

# 2021 Eulogies

William Clinger Henry Huckaby Jack Fearnsides **Dwight Ink** Dale Rogers Marshall **Audrey Mathews** Richard P. Nathan E. Kim Nelson Ed Perkins Colin Powell **Donald Rumsfeld** George Schrader George Shultz Harold Steinberg Richard Thornburgh William Winter

### In Memory of William Clinger ('98)

# Published by The Washington Post



Former U.S. Representative William F. ("Bill") Clinger, Jr. (R-PA) of Naples, FL and Chautauqua, NY, passed away on May 28, 2021. Born on April 4, 1929 in Warren, PA to the late William F. Clinger, Sr. and Lella May Hunter Clinger, Clinger graduated from the Hill School in Pottstown, PA in 1947 and earned a Bachelor's degree in English from The Johns Hopkins University in 1951. In 1951 he also married his beloved wife Julia "Judy"

Whitla, who predeceased him in 2016. He served as a Lieutenant in the U.S. Navy from 1951-1955 before returning to Warren, where he was an executive at the New Process Co. from 1955-1962. During these years, he and Judy started their family and, as a young father, Bill entered law school and earned his Juris Doctor degree from the University of Virginia in 1965, where he was on the editorial board of the Virginia Law Review.

The family returned to Warren, where Bill was in private law practice for 12 years at the firm of Harper, Clinger, Eberly & Marti. Bill was active in his community during those years, serving as chairman of the Kinzua Dam Dedication Committee, president of the Warren Library Association, and as a delegate to the 1968 Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention and the 1972 Republican National Convention. In 1975, President Gerald R. Ford appointed Bill to serve as Chief Counsel of the U.S. Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration.

Following President Ford's defeat in the 1976 election, Bill returned to Warren and launched a long-shot bid to unseat an incumbent Democratic Member of Congress in the 1978 mid-term election. He won that race, and was subsequently re-elected eight times by the voters in his northwestern Pennsylvania congressional district, usually by overwhelming margins. During his 18 years in Congress, he earned a reputation as an effective legislator and principled consensus-builder who was highly respected on both sides of the political aisle.

In 1997, after Republicans captured control of the House for the first time in over 40 years, Bill's colleagues chose him to chair the powerful House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight. In that capacity, he co-authored landmark legislation to reform the federal government's procurement process (the Clinger-Cohen Act of 1996), aswell as a law preventing the federal government from imposing unfunded mandates on States and localities. As a member of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, where he served as Vice Chairman in the 104th Congress, Bill was a passionate advocate for investments in infrastructure and other capital improvements to better the lives of the residents in his largely rural district. His time in Congress included stints as the chairman of both the House Wednesday Group and Ripon Society Board of Directors.

Upon retirement from Congress in 1997, Bill joined the faculty of The Johns Hopkins University as a Senior Fellow at the Center for Advanced Governmental Studies, having received the University's Harold Seidman Distinguished Service Award in 1996. In 1997, he and Judy spent a semester at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, where he was a Fellow at the Institute of Politics. In addition to his academic postings, Bill was an active member of a number of boards and other organizations —many of them focused on good government —including the Council on Excellence in Government, the National Academy of Public Administration, the National Building Museum, and the Former Members of Congress Association.

Bill was a lifelong summer resident of the Chautauqua Institution in Chautauqua, NY, where he met and courted Judy while working as a reporter on the Chautauquan Daily newspaper during his college summers. He served on the Institution's Board of Trustees after his retirement from Congress, including two terms as Chairman of the Board. In recognition of his many contributions to the Institution, Chautauqua endowed an ongoing lectureship in his and Judy's honor at the conclusion of his service on the Board. Bill was the devoted and adored father of four children: Eleanore "Bijou" (Greg) Miller, William F. Clinger III, James Hunter (Catherine) Clinger, and Julia Boulton Clinger. He is also survived by seven beloved grandchildren: Sara and Juliet Miller, Charlotte and Jane Clinger, and Boulton, Porter, and William Yanhs. A memorial service will be held in Chautauqua in late August.

## A Tribute to Henry M. Huckaby ('14)

#### By Academy Fellow Thomas P. Lauth



Fellow Henry M. "Hank" Huckaby died April 14, 2021. He was 79 years old. He was a lifelong public servant, serving in the administrations of four Georgia governors.

Huckaby's career in state governance included several positions of increasing responsibility: Senior Policy Coordinator, Georgia Office of Planning and Budget (1973-75); Director, Georgia Senate Research Office (1975-77); Commissioner, Georgia Department of Community Affairs (1977-80);

Executive Director, Georgia Housing and Finance Authority (1980-91); Director, Office of Planning and Budget (1991-95); Director, Fiscal Research Program, Georgia State University (1995-97); Director, Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia (1997-2000); Senior Vice President, Finance and Administration, The University of Georgia (2000-2006); Member, Georgia House of Representatives, serving on the Appropriations Committee subcommittee for Higher Education (2010-11); and Chancellor, University System of Georgia (2011-2016). At first glance this looks like the career path of a guy who couldn't keep a job. Upon closer inspection, one sees a career that is characterized by one position after another of increasing fiscal and managerial responsibility. Governors and university presidents recognized his outstanding performance in one position and tapped him for another of even greater challenge and responsibility.

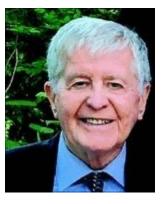
Huckaby also served in leadership roles in his professional associations, including the executive committee of the National Association of State Budget Officers; president of the National Council of State Housing Agencies; and president of the Council of State Community Affairs Agencies. In 2005, he received the S. Kenneth Howard Career Achievement Award, presented by the Association for Budgeting and Financial Management. He also served in leadership roles in his community, including the Chair of two different hospital boards: Inner Harbour Hospital in Douglas County, GA and Saint Mary's Hospital in Athens, GA. He held numerous positions in the United Methodist Church at both the Conference and national level. Georgia Trend magazine named him 2015 Georgian of the Year.

He earned an A.A. degree in political science and history from Young Harris College, an A.B. degree in political science and an M.B.A. degree from Georgia State University, and he pursued additional graduate studies in Public Administration at the University of Georgia.

Georgia state agencies, the Office of the Governor, the University of Georgia, the state House of Representatives, the University System of Georgia and the people of Georgia are better off because Hank Huckaby chose to devote his considerable talents to public service. He possessed a unique combination of budgeting and financial management skills, knowledge of how state government works, and vision regarding the transforming potential of higher education in a knowledge-based society. He was my friend and I miss him.

# A Tribute to Jack Fearnsides: A Man Who Tried and Made a Difference for FAA ATC Modernization ('96)

#### By Joe Del Balzo, JDA Journal



Dr. John J. Fearnsides, "Jack", who recently died, may not be a household name outside of aviation circles but is a legend recognized by aviation leaders, in government and out, as having had a major influence in the modernization of the ATC system in the United States.

Jack and I first met in early 1990 when I arrived in Washington to serve as FAA Executive Director for System Development. At the time he was Vice President and General

Manager of the MITRE Corporation and Director of its Center for Advanced Aviation System Development, CAASD.

Together we faced three challenges:

- 1. Tension between FAA and MITRE about failures in the ATC modernization program, the cause and who was to blame.
- 2. Tension between Congress and FAA about FAA's lack of progress.
- 3. Tension between Congress and MITRE about the independent oversight provided by MITRE over the FAA modernization program.

(Quote from Moving from Complicated to Complex: An Organizational Transformation Marc Narkus-Kramer April 2019):

"MITRE, and thus CAASD, is a non-profit Federally Funded Research and Development Corporation (FFRDC). Its responsibility is not to shareholders 2 but to Congress and the American people. It is expected to provide independent assessments regardless of our immediate sponsor's positions. We failed to uphold the responsibility of oversight and assessment and that was the genesis of the crisis of MITRE/CAASD. Congress concluded that money shouldn't be spend on MITRE/CAASD since we had been so ineffective. Congress was ready to zero out our funding".

Jack's insights on all three issues were incredibly accurate; ego and arrogance on both sides, MITRE's willingness to please and not criticize the FAA client, distrust on both sides and lack of a working partnership.

What Jack brought to the table was more than simply technical credibility. Although trained as an engineer with a BS and a PhD from the University of Maryland, he was truly a man for all seasons. He brought with him political skills from his past assignments at the U.S. Department of Transportation, serving as Deputy Under Secretary and Chief Scientist, Executive Assistant to the Secretary, and Acting Assistant Secretary for Policy and International Affairs. Because he was softer, more politically sensitive, and more receptive, he was able to give people what they needed to think and behave differently.

As a result, over the course of two years Jack was able to make a major positive difference in the culture, the attitudes and the FAA/CAASD working relationship; all of which led to increased trust, continued congressional support of the MITRE CAASD role and most importantly a significantly better managed ATC modernization program.

