Georgia, the first Black person to fill that role. He served as a Democratic elector in nine of the past 11 presidential contests and was one of Biden's earliest well-known supporters in Georgia.

Over 47 legislative sessions, Smyre has also become a mentor to dozens of politicians and staffers from both sides of the aisle and a fierce advocate for his party's causes, Bluestein reported. He was particularly proud earlier this year of helping to rally Democrats to vote as a bloc against a rewrite of state election law that imposes new obstacles to voting.

"I've been in the Legislature for so long, and it's such a part of me. It's a place that I love so dearly," Smyre said. "But I'm deeply honored to be nominated by President Biden to be the ambassador to the Dominican Republic. And if confirmed, I look forward to advancing the interests of the United States in the Dominican government."

The 74-year-old retired banker was the first Black lawmaker in Georgia to be appointed a governor's floor leader and to serve as the state party's chair.

Skilled at relationship-building, Smyre was at the center of the negotiations when then-Gov. Roy Barnes decided to change Georgia's state flag and remove its Confederate emblem.

Since the GOP won control of the chamber in 2005, Smyre has cemented his role as a Statehouse power broker who quietly hashes out agreements across party lines among feuding politicians and helps neutralize some of the thorniest debates.

Then-Gov. Nathan Deal partnered with Smyre in 2014 to allow for a statue of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. to be placed on the grounds of the Georgia Capitol.

William H. Shaheen has been appointed by President Biden to the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad.

Shaheen and his wife, U.S. Sen. Jeanne Shaheen of New Hampshire, were heavily involved in President Carter's 1976 election campaign. In 1977, President Carter tapped him to be the U.S. attorney for the State of New Hampshire, the youngest to hold that office at the time. In 1981, Bill Shaheen became a U.S. district court judge. He also founded the law firm of Shaheen, Cappiello, Stein, and Gordon, now Shaheen & Gordon. In addition, Shaheen is CEO and chief financial officer of several small businesses. He is well known in the political arena as an activist and for championing candidates and causes that benefit the "little person."

Alumni Pay Tribute to Walter Mondale

Editor's Note: The last issue of the Carter/Mondale Letter was dedicated to the memory of former U.S. Vice President Walter Mondale, who passed away on April 19, 2021. Below are additional memories from readers we received after the issue was published.

Mark Reinstein/Shutterstock

Walter Mondale, 1984

Dot Padgett, organizer of Peanut Brigade campaign effort

The vice presidential selection process began early in the summer after the 1976 primaries. At first there were 300 names that were winnowed down to 30 or 40. Then the list was narrowed down to seven names. Fritz laughed when he found out he was not on the early lists.

Charles Kirbo was the point man. He advised Jimmy in eliminating names. He did not think Mondale was a good choice. He thought the "son of a preacher man" would be too liberal and the match would not work.

David Nordan, the colorful *Atlanta Magazine* political editor, wrote: "If you are a candidate for V.P., you will meet one of the Carter people. You will meet a redneck looking fellow who speaks (with) a South Georgia drawl. He may leave the impression that he just left a checker game in the back of the hardware store and got beat three times out of four games. He will talk to you about his pickup truck and the billy goat that Jimmy gave him. He may say that one time he was 'pore' but he is doing all right now.

"If you think you are being interviewed by one of Jimmy's good ole boys that just loped in from the filling station, you are too dumb to be vice president.

"You are being interviewed by Charles Kirbo, a man more responsible for the success of Jimmy Carter than anyone else. He is a senior partner in one of Atlanta's law firms and he ain't 'pore' no more."

Mr. Kirbo did agree to go to Washington to talk to Mondale, convinced he would make quick work eliminating him as a candidate, this man from the cold state of Minnesota, the last outpost of reticence.

What he found was a warm, friendly human being with a subtle sense of humor. Charlie came back to Georgia and in his deliberate, slow way of telling a story reported, "When I went to Mondale's office, I expected to take care of him once and for all. I did not think it would take much time. When I got back to Georgia, I told Jimmy, 'You know I did not get rid of Mondale today and I have a feeling I never will.'"

In the summer months before the conventions, Mondale and the other candidates visited Jimmy in Plains. Joan would travel to Plains with Fritz. Rosalynn gave her high marks. This might have tipped the scales in his favor.

During the activity of the Democratic Convention, Governor Carter did not let anyone know this decision for vice president. Jeff and Chip told reporters they have done an evaluation of Jimmy's thought process and concluded he would choose Mondale. Jimmy called Fritz on the fourth day of the convention at 8:25 a.m. and asked if he would be his running mate.

Mondale told reporters, "Actually, I was up very early that morning to fix my phone, which had not rung in three days." The Washington Star reported, "Mondale will add a dash of humor. He can poke fun at himself."

This proved to be true in the White House. One of the first assignments for the vice president was an extended trip abroad. Mondale told reporters before he left, "President Carter received a letter: 'Dear President Carter, if I had known you were going to send Mondale out of the country, I

continues on p. 6

Continued from p. 5

would have voted for you.'"

After the convention, we were scheduled to attend a work session at Sea Pines on Hilton Head Island. At Sea Pines we met the Mondale staff. These included Mike Berman, Bert Carp, Gail Harrison, Jim Johnson, Dick Moe, Becky McGowan, Linda Jadwin, Susan Frazier, and Rob Godwin.

Fritz and his staff scored high with a variety of people. They were professional and worked with a purpose. A question soon did arise: Could they pass the real test? Being from Minnesota, did they like grits?

It was only natural that the Georgia campaign staff should be the ones to put this question to the test. The first week after the kickoff, we invited the Mondale staff to a "Grits and Fritz" party. We explained the purpose and mission of grits on our tables. After the party we received a nice note: "Thanks for the welcome and thanks for your time. The party was a pleasure and the grits were sublime. Thanks again, Mondale Staff." They were not crazy about the grits, but they did have nice manners.

It was a colorful crowd of students, teachers, parents, and supporters at the Agrirama farm museum in Tifton, Georgia. The 'son of a preacher man' was as comfortable in this setting as he was in Washington, D.C. He won their hearts.

My White House experience with Fritz was in matters of protocol. The Office of Protocol's duties are to create an atmosphere of welcome and respect for the international leaders who are invited to this country by the president. There is a sensitivity in providing the proper attitude of respect when a guest is welcomed to the White House. Every world leader knows this event is being carefully watched by the people in his country.

Mondale had a clear understanding of the importance of this to each guest. At the initial greeting at the White House, in his warm, sincere personality, he was often the person describing a piece of art or giving the history of an item of interest in one of the rooms.

In 1984 when he ran for president, I was asked to coordinate Mondale's Georgia campaign. It was an honor I readily embraced. Winning the Georgia primary was essential to the success of the campaign. His reputation as vice president, and as a person, made it easy to attract a group of strong, prominent Georgia leaders to support him.

The Georgia campaign was designed to set Mondale apart from other candidates and to emphasize his down-to-earth personality and his dedication to public service. He was available for the busy schedule we planned. Two events were unique and made national news. Betty Taldmadge, a well-known Georgia name, had a famous stump in the yard of her home, located a short distance from Atlanta. This stump has been the scene for many political "stump speeches." Fritz did not disappoint the large crowd of dignitaries and supporters that had gathered to hear his "stump speech."

He was pictured in a national magazine speaking on a cold morning to a gathering that included Future Farmers of America. It was a colorful crowd of students, teachers, parents, and supporters at the Agrirama farm museum in Tifton, Georgia. The "son of a preacher man" was as comfortable in this setting as he was in Washington, D.C. He won their hearts.

This campaign made history by Mondale's vice presidential choice. Geraldine Ferraro was the first woman to chair a major party presidential platform and run on a major presidential ticket as Mondale's running mate. Her speeches opened doors for many women to run for public office.

Fritz was a welcome guest at The Carter Weekends. We anticipated a lively discussion, consistent with his wit and sharp mind. We lined up to have our picture made with our favorite former vice president.

I will always appreciate his dignity, his loyalty to President Carter and his lifetime work as a public servant dedicated to opening doors for the disadvantaged.

Ellen Berlow, former campaign press coordinator in Maryland

I was serving as press coordinator to the Maryland state campaign in Baltimore when Vice President Mondale and his family came to Baltimore to campaign.

I was given the unenviable task of escorting teenage son Ted Mondale to Baltimore's popular Lexington Market, a sprawling city food market with many fruit, vegetable and seafood vendors.

I headed down a food aisle with Ted behind me to meet and greet customers. I turned to guide him—he had disappeared. He was nowhere to be seen. I turned down another

aisle—there was no sign of him.

I panicked. I lost the vice president's son!

A security guard appeared, and we searched the aisles together.

Ted was spotted at a seafood vendor, evidently enjoying Maryland's famous crab cakes.

That was one of many heart-stopping incidents during the campaign!

Michael Kurman, former national advance staffer

Yes, I observed pride … relief … exhaustion … compassion … gratitude … humor … focus … competitiveness … self-confidence … and, hunger (cheeseburgers, as I recall). But my most vivid recollection was then-Senator Mondale's dogged determination as he finally "exhaled" at the late-night campaign staff gathering in a hotel suite after the first-ever Vice Presidential Candidates Debate on Oct. 15, 1976, at the Alley Theatre in Houston.

I was one of the three national advance staff that had been assigned to the Houston site, along with Mary Hanley (press) and Bill Roberts (lead). (They were exceptional, but only three advance staff in connection with a nationally televised debate—really!?!) My principal responsibility was the debate watching party and post-debate reception with Senator Mondale in the Grand Ballroom of the Rice-Rittenhouse Hotel. In that regard, the hard work and dedicated efforts of local leaders and volunteers were superb.

Despite the giant screen and numerous TVs throughout the ballroom, I saw only a few seconds of the Mondale-Dole debate as the work/preparations continued throughout. What I learned about that historic debate came mainly from press reports in the following days. (Big WIN for Mondale, for sure!) What I learned about the man who would become our next vice president came mainly from his subsequent, casual, wind-down comments that night to his campaign staff.

Rather than elaborate on my perceptions of the above-mentioned traits, I'll instead highlight Senator Mondale's resolve and determination. Though evidently exhausted, he seemed to me to be completely energized by his debate performance and the possibility of victory at the polls the following month. He conveyed a steely, heartfelt determination to continue working as hard as he possibly could in the ensuing weeks, because of his firm belief that the American people would be well-served by the election of Gov. Carter as president. And they were.

And, we were well-served by the lifetime of public service by Walter Mondale, for whom I was privileged to work.

Minnesota Historical Society

Walter and Joan Mondale, 1972

Susan Estrich, columnist and former member of Mondale campaign

Editor's Note: This syndicated column ran with the headline "Walter Mondale: Behind a Great Man." Article is copyrighted by the Creators Syndicate.

I spent the 1984 presidential campaign in the seat behind former Vice President Walter Mondale. From nomination to landslide defeat, I was there, right behind him, giving weather reports to the rest of the plane.

Winning campaigns are great. You show up and you're a genius. Everybody is flying high. Sure, there is always backbiting, but victory has a thousand fathers and mothers—plenty of room.

Close campaigns are exciting. Everything you do matters. Everybody is operating at their max Q. You take a breath, knowing that you will remember these days. Believers pray—a lot.

Losing campaigns are sheer and unmitigated misery, punctuated only by eating too much.

continues on p. 8

Continued from p. 7

In my political life, no candidate has loomed larger than President Ronald Reagan in 1984, meaning that no campaign has been more challenging—that is a better word—than Mondale's effort to unseat Reagan.

A lesser man might have screamed in frustration, screamed at his wife, screamed at his pollster, screamed at the flight attendant, even screamed at the unseen ear behind the curtain [me].

He did none of the above.

This is what a day in the life of a presidential campaign is like, particularly if you are the challenger and you are behind.

You're out the door at about 6 a.m., wherever you are, to hit a factory gate with the candidate. With the staff and press guzzling coffee, the candidate works the line and then hops up on a stage.

He passionately believed in the possibility of government making a difference in the lives of those who needed a helping hand.

