

# Georgia Governors



**J. Terrell**  
10/25/02 to  
6/29/07



**H. Smith**  
6/29/07 to  
6/26/09



**J. Brown**  
6/26/09 to  
7/1/11



**H. Smith**  
7/1/11 to  
11/16/11



**J. Slaton**  
11/16/11 to  
1/25/12



**J. Brown**  
1/25/12 to  
6/28/13



**J. Slaton**  
6/28/13 to  
6/26/15



**N. Harris**  
6/26/15 to  
6/30/17



**H. Dorsey**  
6/30/17 to  
6/25/21



**T. Hardwick**  
6/25/21 to  
6/30/23



**C. Walker**  
6/30/23 to  
6/25/27



**L. Hardman**  
6/25/27 to  
6/27/31



**R. Russell**  
6/27/31 to  
1/10/33



**E. Talmadge**  
1/10/33 to  
1/12/37



**E. Rivers**  
1/12/37 to  
1/14/41



**E. Talmadge**  
1/14/41 to  
1/12/43



**E. Arnall**  
1/12/43 to  
1/14/47



**H. Talmadge**  
1/14/47 to  
3/18/47



**M. Thompson**  
3/18/47 to  
11/17/48



**H. Talmadge**  
11/17/48 to  
1/11/55



**M. Griffin**  
1/11/55 to  
1/13/59



**E. Vandiver**  
1/13/59 to  
1/15/63



**C. Sanders**  
1/15/63 to  
1/10/67



**L. Maddox**  
1/10/67 to  
1/12/71



**J. Carter**  
1/12/71 to  
1/14/75



**G. Busbee**  
1/14/75 to  
1/11/83



**J. Harris**  
1/11/83 to  
1/14/91



**Z. Miller**  
1/14/91 to  
1/14/99



**R. Barnes**  
1/14/99 to  
1/14/03



**S. Perdue**  
1/14/03 to  
present

## Appointed Governor by General Meade.

Rufus Brown Bullock	New York	March 28, 1834- April 27, 1907	July 4, 1868- 1871	Republican
Benjamin Conley, President of Senate	New Jersey	March 1, 1815 Jan. 10, 1886	Oct. 30, 1871- 1872	Republican
James Milton Smith	Georgia	Oct. 24, 1823- Nov. 25, 1890	Jan. 12, 1872- 1877	Democrat
Alfred Holt Colquitt	Georgia	April 20, 1824- March 26, 1894	Jan. 12, 1877- 1882	Democrat
Alexander Hamilton Stephens	Georgia	Feb. 11, 1812- March 4, 1883	Nov. 4, 1882- 1883	Democrat-Whig
James Stoddard Boynnton President of Senate	Georgia	May 7, 1833- Dec. 22, 1902	March 5, 1883-	Democrat
Henry Dickerson McDaniel	Georgia	Sept. 4, 1836- July 25, 1926	May 10, 1883- 1886	Democrat
John Brown Gordon	Georgia	Feb. 6, 1832- Jan. 9, 1904	Nov. 9, 1886- 1890	Democrat
William Jonathan Northen	Georgia	July 9, 1835- March 25, 1913	Nov. 8, 1890- 1894	Democrat
William Yates Atkinson	Georgia	Nov. 11, 1845 Aug. 8, 1899	Oct. 27, 1894- 1898	Democrat
Allen Daniel Candler	Georgia	Nov. 4, 1834- Oct. 26, 1910	Oct. 29, 1898- 1902	Democrat
Joseph Meriwether Terrell	Georgia	June 6, 1861- Nov. 17, 1912	Oct. 25, 1902- 1907	Democrat
Hoke Smith	North Carolina	Sept. 2, 1855- Nov. 27, 1931	June 29, 1907- 1909	Democrat
Joseph Mackey Brown	Georgia	Dec. 28, 1851- March 3, 1932	June 26, 1909- 1911	Democrat
Hoke Smith	North Carolina	Sept. 2, 1855- Nov. 27, 1931	**July 1, 1911 Nov. 1911	Democrat

Resigned to serve in the U. S. Senate.