He was a Partner and Chief Strategist, MJF Strategies, LLC. Until 1999, he was Vice President and General Manager of the MITRE Corporation and Director of its Center for Advanced Aviation System Development. He was a National Science Foundation Fellow and a Fellow of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers and the National Academy of Public Administration. He served on numerous NRC and TRB committees, including the Committee for a Review of the National Automated Highway System Consortium Research Program and Committee for a Study on Air Passenger Service and Safety Since Deregulation.

If one needed a role model for whom JFK had in mind when he said, "One man can make a difference" no need to look beyond Dr. John J. Fearnsides. Thank you, Jack for making a difference.

# The Quiet and Quintessential Public Servant: Dwight Ink, 1922-2021 ('69)

#### By Academy Fellow Tom Shoop, Published in Government Executive



Dwight Ink, whose lengthy career and prominent role in several federal agencies earned him a reputation as the consummate public servant, has died at the age of 99, the National Academy of Public Administration announced Monday.

Ink's illustrious career in government service spanned more than four decades.

He held positions in every presidential administration from Eisenhower to Reagan.

Known as "Mr. Implementation," Ink helped establish the Environmental Protection Agency and the Housing and Urban Development Department, and was instrumental in launching the war on poverty in the 1960s. He served as acting director of the General Services Administration under President Ford and helped design and implement the landmark 1978 Civil Service Reform Act during the Carter Administration.

Ink was named a NAPA fellow in 1969. In 2016, the academy honored his exemplary record of accomplishment by naming the Fellow's Hall at its headquarters in Washington in his honor.

"It has been a privilege to devote a career to the public service," Ink said at the naming ceremony. "Contrary to the negative image of a government bureaucrat, I have found work in government at all levels to be the most challenging, exciting and fulfilling of any field I can imagine."

Early in his career, Ink earned the respect and admiration of federal officials—if not public accolades—for his work in managing the response to the massive Alaskan earthquake of 1964.

In 2011, Government Executive magazine listed Ink among 20 of the All-Time Greatest Feds. Eight years later, GovExec named Ink to the inaugural class of the Government Hall of Fame. He was the star of the gala induction ceremonies held at the Washington National Cathedral, holding his trophy aloft with a huge grin, even though he was confined to a wheelchair.

Ink "combined deep knowledge and experience with a bias toward action," wrote Donald Moynihan, then a professor at the University of Wisconsin and now at Georgetown University, in a preface to Getting Things Done With Courage and Conviction, a book written by Ink and Kurt Thurmaier. "His 'get it done' approach was embedded in a framework of ethical public service."

In their 2009 book If We Can Put a Man on the Moon: Getting Big Things Done in Government, William D. Eggers, global director of Deloitte's public sector research program, and John O'Leary, a research fellow at the Ash Center of the Harvard Kennedy School of Government, wrote of Ink:

"History tends to adore the person at the helm, the president who calls the shots from the Oval Office. Overlooked are the bureaucrats who actually carry out the commands. Out of the limelight, Ink, ... this unassuming bureaucrat, was often the one doing the heavy lifting. ...

"To reclaim a reputation for competency, government will need more Dwight Inks. It requires a political culture that values and honors capable managers, as well as public servants with the courage to tell the unpleasant truths to their political masters."

# Remembering Former Wheaton College President Dale Rogers Marshall ('87)

#### **Published in the Wheaton College Massachusetts News**



Champion of equity, academic inclusiveness led the institution from 1992–2004. Former Wheaton College President Dale Rogers Marshall died on January 14, in Berkeley, Calif. She was 83.

She served as Wheaton's sixth president, from 1992 to 2004. At Wheaton, President Marshall pushed to recruit and hire academics from under-represented groups, as she had at Wellesley College, where she served as dean of the college from 1986–1992 and acting

president from 1987–1988, and at University of California, Davis, before that as associate dean in the College of Letters and Science.

Under her leadership, Wheaton underwent a planning process that led to great economic and academic expansion. The number of students applying to the college doubled; Wheaton grew in reputation as a leading liberal arts institution; and students regularly won many national awards and scholarships, including Watson fellowships, Truman scholarships and Fulbright honors.

President Marshall oversaw the Campaign for Wheaton that raised \$90 million in support of student scholarships and academic inclusiveness, creating more than 70 new student scholarship funds, 12 new endowed faculty chairs, new programs such as the Davis International Fellows program and the Jane E. Ruby Lecture Series, as well as several new facilities. The campaign was capped by the construction of the Mars Arts and Humanities building and renovation of Meneely and Watson Fine Arts.

The year she began at Wheaton in 1992 the college experienced two other milestones: the graduation of the first coeducational class and the enrollment of the largest first-year class in the college's history at the time. The growth encouraged the construction of Keefe and Beard residence halls.

Her presidency also marked a re-commitment to the college's Global Awareness Program and emphasis on multiculturalism. Her commitment to diversity and social justice enabled the college to recruit a diverse and exceptional group of scholars to join the Wheaton faculty, and to institute new programs aimed at increasing diversity on campus. In April 2005, Wheaton named the Marshall Center for Intercultural Learning in recognition of her.

In an email sent to the campus community noting her passing, President Dennis M. Hanno said, "President Marshall remained connected to Wheaton long after she served as its president and maintained close relationships with the many people she became friends with here. I have been fortunate to have the opportunity to meet with her many times during my time at Wheaton and she became a good friend and an amazing mentor. Each time I spoke with her, I was reminded of how fortunate I was to be following in the footsteps of someone as great as President Marshall."

President Marshall attributed her interest in equity to her years as a teenager in segregated Washington, D.C. Born on March 22, 1937, in Ithaca, N.Y., where her parents were students at Cornell Law School, President Marshall's family moved often while her father, William Rogers, served in the Navy. The family settled in Bethesda, Md., in 1950, when Rogers took a position as counsel to the United States Congress. He would go on to serve as Deputy Attorney General and Attorney General under President Dwight Eisenhower, and Secretary of State under President Richard Nixon.

When President Marshall announced her resignation at Wheaton, Patricia A. King '63, chair of the Board of Trustees at the time, expressed personal appreciation for her guidance. "She has been a very skillful, collaborative leader who understands how to build consensus and inspire others to commit themselves to the college's advancement."

In recognition of her successful leadership of Wheaton, President Marshall was the 2002 recipient of the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce Pinnacle Award for women leaders.

In an interview published in the 2004 issue of the Wheaton Quarterly, President Marshall was asked what she enjoyed most about her time as president. She replied: "I've thought about that a lot. I feel good about all of the positive things that have happened at Wheaton during my term. Yet when it all boils down, it comes to the most common point. It's platitudinous, but it's really the people that you get to know and connect with while working on meaningful projects. When you get to meet such interesting people—on campus and all over the world—you

develop an insight in different lives, different worlds and different generations. It's extremely rewarding."

While serving as president, she remained active as a scholar and a faculty member, regularly teaching and writing in her field of concentration. Her own research underlined the importance of equal representation in positions of power—in particular for those making low incomes, people of color and women.

A political scientist who specialized in urban politics, President Marshall was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and earned her bachelor's degree, with high honors, in government from Cornell University in 1959. There, she met her future husband, engineer Donald Marshall. They married shortly after graduation and moved to California.

She received a master's degree in political science from University of California at Berkeley, where she studied as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow, and earned a Ph.D. in 1969 from UCLA, where she held a Regents Fellowship.

An accomplished author and editor, she co-wrote Protest is Not Enough: The Struggle of Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics (UC Press, 1984). The study won the 1985 Ralph J. Bunche Award for best book on ethnic relations and the 1985 Gladys M. Kammerer Award for best book on U.S. national policy. She also coedited Racial Politics in American Cities (Longman Pub Group, 1990, first edition).

She chaired the Association of Independent Colleges and Universities of Massachusetts and the American Council on Education's Leadership Commission; was elected to the National Academy of Public Administration in 1987; and became a member of the board of the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities in 1996.

She also served on numerous public and private boards. Like her mother, Adele Rogers, before her, President Marshall was a member of the Cornell University Board of Trustees. She also served as vice president of the American Political Science Association and president of the Western Political Science Association.

After her retirement from academia, she was a devoted volunteer, working with Girls, Inc., as a mentor for the East Bay College Fund, a writing coach with WriterCoach Connection, and as a docent and board member at the Berkeley Repertory Theatre.

President Marshall is survived by her husband; three children—Jessica, Cynthia and Clayton Marshall; and six grandchildren—William and Helena Belhumeur, and Maia, Dominik, Nina and Robert Marshall.

The family's wishes are for memorial contributions to be made to Wheaton to support either the Dale Rogers Marshall Fund for Global Education or the Dale Rogers Marshall Wheaton Fund Scholarship, both of which support programs she created.

### In Memoriam: Audrey Mathews ('07)

#### Published in The IE Voice



Individually and together, the friends of Audrey Mathews mourn her passing.

Mathews, professor emerita at California State University San Bernardino dedicated more than 35 years to public service in local and state governments as a professor, budget director, planning commissioner and consultant.