The press corps sets up. Workers gather around. And for the first of perhaps five times that day, the candidate gives some version—long, medium, or short—of the same stump speech he gives every day, with the exception of a new topper for the fine folks of wherever you are, and their mayor, and their football team, and whoever else wants to be out there at the crack of dawn, and the day's new sound-bite—a couple of paragraphs written the night before based on whatever happened that day, or what the other guy said, or anything to break into the news cycle substantively, rather than with another story about how few folks showed up on the line that morning, which must be yet another sign of a campaign in disarray.

When you're doing well, an occasional slipup is written off as a "rarity" in a well-oiled machine. When you're doing poorly, it's yet another slip, as if the accuracy of an advance person's timing were a measure of the campaign prospects. When you have heard the same speech over and over, anything will pass for news.

And that is what happens, all day long, interrupted by plane trips and vans to and from airports.

The candidate has to bound off the plane, greet the locals who are riding with him to the rally and be "on" for every single second, which Mondale did until he settled back in that seat in front of me.

You can tell a lot about a person by the way he behaves in that moment, and the minutes afterward, when it would be easy for frustration to boil over.

Walter F. Mondale was one of the most decent, honorable, and caring men I have ever known, not to mention sat behind and eavesdropped on for four months.

It was an honor to work for him. He passionately believed in the possibility of government making a difference in the lives of those who needed a helping hand. He passionately believed in the mission of the civil rights movement.

At my insistence, he even added Title IX to every speech he gave in the fall of 1984, after the Olympics, and delighted in the cheers for the American women.

May he rest in peace, his life an example to all of us of what politics can be.

Joseph H. Carter Sr., former member of Mondale campaign

Editor's Note: This article ran in The Oklahoman under the headline "Mondale's Loss Begat Moscow Mitch." Carter is a resident of Norman, Oklahoma.

By an overwhelming vote in 1984, voters elected Ronald Reagan over Walter Mondale as president at a great loss to national progress. A second tragedy rode on Reagan's political coattail with the election of Mitch McConnell as U.S. senator from Kentucky.

The Electoral College count for Reagan was 525-13. McConnell slipped past incumbent Sen. Dee Huddleston by 5,269 votes.

Two Oklahoma Democratic operatives, Norman attorney G. Dan Rambo and I, felt the pain in both losses. We were on the ground during that 1984 campaign.

While managing Mondale's statewide campaign in Kentucky, Rambo enlisted me to open the Louisville headquarters for the Walter Mondale/Geraldine Ferraro Democratic ticket. For a few weeks, I agreed to abandon my fledgling public affairs work and volunteered to help.

Arriving early evening in Louisville, I drove past Reagan's campaign office with an election banner aglow under spotlights.

Then inside a multistory parking garage on a balcony, I discovered the Democratic campaign office; two rooms totally vacant except for two working telephones. When I touched a switch, the light bulb's glow offered no comfort.

The challenge was real. The outlook: dubious.

Short of funds, Rambo ran a 79-county campaign. The

largest—Jefferson County, home of Louisville—Rambo delegated to me with zero budget. The first challenge was furniture.

The wife of Louisville's Democratic mayor arrived, saw the need, and called a used office supply store for a loan with free delivery. Ah, the regal joy of a desk and chair. For a couple days, I had used my suitcase for a desk and my portable typewriter case for seating. But I was ready for a fight.

During my years in Washington, I had become a casual friend of Sen. Huddleston and admired his skills, views, and hard work. Called him "Dee," privately.

The Louisville mayor's wife shared with me her diminutive view of Huddleston's opponent, the de facto Jefferson County commissioner. He was Mitch McConnell but with a fancier title.

I recall that McConnell reminded me of a weird duck when I viewed his well-funded TV commercials. No chance he would upset such a talented and respected two-term senator, I believed during October 1984.

Huddleston, while obviously with less funding, was a rock star on TV. No way Democrats would lose this seat, I figured quietly, despite the lopsided funding favoring the GOP—as usual.

Unexpectedly, volunteers began finding their way to my newfound mezzanine office. They answered phone calls, contacted supporters, and boosted my morale.

With a few leads, small donations arrived and a Mondale-Ferraro presence came belatedly to Louisville but never strong. Too little, too late.

Moreover, I had demands at my small public affairs firm and I departed, leaving the campaign after three weeks in the hands of a talented woman.

That Kentucky followed the national trend in delivering large votes for President Reagan wasn't unexpected; the sharp surprise was that such a diminutive candidate as Mitch McConnell had eased past Sen. Huddleston. Unthinkable.

While I write this remembrance days following Mondale's death in April, I dwell more on the impact of Huddleston's loss and McConnell's victory 37 years ago. The disbelief I owned when I measured McConnell as a candidate was even greater when I watched his rise in leadership of U.S. Senate Republicans. Majority leader? Minority leader? Impossible. Net worth, I saw on the internet, was $22.5 million in 2014—before his second wife was named to Donald Trump's Cabinet.

And while poverty remains high in rural Kentucky, McConnell regally leads Republican senators in opposition to President Biden's economic bailout programs. Yes, I believe, Sen. Huddleston would have been a helpful architect in designing the progress.

Such is a page in 1984 history, as I recall. And regret.

Stuart E. Eizenstat, domestic policy advisor to President Carter

Editor's Note: This article ran on the Politico website on Dec. 27, 2021.

When Walter "Fritz" Mondale died in April at 93, America lost one of the most remarkable public servants of our era—a man who was Minnesota attorney general; U.S. senator; creator, with President Jimmy Carter, of the modern vice presidency; a Democratic presidential nominee; and U.S. ambassador to Japan. But we also lost a political leader who had a rare combination of liberal values and pragmatic political skills, and whose accomplishments provide important lessons for today's progressives.

The son of a small-town farmer and Methodist preacher, Mondale got his start in politics as a member of Minnesota's Democratic-Farm-Labor Party, which his mentor, Hubert Humphrey, had created—a coalition of farmers, middle- and working-class men and women, academics and minorities who championed civil rights, education, assistance to the poor and health insurance. Mondale would carry his progressive views throughout his career. One of his proudest accomplishments as Minnesota attorney general was leading 23 state attorneys general to file an amicus brief supporting the right of an indigent person to a lawyer under the Sixth Amendment—a right that was upheld unanimously by the Supreme Court in the landmark case of Gideon v. Wainwright.

As a senator, Mondale likewise made advancing the rights of the poor, women and minorities one of his major priorities. In 1974, he helped to pass legislation creating the Legal Services Corporation to provide public funding for legal aid. (As vice president, he later fought successfully for additional funding for the LSC and encouraged Carter to appoint talented young lawyers, including Hillary Rodham Clinton, to its board.) Mondale teamed up in Congress with Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.) to pass the Fair Housing Act over a filibuster, helping to open up segregated neighborhoods. A great believer in early childhood education, he also developed legislation to create Head Start, which passed with significant bipartisan support. And while progressives today are clamoring for reform of the Senate filibuster, Mondale worked in 1975 with conservative Sen. Jim Pearson (R-Kan.) for the last major reform, reducing from 67 to 60 the number of votes to invoke cloture.

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Continued from p. 9

Importantly, this bipartisan legislation marked Mondale as not only a progressive leader, but one who accomplished his goals by forging compromises with conservative Southern Democrats and with Republicans. He was no rigid ideologue; he realized that compromise was essential to advancing progressive causes—not confrontation and heated polemics. While there is no doubt Republicans in the Senate were more willing then to compromise than they are today, Mondale showed that by listening to their concerns and seeking to meet them halfway, his ideals could be converted into laws.

Today's progressives might also learn from Mondale the importance of self-deprecating humor in creating trust among those on the other side of the aisle.

Mondale was chosen by Carter as his vice-presidential running mate for this reason: He was a successful liberal senator who got things done, bringing to the ticket Washington experience, as well as philosophical and regional balance, to the more conservative Southerner Carter. In the Carter administration, where I served as White House domestic affairs advisor, I saw first-hand Mondale's pragmatic progressivism in action. He championed his goals, but always within the limits of the centrist president he served and what the nation could support.

I worked with him as he successfully urged Carter to expand Head Start with $10 billion in funding, serving more than 1 million young children. He led the effort to support affirmative action in higher education in the Bakke case, reversing an early Justice Department position. He championed the creation of a new Cabinet-level Education Department. But he also supported the bipartisan deregulation of natural gas, to encourage more domestic energy production, over the objection of more doctrinaire liberals in Congress.

Perhaps no senior presidential advisor has ever had as close a working relationship with the vice president as I was privileged to have with Fritz Mondale. At the end of the first year of the administration, Carter entrusted him to set domestic and foreign policy priorities, an effort I participated in, along with national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. At the end of each budget cycle, we would meet privately with Carter to have him add back funding for key programs important to the Democratic base. I was proudest of Mondale's July 1979 speech to the U.N. Special Refugee Conference in Geneva, which encapsulated his humanitarian ideals on the world stage. He movingly evoked the 1938 Evian Conference, where the world refused to liberalize immigration quotas for Jewish refugees, saying the "world will not forget us if we fail" in saving people fleeing Southeast Asia by boat. With Carter's full backing, the U.S. Sixth Fleet rescued many of these refugees at sea, and the United States welcomed 500,000 onto our shores.

When Mondale overwhelmingly lost the 1984 presidential election to President Ronald Reagan, after running on a traditional New Deal/Great Society platform, it sent a signal that the old-fashioned liberal Democratic coalition that Mondale had grown up in and led finally had frayed, as Southerners and working-class voters throughout the country abandoned the party. Nearly every subsequent Democratic presidential nominee eschewed the label Mondale proudly carried of a progressive Democrat.

Donald Trump's presidency, the glaring inequalities the COVID pandemic has exposed and ongoing threats to democratic norms have given the progressive movement a second wind; the House Progressive Caucus boasts more than 90 members, and senators such as Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren chair important committees. Yet, progressives will not achieve their goals unless they learn the lessons of Mondale's pragmatic progressivism: that the United States is essentially a centrist country; that a Democrat can earn respect from Republican colleagues by treating them as potential allies, not enemies; and by seeking compromise, not confrontation. The way in which House progressives recently held the infrastructure bill hostage for months, denying their own Democratic president, Joe Biden, an early bipartisan victory, is antithetical to the way in which Mondale governed.

Today's progressives might also learn from Mondale the importance of self-deprecating humor in creating trust among those on the other side of the aisle. When, as vice president, he formally announced the results of the landslide electoral loss of the Carter-Mondale ticket to the Reagan-Bush ticket, Mondale joked: "George H.W. Bush has received 489 electoral votes as vice president, and Walter F. Mondale has received 49 votes: a landslide, and I did it!" The remark earned laughter and an ovation inside the House chamber.

Mondale ultimately was an effective progressive, and if progressivism is to make a comeback and capture a national majority, it must learn from his remarkable life.

Carter Administration Helped Boost Women's Athletics

by Elizabeth Goggin

Golf always has been a central part of my family life. My mother started playing at an early age and developed a lifelong love for the game. Because her high school offered limited sports opportunities for women, including no women's golf team, she became the first woman to play on the men's team.

Although she had a positive experience with the other players and coaches, she was disadvantaged by having to play from the men's tees, which added distance to the hole. My mom persevered despite these obstacles and was selected for the women's golf team at the University of Georgia, playing on the 1992 Southeastern Conference championship team. It was not until many years later, writing this article, that I learned how Title IX and the Carter administration made these opportunities possible for my mother and countless athletes like her.

While in office, President Carter supported gender equality in sports through sponsoring legislation, enforcing regulations, and creating employment opportunities for women. This included the fortifying of the Patsy T. Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act, more commonly known as Title IX. Although President Richard Nixon signed the original version of Title IX in 1972, at its inception the act lacked the legal strength and clarity to enforce gender equality in sports with comprehensive protection against discrimination. The Carter administration prioritized the advancement of women's sports despite strong resistance from athletic programs, politicians, and the governing bodies of sports. Through their continued dedication to gender equality in athletics, President Carter and the public servants in his administration created a foundation for the success of women athletes in the modern era.