John Marshall Slaton	Georgia	Dec. 25, 1866- Jan. 11, 1955	Nov. 16, 1911- 1912	Democrat
Joseph Mackey Brown	Georgia	Dec. 28, 1851- March 3, 1932	Jan. 25, 1912- 1913	Democrat
John Marshall Slaton	Georgia	Dec. 25, 1866 Jan. 11, 1955	** June 28, 1913- 1915	Democrat
*Nathaniel Edwin Harris	Tennessee	Jan. 21, 1846- Sept. 21, 1929	June 26, 1915- 1917	Democrat
Hugh Manson Dorsey	Georgia	July 10, 1871- June 11, 1948	June 30, 1917- 1921	Democrat
Thomas William Hardwick	Georgia	Dec. 9, 1872- Jan. 31, 1944	June 25, 1921- 1923	Democrat
♣ Clifford Walker	Georgia	July 4, 1877- Nov. 9, 1954	June 30, 1923- 1927	Democrat
Lamartine Griffin Hardman, M.D.	Georgia	April 14, 1856- Feb. 18, 1937	June 25, 1927- 1931	Democrat
Richard Brevard Russell, Jr.	Georgia	Nov. 2, 1897- Jan. 21, 1971	June 27, 1931- 1933	Democrat
Eugene Talmadge	Georgia	Sept. 23, 1884- Dec. 21, 1946	Jan. 10, 1933- 1937	Democrat
Eurith Dickinson Rivers	Arkansas	Dec. 1, 1895- June 11, 1967	Jan. 12, 1937- 1941	Democrat
Eugene Talmadge	Sept. 23, 1884-	**Jan. 14, 1941- Dec. 21, 1946	1943	Democrat
Ellis Gibbs Arnall	Georgia	March 20, 1907- Dec. 13, 1992	Jan. 12, 1943- 1947	Democrat
Herman Eugene Talmadge	Georgia	Aug. 9, 1913-March 21, 2002	Jan. 14, 1947- March 18, 1947; Nov. 17, 1948-Jan. 9, 1951 Jan. 9, 1951-Jan. 11, 1955	Democrat

Melvin E. Thompson, Lt. Governor	Georgia	May 1, 1903- Oct. 30, 1980	****Jan. 20, 1947- March 18, 1947 Jan. 9, 1951-Jan. 11, 1955	Democrat
S. Marvin Griffin	Georgia	Sept. 4, 1907- June 13, 1982	Jan. 11, 1955- 1959	Democrat
Samuel Ernest Vandiver, Jr.	Georgia	July 3, 1918-living	Jan. 13, 1959- 1963	Democrat
Carl Edward Sanders	Georgia	July 15, 1925-living	Jan. 15, 1963- 1967	Democrat
Lester Garfield Maddox*****	Georgia	Sept. 30, 1915-June 24, 2003	Jan. 11, 1967- 1971	Democrat
James Earl Carter	Georgia	Oct. 1, 1924-living	Jan. 12, 1971- 1975	Democrat
George D. Busbee	Georgia	Aug. 7, 1927-July 16, 2004	Jan. 14, 1975- 1983	Democrat
Joe Frank Harris	Georgia	Feb. 16, 1936-living	Jan. 11, 1983- Jan. 13, 1991	Democrat
Zell Bryan Miller	Georgia	Feb 24, 1932-living	Jan. 1991-1998	Democrat
Roy Barnes	Georgia	March 11, 1948-living	Jan. 1999-2002	Democrat
Sonny Perdue	Georgia	December 20, 1946- living	2003-present	Republican

The term of office of the Governor is defined in each of the ten State Constitutions as follows:

- 1777 (Article XXIII): one year term; could not succeed himself
- 1789 (Article 11): two year term
- 1798 (Article 11): two year term
- 1861 (Article 111): two year term
- 1865 (Article 111): two year term; could succeed one's self for one additional two year term
- 1868 (Article IV): four year term
- 1877 (Article V): two year term; could succeed one's self for one additional two year term
- 1941 Constitutional Amendment: four year term; could not succeed one's self
- 1945 (Article V): four year term; could not succeed one's self
- 1976 (Article V): four year term; could succeed one's self for one additional four year term
- 1983 (Article V): four year term; could succeed one's self for one additional four year term

\*Because of conflicting statements in various sources, there are many uncertainties and ambiguities concerning party labels and it is difficult to verify true political party affiliations.