She also has served as a member of the San Bernardino County's Planning Commission

and was a member of the San Bernardino Workforce Investment Board.

An ASPA (American Society for Public Administration) member since 1977, Mathews was a life member and a long-time member of multiple Sections, including the Section for Women in Public Administration (SWPA), where she served as the first editor of SWPA's newsletter, "Bridging the Gap"; and the Conference of Minority Public Administrators, which she chaired in the mid-1990s. Active in ASPA's daily work, programs and governance, Mathews served on numerous committees including award selection committees, the audit committee, a PAR (Public Administration Review) editor search committee and the PA (Public Administrator) TIMES editorial board.

She attended annual conferences throughout her membership in ASPA including serving as conference co-chair for the 2014 Annual Conference (ASPA's 75th anniversary celebration). She received the Elmer B. Staats Lifetime Achievement Award for Distinguished Public Service in 2013.

Mathews' career began with the Chicago Police Department, after which she moved to Beverly Hills and served as a payroll clerk. She went on to become budget director for Beverly Hills, served in Compton, and after earning her MPA and DPA, moved to Washington, DC to become director of budget operations under Mayor Marion Barry.

Mathews taught full-time in California State University San Bernardino's College of Business and Public Administration (1996-2006), developing curriculum on diversity management, economic development, and budget and finance. She also was CEO of Mathews and Associates, her consulting firm based in Los Angeles.

A 2007 National Academy of Public Administration fellow, Mathews wrote numerous chapters in textbooks, journal articles and technical reports on topics of diversity, mentoring and urban governance. She received her DPA from the University of Southern California and her MPA from California State University—Northridge.

Asked to describe her philosophy of service, Mathews stated, "I have dedicated my life to helping those in need in the communities where I live, work and play, never thinking my life's dedication to public service as something remarkable. I'm just doing what I was born to do—mentor and provide a helping hand to those in need of my services."

Learn more about the life of Audrey Mathews in her "Ask Me Why I Care" video here: <a href="https://www.unomaha.edu/college-of-public-affairs-and-community-service/community-engagement/pss-audrey-mathews.php">https://www.unomaha.edu/college-of-public-affairs-and-community-service/community-engagement/pss-audrey-mathews.php</a>.

## A Statement on the Passing of Richard P. Nathan ('71)

#### Published by the Rockefeller Institute of Government



The Rockefeller Institute of Government is saddened to hear of the passing of former longtime director, Richard P. ("Dick") Nathan. Nathan was appointed director of the Institute by the Trustees of the State University of New York in 1989 and oversaw the Institute's research for twenty years before retiring in 2009. As noted in a statement from the Institute at the time of his retirement, Nathan led with energy, intelligence, determination, and unquenchable curiosity. Although the Institute was established several years before

he was appointed director, "it was Dick who gave the Institute its distinctive mission and methodological style." Following his retirement, Nathan served as a senior fellow at the Institute, focusing his research on healthcare, especially the implementation of the Affordable Care Act.

"On behalf of the SUNY family, I am deeply saddened by the passing of Dr. Richard Nathan, who led the SUNY Rockefeller Institute of Government for twenty years, helping to create one of the nation's premiere public policy think tanks," said SUNY Chancellor and former Rockefeller Institute President Jim Malatras. "Luckily, when president of the Institute, I was able to work with Dr. Nathan who was conducting nation-leading research on the Affordable Care Act, helping to provide state and federal policymakers with important insights on how to strengthen the program. He leaves behind a lasting legacy of collaboration and a passionate search for evidence-based solutions. Because of Dr. Nathan, the Rockefeller Institute of Government will continue to thrive. My thoughts are with his family during this difficult time."

Nathan dedicated his career to evidence-based policymaking, emphasizing the role of research in finding governmental solutions to society's problems. As a nationally-recognized federalism expert, he inspired generations of scholars to explore the complex relationship between local, state, and federal governments—their distinctive spheres of influence and how they interact. Heather Trela, director of operations and fellow at the Institute and a colleague of Nathan's for more than 20 years, said, "Dick Nathan is the reason that I first became interested in federalism issues—my research portfolio is directly influenced by my time working for Dr. Nathan. I consider myself very fortunate to have learned from him."

Having held top positions in the US Office of Management and Budget and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Nathan brought his expertise in federalism, social policy, and program implementation to his leadership of the Institute. During his tenure, Institute scholars contributed several influential analyses of federalism, such as cyclical changes in federal-state relations; the growing use of waivers and other executive powers in shaping the federal system; and the use of performance measurement and management.

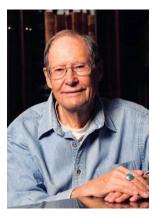
Nathan wrote and edited several books on the implementation of domestic public programs in the United States and on American federalism. Prior to coming to Albany, he was a professor at Princeton University. He served in the federal government as assistant director of the US Office of Management and Budget, deputy undersecretary for welfare reform of the US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and director of domestic policy for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (The Kerner Commission).

The Richard P. Nathan Public Policy Fellowship, created in 2017, is named after him. The one-year fellowship connects experts from a diverse range of backgrounds and research interests with Rockefeller Institute staff and researchers to analyze and address public policy problems.

He will be greatly missed by his friends and colleagues at the Institute.

## A Tribute to Elmer "Kim" Kingsholm Nelson, Jr. ('72)

#### By Academy Fellow Ross Clayton



Kim Nelson became a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration in 1974 while serving as the Dean of the University of Southern California's School of Public Administration (now the Sol Price School of Public Policy).

Kim Nelson, Jr., 1922-2020, had a long and distinguished career in practice of Public Administration and academic leadership. His education included Bachelors, Masters, and Law degrees from the University of Wyoming

and a DPA degree from the University of Southern California. His academic roles included service as an Instructor in Psychology at the University of Wyoming; as Professor of Criminology at the University of British Columbia; and as Professor of Public Administration and Dean of the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California.

Kim was a gifted teacher, scholar, and leader. Teaching excellence was a hallmark of his career. Kim's classes in organizational psychology and behavior were treasured by his students and highly respected by his academic colleagues. Numerous doctoral students benefitted from his wise counseling.

Early professional experiences that informed Kim's teaching included military service as a lieutenant during World War II and work in correctional facilities as a psychologist and as a Warden. His combined interests in Law and Psychology led him to accept an appointment to the faculty at the University of British Columbia, where he founded the first program in Criminology at a Canadian University.

Professor Nelson's sustained scholarly interests focused upon correctional institutions and criminal justice. Kim served as the Director of the Ford Foundation funded Youth Studies Center at USC. Along with the then Law School Dean, Dorothy Nelson, he established a joint degree in Judicial Administration.

Kim was a facilitative leader who fostered many innovations. During his Deanship years, the school established Centers in Washington, DC, and in Sacramento; initiated a Master's degree program in Intergovernmental Management; and pioneered the use of Intensive Semesters to increase access by working professionals to graduate education.

Professor Nelson's leadership roles extended beyond the campus. Taking leaves of absence during Governor Pat Brown's and Jerry Brown's Administrations, he served as Deputy Administrator of the California Youth and Adult Corrections Agency, and later at the request of the U.S. Attorney General, he served as the Associate Director of Lyndon Johnson's Presidential Crime Commission.

Kim Nelson was married to his wife, Jane Nelson, for 61 years. The Nelson's are survived by their son, Kirk.

#### A Tribute to Edward J. Perkins ('90)

# By: Academy Fellows Norma Riccucci and Blue Wooldridge



Ambassador Edward J. Perkins was born in Sterlington, Louisiana. He grew up in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and graduated in 1947 from Jefferson High School in Portland, Oregon. He earned his B.A. from the University of Maryland, College Park in 1967, and his M.A. and Doctor of Public Administration from the University of Southern California.

Ambassador Perkins became a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration in 1990.

After serving in the United States Army and United States Marine Corps, including stints in Tokyo and South Korea, he held numerous positions in the United States Department of State and United States Foreign Service. He was appointed ambassador to Liberia in 1985, and in 1986 as ambassador in the final days of apartheid in South Africa. He returned to the United States to serve in the State Department until 1992. "In his role as Director General of the Foreign Service, his commitment to a broadly diverse Foreign Service at all levels of the profession has been a lasting legacy to the quality of American diplomacy" (ISD). In 1992 he was appointed United States Ambassador to the United Nations and U.S. Representative to the United Nations Security Council. In 1993, he was appointed representative to the Commonwealth of Australia, where he served until 1996 before retiring at the rank of Career Minister in the United States Foreign Service.