Title IX prohibits sex-based discrimination in any educational program or activity that receives federal financial assistance. When the act became law in 1972, women's sports became a controversial focal point. There were numerous attempts to restrict the effect the law would have on sports programs, particularly in college athletics. In 1975, President Gerald R. Ford and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) created new guidelines that required educational institutions under Title IX authority to file paperwork ensuring their compliance within three years. Despite the legal requirement of gender equality in sports, women of all educational levels had limited access to scholarships, training equipment, and athletic programs. The grace period for implementation ended in 1978, but enforcement required action by the Carter administration.

Composite photo by Bob Blakely

Shalvah Lazarus, 14, throws a pitch. The Washington, D.C., resident just made the baseball team at her high school. The Carter administration fortified Title IX, which prohibits sex-based discrimination in athletics in schools that receive federal funding.

An exhaustive assessment of many major college athletic programs was undertaken by a team led by Cindy Brown, the principal deputy of HEW's Office for Civil Rights who then became the first assistant secretary for civil rights in the Department of Education. Brown described the uphill battle to implement Title IX, specifically the resistance of university athletic directors to supporting women athletes. She noted the absence of women in senior leadership in sports programs, remarking that some women had minor positions, but men were always athletic directors in charge of the program. In addition to the opposition from universities, pushback also came from politicians and legislators. Despite the institutional resistance, "President Carter and his team never wavered from their commitment to civil rights," she

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said. "It was an arduous process, but the regulations were put into effect because of the leadership of the Carter administration."

In 1979, the Carter administration implemented stricter policy interpretations on Title IX and Intercollegiate Athletics. The goal of these guidelines was to create quantifiable standards to measure a university's compliance. The new approach to Title IX focused on institutional obligations to provide equal opportunity in specific areas related to athletics such as financial aid, participation, and allocated resources. In 1979 President Carter created the Department of Education and designated its Office for Civil Rights to oversee the policy interpretations on collegiate athletics.

In the early days of Title IX, the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) was the sole resource for women athletes to file complaints and accuse their universities of violating the law. The OCR started its first investigation with complaints from athletes at the University of Georgia. An athlete made the complaint in 1975, but due to the three-year grace period and a lack of clear enforcement, it was not until 1978 that the complaint was reviewed. The examination found that UGA was in blatant violation of the law, with investigators stating that women athletes seldom received scholarships, were provided with inadequate equipment, and the entire women's coaching staff allotted only a small trophy room in the university's basketball arena. At the conclusion of the investigation in 1979, the university complied with the new guidelines, making it the first instance where the OCR was able to push a college to meet the new standards and provide equal opportunity for all athletes. The policy enforcement by the Carter administration established a cornerstone for my mother's future success as a college athlete at UGA.

During this transitional period at the Department of Education, President Carter emphasized creating job opportunities for women and promoting them into influential positions in government. One important hire was Jodie Z. Bernstein, who has a long history of public service, including appointments as general counsel of the Department of Health and Human Services and director of the Bureau of Consumer Protection at the Federal Trade Commission. While working with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (renamed Health and Human Services), Bernstein collaborated with Secretary Patricia Roberts Harris on the updated Title IX guidance for intercollegiate athletics. President Carter prioritized the appointments of women like Harris, who was also the first Black woman to serve in the Cabinet.

Bernstein described the controversial atmosphere surrounding Title IX's implementation in sports and the strong resistance of athletic associations to supporting women athletes.

Throughout his term in office, President Carter went beyond the legal obligations of Title IX and demonstrated the priority of gender equality with his actions. His administration expanded the appointments of women as federal judges, Cabinet secretaries, ambassadors, and military generals. By supporting women within his administration, President Carter normalized women occupying influential positions in government and created a precedent for future administrations to follow. The Carter White House maintained a database of qualified women to fill government jobs when positions became available. Sarah Weddington served as assistant to President Carter, directing initiatives on women's leadership.

The idea that college and high school women should be playing on the courts and fields transformed from theory to practice around the country due to the Carter administration's efforts. President Carter and the public servants in his administration were instrumental in seeing the codification and enforcement of equal opportunity among men and women through strengthening the protections and enforcement of Title IX. Gender equality in sports received tangible results with women gaining access to scholarships, better training facilities, and more athletic opportunities.

President Carter created a legacy for future athletes to succeed long after he left office. The administration's relentless pursuit of social justice fulfilled the ambitions of Jodie Bernstein, Patricia Roberts Harris, and Cindy Brown, and made possible my mother's opportunity to play high school and college golf.

About the Author: Elizabeth Goggin was a 2021 intern at The Carter Center.

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In 1952, Carter Helped Halt Potential Canadian Nuclear Disaster

Editor's Note: This story was previously reported in the New York Post, Newsweek, We are the Mighty, and the Ottawa Historical Society. Excerpts from all of the publications were used in this account.

On Dec. 12, 1952, an accident at Canada's Chalk River Laboratories near Deep River, Ontario, caused a partial meltdown in an experimental nuclear reactor.

At the time, the NRX reactor operated at around 30 megawatts. On Dec. 12, workers at the plant were preparing for a reactor-physics experiment at low power. However, a defect in the NRX shutoff rod mechanism, combined with human errors, caused a temporary loss of control over reactor power, ultimately causing it to surge to between 60 and 90 MW. The energy load normally would not have been a problem, but several experimental fuel rods that were at that moment receiving inadequate cooling for high-power operation ruptured and melted, the Canada Deuterium Uranium (CANDU) reactor website states. This major failure, along with "several poor decisions by facility operators," resulted in a nuclear fission chain reaction that caused the power level to rise exponentially.

It was the first such incident of its kind, and nuclear fission particles were released into the atmosphere. The radioactive water also ended up in the reactor building's basement before being pumped out into shallow ditches near the Ottawa River. Hydrogen explosions followed and hundreds of thousands of gallons of radioactive water flooded the core, heavily damaging the reactor.

The Canadian government asked the U.S. to help clean up the site, and the "Father of the Nuclear Navy," Rear Adm. Hyman Rickover, stepped in. Rickover's team had access to the latest in nuclear energy technology because they were developing nuclear-powered ships for the U.S. Navy. (The first nuclear submarine, the Nautilus, was completed in 1955.) The Navy knew the technology the Canadians were using and how best to fix it.

Rickover sent his protégé, Lt. Jimmy Carter, to lead a team into the reactor core to shut down the failing reactor. They were to take it apart so it could be replaced, a testament to the extraordinary faith the U.S. Navy places in its sailors—and to the good judgment of Rickover.

Carter, then 28 years old, had been in the Navy for six years. Rickover's demanding perfectionism was instilled in Carter.

In his book "A Full Life: Reflections at Ninety," Carter recalls preparing for the task. He divided his team of 24 into groups of three. They built an exact mockup of the reactor on a nearby tennis court to practice their next move and track the work they'd finished.

In a scene straight out of a modern-day blockbuster, the operation would require the brave men to descend into the core by rope and pulley so they could deconstruct the reactor bolt by bolt. Each man, including Carter, would have to descend into the core and complete his high-flying tasks in 90-second spurts, the maximum time the human body could handle the amount of radiation in the area. Carter's team would get only one shot at the real thing.

Their plan went off without a hitch. The core was shut down, dismantled, and rebuilt. By today's standards, it was still way too much radiation—Carter and his team were exposed to levels a thousand times higher than what is now considered safe. He and his team absorbed a year's worth of radiation in those 90 seconds. The basement where they helped replace the reactor was so contaminated, Carter's urine was radioactive for six months after the incident.

Remembering the incident, Canadian physicist and University of Ottawa professor Jeff Lundeen mentioned a remark President Carter made about visiting Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island power plant after its partial meltdown in 1979. When asked by media if he thought it was too dangerous to visit the radioactive site, Carter reportedly quipped, "No, if it was too dangerous, they would have sent the vice president."

Padraic Ryan

In 1952, Chalk River Laboratories near Deep River, Ottawa, was the site of a partial meltdown in an experimental nuclear reactor. A U.S. naval team, led by Lt. Jimmy Carter, was brought in for cleanup.

Here's Why and How We Support the Work of The Carter Center

By Paul Johnson

My wife, Kathleen Johnson, and I are pleased and very proud to financially support The Carter Center.

There is a great quote from CEO Paige Alexander in the Fall 2021 issue of the Carter Center News that captures why we are thrilled to be financial supporters. She notes that The Carter Center "hold[s] fast to our founding commitments to defend human rights and relieve human suffering, while continually seeking new and improved ways to accomplish our humanitarian goals."

Paul and Kathleen Johnson support The Carter Center through annual gifts and their estate plan.

Kathleen and I are members of the Baby Boomer generation. We met in 1979 in Washington, D.C. In many respects, President Carter was responsible for bringing us together. I worked for the Department of Energy in energy conservation and renewable energy, top priorities of the Carter administration. As our work increased, we were able to add staff and I was able to hire Kathleen (sight unseen) from a job in Michigan to work in D.C. Our work and personal relationship developed quickly. We got married in early 1980 and relocated to the Pacific Northwest after the 1980 presidential election.

Kathleen and I share many interests: A strong passion for clean energy and the environment, a deep concern over human rights and racial equity, and a commitment to peace and justice. The Carter administration supported these causes, and most of the principles that mean the most to us continue to be championed through the work of The Carter Center.

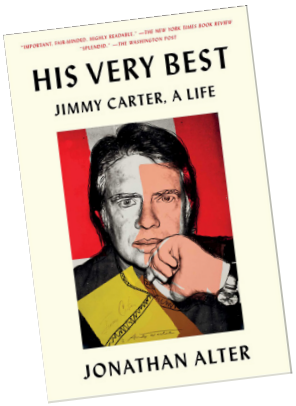
As Kathleen and I aged, retired, and started planning for the next phase of our lives, we developed a plan for dispersal of our estate when we are gone. We never had children, so we decided to leave the bulk of our estate to charitable organizations that supported causes and ideals that matched our interests and passions. That sounds easy, but it can be a tough thing to do. We wanted to fund credible organizations with established leadership and a track record of success and that supported things we believed in.

Over the years, we followed the work that President and Mrs. Carter have done and their vision in establishing The Carter Center. Because of their good works and their reputation as good and ethical human beings, it was a match that we had been seeking. We started our support about 10 years ago with annual checks to the Center. A few years later, we developed and refined a comprehensive estate plan and included The Carter Center as a recipient of a portion of our estate assets. During the past year, we found a third avenue to support the Center and provide a deeper means of covering its current funding needs. We decided to provide The Carter Center with a qualified charitable distribution through the required minimum distribution we needed to make annually from our IRAs. We plan to continue this approach in the years to come.

These last few years have been difficult for everyone. For two years a pandemic has moved in waves around the world, cost the lives of many, touched our families, and changed our ways of life. Hatred and division are tearing at the fabric of what we are as a country. There is not a lot that Kathleen and I can do as individuals to make a difference in a country and world that desperately need help. What we can do, and are doing, is to join forces with like-minded people to support The Carter Center and the work it is doing for peace and justice. It makes us feel happy for what we can do now, and a bit more hopeful for the future of our country and the world.

About the Author: Paul and Kathleen Johnson live in Seattle, Washington.

Book Club



His Very Best: Jimmy Carter, a Life

By Jonathan Alter

Jonathan Alter tells the epic story of an enigmatic man of faith and his improbable journey from barefoot boy to global icon. Alter paints an intimate and surprising portrait of the only president since Thomas Jefferson who can fairly be called a Renaissance Man, a complex figure—ridiculed and later revered—with a piercing intelligence, prickly intensity, and biting wit beneath the patented smile. Here is a moral exemplar for our times, a flawed but underrated president of decency and vision who was committed to telling the truth to the American people.