\*\*Served more than one term, but not in succession.

\*\*\*Eugene Talmadge was elected governor but died on December 21, 1946, before taking office. The Legislature elected his son, Herman E. Talmadge, to serve his unexpired term. He served 67 days but vacated office when the State Supreme Court ruled that the Constitutional provision under which he was elected was not applicable in that instance and Ellis Arnall's term continued until the next election. When Melvin E. Thompson was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor, Arnall resigned and Thompson served as Acting Governor until the next General Election. Herman Talmadge defeated M. E. Thompson in the September 1948 Primary Election and was elected in the General Election, November 2, 1948, to complete the unexpired term of his father.

\*\*\*\*State Supreme Court Ruling.

\*\*\*\*\*Elected by the General Assembly (see House Journal 1967 Jan. 10, page 58).

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Benjamin Conley, President of Senate - 1871-1872 (footnote 10)

James M. Smith - 1872-1877

Alfred H. Colquitt - 1877-1882

Alexander H. Stephens - 1882-1883

James S. Boynton, President of Senate - 1883

Henry D. McDaniel - 1883-1886

John B. Gordon - 1886-1890

William J. Northen - 1890-1894

William Y. Atkinson - 1894-1898

Allen D. Candler - 1898-1902

Joseph M. Terrell - 1902-1907

Hoke Smith - 1907-1909

Joseph M. Brown - 1909-1911

Hoke Smith - 1911 (footnote 11)

John M. Slaton, President of Senate - 1911-1912

Joseph M. Brown - 1912-1913

John M. Slaton - 1913-1915

Nathaniel E. Harris - 1915-1917

Hugh M. Dorsey - 1917-1921

Thomas W. Hardwick - 1921-1923

Clifford M. Walker - 1923-1927

Lamartine G. Hardman - 1927-1931

Richard B. Russell, Jr. - 1931-1933

Eugene Talmadge - 1933-1937

Eurith D. Rivers - 1937-1941

Eugene Talmadge - 1941-1943

Ellis G. Arnall - 1943-1947

Herman E. Talmadge - 1947 (footnote 12)

Melvin E. Thompson - 1947-1948 (footnote 12)

Herman E. Talmadge - 1948-1955

S. Marvin Griffin - 1955-1959

S. Ernest Vandiver, Jr. - 1959-1963

Carl E. Sanders - 1963-1967

Lester G. Maddox - 1967-1971

James E. Carter - 1971-1975

George Busbee - 1975-1983

Joe Frank Harris - 1983-1991

Zell Miller - 1991-1999

Roy E. Barnes - 1999 -2003

Sonny Perdue - 2003 -

\* As president of the Senate, became acting governor upon a vacancy in that office.

### Footnotes

1. The charter of the Georgia prohibited trustees from holding any formal office in the colony. Though he held no civilian title, **James Oglethorpe** represented the trustees during his stay in Georgia and served as de facto chief executive.

2. When the revolutionaries took control in 1776, **Wright** fled from Georgia. he returned in 1779 and continued as royal governor of the British-held part of Georgia until 1782.

3. The patriots were divided into two factions. One elected **Wereat** and the other elected **Walton**. They came together on January 4, 1780, and elected **Richard Howley**.

4. **Howley** was elected both governor and representative to the Continental Congress. He chose to go to Congress in February.
5. The office of governor was briefly held by **George Wells**, President of the Executive Council, who was killed in a duel with James Jackson. For two days, he was replaced by **Humphrey Wells** before **Stephen Heard** took office.
6. When **Stephen Heard** moved to North Carolina, he was briefly replaced by **Myrick Davies**, who was killed. **Nathan Brownson** was then chosen by the General Assembly.
7. President Andrew Johnson appointed **Johnson**.
8. When **Jenkins** refused to pay for the 1867 constitutional convention, he was removed from office by General Meade, the U.S. general in charge of Georgia.
9. General Meade named **Ruger** to replaced Jenkins as governor.
10. Rather than face impeachment, **Bullock** resigned. **Conley** held office until a special election was held.
11. When **Smith** resigned to serve in the U.S. Senate, Slaton served out his term.
12. **Eugene Talmadge** won the election but died on December 21, 1946, before taking office. The legislature elected his son, **Herman Talmadge**, to serve the remainder of the term. Talmadge served from January to March 1947, when the Georgia Supreme Court ruled his election unconstitutional. Lieutenant Governor **Melvin Thompson** then served as acting governor until a special election could be held. That election, held in September 1948, was won by **Herman Talmadge**, who took office in November 1948 to serve the two remaining years of his father's term.