He taught at the University of Oklahoma where he served as Senior Vice Provost Emeritus of International Programs at the International Program Center, and Professor Emeritus of the School of International and Area Studies. He was a member of the American Academy of Diplomacy. Perkins died on November 7, 2020, after a stroke.\*

Upon his death in November of 2020, the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy said, (Ambassador Perkin's) career represents a deep commitment to global public service and the profession. Ambassador Perkins continued his commitment to service until the very end of his life, including as President of the Association of Black American Ambassadors (ABAA) and through his involvement with other projects advancing the work of diplomacy. Ambassador James I. Gadsden, Director of ISD's McHenry Global Public Service Fellowship Program — and a member of ABAA and former member of the ISD Board of Advisers — adds: "He meant so much to so many of us who can remember clearly how much he kindly inspired, advised, and helped us along our way. Ambassador Perkins was, quite simply, a towering figure of American diplomacy. He was a gracious strength and a defender of the best of American diplomacy and young, aspiring diplomats. He will always be honored, and deeply missed.\*\*

#### Reflections from Norma Riccucci

Ambassador Perkins was featured in NAPA Fellow Norma Riccucci's 1995 book, Unsung Heroes: Federal Execucrats Making a Difference (Georgetown University Press). He was indeed an unsung hero who was very instrumental in helping to chip away at the racist policies of South Africa. Ambassador Perkins was appointed by President Reagan in 1986 to serve as the U.S. Ambassador to South Africa. He was the first Black person to serve in this role. He was a career diplomat whose leadership, negotiation and communication skills helped to promote positive change in that country. One of his strategies was to work with everyone in South Africa-whites, Blacks and even the leaders of banned Black groups. This helped to develop clear and open lines of communication with everyone. It was a significant milestone for U.S. foreign policy in that no other U.S. ambassador before him was willing to work with the Black community in South Africa. Because of his willingness to reach out and listen to them, Black South Africans became receptive to Ambassador Perkins, and were willing to trust him. This strategy, needless to say, was not very popular with white South Africans.

Ambassador Perkins also lent his support to politically charged events in South Africa, including demonstrations against the government for its practice of mass detentions without a trial. His participation brought worldwide attention to his work. The New York Times ran an at the time thanking and praising Ambassador Perkins for his actions. It read: "It's finally possible—how long has it been? —for Americans to take pride in some Reagan administration conduct in South Africa." A clear implication of the editorial was that the U.S.'s greatest weapon in dismantling apartheid was Ambassador Perkins.

Ambassador Perkins shared with Riccucci his experience of when he first met with the President of South Africa at the time, P.W. Botha. It was very incisive and will always be remembered. He pointed out that it was exceedingly strained, as Botha was very suspicious of Reagan's motives in appointing a Black man to the post of Ambassador. Botha was much shorter than Ambassador Perkins, who stood over six feet tall was very elegant in distinguished in this manner. Their meeting took place on a staircase, and Botha decided to stand a few steps higher than Ambassador Perkins to force the Ambassador to look up to him. Botha did not quite go high enough, and so it happened that the two found themselves making eye-level contact with one another. Ambassador Perkins did not avert his eyes and continued to look directly into Botha's eyes. Unable to maintain eye contact, Botha looked down.

Ambassador Perkins conveyed to Botha that change was on the horizon and that the internal race policies of the government needed to change. He exhorted that Nelson Mandela needed to be released, that rival parties such as the ANC could no longer be banned and should be incorporated in the political process and the dismantling of apartheid and replacing it with democracy was eminent.

Ambassador Perkins will be remembered for his many accomplishments over the course of his career. But certainly, his role as Ambassador in South Africa will always stand out, as his persistence and resilience made it possible for him to contribute to the fall of the in his efforts to help bring an end to the brutal, inhuman, oppressive system of apartheid.

# Reflections from Blue Wooldridge

On a more personal note, I first met and engaged with Ed. Perkins when we were both students in the Doctor of Public Administration program at the University of Southern California back in the early 1970's (I can't recall if we took any courses together!). Although we saw each other rarely after that, we did keep in touch. Not being one who is used to the higher levels of the Federal Government, I remember being in awe

when Ambassador Perkins invited me to his office at the Department of State while he served as Director General of the Foreign Service. Considering Ed as a friend will always be a highlight of my experiences.

- \* Ambassador Perkins Biography (sourced from Wikipedia)
- \*\*https://isd.georgetown.edu/2020/11/10/statement-on-the-passing-of-ambassador-edward-perkins/

# Colin Powell: Eager to Honor Other Public Servants, Not Himself ('88)

#### By Academy Fellow Tom Shoop



Much will be written and said about Colin Powell in the coming days, after his death Monday morning from complications of Covid-19. His 35 years of service in the Army, along with posts as national security adviser, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and secretary of State made him one of the most accomplished and decorated public servants in the history of the United States.

That's why it was an easy decision for Government Executive to make Powell a member of the inaugural class of the Government Hall of Fame when we created the hall in 2019. When we invited him to come and accept the honor at a gala reception at the Washington National Cathedral, though, he demurred, citing a previous obligation.

But the next year, Powell eagerly accepted an invitation to celebrate a group of new inductees into the hall.

In a video message filmed for a virtual celebration due to the coronavirus pandemic, Powell lauded Condoleezza Rice and Madeleine Albright. Both, he said, "were dear friends of mine and great secretaries of State." But Powell, unasked, also took the time to single out a couple of other inductees.

"We also want to pay tribute to two other individuals who were terrific government employees and contributed so much to this country. One is a name that may not be familiar to you, and that is Doc Cooke. Doc Cooke was the 'mayor of the Pentagon,' as we called him, those of us who were there with him, and he did a great job in managing the Pentagon while he was there. The other one I want to mention is Frederick Douglass, one of the great Americans who did so much for America, and is deserving of this tribute and this reception. And so, enjoy the evening, and don't forget the contributions these four individuals made to our nation."

Notice that the longest encomium is reserved for Cooke, who, as Powell noted, isn't exactly a household name. It clearly pleased him to see Cooke honored.

Colin Powell will be remembered for many things. One of them should be his eagerness to shine his light on the accomplishments of others.

# A look back at Donald Rumsfeld, late Taos resident and former secretary of defense ('81)

#### By Michael Tashji, Taos News



Donald H. Rumsfeld, secretary of defense for Presidents Gerald R. Ford and George W. Bush, died Tuesday (June 29) at his home in Taos. The cause of death was multiple myeloma, a type of cancer. He was 88.

"It is with deep sadness that we share the news of the passing of Donald Rumsfeld, an American statesman and devoted husband, father, grandfather, and great grandfather," the Rumsfeld family wrote in a statement

released on Donald Rumsfeld's Twitter account. "At 88, he was surrounded by family in his beloved Taos, NM."

Born in Illinois on July 9, 1932, Rumsfeld attended Princeton University, and graduated in 1954 with a degree in political science. After serving in the U.S. Navy, Rumsfeld entered politics when he ran for Congress in Illinois in 1962. Rumsfeld also served as a U.S. Congressman from Illinois from 1969–70.

He held the position of CEO for the pharmaceutical company, G. D. Searle & Company, and was later named CEO of General Instrument.

Rumsfeld led military operations in Afghanistan in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in the U.S. on Sept.11, 2001. A US-led coalition, including all NATO members, drove the Taliban from power in order to deny Al-Qaeda a safe base of operation.

The War in Afghanistan, code-named Operation Enduring Freedom (2001-14), and Operation Freedom's Sentinel (2015-present) is the longest war in U.S. history.

Rumsfeld, along with Vice President Dick Cheney, was also an architect of the 2003 invasion of Iraq, which subsequently removed President Saddam Hussein from power.

"The idea that it's going to be a long, long long battle of some kind I think is belied by the fact of what happened in 1990," said Rumsfeld

during a radio interview in November, 2002. "Five days or five weeks or five months, but it certainly isn't going to last any longer than that," he said. "It won't be a World War III."

The Iraq War began when the U.S., along with the U.K., Australia and Poland, launched a "shock and awe" bombing campaign, which was widely condemned as illegal under international law. U.S. troops withdrew from Iraq in 2011.

Rumsfeld's tenure as secretary of defense was controversial — his claims that Iraq was stockpiling weapons of mass destruction proved unfounded, and reports of prisoner abuse at the U.S. detention facility in Abu Ghraib shocked the world. He resigned his post in 2006.

Rumsfeld held the distinction of being both the youngest and oldest person to serve at the helm of the Defense Department. He and his wife, Joyce, retired to their ranch in Valdez, just outside of Taos.

In 2011, Rumsfeld published an autobiography "Known and Unknown: A Memoir," and in 2013, published "Rumsfeld's Rules: Leadership Lessons in Business, Politics, War, and Life."

"He was supportive of our Taos County Republican Party. He cared about his community, he loved Taos," said Sadie Boyer, vice president of the Taos County Republican Party and president of the Taos County Federated Republican Women. "I was very honored to know him, and I'm sad that he passed away."

# A Tribute to George Schrader: TWU mourns passing of longtime regent, Dallas city official ('78)

# By Texas Woman's University



He was a titan in the development of Dallas and its surrounding area, but to the Texas Woman's University community George Schrader helped chart a bold course of improvement while maintaining a calming presence on its governing board.

And on Dec. 31, 2020, Schrader died peacefully in a North Texas hospital.