Drawing on fresh archival material and five years of extensive access to Carter and his entire family, Alter traces how Carter evolved from a timid, bookish child into so many personas: an ambitious naval nuclear engineer writing passionate, never-before-published love letters from sea to his wife, Rosalynn; a peanut farmer and civic leader whose guilt over staying silent during the civil rights movement and not confronting the white terrorism around him helped power his quest for racial justice at home and abroad; an obscure, born-again governor whose brilliant 1976 campaign demolished the racist wing of the Democratic Party and took him from zero name recognition to the presidency.

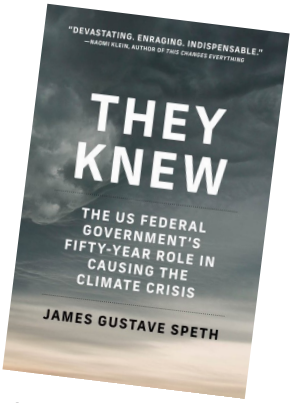
This engrossing, monumental biography will change our understanding of perhaps the most misunderstood president in American history.

They Knew: The U.S. Federal Government's 50-Year Role in Causing the Climate Crisis

By James Gustave Speth

"They Knew" provides a devastating, compelling account of the federal government's leading role in bringing about today's climate crisis.

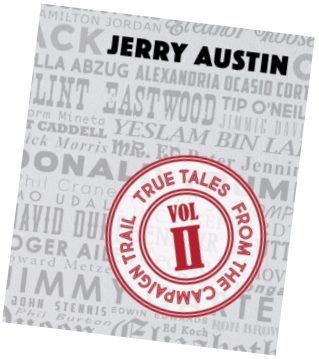
In 2015, a group of 21 young people sued the federal government in Juliana v. United States for violating their constitutional rights by promoting climate catastrophe and thereby depriving them of life, liberty, and property without due process and equal protection of law. "They Knew" offers evidence supporting the children's claims, presenting a devastating and compelling account of the federal government's role in bringing about today's climate crisis. Speth, who was tapped by the plaintiffs as one of 21 preeminent experts in their climate case, analyzes how administrations from Carter to Trump—despite having information about the impending climate crisis and the connection to fossil fuels—continued aggressive support of a fossil fuel-based energy system.



What did the federal government know and when did it know it? Speth asks, echoing a question from the Watergate era. What did the federal government actively do and what did it fail to do? "They Knew," an updated version of the expert report Speth prepared for the lawsuit, presents the most definitive indictment yet of the U.S. government's role in the climate crisis.

True Tales from the Campaign Trail, Volume 2

By Jerry Austin



"True Tales from the Campaign Trail" finds Democratic and Republican political consultants putting aside their differences to offer entertaining and honest insights into the art of the political campaign. Firsthand accounts from across the spectrum detail the trials and tribulations of primaries for Ted Kennedy, Oliver North, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton; fraught Senate races fought with direct mail; and down-and-dirty tricks pulled in local elections. The variety of funny foibles and lessons learned makes for an engaging celebration of the democratic process and the campaign trail.

"True Tales from the Campaign Trail, Volume 2" is a compilation of great campaign anecdotes from experienced political consultants, Democratic and Republican, and other great storytellers. Many of the stories are funny. Many of the stories give you a behind-the-scenes view of what happens in campaigns when the camera is off and the reporters have put down their laptops, and all of these stories are stories that only an insider could tell. Anyone with any curiosity about how political campaigns are run and won will enjoy this book.

Passages

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.

Elkin Goddard Alston

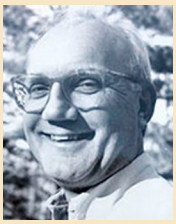
Elkin Goddard Alston, Atlanta philanthropist, was a member of Jimmy Carter's "Peanut Brigade," volunteering in New Hampshire and New Mexico. She loved meeting people on the campaign trail, trudging through banks of snow in New Hampshire during the days, and hand-writing notes to those she had met each night. After Carter's victory, she maintained a friendship with him and his wife, Rosalynn. Whenever she spoke about "the president," or "my president," she was referring to President Carter.

In her younger days, she worked at the Trust Company, where she enjoyed being part of the business world. Later she worked with consulting firm Draper & Associates at The Lovett School, where her knowledge of Atlanta and her extensive network of contacts enabled her to be a great asset to their development team.

She served as the chairperson for the John N. Goddard Foundation Inc., president of the Mimosa Garden Club, and on the board of the Atlanta-Fulton Public Library Foundation. Elkin gave generously to many institutions, including the Museum of Contemporary Art of Georgia (MOCA GA), the Winship Cancer Institute of Emory University, the Goizueta Alzheimer's Disease Research Center, and St. Luke's Episcopal Church. She was also a member of the Forward Arts Foundation, the Piedmont Driving Club, and the Sea Island Club.

An expert gardener, she loved spending time in her courtyard garden ensuring every plant was perfectly placed, cared for, and pruned. This labor of love manifested in the displays she assembled for her guests to enjoy. She loved to regale her guests with the history of her garden's plants, many of which were gifts from friends and family.

She loved spending time with her children and grandchildren, attending their baseball games, ballet recitals, orchestra performances, and plays, and taking them and their friends to the beach and shopping. She was always looking for ways to give to others, sharing tickets to the Atlanta Botanical Garden and the Atlanta History Center with others.



David Bieging

David Arthur Bieging served as a staff member in the Minnesota State Legislature and earned a law degree from William Mitchell College of Law in 1976. He became a legislative assistant to then-U.S. Sen. Walter F. Mondale and served as special assistant to him during his term as vice president. David later served as chief of staff to U.S. Rep. Martin O. Sabo (D-Minn.).

He finished his career as a regulatory lawyer in private practice, representing many clients from Minnesota. Having never met a stranger, David leaves behind a community of friends and family spanning from coast to coast and across the political aisle. David graduated from Harvard College in 1971.

Lucy Benson

Lucy Wilson Benson's appointment as undersecretary of state for security assistance under President Jimmy Carter in 1977 put the Amherst, Massachusetts, resident in the most prominent U.S. State Department position achieved by a woman to that point. At the State Department, her job was coordination and policymaking related to military aid, U.S. sales of conventional arms abroad, proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the spread of nuclear technology.

Benson's selection came following a six-year tenure as the national president of the League of Women Voters, when the organization gave support to President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program, and her service as secretary of Human Services for Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis beginning in 1975. The latter position ended less than two years later when she resigned to protest cuts to social service programs.

In a 1968 Amherst Gazette profile, Benson explained that the league is about preserving democracy. "If we wish

to have a democratic government, we have to work at it, we have to take care of it. If we don't pay attention to it, by the time we get around to realizing what is happening, it may be too late," she said.

As early as 1966, Benson was described by the Boston Globe as "the most influential woman on the Massachusetts political scene." A decade later, she would be one of 11 people chosen to advise President Carter on the makeup of his Cabinet and other high-level appointments, before Secretary of State Cyrus Vance picked her for the undersecretary job.

Nancy Eddy, who served on the Amherst Select Board, said for most current members of the Amherst League of Women Voters, Benson is a distant luminary, someone to admire and venerate. For Eddy, though, Benson was a teacher, a model citizen, and a friend. "She taught me how to organize and run a meeting, how to determine priorities for action, how to motivate a group of people to take action on issues of importance," Eddy said. Eddy recalls that, inspired by Benson, she climbed staircases in apartment buildings in the flats of Holyoke while six months pregnant to collect signatures calling for governmental reforms.

In the early 1960s, Benson also served on a legislative commission that gave more fiscal independence to the University of Massachusetts, and later on special committees to study salaries of state employees and to research the educational effects of racial imbalance in the public schools. As national president of the league, Benson endorsed federal Community Action anti-poverty programs and described Johnson's Great Society programs as underfunded.

Annette Davis Carter

Annette Davis Carter, daughter-in-law of President and Mrs. Carter, began to campaign across the United States with her husband Jeff soon after they were married, and she continued to be an active part of the Carter family. She and Jeff attended many Carter Center events and she was a board member of the Rosalynn Carter Institute for Caregivers, in Americus. Jeff and Annette's first house together was the White House. While living there, they helped host everybody from Bob Dylan to Pope John Paul II.

In some of Annette's favorite White House memories, she greeted the cast of "Star Wars" after the release of "A New Hope" and John Travolta after he starred in "Saturday Night Fever" and "Grease." These experiences were quite extraordinary for Jeff and Annette's first few years of marriage.

Her son Josh wrote, "Annette was a homemaker, and she was devoted to raising her three boys. She will be remembered by her friends and family for her easy smile, her fun-loving sense of humor, and her caring nature.

"She loved to laugh at a particularly bad white elephant gift or a ridiculous pair of earrings. She always saved stories or comics that she thought would make her sons smile," he added. "Annette was a prolific storyteller and often had her listeners in gales of laughter by the end of one of her tales. She loved her family and her friends with all her heart, and they loved her back with all of theirs."

Jean Harrison Cowden

Jean Harrison Cowden was a retired Fulton County teacher, who after graduating from the University of Georgia, campaigned for President Jimmy Carter with the "Peanut Bigrade" in 1976. She held memberships in the Appalachian Trail Club, College Park Historical Society, the Methodist Women's Club, and the First United Methodist Church of College Park.

Lee I. Dogoloff

Lee I. Dogoloff had a distinguished career in both government and the private nonprofit sector. From 1977 to 1980, he served on the White House staff as President Carter's principal advisor on drugs. He then became executive director of the American Council for Drug Education and acted as moderator of the education section of the 1988 White House Conference for a Drug Free America. Later, he was the only drug abuse expert appointed by President George H.W. Bush to his Drug Advisory Council.

Dogoloff won countless awards for distinguished service and traveled throughout the world as part of his work in preventing and treating substance abuse. He was the author and co-author of several publications on the prevention of drug and alcohol abuse and during his government career discussed the complexities of the issue on the "Today" show,

continues on p. 18

Continued from p. 17

"CBS This Morning," the PBS "Newshour," and numerous other television and radio programs.

He had a great sense of humor and compelling interest in the lives of all those he touched. He employed those traits in the various community roles he took on, from president of a local swim club in Silver Spring, Maryland, to president of both the Shore Democrats and his HOA in Bethany Beach, Delaware, and then to his participation on the board and eventually president of both the Lakeport Villas Condominium, where he lived in Naples, Florida, and, briefly, the larger Crown Pointe Community Association. He belonged to the Cripple Creek Country Club while he lived in Delaware and was actively involved with the Naples Jewish Congregation once he moved permanently to Florida.

Joseph D. Duffey

Joseph D. Duffey was a coal miner's son who led two large universities and two federal agencies and whose enduring luster in the Democratic Party stemmed from his unsuccessful but high-profile Senate bid in 1970, in an antiwar campaign.

In the 1960s and early '70s, distressed by what he called the "carnage in Vietnam," he became known for his political activism, when he helped organize Freedom Rides to the South and immersed himself in liberal politics. He was a leader of Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy's (D-Minn.) antiwar presidential campaign in Connecticut, where he was teaching at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and succeeded economist John Kenneth Galbraith as head of Americans for Democratic Action.

His activism led to a U.S. Senate campaign in Connecticut chaired by his wife and Carter-Mondale alumna Anne Wexler and staffed by a host of ambitious political operatives, including Tony Podesta, who managed the campaign; his brother John Podesta, who became President Clinton's White House chief of staff; Sam Gejdenson, who represented Connecticut in the U.S. House from 1981 to 2001; Michael Medved, who became a conservative radio host; and Larry Kudlow, who became a Wall Street economist, financial commentator, and director of the National Economic Council under President Donald Trump.

"It was the all-star team of that era," Tony Podesta said in a phone interview. "Everybody wanted to be there because of their respect for Joe and their admiration and willingness to follow Anne wherever she wanted to go. It didn't even feel that much like a campaign. It was a movement."

The staff was aided by actor and Connecticut resident Paul Newman, who co-chaired the campaign and drummed up publicity, as well as by a finance committee that included writers and artists such as Alexander Calder, William Styron, and Thornton Wilder.

He lost that race and later headed Jimmy Carter's Washington office during the 1976 presidential campaign. He was appointed to the State Department as assistant secretary for educational and cultural affairs. Later in 1977, he was named chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, taking charge of a federal agency that supported projects ranging from the development of new encyclopedias to the release of educational television series.