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<b>October 25, 1902 to June 29, 1907:</b>	<b>Joseph M. Terrell</b>
<b>June 29, 1907 to June 26, 1909:</b>	<b>Hoke Smith</b>
<b>June 26, 1909 to July 1, 1911:</b>	<b>Joseph M. Brown</b>
<b>July 1, 1911 to November 16, 1911:</b>	<b>Hoke Smith</b>
<b>November 16, 1911 to January 25, 1912:</b>	<b>John M. Slaton</b>
<b>January 25, 1912 to June 28, 1913:</b>	<b>Joseph M. Brown</b>
<b>June 28, 1913 to June 26, 1915:</b>	<b>John M. Slaton</b>
<b>June 26, 1915 to June 30, 1917:</b>	<b>Nathaniel E. Harris</b>
<b>June 30, 1917 to June 25, 1921:</b>	<b>Hugh M. Dorsey</b>
<b>June 25, 1921 to June 30, 1923:</b>	<b>Thomas W. Hardwick</b>
<b>June 30, 1923 to June 25, 1927:</b>	<b>Clifford M. Walker</b>
<b>June 25, 1927 to June 27, 1931:</b>	<b>Lamartine G. Hardman</b>
<b>June 27, 1931 to January 10, 1933:</b>	<b>Richard B. Russell</b>
<b>January 10, 1933 to January 12, 1937:</b>	<b>Eugene Talmadge</b>
<b>January 12, 1937 to January 14, 1941:</b>	<b>Eurith D. Rivers</b>
<b>January 14, 1941 to January 12, 1943:</b>	<b>Eugene Talmadge</b>
<b>January 12, 1943 to January 14, 1947:</b>	<b>Ellis G. Arnall</b>
<b>(Died prior to inauguration)</b>	<b>Eugene Talmadge</b>
<b>January 14, 1947 To March 18, 1947:</b>	<b>Herman E. Talmadge</b>
<b>March 18, 1947 to November 17, 1948:</b>	<b>Melvin E. Thompson</b>
<b>November 17, 1948 to January 11, 1955:</b>	<b>Herman E. Talmadge</b>
<b>January 11, 1955 to January 13, 1959:</b>	<b>S. Marvin Griffin</b>

<b>January 13, 1959 to January 15, 1963:</b>	<b>s. Ernest Vandiver, Jr.</b>
<b>January 15, 1963 to January 10, 1967:</b>	<b>Carl Edward Sanders</b>
<b>January 10, 1967 to January 12, 1971:</b>	<b>Lester G. Maddox</b>
<b>January 12, 1971 to January 14, 1975:</b>	<b>Jimmy Carter</b>
<b>January 14, 1975 to January 11, 1983:</b>	<b>George Busbee</b>
<b>January 11, 1983 to January 14, 1991:</b>	<b>Joe Frank Harris</b>
<b>January 14, 1991 to 1999:</b>	<b>Zell Miller</b>
<b>1999 to 2003:</b>	<b>Roy Barnes</b>
<b>2003 --</b>	<b>Sonny Perdue</b>

## State Song

### *Georgia on My Mind*

**Written by: Stuart Gorrell**

**Composed by: Hoagy Carmichael**

**Georgia, Georgia, the whole day through  
Just an old sweet song keeps Georgia on my mind.  
Georgia, Georgia, a song of you  
Comes as sweet and clear as moonlight through the pines.**

**Other arms reach out to me  
Other eyes smile tenderly  
Still in peaceful dreams I see  
The road leads back to you.**

**Georgia, Georgia, no peace I find**

**Jimmy Carter (b. 1924)**

Jimmy Carter, the only Georgian elected president of the United States, held the office for one term, 1977-81. His previous public service included a stint in the U.S. Navy, two senate terms in the Georgia General Assembly, and one term as governor of Georgia (1971-75). After being defeated in the presidential election of 1980, he founded the Carter Center, a nonpartisan public policy center in Atlanta.