First appointed to the Texas Woman's University Board of Regents in 2007 by

then-Governor Rick Perry, Schrader was re-appointed by Perry in 2013 for a second six-year term on the board. In the 12 years he served as regent, Schrader helped oversee unprecedented growth on TWU's Denton campus, and played an integral role in establishing new TWU campuses in Dallas and Houston.

Among the construction projects launched or completed during his board tenure were the Scientific Research Commons, Parliament Village, the Oakland Complex, the Ann Stuart Science Complex, the Fitness and Recreation Center and major renovations to Old Main and Hubbard Hall. The university also experienced steady enrollment increases and new highs in philanthropy on Schrader's watch.

"George Schrader was the consummate public servant and such an endearing gentleman," said TWU Chancellor Carine M. Feyten. "He was a remarkable mentor and called me every Monday while he served on the board of regents. His impact on Texas Woman's University, the City of Dallas and other municipalities will be felt by generations of people, not only through his legacy of policy and infrastructure improvement, but through his graceful way of interacting with everyone."

Sue S. Bancroft, a former board chair who served at the same time, described Schrader as "a man of great knowledge and wisdom."

"He always asked the pertinent, important questions and he was connected to just about everybody in Dallas," Bancroft said. "He was an incredible asset to TWU."

Prior to serving as regent, Schrader had a lengthy career in public administration and business. He owned Schrader Investment Company and was a principal in the accounting firm, Schrader & Cline, LLC. He served as Dallas city manager from 1973 to 1981, after having served as the city's assistant city manager for six years. He previously served as city manager for the cities of Mesquite and Ennis.

As Dallas city manager, Schrader played a key role in the development of several high-profile projects, including Reunion Arena, Dallas City Hall, the expansion of the Dallas Public Library, Dallas/Fort Worth International Airport, the launch of the Dallas Arboretum and Botanical Garden and the Dallas Arts District.

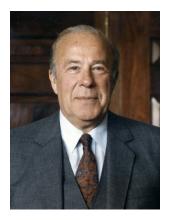
In 1982, D Magazine credited Schrader with reviving a sleepy downtown business district and helping spur fast-paced city development by private firms, making Dallas one of the hottest cities in America for corporate relocations.

In 2013, the Senior Source of Dallas, which advocates for the elderly, honored Schrader with the Spirit of Generations Award, given annually to those who demonstrate outstanding support to the community and connect people of all ages. In August 2020, Texas Woman's University awarded Schrader an Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters for his outstanding contributions to the university.

Schrader was a fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration and served on the board for Life Information, Inc., Baker University and the Methodist Health System. He also was a lifetime honorary board member of Circle Ten Council of the Boy Scouts of America. He earned a bachelor's degree from Baker University and a master's degree from the University of Kansas.

### A Tribute to George P. Shultz ('89)

#### By Tim Weiner, The New York Times



George P. Shultz, who presided with a steady hand over the beginning of the end of the Cold War as President Ronald Reagan's often embattled secretary of state, died on Saturday at his home in Stanford, Calif. He was 100.

His death was announced by the Hoover Institution, where he was a distinguished fellow. He was also professor emeritus at Stanford's Graduate School of Business.

Mr. Shultz, who had served Republican presidents since Dwight D. Eisenhower, moved to California after leaving Washington in January 1989. He continued writing and speaking on issues ranging from nuclear weapons to climate change into his late 90s, expressing concern about America's direction.

"Right now we're not leading the world," he told an interviewer in March 2020. "We're withdrawing from it."

He carried a weighty résumé into the Reagan White House, with stints as secretary of labor, budget director and secretary of the Treasury under President Richard M. Nixon. He had emerged from the wars of Watergate with his reputation unscathed, having shown a respect for the rule of law all too rare in that era. At the helm of the Treasury, he had drawn Nixon's wrath for resisting the president's demands to use the Internal Revenue Service as a weapon against the president's political enemies.

As secretary of state for six and a half years, Mr. Shultz was widely regarded as a voice of reason in the Reagan administration as it tore itself asunder over the conduct of American foreign policy. He described those struggles as "a kind of guerrilla warfare," a fierce and ceaseless combat among the leaders of national security.

He fought "a battle royal" in his quest to get out the facts, as he later testified to Congress during the Iran-contra affair. The director of the Central Intelligence Agency, William J. Casey, followed his own foreign policy in secret, and the State Department and the Pentagon constantly clashed over the use of American military force. Estranged from the White House, Mr. Shultz threatened to resign three times.

Mr. Shultz was summoned to Camp David and handed the wheel of American foreign policy in June 1982. Initially deemed too politically moderate by Reagan's advisers, he had been passed over for the post of secretary of state the previous year. (The position had gone to Alexander M. Haig Jr., the mercurial and combative general who lasted barely 18 months before he abruptly left office amid fierce disputes over the direction of diplomacy and the projection of American power.)

The Middle East was exploding, the United States was underwriting covert warfare in Central America, and relations with the Soviet Union were at rock bottom when Mr. Shultz became the 60th secretary of state.

Moscow and Washington had not spoken for years; nuclear tensions escalated and hit a peak during his first months in office. The hard work of replacing fear and hatred with a measure of trust and confidence took place in more than 30 meetings with Mr. Shultz and the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, between 1985 and 1988. The Soviets saw Mr. Shultz as their key interlocutor; in private, they called him the prime minister of the United States.

Continuous meetings between Mr. Shultz and Mr. Shevardnadze helped ease the tensions between the superpowers and paved the way for the most sweeping arms control agreement of the Cold War, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. Ratified in June 1988, it banned land-based ballistic missiles, cruise missiles and missile launchers with ranges of up to 3,420 miles. Within three years the two nations had eliminated 2,692 missiles and started a decade of verification inspections.

The treaty remained in force until August 2019, when President Donald J. Trump scrapped it, contending that Russia had broken the accord by developing a new cruise missile.

Almost alone among the members of the Reagan team, Mr. Shultz had seen early on that the new Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, and his

allies in Moscow were different from their predecessors. The rest of the national security team, and especially Reagan's defense secretary, Caspar W. Weinberger (known as Cap), had scoffed at the idea that the Kremlin could change its tune.

"Many people in Washington said: 'There is nothing different, these are just personalities. Nothing can be changed," Mr. Shultz recounted in an oral history of the Reagan administration. "That was the C.I.A. view; that was Cap's view; that was the view of all the hard-liners."

"They were terribly wrong," he added.

The world seemed on the verge of a lasting peace when he left office; the Berlin Wall still stood, but not for long. "It is fair to say that the Cold War ended during the Reagan years," Mr. Shultz wrote in his 1993 memoir, "Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State." The easing of four decades of grinding tension changed the global landscape. There would be fewer nuclear weapons pointed at great cities, fewer proxy wars in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

But a lethal force was rising in Afghanistan, where American-supplied weapons in the hands of Afghan rebels killed Soviet occupying forces throughout the 1980s. Both Moscow and Washington had poured billions of dollars into the fight, and both sides continued to support rival Afghan factions after the Soviets pulled out in February 1989.

"We assert confidently our right to supply our friends in Afghanistan as we see the need to do so," Mr. Shultz announced in April 1988. American arms had helped empower a generation of holy warriors who had bled the Red Army, but who would eventually shelter and support the Qaeda terrorists who struck the United States on Sept. 11, 2001.

# Strategies Against Terror

The United States was hit by terrorist attacks repeatedly in the Reagan years; the worst was the October 1983 suicide bombing of the Marine Corps headquarters at the Beirut International Airport that killed 241 Americans. They had been sent to Lebanon as peacekeepers while the United States tried and failed to broker a deal among the leaders of Israel, Lebanon and Syria after the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Mr. Shultz had proposed a new strategy of counterterrorism — "preventive or pre-emptive actions against terrorists before they strike," as he said in a June 1984 speech. The idea won only muted support at the time, but it became a tenet of President George W. Bush's "war on terror."

Mr. Shultz decisively lost the battle for control of foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere. The White House, the National Security Council and the C.I.A. believed that the rise of a left-wing government in Nicaragua foreshadowed a chain reaction that could inflame all of Central America. They chose to fight back through covert action, secret paramilitary operations and support for a counterrevolutionary force, the contras. Congress cut off aid to the rebels, but secret operations to support them continued apace.

Reagan's national security adviser, Vice Adm. John M. Poindexter, and Mr. Casey, the C.I.A. chief, oversaw the secret sale of arms to Iran as ransom for American hostages held in Lebanon. Both men knew that millions of dollars in profits from the arms sales were being channeled covertly to the Nicaraguan rebels, in defiance of the congressional ban.

Mr. Shultz had been kept in the dark about secret presidential directives authorizing the trading of arms for hostages. Chagrined and outraged, he denounced the secret dealings after they were revealed in November 1986, directly challenging Reagan. He came close to losing his job. But alone among the senior members of the Reagan team, he emerged untarnished after the Iran-contra affair unrayeled.