Duffey and Wexler, who chaired his Senate campaign and became one of the first women to own a lobbying firm, were for years an influential Washington power couple.

He led the University of Massachusetts at Amherst from 1982 to 1991. After a brief stint as president of American University, he served six years as the last director of the U.S. Information Agency.

As chancellor of UMass Amherst, he spearheaded the rollout of a new general-education curriculum for undergraduates. Richard O'Brien, who served as provost and later succeeded him as chancellor, credited Duffey with revitalizing the university's business school and helping to bring UMass Amherst "out of the shadows."

"It became much more of an international place than when he inherited it," O'Brien said.

For about a year before Duffey left the school in 1991, he also served as president of the statewide University of Massachusetts system. He resigned both positions to become president of American University. President Clinton tapped him in 1993 to run USIA, an agency that promoted U.S. policies overseas before being abolished six years later, with most of its functions taken over by the State Department.

Duffey ended his career as a senior vice president at Laureate Education, which owns a network of for-profit colleges abroad.

Portions of this obituary are from the Washington Post

Louise C. Dunlap

Louise C. Dunlap was a passionate environmentalist renowned for her focus on energy development, coal mining practices, and their effects on the environment.

Dunlap spent a lifetime advocating for the hard-hit communities affected by the harmful practices of the coal mining industry. Working to secure legislation from 1971 to 1977, her steadfast efforts led to the enactment of the Surface Mine Control & Reclamation Act of 1977. The act required the coal industry to protect valuable farmlands, streams and wetlands and to reclaim all surface-mined lands.

At the bill signing ceremony in the White House Rose Garden, President Carter praised Dunlap's support in getting the act passed as "persistent in the face of adversity and disappointment," the Associated Press reported at the time. Her tenacious nature made persistence the ultimate compliment. During that same period, she co-founded and became president of the Environmental Policy Institute and the Environmental Policy Center in 1972, which under her leadership grew into the largest public-interest environmental lobbying organization in Washington. She was the first woman to become chief executive of a major U.S. national environmental organization.

In 1976, she married fellow environmentalist Joe Browder, known for his work to protect the Florida Everglades. Thereafter, she and Browder, an alumnus of the U.S. Department of the Interior, founded Dunlap & Browder, Inc., an environmental consulting firm with an international clientele.

Over the course of her career, Dunlap would serve on the boards of the League of Conservation Voters, the Clean Water Fund, Scenic America, the Environmental Policy Institute, and the National Clean Air Coalition, while holding posts with the National Parks Conservation Association and Friends of the Earth, where she focused on legislative issues including energy efficiency and climate.

She also was a central figure in the Alternative Fuels element of the Clean Air Act reauthorization. The Interior Department highlighted Dunlap's work in 2016, when the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement awarded her the Environment, Community, Humanity, Ownership Award. Dunlap served as a member of the advisory board of Duke University's Nicholas School of the Environment as well as on the board of the University Council of Women's Studies.

Albert Eisele

Albert Eisele was the press secretary to Vice President Walter Mondale from 1976 until 1981. A native of Minnesota, he got to know then-Sen. Mondale when Eisele worked for the St. Paul Pioneer Press-Dispatch. He joined the Washington bureau of Ridder newspapers in 1965.

Earlier in his life, Eisele pursued a career in professional baseball, pitching for farm teams in the Cleveland Indians organization for four seasons before embarking on his career in journalism.

During his stint in Washington, he covered and got to know well two of Minnesota's most prominent politicians, Vice President Hubert Humphrey and Sen. Eugene McCarthy. In 1972, he published a dual biography of Humphrey and McCarthy titled "Almost to the Presidency."

From 1983 to 1989, he served as an assistant to the CEO of Control Data Corp., according to a biography posted by St. John's University's McCarthy Center. He then founded Cornerstone Associates in 1989, an international consulting firm that helped bring former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to Minnesota in 1990.

Eisele may be best remembered as one of the founding editors of The Hill, which began as a newspaper in 1994 and became the largest independent political news site in the United States, second in online political news readership behind CNN, and as of 2018 it was the third most-tweeted U.S. news source.

Al, as he was known by his colleagues, was one of the most popular editors in the history of The Hill, which he and longtime New York Times congressional correspondent Martin Tolchin co-founded shortly before the 1994 Republican Revolution.

For years, he penned The Hill's "Under the Dome" gossip column, for which he collected funny and in-the-know anecdotes from walking the halls of Congress and sidling up to the bars and tables of D.C.'s clubbiest steakhouses.

Eisele also wrote restaurant reviews for The Hill. His uncanny ability to rack up big tabs without the upper management batting an eye was a testament to how liked

continues on p. 20

Continued from p. 19

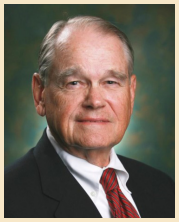
and respected he was at the paper as well as to the fact that he remained an old school-style journalist well into the 21st century.

Eisele's colleagues all knew him to be incredibly generous, whether he was buying an editorial assistant on a tight budget a drink or sharing the latest tip or news nugget he heard on Capitol Hill.

They also knew him as a reporter who could score big, groundbreaking scoops, such as when he reported during a 2005 trip to Iraq that U.S. military police had thwarted an escape attempt by suspected insurgents from Camp Bucca who dug a 600-foot tunnel under the military compound.

The story was picked up by national news outlets, and former Sen. Mark Dayton (D-Minn.) entered it into the Congressional Record. Dayton praised Eisele on the Senate floor as "instrumental in the success of The Hill" and noted that year he had written his 500th column for the paper.

"In addition, he has acted as a mentor for more than 50 young journalists whom he helped train and who now work for many major newspapers, magazines and broadcast organizations," Dayton said.



David Gambrell

Former U.S. Sen. David Gambrell began his legal career as an associate partner at King and Spalding in Atlanta. In 1963, he co-founded the firm that became Gambrell and Stolz, which merged in 2007 with what is now Baker Donelson. During his long professional career, Gambrell was elected to serve as president of the Atlanta Bar Association (1965-66) and president of the State Bar of Georgia (1967-68). He was awarded the State Bar's Distinguished Service Award (2002), the Atlanta Bar's Leadership Award (2007), and the Outstanding Service Award of the American Bar Association Foundation in 2012.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Gambrell was active in political life, helping then-State Sen. Jimmy Carter in his gubernatorial races, and serving as chair of the Georgia Democratic Party in 1970. In 1971, he was appointed by then-Gov. Carter to fill the unexpired term of U.S. Sen. Richard B. Russell. While in Washington, Gambrell led the successful effort to pass a $250 million loan guarantee to keep the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. from bankruptcy. At the time, Lockheed was a major Georgia employer and critical to the state's economy.

Gambrell made time for civic life as well. Among the boards and commissions where he dedicated time and expertise were the Atlanta Legal Aid Society, The Atlanta Mission, Habitat for Humanity, The Carter Center, and the Buckhead Coalition.

Not being re-elected to the Senate, Gambrell returned to his law practice in Atlanta and took the opportunity to spend more time with family, friends, and his interests, which included history and genealogy. His lifelong curiosity about family history led him to remote towns around the world. All of this culminated in his book, "Georgia Girl," which focused on the life and times of his ancestor Ann Grace in the years leading up to the Civil War.

Gambrell visited all 159 counties in Georgia and maintained friendships statewide. He spent many hours hunting and fishing in his adopted stomping grounds in Emanuel and Jefferson counties, and thoroughly enjoyed bringing home wild turkeys to cook for Thanksgiving at Cooter Creek Farm. He also had an agrarian streak that inspired him to cultivate his side yard in Atlanta, startling visitors with urban cornrows and grapevines. For a while, he kept bees, and later made wine in his Buckhead Atlanta kitchen.

Carol Lani Guinier

Carol Lani Guinier was a lawyer known for innovative and provocative writings on racial justice and voting rights. After clerking for a federal judge, Guinier joined the Justice Department in 1977 and worked in the Civil Rights Division, then led by Assistant Attorney General Drew S. Days III during the administration of President Jimmy Carter.

Later, as a litigator for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund in the 1980s, Guinier reportedly won 30 of the 32 cases she tried. She was a law professor at the University of Pennsylvania when President Bill Clinton nominated her in 1993 to lead the Civil Rights Division. Some people said it was a job she had been training for all her life.

Guinier's positions have become more accepted in recent years, as anti-racist practices and implicit bias training in the workplace have become more commonplace. In the early 1990s, however, these ideas proved to be incendiary. Conservative outlets launched an all-out assault on Guinier, led by the Wall Street Journal's editorial page,

which denounced her as a "quota queen."

Before she could receive a hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Clinton told Guinier he was withdrawing her nomination. He called her views "anti-democratic" and "very difficult to defend."

She returned to the classroom and became a nationally recognized authority on civil rights, racism, and political reform. She gave speeches throughout the country and, in 1998, became the first tenured Black female professor at Harvard Law School. At a symposium at Yale in 2021, Sherrilyn Ifill, president and director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, called Guinier "easily the most intellectually powerful, towering figure I had ever met."

Guinier continued to write about voting rights, racial justice, and political equity. In her 1994 book, "The Tyranny of the Majority," she cited James Madison to warn that a narrow majority of voters could deny justice and a political voice to a substantial portion of the population.

"Where the majority is fixed and permanent, there are no checks on its ability to be overbearing," Guinier wrote. "A majority that does not worry about defectors is a majority with total power. This is precisely the danger presented by racism.

"My point is simple: 51 percent of the people should not always get 100 percent of the power; 51 percent of the people should certainly not get all the power if they use that power to exclude the 49 percent. In that case we do not have majority rule. We have majority tyranny."

Her books included the autobiographical "Lift Every Voice: Turning a Civil Rights Setback Into a New Vision of Social Justice" (1998); "Who's Qualified?," a 2001 book about affirmative action written with Susan Sturm; and "The Tyranny of the Meritocracy: Democratizing Higher Education in America" (2015).

Tom T. Hall

Tom T. Hall was the Country Music Hall of Fame member known as "The Storyteller" for his detailed narrative songs like "Harper Valley P.T.A.," "I Love," and "That's How I Got to Memphis."

Hall's work was often intertwined with that of his late wife Dixie, a songwriter and musician who became his collaborator until her death in 2015. From their Nashville-area home known as Fox Hollow (which inspired Hall's beloved 1974 children's album Songs of Fox Hollow), the pair wrote and recorded bluegrass music, championing the careers of other bluegrass musicians as well. His last studio album, 2007's Tom T. Hall Sings Miss Dixie and Tom T., was a collaborative effort between the two. Both were active in Jimmy Carter's campaigns and recruited many country music stars to join them.

Hall began playing music at a young age and performed with a bluegrass band, the Kentucky Travelers, while he was a teenager. He joined the Army in 1957 and sometimes performed on the Armed Services Radio Network while stationed in Germany. After returning to civilian life, Hall was working as a radio DJ in Virginia when a publisher heard his song "D.J. for a Day" and brought it to Jimmy C. Newman, who took it to the Top Ten. Hall's first No. 1 record came in 1965 with Johnnie Wright's version of "Hello Vietnam."

Hall began to record his own compositions as well, signing with Mercury Records in 1967 and joining the Grand Ole Opry in 1971 as he was beginning to pile up hits under his own name. Among his No. 1s from the era are the barroom memory "(Old Dogs, Children and) Watermelon Wine," "I Love," "Country Is," and "Faster Horses (The Cowboy and the Poet)." His plainspoken delivery and slice-of-life tableaus were easily approachable, ranging in tone from humorous to hefty on 1970s albums like Rhymers and Other Five and Dimers, The Storyteller, and Country Is.

One of Hall's best-known songs was "Harper Valley P.T.A.," which Jeannie C. Riley turned into a CMA award-winning crossover smash in 1968. Its narrative about a miniskirt-wearing single mother who righteously admonishes the hypocritical busybodies at her daughter's school also spawned a movie and television series. Hall's hits for other artists included Dave Dudley's "The Pool Shark," Bobby Bare's "That's How I Got to Memphis," and, in 1996, Alan Jackson's "Little Bitty."