During his years of public service at the local, state, and federal levels, Carter's policies contained a unique blend of liberal social values and fiscal conservatism. He emphasized comprehensive reform and stressed efficiency and economy, advanced planning, and rational organization. He also championed equal rights for all Americans, especially women and minorities, and basic human rights for all people. In 2002 Carter won the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize for his humanitarian efforts.

**Early Years and Education**

Jimmy Carter's journey to the nation's highest office began in the small Sumter County town of Plains. Born on October 1, 1924, James Earl Carter Jr. later adopted the more informal "Jimmy" as his official designation. His father, a farmer and small-town merchant, was one of the area's leading citizens. Although a supporter of the Democratic Party by southern tradition, James Earl Carter Sr. rejected most of the liberal New Deal tenets endorsed by the national party. His political conservatism had its counterpart in social arrangements. Among other local customs, he never questioned the prevailing southern racial doctrine that stamped his African American neighbors as inferior. Conversely, the future president's mother, Lillian Gordy Carter, instilled in her son a decidedly more enlightened view of race. A registered nurse by training and voracious reader by habit, she surprised her family when at age sixty-eight she volunteered for the Peace Corps and served in India.

After attending public school in Plains, Carter matriculated at Georgia Southwestern College in Americus and the Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta before receiving a coveted appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. He graduated with a baccalaureate degree and a naval commission in 1946 and eventually became senior officer of the pre-commissioning crew of the *Seawolf*, the second nuclear submarine. His superior officer in the program was Admiral Hyman Rickover, the architect of the U.S. nuclear submarine program. The renowned naval officer's relentless quest of excellence made a lasting impression on the young Carter, who later claimed the austere Rickover as a mentor and role model.

**Family, Business, and Community**

Carter married [Rosalynn Smith](#), also from Plains, shortly after leaving the Naval Academy. They had three sons, John William, James Earl III, and Donnel Jeffrey, and a daughter, Amy Lynn. After the death of Carter Sr. in 1953, the younger Carter resigned his naval commission, foregoing a promising military career, and returned to Plains. He spent the next several years reviving the family-owned peanut warehouse business, farming, and generally assuming the patriarchal and paternalistic responsibilities previously exercised by his father.

The family businesses thrived under Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter's adroit management. Consequently, with more time to devote to community affairs, Carter took an active interest in a variety of local concerns. He served on Sumter County's library and school boards and on its hospital authority. He held leadership roles in regional and state planning associations and eventually became president of

the Georgia Planning Association. He also served as state president of the Certified Seed Organization and as district governor of Lions International. In a few short years Carter had comfortably assumed his father's community leadership position.

### **State Politics**

Politics increasingly attracted Carter's attention. His father had represented Sumter County in the state legislature at the time of his death, and now, with family business affairs in order, Carter prepared to make his own entry into state politics. He overcame the unlawful machinations of a political boss in Quitman County to win election to the state senate from the Fourteenth District in 1962. Carter devoted much time and attention to educational affairs during his two senate terms. While serving on the Sumter County School Board, he vigorously promoted efficiency and educational opportunity through school reorganization and consolidation. But fearing such reforms would be the first step in school integration, a predominantly white county electorate voted them down in a referendum election. Later, as chair of the Senate Education Committee, Carter continued to advocate such policies on a statewide level.

After briefly flirting with a run for the U.S. Congress in 1966, Carter instead joined the race for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. For a little-known state senator, he ran a surprisingly strong race but missed the runoff, finishing third to former governor Ellis Arnall and flamboyant restaurateur Lester Maddox. Although deeply disappointed by the election results, Carter soon began laying plans for a second gubernatorial campaign in 1970. In the first race Carter had positioned himself as a moderate progressive alternative to the more liberal Arnall and the staunchly conservative-segregationist Maddox. During his second campaign Carter subtly appealed to class antagonisms, running as the representative of the ordinary people. It was a successful campaign strategy wherein Carter projected himself as a traditional southern conservative. He associated his chief opponent, former governor Carl Sanders, with Atlanta's social and economic elite and chastised him for failing, during his governorship, to invite Alabama's outspoken segregationist governor, George C. Wallace, to address the Georgia General Assembly.