The arms-for-hostages deal was "totally outside the system of government that we live by," Mr. Shultz later told Congress. "I don't think desirable ends justify means of lying, deceiving, of doing things that are outside our constitutional processes."

Mr. Shultz knew the consequences of criminal acts and cover-ups. He had lived through Watergate.

On the secretly recorded White House tapes, Nixon railed about Mr. Shultz's reluctance to use the I.R.S. to investigate and intimidate hundreds of people on the president's so-called enemies list.

"He didn't get secretary of the Treasury because he has nice blue eyes," Nixon said. "It was a goddamn favor to get him that job."

Nixon named Mr. Shultz labor secretary in January 1969, a post he held for 18 months until he took over the newly formed White House Office of Management and Budget in July 1970. His deputy there was Mr. Weinberger, whose zeal to carry out the president's demands to cut federal spending earned him the nickname "Cap the Knife."

"Caspar Weinberger was noted as a big budget cutter," Mr. Shultz said in an oral history of the Nixon administration. "Nixon railed against the C.I.A. and their lousy intelligence, and said, 'Cap, I want you to cut the C.I.A.'s budget to one-third its present size.' Cap would light up like a Christmas tree. Then Nixon said: 'No. Make it one-half its present size.' Then we'd leave the meeting, and Cap would be very excited, and I would say: 'Cap, relax. He's just showboating."

After two years at the budget office, Mr. Shultz became Treasury secretary in June 1972. The previous year, Nixon unilaterally made the dollar inconvertible to gold. That forced the rest of the world to move from a system of fixed rates of exchange for national currencies to a flexible system. Exchange rates ceased to be the way in which governments made monetary policy. Mr. Shultz traveled the world trying to make sure the dollar remained almighty.

He quit the Nixon administration in May 1974, three months before the president resigned in disgrace, the last of Nixon's original cabinet members to depart. Before his death, he was the oldest living member of Nixon's inner circle and, along with former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, among the last.

After 25 years in academia and government, Mr. Shultz joined the Bechtel Corporation (now Bechtel Group), one of the world's biggest engineering and construction companies, serving as its president from 1974 to 1982. He was paid nearly \$600,000 a year (about \$2 million in today's money) to run its global and domestic operations, which included the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, the Washington Metro subway, King Khalid International Airport in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and much of the infrastructure of the Saudi government.

Throughout his years in power in Washington, Mr. Shultz tried to keep one secret out of print: that he had a tiger tattoo on his posterior, a legacy of his undergraduate days at Princeton University. When queried about the tattoo, Phyllis Oakley, a State Department spokeswoman at the time, replied, "I am not in a position to comment."

# Princeton, Then the Pacific

George Pratt Shultz was born in Manhattan on Dec. 13, 1920, the only child of the former Margaret Lennox Pratt and Birl E. Shultz, an official with the New York Stock Exchange. He grew up in Englewood, N.J., and entered Princeton in the fall of 1938.

In his senior year in 1941, he was majoring in economics when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7. He joined the Marines after graduation and saw combat in the Pacific. He joined the faculty at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology after earning his doctorate in industrial relations there in 1949. His field was labor economics.

In 1955, he took a year's leave to serve as a senior staff member of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, under its chairman, Arthur F. Burns, who later led the Federal Reserve Board.

Starting in 1957, Mr. Shultz taught at the University of Chicago, where he was dean of its business school from 1962 to 1968. That year he took a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, a wooded retreat for academics in Stanford. He returned to Stanford after leaving public office and receiving in 1989 the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor. Over the next three decades he wrote for academic journals and op-ed pages.

His most recent book, published in the fall, was "A Hinge of History," written with James Timbie, a longtime State Department adviser. In the book, Mr. Shultz argued that the world is at a pivot point in history, much like the one it reached at the end of World War II, requiring international cooperation in grappling with an era that will bring fundamental changes in education, migration, national security, technology, economics and democratization.

Mr. Shultz was a Marine when he met his future wife of nearly 50 years, Helena M. O'Brien, known as Obie. He was on a rest-and-recreation trip to Kauai, Hawaii, where she was an Army nurse. She died in 1995.

In 1997, he married Charlotte Smith Mailliard Swig, San Francisco's chief of protocol. The high-society ceremony was held in the city's Grace Cathedral. He wore black tie with red, white and blue studs of rubies, diamonds and sapphire, and sported a tiger orchid boutonniere.

His survivors include his wife; three daughters from his first marriage, Margaret Ann Shultz Tilsworth, Kathleen Pratt Shultz Jorgensen and Barbara Lennox Shultz White; two sons from his first marriage, Peter and Alexander; 11 grandchildren; and nine great-grandchildren.

The only scandal that touched Mr. Shultz's personal life began to erupt in 2015. For four years, he had been a member of the board of directors of Theranos, a Silicon Valley start-up founded by Elizabeth Holmes, a young college dropout who claimed to have invented a revolutionary new blood-testing system. His enthusiastic support drew power brokers to the board, including Mr. Kissinger and James Mattis, the retired Marine general who would become President Trump's defense secretary.

Theranos was valued at \$9 billion before whistle-blowers inside the company began talking to a Wall Street Journal reporter, saying the technology did not work as promised. The insiders included Mr. Shultz's grandson, Tyler Shultz, and the elder statesman pressured him to stay silent.

It was not until Theranos collapsed in 2018 and its founders faced indictment on fraud charges that Mr. Shultz finally acknowledged the "troubling practices" at Theranos, saying in a public statement that his grandson had "felt personally threatened" by their confrontation "and believed that I had placed allegiance to the company over allegiance to higher values and our family."

A lifelong Republican, Mr. Shultz largely stayed out of the political fray after leaving Washington. But he refused to publicly endorse Mr. Trump in 2016 and in 2020, adding that he did not back his Democratic opponents, either. In an interview with The New York Times in October, however, he offered no criticism of Joseph R. Biden Jr., Mr.

Trump's Democratic challenger at the time. The two had worked together collegially when Mr. Shultz was secretary of state and Mr. Biden was a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Shultz said he had recently teased Mr. Biden, who was 77 at the time, telling him, "From my standpoint, you're a promising young man."

# A Legacy Undone

Mr. Shultz lived long enough to see his most lasting legacy from the Reagan years come largely undone.

The arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union were bristling with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons when he became secretary of state. Fears of Armageddon approached an all-time high. In June 1983, General Secretary Yuri Andropov warned a former American ambassador to Moscow, Averell Harriman, that the two nations were nearing "the dangerous 'red line" of nuclear war.

"I don't think the Soviets were crying wolf," Robert M. Gates, the C.I.A.'s top Soviet analyst at the time and later the secretary of defense, observed a quarter of a century later. "They may not have believed a NATO attack was imminent in November 1983, but they did seem to believe that the situation was very dangerous."

Washington and Moscow had been preparing for World War III since the dawn of the nuclear age. They also had been negotiating a strategic arms limitation treaty since 1969. An agreement signed in 1979 would have reduced both sides' nuclear arsenals substantially. But after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan that year, the Senate never ratified it.

Mr. Shultz's crowning arms-control achievement was the 1988 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, and he was dismayed when President Trump scrapped it in 2019.

"Withdrawing from the I.N.F. treaty was a giant mistake," Mr. Shultz said in the October interview with The Times. "You lose not only the agreement itself, but you lose all those verification provisions that we worked so hard on."

Mr. Shultz and Mr. Gorbachev had argued to no avail in a Washington Post op-ed article in 2018 that abandoning the treaty "would be a step toward a new arms race, undermining strategic stability and increasing the threat of miscalculation or technical failure leading to an immensely destructive war."

Mr. Shultz agonized over that threat. "We desperately need to have a discussion with Russia about this," he told an interviewer in November 2019. "There is too much loose talk about not just having nuclear weapons, but using them," he said.

"People have forgotten their power. In my day, I remember nuclear weapons. We knew what they could do. It was very vividly wrong."

## A Tribute to Harold Steinburg ('06)

#### **Published by the Association of Government Accountants**



It is with great sadness that AGA shares news about the passing of a dear friend and colleague, Harold "Hal" I. Steinberg, CGFM, CPA, of Arlington, Va. For more than 40 years, Hal was a driving force in both federal and state and local government financial management programs. For the past 24 years, he served as technical director of AGA's federal government performance

reporting awards program, CEAR.

Hal shared with us that among his proudest achievements were the implementation of the CFO Act and championing the efforts that resulted in federal financial management improvement, the internal control evaluation and improvement program, performance measurement, government reporting of service efforts and data on accomplishments, the Inspector General program, the off-the-shelf-standardized accounting software program, the single audit program, the governmental audit peer review program, and the process for reporting government financial status in order to sell securities to the public.

Born in 1935, in New York, Hal graduated with honors from Syracuse University at age 20 with a degree in business administration and management. He was inducted into Beta Gamma Sigma, the international business honor society, and the Arnold Air Society, an organization of Air Force cadets in an ROTC program.