The multitalented Hall also branched out into writing books, releasing The Storyteller's Nashville in 1979, then The Laughing Man of Woodmont Cove in 1982, The Acts of Life in 1986, and Spring Hill, Tennessee in 1990. He shared some of his pointers for aspiring tunesmiths in the 1976 book "How I Write Songs, Why You Can."

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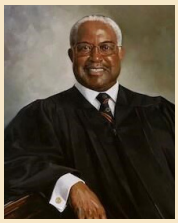


Joseph Hatchett

Joseph Hatchett's groundbreaking career included becoming the first Black justice on the Florida Supreme Court.

He was appointed to the Supreme Court by Gov. Reubin Askew in 1975 and served until 1979, when President Jimmy Carter named him as a federal appeals court judge. He stepped down from the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in 1999 and became a partner with the Akerman law firm in Tallahassee.

Hatchett grew up in Pinellas County, graduated from Florida A&M University in 1954, and earned a law degree from Howard University in 1959. When he took the Florida bar exam in 1959, he could not stay in the hotel where it was administered because of the Jim Crow system.

"His life represents an amazing commitment to fight for justice and equality at a time when the battle for both was stacked against him," said Rosemary Barkett, a former Florida Supreme Court justice and appellate judge. "His life is an example of patience and perseverance and calmness but in the face of daily bouts of injustice and unfairness. Joe was very keenly aware of the civil rights movement and the inequality of segregation. He was a paragon of steadiness and calmness no matter what difficulty arose in the circuit or in the court. His external gentleness and calmness is wrapped around a steel core of dedication to equality and justice."

Hatchett entered private practice in Daytona Beach and in 1966 was appointed as an assistant U.S. attorney in the Middle District of Florida. He became a federal magistrate in 1971 before being appointed by Askew to the Supreme Court.

In 1976, Hatchett won a statewide election to retain the Supreme Court seat. Florida later switched from holding contested elections for the Supreme Court to a merit-retention system.

"Honesty and the truth are the hallmarks of good lawyers and good judges," Hatchett said in a 2021 interview. He said he was proud of steps that were taken by the Florida Supreme Court during his tenure to allow cameras in courtrooms and to improve disciplining of lawyers.

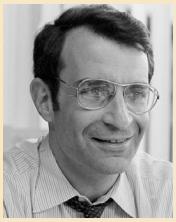
Leonard R. Hawley was a retired U.S. Army colonel who spent his life in service to the nation. Hawley graduated from West Point and served 25 years in the Army. He led combat units and eventually served the Army Chief of Staff, the Joint Staff, and taught at National Defense University. While still in uniform during the Carter-Mondale administration, he served as a military advisor at the Department of Defense. Later he became a supporter of The Carter Center.

Leonard R. Hawley

After his military career he became a serious strategic thinker and dedicated the last 25 years of his life to working with domestic institutions to resolve international crises peacefully. After staff experiences in the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, he joined the Clinton administration as a crisis response official, holding positions including acting deputy assistant secretary of defense, deputy assistant secretary of state for peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance, and became the National Security Council's point person to lead the implementation of PDD-56, the Clinton administration's policy on managing complex contingency operations. There he oversaw the drafting of more than 40 political-military plans for contingencies ranging from East Timor to Kosovo.

He served on the 9/11 Commission and became a recognized speaker and mentor at military and civilian institutions on interagency management of crisis response. He believed in the importance of sharing the lessons he learned with the next generation of leaders. He was adjunct faculty at the University of Maryland and American University of Kosovo and co-edited "The Quest for Viable Peace" (2005), a groundbreaking book on post-conflict interventions that is still in print.

Hawley lived the values of West Point and viewed public service as a distinct privilege as well as a deep responsibility. He valued the challenge of working as a team to address complex problems, whether leading an armored battalion or managing international crises with the United Nations.



Philip B. Heymann

Philip B. Heymann was a legal scholar who was a chief assistant to Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox, later leading the Justice Department's criminal division and serving briefly as the top deputy to Attorney General Janet Reno during a

career that established him as an authority on presidential powers and civil liberties.

The Watergate affair had an abiding effect on governance, one that Heymann felt personally when he served as head of the Justice Department's criminal division from 1978 to 1981. Attorney General Griffin Bell "said that nobody higher than the head of the criminal division would really have anything to do with any prosecution in the United States," Heyman said. "I was to be the final word; nobody from the White House could contact me. Nobody from Congress was to contact me on any case."

Heymann's appointment gave him oversight of high-profile investigations, including the Abscam corruption probe that led to the conviction of six members of the U.S. House of Representatives and one U.S. senator. He defended the methods used in the investigation, which involved FBI agents posing as aides to an Arab sheikh and seeking to buy influence among lawmakers. The Justice Department was not "in the business of testing morality," he remarked, while also observing that law enforcement and citizens were entitled "to expect an official to turn down what is plainly a bribe."

Heymann's final Justice Department post was as deputy attorney general under Reno. Heymann stayed in the No. 2 post less than a year, resigning in early 1994 over what he and Reno said were their stylistic differences.

He soon emerged as a critic of some administration policies, publicly opposing the "three strikes" measure instituting life sentences for three-time violent offenders. Heymann also testified before the Senate committee investigating the Whitewater matter, a sprawling investigation of conduct by the Clintons, that he disagreed vehemently with the manner in which the White House had probed the suicide of deputy White House counsel Vincent W. Foster Jr. in 1993.

Heymann first joined the Justice Department in 1961 as an aide to Cox, his former law professor, who was then serving under President John F. Kennedy as solicitor general. Heymann remained in the job until Cox's departure in 1965.

In May 1973, Cox, who was also Heymann's colleague on the Harvard Law faculty, was appointed special prosecutor to investigate the Watergate scandal, which would ensnare top members of President Richard M. Nixon's political circle and ultimately lead to Nixon's resignation in 1974.

Heymann was among the first aides Cox hired to help establish the office of special prosecutor, a task they pursued amid intense scrutiny.

Heymann appeared during the summer of 1973 in court proceedings before U.S. District Court Judge John J. Sirica, who presided over the Watergate cases, before returning to Harvard at the start of the new academic year. But he soon found himself back in Washington to support Cox during a confrontation with the Nixon administration that culminated in Cox's firing on Oct. 20, 1973, in what became known as the Saturday Night Massacre.

Heymann later quipped to the Los Angeles Times that if he could change any aspect of his brief final stint at the Justice Department, he would have rented a home in Washington instead of purchasing one.

Outside his government work, Heymann participated in efforts to improve criminal justice around the world, including in Latin America, Russia, and South Africa. He wrote extensively on civil liberties in the age of terrorism and retired from Harvard Law in 2017 after almost 50 years on the faculty.

Heymann allowed for limited and carefully considered domestic intelligence-gathering but argued against overreacting to terrorist threats by drastically paring back individual rights. "For a great democratic nation," Heymann wrote in his book "Terrorism and America" (1998), "what is needed is a strategy, not unbridled anger."

Douglas B. Huron

Douglas B. Huron was a deputy White House legal counsel during President Carter's administration and led efforts to nominate female and minority candidates for federal judgeships. Among those he recommended was Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who served on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit for 13 years before she was named to the Supreme Court in 1993.

Huron spent the rest of his career in private practice in Washington, first at Kator, Scott & Heller and later at Heller, Huron, Chertkof & Salzman. His legal focus remained discrimination against employees under the country's civil rights laws. He won several major cases concerning the rights of employees, including a landmark Supreme Court decision that declared gender stereotyping a form of workplace discrimination.

continues on p. 24

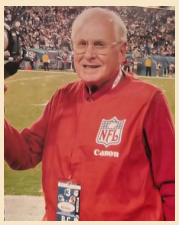
Continued from p. 23

"To me, he was the best civil rights lawyer in the country," his longtime law partner Richard Salzman said in an interview. "He was the most brilliant trial lawyer I have ever seen. He could connect with juries, and he was a straight shooter who had the respect of judges."

Huron worked for the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division early in his career and argued many times before federal courts on behalf of workers who believed they had been subjected to bias in one form or another. He rarely spoke to the media about his cases, but he appeared at legal conferences around the country, and his trial briefs are studied in law schools.

In 1973, Huron was part of a Justice Department legal team that won a case against a New Jersey electricians union that had admitted few Black and Hispanic workers to its ranks. He later won a settlement against United Airlines for widespread discriminatory practices.

In 1988, Huron made a precedent-setting argument on behalf of Vernell Sutherland, a female management consultant with the Arthur Young accounting firm, which had denied her a promotion because she was not sufficiently "meek and mild"—a description recorded in company records. "I had never heard that term in a consulting environment," Sutherland said at the time. "You're encouraged to be very aggressive, and to be 'meek and mild' sounded like the antithesis of what you should be doing." A jury awarded her more than $241,000 in damages.



Raymond M. Jacobson

Raymond M. Jacobson was a lawyer who stayed involved in national Democratic politics well into his 80s. He worked in an official capacity at every Democratic convention from 1960 to 2012. He volunteered as an advance man for such presidential and vice presidential candidates as Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, and Joe Lieberman. He also worked as a legislative aide to Reps. James R. Jones of Oklahoma and Frank Guarini of New Jersey, and for the International Trade Commission, the International Trade Administration, and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Jacobson served on active duty for the Army in Korea shortly after the end of hostilities in the Korean War. He continued to serve in the Army Reserve until the early 1980s, commanding the 352nd Civil Affairs Command in Riverdale, Maryland, and receiving his brigadier general's star in 1980.

Barbara Judge

Barbara Judge was a high-flying American-British lawyer, banker and entrepreneur who broke the glass ceiling of male dominance at regulatory agencies and other influential institutions in Washington, Hong Kong, and London. She was appointed in 1980 by President Carter to become the youngest person—and only the second woman—as a commissioner of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

In her public life she championed the advancement of women in business, and she set her own example: She was, at various times, the first female executive director at a British merchant bank and the head of London's clubby Institute of Directors.

Judge built a curriculum vitae studded with precedent-setting appointments and reflecting her oft-voiced belief that success grew from long hours, close attention to detail, and hard work.

Judge was also known for her roles in higher education and the arts. She was associated with an array of business schools in Britain and the United States, including the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. She sponsored a scholarship for Black South African women at the School of African and Oriental Studies in London and had been a trustee of artistic bodies like the Wallace Collection and the Royal Academy of Arts. British media outlets labeled her "the best-connected woman in Britain."

She qualified as a lawyer in 1969 and worked as a corporate lawyer in New York before joining the SEC.

At the commission, she pressed for the internationalization of stock markets, traveling to Japan to seek access for American investment banks to the Tokyo Stock Exchange—an initiative she listed among her principal professional achievements.

"Some years ago I was on the shortlist to be on the board of the Bank of England. It was in the 1990s," she told The Manchester Evening News, a British newspaper, in 2015. "In the final interview they asked me what the best thing I ever did was."

"My initial thought was how I'd gone to Japan to enter into negotiations which resulted in opening the

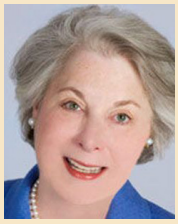
Tokyo Stock Exchange to foreign members so British and American firms could list on it," she continued." But instead I told them how I'd discovered that my son, Lloyd Thomas, had dyslexia. After I'd discovered the dyslexia I took nine months off to work with him so he could continue his education in the best way possible." He graduated with honors from the University of Pennsylvania.

"I didn't get the job," she said. "In business the best thing I'd achieved is probably the Tokyo situation. In life, though, it was helping my son."

In 1983 she and her husband moved to Hong Kong, where she became the first female director of a British investment bank, Samuel Montagu. She later joined Bankers Trust in New York.

As a director of Rupert Murdoch's News International, she moved to Britain in 1994. She went on to head an array of British regulatory bodies, including the Atomic Energy Agency; Britain's fraud prevention service, Cifas (the Credit Industry Fraud Avoidance System); and the Pension Protection Fund.