### **Governor of Georgia**

After easily defeating his Republican opponent, Carter surprised most of his Georgia supporters and attracted national attention during a short, twelve-minute inaugural address when he proclaimed that the time for segregation had ended. "No poor, rural, weak, or black person," he declared, "should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job, or simple justice." He soon revealed himself as a moderate business progressive with an extensive reform agenda designed to make state government operate more efficiently and to be more responsive to the needs of its citizens.

The reorganization of state government served as the cornerstone of Carter's gubernatorial program. This massive reform effort, which continued through much of his four-year term, produced large-scale structural reform. Sixty-five budgeted and two hundred unbudgeted agencies, boards, bureaus, and commissions were consolidated into twenty line agencies. The objective was to group similar functions into a single jurisdictional body, thus saving money by avoiding duplication while improving the delivery of services. The most controversial aspect of the reorganization plan involved the creation of three super agencies—the departments of administrative services, natural resources, and human resources—that absorbed the functions and responsibilities of sixty-two existing state agencies.

An effort to improve management efficiency and reduce the costs of services accompanied the larger, more dramatic endeavor to restructure the administrative organization of state government. One of his more controversial proposals concerned budget reform. Under Carter's "zero-based budgeting" plan, state departments and agencies, rather than submitting an aggregate budget figure, supposedly

started from scratch each year, evaluating and justifying every dollar they requested.

In addition to reorganization, Carter continued his earlier efforts to upgrade the state's notoriously weak educational system. The "Adequate Program for Education in Georgia," the governor's educational reform package, provided funds to support vocational education, reduce class size, and equalize funding among districts. At the same time, Carter increased the state's commitment to preschool education and launched a campaign that eventually led to the adoption of a statewide kindergarten program.

Substantial reform in the operation of the state's criminal justice system also occurred during Carter's governorship. These revisions included significant movement toward the creation of a unified court system, the systematic use of a merit system in the selection of judges, a constitutional method of regulating judicial conduct, and much needed penal reform.

Carter also initiated significant new mental health programs and took a variety of actions, both substantive and symbolic, to promote civil rights and equal opportunity for women and minorities. The governor reflected his commitment to fairness and justice most obviously in his appointment policy. He appointed more women and minorities to his own staff, to major state policy boards and agencies, and to the judiciary than all of his predecessors combined.

### **President of the United States**

Still a relatively young man of fifty at the end of his term and ineligible to run for reelection under the state constitution (later changed), Carter had begun to explore possibilities for higher office well before leaving the gubernatorial office. During the summer of 1974 he agreed to direct the Democratic National Committee's nationwide midterm campaign to elect Democratic governors, senators, and congressmen. The position allowed him to meet state party officials, political consultants, constituency leaders, and other party functionaries. This exposure proved invaluable when Carter officially declared his candidacy for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination. Meanwhile, the slow, agonizing unraveling of the Watergate scandal that eventually drove President Richard Nixon from office greatly enhanced the Democratic Party's electoral prospects in the upcoming general elections.

Carter prevailed during the presidential primaries and then narrowly defeated Nixon's successor, incumbent Republican president Gerald R. Ford, in the general election. In office Carter emphasized high moral standards, ethical behavior, and democratic principles. He often projected himself in populist terms, dressed casually, and sharply reduced the level of pomp and ceremony that had come to be associated with the modern American presidency.

### **Stagflation**

An unpretentious, egalitarian demeanor, however, did little to offset the severity of the national and international problems that Carter inherited. In 1973 the Arab oil producing nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) had sharply reduced oil production, driving up prices and creating selective gasoline shortages. In addition to higher fuel costs, escalating health and food prices spurred a tenacious inflationary surge. The combination of rising prices, persistent unemployment, and a stagnant economy had by 1977, when Carter took office, been dubbed "stagflation." The Carter administration sought to slow inflation by raising interest rates and restraining federal spending.