In 1961, Hal received his MBA from New York University Graduate School of Business and began a 30-year career with KPMG, retiring as a partner. As head of KPMG's practice with state and local governments, he helped develop accounting standards for state governments and public school districts; worked with the Governmental Finance Officers Association (GFOA) and the National Council on Governmental Accounting — the forerunner to GASB — to codify accounting standards for local governments; and helped GFOA and the Securities Industries Association establish voluntary reporting

practices for state and local governments to use in reporting to their accountability to securities investors. Recognizing the value of single audits to obtaining more accountability at a lower cost, Hal also chaired the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants' (AICPA) first Single Audit Committee.

As far back as 1973, Hal recognized the role performance measures would serve in improving accountability. He worked with Sunnyvale, California, to develop a public safety performance measurement process, and then helped the General Accounting Office evaluate whether performance measures could be audited using the recently issued Government Auditing Standards. He also co-managed a Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASAB) research study that established the service efforts and accomplishments framework for viewing and reporting accountability.

In 1981–83, Hal was appointed Associate Director of Management at the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB), where he helped launch the Inspector General program and served as the first Executive Secretary of the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency. He also organized and managed the internal control program and implementation of the Federal Managers' Financial Integrity Act, another key element in government accountability. Recognizing the value of the single audit, he managed the development of guidance and tools to perform them, before resuming his KPMG career.

Hal returned to OMB after his KPMG retirement in 1991 to implement the CFO Act of 1990. As the first Deputy Controller/Acting Controller of the Office of Federal Financial Management (OFFM), he developed and executed an eight-part program that incorporated accounting standards, financial reporting and financial audits. Equally adamant in seeking accountability from public servants, Hal conceptualized a peer-review process for government audit organizations and tested it in the first-ever review of a governmental audit office. Meanwhile, he chaired AICPA's study of governmental audit quality.

Hal's concern for accountability extended to AGA, where he led the development of examinations for the Certified Government Financial Manager program (which may be why they are so hard) and he spearheaded AGA's prestigious Certificate of Excellence in Accountability Reporting (CEAR) program to improve the quality and disclosures of federal agencies' annual financial reports and performance and accountability reports. Through FY2017, he reviewed every agency report submitted for CEAR consideration.

Hal was a member of AGA's Northern Virginia Chapter, served on the AGA National Office's Long-range Planning Committee and as a Special Advisor to the CGFM Professional Certification Board. He chaired the Task Force on How to Attract and Retain Financial Management Personnel for the Federal Government. Hal was recognized for his impact in the community with four AGA National President's awards, the Andy Barr award, and the Einhorn-Gary Award.

Outside AGA, he was a member of the Federal Accounting Standards Advisory Board and directed the task forces that prepared the two Statements of Federal Financial Accounting Concepts: Objectives of Federal Financial Reporting and Entity and Display. Also a member of the AICPA, Hal served on its Government Accounting and Auditing Committee and Improving Federal Financial Management Task Force; and he chaired its Task Force on Improving the Quality of Governmental Audits.

Ever generous with his time, Hal served on the Advisory Board of the Center for Advanced Public Management of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, and on the board of the Boy Scouts of American, National Capital Area Council (1986-1993.) Hal wrote countless journal articles, including many for AGA's Journal of Government Financial Management, and several books, including Reporting of Service Efforts and Accomplishments, a research report published by the Financial Accounting Standards Board; A Guide to Accounting, Financial Reporting, and Auditing in the Federal Government; and Managing Public Resources. Hal's final article will be published in the Winter 2022 Journal to be released in January.

Hal Steinberg was a giant in the financial community and will be remembered for his extraordinary positive impact on the financial community as well as his generosity in supporting, teaching, and mentoring colleagues now among today's most influential leaders. We will miss you, Hal!

# A Tribute to Richard Thornburgh ('87)

### By Louie Estrada, The Washington Post



Richard L. Thornburgh, a former crime-busting federal prosecutor who unflappably led Pennsylvania through the Three Mile Island nuclear crisis as the state's two-term governor and served as U.S. attorney general from 1988 to 1991, died Dec. 31 at a retirement community in Oakmont, Pa. He was 88.

His son David Thornburgh confirmed his death but did not cite a specific cause.

In the summer of 1988, President Ronald Reagan needed to replace besieged Attorney General Edwin Meese III, who had resigned amid charges of ethics violations for mixing personal finances with government business and for allegedly helping cover up the White House's role in the Iran-contra scandal. The administration sought a Republican with a law enforcement background and a track record of public integrity to take quick command of the Justice Department.

Mr. Thornburgh, who was tall, with a boyish, round face and hornrimmed glasses, seemed an ideal candidate. Schooled in engineering and law, he was widely seen as methodical, effective and cool under extreme pressure.

As the U.S. attorney for western Pennsylvania from 1969 to 1975, he won convictions against organized-crime figures as well as police chiefs, city council members, mayors and other public officials who collectively took millions of dollars in bribes from mobsters.

For Mr. Thornburgh, the biggest professional challenge came not in a courtroom but rather in a trial-by-fire in crisis management when, as governor, he helped avert pandemonium during the Three Mile Island crisis in 1979, the most serious nuclear power plant accident in U.S. history.

He arrived in Washington amid high expectations to take control of a Justice Department reeling from Meese's tenure.

Mr. Thornburgh served in the Reagan Cabinet for five months, then was asked to remain as attorney general in the new administration of George H.W. Bush even though some Republican leaders expressed doubts about his conservative bona fides. He was widely regarded as a GOP moderate, especially in contrast to Meese, a blunt and polarizing campaigner against abortion rights and affirmative action, and on other cultural flash points.

In the ensuing three years as U.S. attorney general, Mr. Thornburgh led the Justice Department during its investigation of the bombing of Pan American Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, as well as cases involving Colombian drug cartels and global money-laundering operations.

But the glare of national media scrutiny, harsh battles of political partisanship and legal turf wars took a toll on Mr. Thornburgh's "Mr. Clean" reputation.

His department faced scrutiny for its slow pace — compared with those of state prosecutors — in pursuing prosecutions of Charles H. Keating Jr. and other fraudsters in the multibillion-dollar savings-and-loan crisis that had cost millions of Americans their life savings.

Mr. Thornburgh also was accused by congressional Democrats of protecting the White House in a tangled scandal dubbed "Iraqgate." It appeared to involve members of the American and Italian governments, a multibillion-dollar bank fraud in the Atlanta branch of an Italian bank, and an arms buildup by Saddam Hussein's Iraq amid the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s.

One of the bankers went to prison for his role in making illicit loans. But the Justice Department, under Bill Clinton's attorney general, Janet Reno, issued a report in 1995 absolving members of the Bush administration of misconduct.

One of Mr. Thornburgh's policy triumphs as attorney general emerged from the Justice Department's civil rights division. He served as the Bush administration's point man in the passage of the 1990 Americans With Disabilities Act, which broadened the scope of civil rights for people with disabilities. He reassured lawmakers wary of the cost of new regulations on businesses, countering with the benefit to

productivity and the economy from contributions by workers with disabilities.

The passage had been personally satisfying for Mr. Thornburgh, whose son Peter suffered from the effects of a traumatic brain injury in a car accident in 1960. The accident had also taken the life of Mr. Thornburgh's first wife.

Richard Lewis Thornburgh was born in Rosslyn Farms, a prosperous suburb of Pittsburgh, on July 16, 1932. His family consisted almost entirely of engineers and Republican Party stalwarts.

He received a bachelor's degree in engineering from Yale University in 1954 and graduated three years later from the University of Pittsburgh law school. He spent most of his early legal career with the law firm of Kirkpatrick & Lockhart in Pittsburgh.

He said the car accident that killed his wife, the former Virginia Hooton, and severely injured his son prompted soul-searching about his future.

He was remarried in 1963 to a former schoolteacher and three years later sought public office, running for the U.S. House of Representatives on a platform that included advocating for civil rights initiatives and de-escalating U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. He lost the race.

In 1969, the newly elected Republican president, Richard M. Nixon, named Mr. Thornburgh the U.S. attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania.

His diligence in prosecuting cases caught the attention of higher-ups in Washington and, in 1975, he was elevated to assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's criminal division. The next year, he helped create the public integrity section to investigate allegations of political corruption.

In 1978, he won the gubernatorial race against former Pittsburgh mayor Peter F. Flaherty. Nothing in the campaign could have prepared him for what unfolded eight weeks into his first term.

On the morning of March 28, 1979, while meeting with state lawmakers about budget issues, Mr. Thornburgh received a phone call that there

had been an accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant, located on a sandbar in the middle of the Susquehanna River about 10 miles downstream from the state capital, Harrisburg.

A chain of events involving mechanical failure, design flaws and human error led to the partial meltdown of the reactor core in Unit 2 at the nuclear power plant.