In 2010 she was made a Companion of the Order of the British Empire, a high honor, in acknowledgment of her roles in finance and nuclear power.



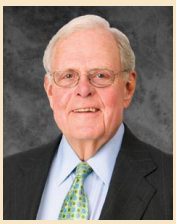
Marjorie Fine Knowles

Marjorie Fine Knowles, confidante of feminist icons Gloria Steinem and the late Ruth Bader Ginsburg, was known for helping remove sexist provisions from Alabama state law and for setting patriarchy and racism on their heels while making history as the first female law school dean in Georgia. President Carter also appointed Knowles as the first inspector general of the U.S. Department of Labor. Mary Radford, the former Marjorie Fine Knowles Professor of Law at Georgia State University, said of meeting Knowles, "It was the first time I was in a room where the most powerful person there wasn't wearing a coat and tie." Known for her love of fashion, jewelry and gospel music, Knowles confounded sexist stereotypes as she knitted elaborate sweaters for friends during meetings where she steamrolled gender and racial oppression. Knowles became the first female faculty at University of Alabama School of Law.

Knowles left Alabama for Washington, D.C., in 1978 when President Carter appointed her as an inspector general.

She rejoined the University of Alabama law faculty in 1980 and was hired in 1986 by Georgia State University as the first female dean of a Georgia law school. Under her, the law school raised admissions and faculty standards, became accredited by the American Bar Association, enrolled record numbers of female and nonwhite students, and was named to the list of 100 Best Law Schools in the U.S. by U.S. News and World Report, where it remains through 2021.

Gloria Steinem said of Knowles, "She went to Harvard Law School at a time when women students there were rare and often accused of taking a man's place, and she went on to clerk for a district judge and to have important jobs in the federal government at a time when that, too, was rare for women."



Gilbert Merritt

Judge Gilbert Merritt was a fixture of the Tennessee judiciary. The Nashville attorney was the treasurer for the Tennessee Carter campaign in 1976 and was appointed by President Carter to the 6th District Court, where he served for more than four decades.

He embodied fairness, civility, justice, and a love of the Constitution and rule of law that all Americans today should aspire to. Merritt served his nation as a beacon of integrity and will be sorely missed.

Merritt staunchly opposed the death penalty, publicly and privately denouncing what he called a "Middle Ages practice" and highlighting its disproportionate use against Black defendants.

In addition to serving for 44 years on the bench, Merritt taught on Vanderbilt University's adjunct law faculty for many years.

Among many professional honors, he received the 2003 American Inns of Court's Professionalism Award in recognition of his leadership in the Nashville and national legal communities, for mentoring younger attorneys, and for "his incisive analysis of cases, his quick focus on the central issues, his direct and probing questions at oral argument, and his insistence that both the reasoning and the outcome of judicial decisions make understandable sense."

Merritt received the law school's Distinguished Alumnus Award, which honors alumni for their career

continues on p. 26

Continued from p. 25

contributions to the legal profession and to Vanderbilt Law School, in 1996.

James R. Mills

Sen. James R. Mills was a major advocate of public transportation. During his long tenure as a California state politician, Mills authored bills creating the San Diego Trolley and essentially forming the San Diego Unified Port District. His successes with the San Diego Trolley served as inspiration for light rail across the country. Today, the trolley serves more than 50 miles, with new lines expected to open soon. All of this earned Mills the nickname "Father of the Trolley," which he got a big kick out of.

In 1977, President Carter appointed Mills to the Amtrak board of directors, and he served as chairman from 1980 to 1982.

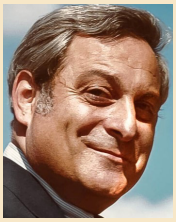
Mills spent 22 years as a state assembly member and state senator in California. On occasions when the governor and the lieutenant governor were both absent from the state, Mills served as acting governor. That happened more than 30 times.

He was responsible for the concept and creation of Tidelands Park and the Bayshore Bikeway, which circles Coronado and goes down the Silver Strand. He also created the Mills Act, which protects historic homes and bears his name. Thousands of historic residential and commercial buildings have been saved from destruction.

His daughter Beatrice said, "Dad believed that government existed to serve the people, and he fought for fairness, education, environmental protections, the coastline, the climate, and public services. He was especially effective in integrated public transportation systems. He was a real old-school progressive, and we are all proud of what he contributed."

Mills was also a celebrated author and guest columnist. He was a contributing writer for San Diego Magazine from 1957-1995. Books he authored include "A Disorderly House: The Brown-Unruh Years in Sacramento," "Historical Landmarks of San Diego County," "San Diego: Where California Began," and "Poems of Inspiration from the Masters."

He also wrote a highly praised novel, "The Gospel According to Pontius Pilate," which was published by Fleming H. Revell in 1978. The book looks at Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor of Judea, and the compromises he had to face in condemning Jesus to the cross.



Set Charles Momjian

Set Charles Momjian, of Huntingdon Valley, New Jersey, was a well-known antiques collector and advisor to presidents.

A chance encounter with Jimmy Carter during his presidential campaign led to decades of service and advice to presidential campaigns and presidents from both political parties. Momjian served the Carter campaign as director of special projects. Merging his passion for art and politics, he worked with modern artists including Andy Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein, commissioning artwork to be sold to raise funds for the Democratic National Committee. Through the sale of the Inaugural Impressions portfolio, funds were raised to keep the D.C. museums open late for visitors to the nation's capital. Following the election, President Carter nominated Momjian as a U.S. representative to the United Nations with the rank of ambassador, the first person of Armenian descent to hold the position. He later served as a delegate to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva and chairman of the DNC's Ethnic-American Committee.

He supervised presidential gifts to heads of state, often combining a special printing of a presidential speech presented in a fine binding. He had miniature Liberty Bells cast from an old chip from the crack in the original bell and presented one to the Queen of England when she visited Independence National Historical Park on America's Bicentennial. He made sure there was always American art in the White House, often lending works from his own collections.

Momjian is nationally known for his collection of White House and presidential china, much of which has been on loan to presidential libraries. Today objects from his collections are on loan to museums and historic sites.

He continued to serve Presidents Reagan, George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton, working on special projects including the preservation of the collections at the White House and the restoration of the Eisenhower Executive Office Building.

Robert Alvin Rowan

Robert Alvin Rowan was a Georgia legend for humor, advice, and crafty legislative prowess.

Bobby, as he was known, lived multiple lives with various reincarnations as a farmer, debater, businessman, legislator, political advisor, and humorist. He often shared his expertise with various Georgia political figures, including Jimmy Carter when he was a candidate for the presidency, who Bobby thought would surely lose. He was ecstatic when he learned he was wrong.

In addition to his terms in the legislature, Rowan served on Georgia's Public Service Commission. He loved to travel, both domestically and internationally. He worked to build a collaboration between Georgia poultry producers and the Cuban government, which allowed him to visit Cuba multiple times, even when it was more restricted for most Americans.

Bobby fulfilled his intention to live life to the fullest until the day he died.

Jehan Sadat

Jehan Sadat pushed her husband, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, to enact measures aimed at improving women's rights and education. She was present and a participant in activities during the time of the Camp David summit and subsequent visits with President and Mrs. Carter. She remained a close friend of the Carters' throughout her life.

Jehan Sadat received a bachelor's degree in Arab literature from Cairo University, followed by a master's degree and a doctorate in comparative literature.

As first lady, Sadat was involved in promoting women's education and women's empowerment, heading numerous charity organizations and participating in international conferences on women's rights. She taught at Cairo University and was later an associate resident scholar at the University of Maryland. She wrote two books, "A Woman of Egypt" (1987) and "My Hope for Peace" (2009).

Jehan Sadat became a visible first lady and made a point of saying that she had stood by her husband even though the peace with Israel was highly controversial in Egypt and in the rest of the region.

"More than 30 years ago, my husband made a difficult but simple choice to make peace his political and personal priority," Sadat wrote in an opinion piece for The Wall Street Journal on the 30th anniversary of the 1979 Camp David Accords. "In response, I made the choice of supporting him 100 percent even though I knew I would lose him." Anwar Sadat was assassinated in 1981.

The year of the peace accords was also the year that President Sadat issued and passed into law a landmark emergency decree enshrining broader financial rights for women in cases of disputes with their husbands, and expanding the grounds on which women could file for divorce. Jehan Sadat was the driving force behind these improvements to women's rights, and the decree became known as "Jehan's Law."

Lester M. Salamon

Lester M. Salamon was a pioneer in the study of nonprofits and a prolific author about civil society and philanthropy. He was the deputy associate director of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget under President Carter.

He was professor emeritus at Johns Hopkins University and was director of the Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies. "While Dr. Salamon's passing catches many of us off guard, true to form, he was actively working until the very last possible moment. His dedication, energy, and passion will be hard to match," center officials said via a statement.

Salamon also held an appointment as senior research professor at the School of Advanced International Studies Bologna Center and served as scientific director of the International Laboratory for Nonprofit Sector Studies at National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow. He was director of both the Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies and the Center for Governance and Management Research at the Urban Institute in Washington, D.C.

Salamon is the author of more than 20 books, including "America's Nonprofit Sector: A Primer, Third Edition," the standard text used in college-level courses on the nonprofit sector, according to the Center for Civil Society Studies. He won the 1996 ARNOVA Award for Distinguished Book in Nonprofit and Voluntary Action Research for his book, "Partners in Public Service: Government and the Nonprofit Sector in the Modern

continues on p. 28

Continued from p. 27

Welfare State."

Esteban Torres was appointed in 1977 by President Carter as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Paris, where he served from 1977 to 1979. He later served as White House special assistant for Hispanic affairs.

Esteban Torres

Torres served in the U.S. Army from 1949 to 1953. In the late 1950s, he began working as an assembly line worker at the Chrysler plant in Maywood, California, and became active in the United Auto Workers. Torres rose through the ranks of the UAW, serving as an organizer for the Western region of the United States, as the union's international representative in Washington, D.C., and from 1964 to 1968 in the union's Inter-American Bureau for Caribbean and Latin American Affairs.

"Esteban is a man really dedicated to service," said John Echeveste, chief executive officer of La Plaza de Cultura y Artes, a Los Angeles historical museum that Torres helped found after leaving office. "And whatever he did, whether it was as a community organizer, labor leader or a White House assistant, he was really ready to help people."

In 1992, Torres was elected to the House of Representatives in California's newly drawn 34th Congressional District. While in Congress, Torres focused on environmental challenges, including landfill contamination, water systems in the San Gabriel Valley, and reclaimed wastewater, said Jamie Casso, Torres' son-in-law and chief of staff. "He was a wonderful person and a consummate gentleman," Casso said. "He served with passion, dignity and duty."

He pushed for changes in national policy to help people in his district, as well as those similarly situated throughout the country. This included helping to draft a measure to ensure that low-income victims of natural disasters received full federal assistance.

In retirement from elective office, Torres served on the California Transportation Commission, on the board of directors for Fannie Mae, as chair of the East Valley Development Authority for the Cabazon Band of Mission Indians, on the board of directors for Entravision Communications, and as a visiting professor at Whittier College and UCLA.

He also pursued his hobbies of painting and sculpting and was a founder of LA Plaza de Cultura y Artes, a museum in downtown Los Angeles dedicated to the cultural influence of Latinos in the city. In 2006, the Los Angeles Unified School District named a high school in East Los Angeles after Torres. The Esteban E. Torres High School, home of the Toros, opened on Sept. 13, 2010.

William vanden Heuvel was a public-minded lawyer and former advisor to Robert F. Kennedy who became Jimmy Carter's New York state campaign chairman in the 1976 presidential election. In 1977, President Carter appointed him ambassador to the European Office of the United Nations; two years later, he named him deputy United States representative to the United Nations.

William vanden Heuvel

Vanden Heuvel was an advisor associated with Kennedy through much of the 1960s, serving as a special assistant when Kennedy was U.S. attorney general and advising his campaigns for the Senate and the presidency.