Along with other measures, the program of federal fiscal austerity that Carter followed eventually brought inflation under control but at considerable political cost. Wage workers, a core Democratic Party constituency, fared poorly under Carter's economic prescriptions. In the battle to control inflation, administration policies encouraged reduced employment, and for those employed, it advocated pay restraints that had the effect of decreasing real wages. Disillusioned, many traditional

Democratic supporters either deserted the party or abandoned politics altogether.

### **Domestic Record**

Despite rocky relations with Congress, Carter created two new cabinet-level departments (Energy and Education); developed a national energy policy, and deregulated the trucking and airline industries. Particularly sensitive to conservationist and environmental concerns, he successfully pushed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act through Congress, more than doubling the acreage in the national park and wildlife refuge system. Continuing the practice he had followed in the Georgia governor's mansion, Carter also appointed a record number of women and minorities to federal government offices.

### **International Affairs**

In addition to continuing domestic problems, international crises, over which Carter had little control, further undermined his leadership. Two events that occurred late in Carter's term proved particularly ill-starred: the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and the seizure of the American embassy in Tehran, Iran, following the expulsion of the Shah by the followers of the Ayatollah Khomeini, a fundamentalist Muslim cleric. Ultimately, Carter managed these two crises judiciously, but the incidents embarrassed the nation, and Carter's measured response to them won him little public applause. Nonetheless, Carter survived Senator Edward "Ted" Kennedy's forceful challenge in the 1980 Democratic presidential primaries, but he decisively lost his bid for reelection to Republican nominee Ronald Reagan.

Although at the time he departed office his presidency was widely perceived as a failure, Jimmy Carter left behind a solid record of accomplishment in both domestic and international affairs. He firmly established human rights as an essential component of foreign policy both at home and abroad, opened diplomatic relations with China, and helped to negotiate the Panama Canal Treaties, the Camp David Accords between Israel and Egypt, and SALT II (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) with the Soviet Union.

### **The Carter Center**

Shortly after returning to Georgia following his reelection defeat, the former president founded the Carter Center in Atlanta and became the University Distinguished Professor at Emory University. Under Carter's direction, center associates have not only examined and analyzed national and international policy issues but also actively engaged in efforts to promote democratic practices, advance human rights, and resolve conflicts. The Carter Center has monitored more than forty elections in twenty-one countries, including Venezuela, Mozambique, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic. It worked to resolve conflicts in Haiti, Bosnia, Ethiopia, North Korea, Sudan, and other countries. The first president to visit Cuba since Calvin Coolidge in 1928, Carter spent time during his May 2002 visit with Fidel Castro and political dissidents alike. Carter visited the AIDS sanitarium, a school for disabled children, and threw a pitch for an all-star baseball game in Havana. With Castro and National Assembly President Ricardo Alarcon in attendance, he delivered a live and uncensored speech on Cuban TV and radio, in Spanish, in which he opened up communication on free trade and democracy.

Through its Global 2000 programs, the center has sought to eradicate or control such debilitating diseases as river blindness, guinea worm, and trachoma, which have devastated the populations of many poorer countries. It also has striven to relieve hunger through agricultural reform, especially in drought-plagued sub-Saharan Africa. Along with his support of Carter Center projects, Carter continues to champion Habitat for Humanity, a Georgia-based philanthropy that helps needy people build new homes or renovate older ones.

In 2002 Carter was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his continuing effort to find peaceful solutions to international conflicts and to advance democracy and human rights. Carter is the third American president to win the Nobel Peace Prize. Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson both received the prize while still in office. Carter shares with Martin Luther King Jr. the distinction of being the only native Georgians to be so honored.

#### **Author**

At the time of his presidential candidacy, Carter published *Why Not the Best?* (1975), a biographical introduction of his political stance and viability as a candidate. In his post-presidential career, Carter has written sixteen books, including one he cowrote with his wife, Rosalynn, and a children's book (illustrated by daughter Amy). Covering a variety of topics, from post-presidency activity to aging/retirement, faith, human rights, and even poetry, Carter has made a point in his publications to be not only informative but also forthright about his life and political philosophy.