Mr. Thornburgh urged residents in the surrounding area to remain calm as he tried to get a grasp on what was happening at the plant. Using his prosecutorial questioning skills to cut through contradictory information during the early days of the crisis, he determined that the situation wasn't as bad as some had feared but that government officials needed to remain vigilant

After engineers regained control of Three Mile Island, Mr. Thornburgh led President Jimmy Carter and first lady Rosalynn Carter on a tour of the facility to help put a jittery public at ease.

Mr. Thornburgh spent many more years working on the Three Mile Island cleanup efforts, but he also focused his attention on the state's declining industrial-based economy. He cut personal and business tax rates and balanced the state's budgets for each of his eight years in office. He also helped forge partnerships to lure technology companies.

"He really understood the evolution of the old economy of coal, iron and steel to the new economy of finance, real estate and technology," said G. Terry Madonna, a political scientist at Franklin & Marshall College in Lancaster, Pa. "After Three Mile Island, which he handled brilliantly, with calm and deliberate decision-making, his job approval soared."

Prohibited by state law from running for a third term, Mr. Thornburgh was soon in Washington as the newly appointed U.S. attorney general.

In 1991, he left the Justice Department when Senate Republican leaders persuaded him to run in a special election for the U.S. Senate seat from Pennsylvania after the death of John Heinz (R-Pa.) in a plane crash. Painted as a Washington insider, he was defeated in a stunning upset by Harris Wofford, a former president of Bryn Mawr College, who rode anti-Bush sentiments to victory.

Survivors include his wife, the former Ginny Walton Judson of Oakmont; three sons from his first marriage, John Thornburgh of Wexford, Pa., David Thornburgh of Philadelphia and Peter Thornburgh of Pittsburgh; a son from his second marriage, William Thornburgh of Pittsburgh; six grandchildren; and five great-grandchildren.

Mr. Thornburgh, who became counsel to the law firm K & L Gates in Washington, continued to give speeches about the value of holding elective office.

"Democracy is not a spectator sport," he said in a 2009 address at the University of Pennsylvania. "And politics is an honorable calling. All of us must exercise the opportunity to contribute to improving and sustaining higher levels of performance in public life. This involves much more than simply voting or even being part of a focus group or responding to poll questions. And it is just as important in contests for the local school board as in those for higher office."

### A Tribute to William F. Winter ('87)

#### By Clay Risen, The New York Times



William F. Winter, a Mississippi politician who stood athwart the racism of many of his fellow white Democrats during the civil rights era and used his single term as governor to address injustice in the state's education system, died on Friday at his home in Jackson, Miss. He was 97.

His death was confirmed by Dick Molpus,

a family spokesman and former aide.

Mr. Winter first ran for office in 1947 while still a law student at the University of Mississippi, capturing a seat in the State House of Representatives. He appeared on various ballots every four years for the next four decades, making his name more for the positions he took on integration and good government than for his record at the polls. He ran for governor twice before finally winning, in 1979.

At the time, Mississippi's governors were limited to a single term, and Mr. Winter was determined to make the most of his. He had run on reforming the state's dismal education system: Mississippi was the only state without public kindergarten, and it was the only state without funding for compulsory public education, a vestige of its extreme reaction to the Supreme Court's 1954 decision striking down school segregation.

Mr. Winter found legislative progress as elusive as electoral success. His first two attempts at getting an education reform bill passed failed, while public support was lukewarm at best. After their second try, in 1982, he and his aides doubled down, beefing up the bill with additional measures like depoliticizing the state board of education and raising teacher standards. He called for a special session that fall, with education the only item on the agenda.

Faced with intense opposition in the Legislature, Mr. Winter took to the road. He delivered 82 speeches supporting the bill, while his wife, Elise, and his aides made 532 more. He, his wife and his aides held nine enormous rallies around the state and coordinated his efforts with

coverage by the editors of the state's largest newspaper, The Clarion-Ledger, which won a Pulitzer Prize for its efforts.

By December, when the Legislature finally assembled to vote, public opinion had swung hard in Mr. Winter's favor. The bill passed overwhelmingly in the House, and by a single vote in the Senate, on Dec. 20. The press called it "the Christmas miracle."

"His work in education reform changed decades of policies that had ensured inferior education for children of color," Marian Wright Edelman, the founder of the Children's Defense Fund, said in a phone interview.

In 1984 Mr. Winter ran for the United States Senate — his Republican opponent was a friend, Thad Cochran — and lost. After that, he retired from electoral politics. But he remained active in public life, leveraging the good will he earned as governor into support for efforts around racial reconciliation, including a campaign to remove Confederate imagery from the state flag.

"He was the model of what you aspire to be as governor," Ray Mabus, who worked in Mr. Winter's administration and served as governor himself from 1988 to 1992, said in an interview. "He was the best governor Mississippi ever had."

William Forrest Winter was born on Feb. 21, 1923, in Grenada, Miss., a small town in the north central part of the state. He grew up nearby, on a farm owned by his father, William Aylmer Winter, who served three terms in the State House of Representatives and three in the State Senate. His mother, Inez (Parker) Winter, was a teacher.

He is survived by his wife, Elise (Varner) Winter; his daughters, Anne Winter, Lele Gillespie and Eleanor Winter; five grandchildren; and five great-grandchildren.

Both Black and white tenants lived and worked on the Winters' farm, and young William developed friendships with several Black children. But this was Jim Crow-era Mississippi, and the Winters were typical in their embrace of the state's enforced racial hierarchy.

"All I knew growing up was racial segregation," Mr. Winter said in an interview for the documentary "The Toughest Job: William Winter's Mississippi" (2014). "It was an accepted way of life in the white community."

Still, two experiences pointed Mr. Winter in a different direction.

In college at the University of Mississippi, he became friends with James Silver, a history professor whose progressive teachings on race and civil rights inspired a generation of liberal Mississippians.

After graduating in 1943, Mr. Winter entered the Army as an officer. An aspiring politician even then, he dreamed of a combat role, but instead found himself training a segregated Black regiment in northeast Alabama. There, as part of an experiment in integration, he worked alongside Black officers, whose talk about civil rights and political progress inspired him to push for change back home.

After the war, Mr. Winter joined a wave of young veterans, white and Black, who returned to the South committed to upending the political status quo. He was one of 12 law students at Ole Miss to run for office in 1946; 11 of them won.

He developed a reputation as an advocate for good government — in the 1960s, as the head of the state's tax collection office, an infamously corrupt agency, he successfully called for its elimination. He also became known as a racial moderate, calling on the state to accept the inevitable end of Jim Crow. But in civil rights-era Mississippi, even moderation was too far for many whites, who attacked him as a dangerous liberal.

Mr. Winter made his first run at the governor's office in 1967, taking on John Bell Williams, a sneering segregationist who defended the state's policy of resistance to civil rights.

As he later recalled with great shame, Mr. Winter tried tilting to the right. At a forum hosted by the racist White Citizens' Council, he said: "I was born a segregationist. I was raised a segregationist. I always defended that position. I defend it now."

But his record said otherwise, and the Ku Klux Klan made him a target. Stuart Stevens, the Republican political strategist who as a teenager volunteered on that campaign, recalled standing with him outside a rally in Gulfport, Miss. Earlier in the day, an anonymous caller had threatened to kill Mr. Winter if he spoke that night. His aides told him not to. He went ahead anyway.

"It was the bravest thing I have ever seen in my life," Mr. Stevens said. "Winter was someone who made you proud to be from Mississippi."

Mr. Winter lost that race, and another run for governor in 1975 (though he did serve as lieutenant governor in between). Despite saying he was through with politics, he took one more shot at the governor's mansion, in 1979, this time hiring professional pollsters and media operatives and hoping that the state's politics had come around. He won handily.

Almost immediately, he set a new tone for state leadership. He and his wife held a series of dinners at the governor's mansion featuring prominent Mississippians, and not just white people like Walker Percy and Eudora Welty. Myrlie Evers-Williams, the widow of the slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers, dined with them, as did Leontyne Price, the world-famous soprano whom previous governors had shunned. The Winters invited her to stay overnight in the Bilbo Room, named for Theodore G. Bilbo, an infamously racist governor and senator; the next day Mr. Winter renamed it the Leontyne Price Room.

"I have such respect for that man and actually love him," Ms. Evers-Williams said by email. "He showed bravery in taking on issues that weren't popular."

After his failed Senate race, Mr. Winter threw himself into civil rights work: In 1995 President Bill Clinton named him to the National Commission on Race. Mr. Winter continued his efforts with the founding of the Institute for Racial Reconciliation at the University of Mississippi. It was later renamed the Winter Institute in his honor and became independent.

In 2001 Mr. Winter led an effort to remove the Confederate battle flag from the Mississippi state flag. A referendum on his proposal failed that fall, but he continued to push for the change.

Finally in June, nearly 20 years later and amid the summer's outpouring of racial activism, the State Legislature voted to remove the emblem. It was a move that Mr. Winter welcomed, even as he warned, in one of his last public comments, that it was not enough.

"The battle for a better Mississippi," he told The Associated Press, "does not end with the removal of the flag.