In the Justice Department, from 1962-1964, vanden Heuvel was active in the civil rights struggle that would define Kennedy's tenure as the nation's highest-ranking law enforcement official. Assigned to Prince Edward County, Va., he helped negotiate the creation of a free school system, open to Black students, after the county had shut its public schools rather than allow them to be integrated, as required by the Supreme Court ruling in Brown v. Board of Education in 1954.

Admiring his effectiveness in Prince Edward County, Kennedy often turned to vanden Heuvel for strategic advice and support in his successful 1964 campaign for the U.S. Senate. Vanden Heuvel was also among the trusted advisors who helped Kennedy plan his presidential campaign in 1968. Kennedy's meetings with his inner circle were often held in vanden Heuvel's Manhattan apartment.

After Kennedy was assassinated in June of that year, vanden Heuvel continued to push civil rights reforms in other areas. In 1970, Mayor John V. Lindsay appointed him chairman of the New York City Board of Correction, where he fought for greater public awareness of prison conditions and encouraged the news media to help expose them.

"The quickest way to end the insanity of our criminal

justice system is to let the press and broadcasting reveal it," he wrote in a 1972 paper in the Columbia Journalism Review. "The right to know in a democracy frequently depends on the demand to know by the media."

In his later years, vanden Heuvel's attentions turned back to Franklin Roosevelt, whose values and ideals informed so much of his career. He was the founder and chairman of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, where he helped establish Four Freedoms Park on Roosevelt Island in New York to honor the former president's legacy.

"I'm not someone who's interested in making Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt saints," vanden Heuvel said in an interview with PBS in 2011. "I'm interested in reminding Americans that the America that they envisioned and that they helped to create is the America that I embrace and I hope Americans will embrace."

(Edited from the Washington Post)

George S. Vest, a long-serving U.S. diplomat who helped lay the groundwork for the Helsinki Accords, was nominated by President Carter to be assistant secretary of state for European Affairs with the class of career minister. He was later the State Department's chief of recruiting and training.

George S. Vest

Vest was a World War II combat veteran who developed an interest in international relations while serving in Italy. He received an unexpected assignment to Paris in 1959 as a political advisor to U.S. Air Force Gen. Lauris Norstad. "I had the chance to be the consul in Florence," he told the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times in 1988, "which would have meant an apartment, a car, a chauffeur, the wonderful life in Italy, and I turned it down to be the No. 2 to the political advisor to Gen. Norstad, (then the supreme Allied commander in Europe), which was a very low-down job. But it was a chance to learn about all that was going on and being built in terms of NATO and our cooperation with the European countries. That really was the driving point for the rest of my career."

Vest went on to have several assignments with NATO, including a two-year term in the early 1960s as the first American to be the top advisor to the NATO secretary-general. After a stint in the United States to study at the Naval War College and serve as a State Department liaison to the Defense Department, Vest moved to Brussels in 1967 as one of the top U.S. diplomats to the European Commission. Two years later, he became the acting head of the U.S. mission at NATO's Brussels headquarters. In 1973, Vest was chosen as lead negotiator in preparatory talks for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki.

The talks with representatives from the Soviet Union and more than 30 other countries sometimes tried Vest's patience. After a blustery, table-pounding speech by a Soviet diplomat was followed by similar displays from others from the Eastern bloc, Vest rose to speak.

He had used his spare time in Helsinki to read classical poetry, he recalled in a 1990 oral history with the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, "and I discover in the Latin poet Juvenal the following statement, which seems to be so pertinent: 'To hear the same thing said over and over calls for bowels of iron.'"

He then told the assembled diplomats, "We all now have bowels of iron."

The lead Soviet negotiator burst out laughing, and it wasn't long before a nonbinding agreement was reached, calling for a greater emphasis on human rights and cooperation between Western powers and the Soviet bloc.

"As a diplomat by profession, I am very cautious about the use of force," Vest said in 1988. "Force should be normally the last resort, and diplomacy the first line of attack. I think that often force doesn't get you anywhere." He served as U.S. ambassador to the European Union from 1981 to 1985.

Vest's final assignment at the State Department was as director general of the Foreign Service, in charge of recruiting, hiring, training—and disciplining—the country's diplomats. "I get every month something called the 'sin report' for the Foreign Service," he told the Los Angeles Times in 1989. "I dole out the punishment. I had no idea of the endless variety of sin until I took this job."

During his four years as director general, Vest ate lunch most days in the State Department's cafeteria, where workers often approached him to discuss their careers and personal problems. He retired in 1989 as a "career ambassador," a rank requiring a presidential nomination and Senate confirmation.

Robert David Vincent was dedicated to public service

continues on p. 30

Continued from p. 29

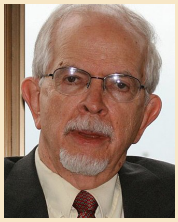
Robert David Vincent

and committed to good government, human rights, and quality education. Vincent was active in Democratic politics and formerly president of Action Analysis, a political consulting firm whose clients included Andrew Young, John Lewis, and numerous governors and U.S. Senators. He was inspired throughout his life by Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King. In the 1976 presidential campaign, he played a key role in the election of Jimmy Carter as president of the United States.

Appointed United States parole commissioner by President Carter, he led the reform of prisoner release and supervision guidelines, leading to the most substantial reduction in incarceration in federal prison history.

As assistant chancellor for higher education of Oklahoma, he led the development of the Oklahoma Plan for Desegregation of Higher Education, was especially influential in the integration of the Oklahoma University Health Sciences Center, and led in the efforts to marshal federal grants to support diversity in higher education. He also served as president of the Oklahoma Student Loan Authority. During his tenure, Oklahoma offered the lowest interest rate on student loans in the United States.

James McKendree Wall was active in the Democratic Party, served as chair of the Jimmy Carter presidential primary and general election campaigns in Illinois in 1976 and 1980, and was a delegate for Carter at the 1976 and 1980 Democratic National Conventions. Earlier he was on the Democratic National Committee and was an organizer and chair of George McGovern's Illinois delegation to the Democratic National Convention. In 1983-1984, Wall took a six-month leave from The Christian Century to manage Congressman Paul Simon's successful primary campaign for a U.S. Senate seat from Illinois.



James McKendree Wall

His professional life was largely as a journalist and religious leader, beginning as a sportswriter for the Atlanta Journal and Atlanta Constitution. After service in the United States Air Force, he received his M.Div. from Emory University and an M.A. from the University of Chicago. Wall was ordained a minister in the United Methodist Church in 1955. He traveled to the Middle East over 20 times, which influenced his many years of writing about the injustice inflicted on the Palestinians. He edited the United Methodists' Christian Advocate from 1962-1972. Subsequently, he served as editor and publisher of The Christian Century in Chicago from 1972 through February 1999. The Century was considered the flagship magazine of U.S. mainline Protestantism. From 1999 through 2008, he wrote a column for The Christian Century, while serving as senior contributing editor. He was a contributing editor from 2008 until July 2017. After retirement, Wall began his own personal blog in April 2008.

Sarah Weddington was working as a young lawyer with a group of graduate students at the University of Texas-Austin researching ways to challenge various anti-abortion statutes.

Sarah Weddington

Soon after, a pregnant woman named Norma McCorvey visited a local attorney seeking an abortion. The attorney instead assisted McCorvey with handing over her child for adoption and after doing so referred McCorvey to Weddington and Linda Coffee. In March 1970, Weddington and her co-counsel filed suit against Henry Wade, the Dallas district attorney and the person responsible for enforcing the anti-abortion statute. McCorvey became the landmark plaintiff in the Roe v. Wade case and was referred to in the legal documents as "Jane Roe" to protect her identity.

Weddington won the case in front of a three-judge district court in Dallas. The district court agreed that the Texas abortion laws were unconstitutional, but the state appealed the decision, landing it before the United States Supreme Court. At 27, Weddington argued Roe to the Supreme Court. Ironically, she worked on the case because law firms would not hire women in the early '70s.

Weddington appeared before the Supreme Court in 1971 and again in the fall of 1972. Her argument was based on the First, Fourth, Fifth, Eighth, Ninth, and 14th amendments, as well as the court's previous decision in Griswold v. Connecticut, which legalized the sale of contraceptives based on the right of privacy.

The court's decision was ultimately handed down in

January 1973, overturning Texas' abortion law by a 7-2 majority and legalizing abortion throughout the United States. In 1992, Weddington compiled her experiences with the case and interviews with the people involved into a book titled "A Question of Choice."

Although Roe v. Wade highlighted her career, she was elected to three terms in the Texas House of Representatives. She also served in the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1977, was an assistant to President Jimmy Carter from 1978 to 1981, and later became a lecturer at Texas Woman's University. During the Carter administration, she attended the historic 1977 National Women's Conference in Houston as a Texas delegate speaking on the resolution of women's reproductive freedom. Weddington was a member of a "Great Austin Matriarchy" that also included former Texas Gov. Ann Richards and columnist Molly Ivins. She was the founder of the Weddington Center.

Karen Hastie Williams was a trailblazer in law and accomplished in public policy and human rights advocacy, as was her storied father.

Karen Hastie Williams

She was the first Black woman to clerk at the Supreme Court for Spottswood William Robinson III in 1973–1974, and for Thurgood Marshall in 1974–1975. Following her time with the Supreme Court, Hastie Williams became chief counsel of the United States Senate Committee on the Budget from 1977 to 1980, and administrator for federal procurement policy in the United States Office of Management and Budget from 1980 to 1981, under President Carter. She served on the Internal Revenue Service's Oversight Board from 2000 to 2003, under President George W. Bush.

Later her accomplishments placed her on the boards of directors of major companies in corporate America. She also became the first female partner and first Black partner of the prestigious international law firm Crowell and Moring. She followed in the footsteps of her father, William H. Hastie, a former Howard University Law School dean, appointed by President Harry S. Truman as governor of the U.S. Virgin Islands, later named to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals.

The NAACP Legal Defense Fund—in the thick of the fight for voting rights and struggle against voter suppression—owes a good deal of its financial underpinnings to Karen Hastie Williams' past chairmanship of its development committee, where she shook money trees across the nation. Academic pursuits of numerous Blacks were enhanced by the Black Student Fund, on which she served as chairman and board member for several years.

Margaret DeLorme, past president of the Potomac Chapter of Links, Inc., one of the nation's oldest and largest volunteer organizations, echoed the words of many who worked with Hastie Williams when she said, "When Karen spoke, everybody stopped and listened, because she was always on point."

Bobby Zarem, the exuberant press agent who fulfilled his childhood fantasies by catching rising stars and promoting them to stellar careers, had a lifelong affection for his hometown of Savannah, Georgia. He began to support Jimmy Carter in the 1976 campaign and introduced the Carter campaign staff to many New York celebrities who became involved in the campaign. He turned the film "Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil" (1994) into a tourism magnet for Savannah. He helped launch a film festival there in 1998 and retired there in 2010.

Bobby Zarem

Zarem's clients included Alan Alda, Ann-Margret, Woody Allen, Michael Caine, Cher, Michael Douglas, Dustin Hoffman, Sophia Loren, Jack Nicholson, Diana Ross, Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Sylvester Stallone.

He publicized the films "Tommy" (by staging a gala party in a Midtown Manhattan subway station) and "Saturday Night Fever" (after stealing stills of the production from the studio, which expected the movie to flop and neglected to distribute photographs of John Travolta), as well as "Rambo," "Dances With Wolves" and "Pumping Iron," the 1977 documentary about bodybuilding, which starred Schwarzenegger. For that film, Zarem arranged a meeting with Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis that helped elevate Schwarzenegger to global superstardom.

Zarem regularly dined at Elaine's on the Upper East Side (where he said he introduced Mia Farrow to Woody Allen), helped organize an annual Oscar-night gala ("Almost everybody here is somebody," he said at one event), and, in an era of antiseptic tweets, was known for sending personalized handwritten notes.

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One Copenhill
453 John Lewis Freedom Parkway
Atlanta, GA 30307
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For details, visit www.cartercenter.org/ccwregistration

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.

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.