In a book coauthored with his wife, *Everything to Gain: Making the Most of the Rest of Your Life* (1987), Carter discuss their experiences with Habitat for Humanity and the Carter Center. In *Turning Point: A Candidate, a State, and a Nation Come of Age* (1992), Carter relates the story of his first campaign for public office, a seat in the Georgia state senate in 1962. He recounts the difficulties of resisting segregationist groups in the wake of the Supreme Court ruling that stated, "one man, one vote." He has also written two memoirs, *Christmas in Plains: Memories* (2001) and *An Hour Before Daylight: Memories of a Rural Boyhood* (2001); an autobiography focusing on his spiritual faith in service to the country in *Living Faith* (1996); and semi-autobiographical poetry in *Always a Reckoning, and Other Poems* (1995). In *A Government As Good As Its People* (1977) his focus turns to government policy on crime, poverty, nuclear energy, foreign policy, and human rights, and with *The Blood of Abraham: Insights into the Middle East* (1993) he breaks down the history of that region. With the 2003 publication of his work of historical fiction about the Revolutionary War in the South, *The Hornet's Nest*, Carter became the first U.S. president to write a novel.

#### **Suggested Reading**

Peter G. Bourne, *Jimmy Carter: A Comprehensive Biography from Plains to Post-Presidency* (New York: Scribner, 1997).

Douglas Brinkley, *The Unfinished Presidency: Jimmy Carter's Journey Beyond the White House* (New York: Viking, 1998).

Gary M. Fink, *Prelude to the Presidency: The Political Character and Legislative Leadership Style of Governor Jimmy Carter* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980).

Erwin C. Hargrove, *Jimmy Carter as President: Leadership and the Politics of the Public Good* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

Burton Ira Kaufman, *The Presidency of James Earl Carter, Jr.* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993).

Kenneth E. Morris, *Jimmy Carter, American Moralist* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996).

David Skidmore, *Reversing Course: Carter's Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics, and the Failure of Reform* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996).

Gary M. Fink, Georgia State University

campaign strategy wherein Carter projected himself as a traditional southern conservative. He associated his chief opponent, former governor Carl Sanders, with Atlanta's social and economic elite and chastised him for failing, during his governorship, to invite Alabama's outspoken segregationist governor, George C. Wallace, to address the Georgia General Assembly.

### **Governor of Georgia**

After easily defeating his Republican opponent, Carter surprised most of his Georgia supporters and attracted national attention during a short, twelve-minute inaugural address when he proclaimed that the time for segregation had ended. "No poor, rural, weak, or black person," he declared, "should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job, or simple justice." He soon revealed himself as a moderate business progressive with an extensive reform agenda designed to make state government operate more efficiently and to be more responsive to the needs of its citizens.

The reorganization of state government served as the cornerstone of Carter's gubernatorial program. This massive reform effort, which continued through much of his four-year term, produced large-scale structural reform. Sixty-five budgeted and two hundred unbudgeted agencies, boards, bureaus, and commissions were consolidated into twenty line agencies. The objective was to group similar functions into a single jurisdictional body, thus saving money by avoiding duplication while improving the delivery of services. The most controversial aspect of the reorganization plan involved the creation of three super agencies—the departments of administrative services, natural resources, and human resources—that absorbed the functions and responsibilities of sixty-two existing state agencies.



Jimmy Carter

An effort to improve management efficiency and reduce the costs of services accompanied the larger, more dramatic endeavor to restructure the administrative organization of state government. One of his more controversial proposals concerned budget reform. Under Carter's "zero-based budgeting" plan, state departments and agencies, rather than submitting an aggregate budget figure, supposedly started from scratch each year, evaluating and justifying every dollar they requested.

In addition to reorganization, Carter continued his earlier efforts to upgrade the state's notoriously weak educational system. The "Adequate Program for Education in Georgia," the governor's educational reform package, provided funds to support vocational education, reduce class size, and equalize funding among districts. At the same time, Carter increased the state's commitment to preschool education and launched a campaign that eventually led to the adoption of a statewide kindergarten program.

Substantial reform in the operation of the state's criminal justice system also occurred during Carter's governorship. These revisions included significant movement toward the creation of a unified court system, the systematic use of a merit system in the selection of judges, a constitutional method of regulating judicial conduct, and much needed penal reform.

Carter also initiated significant new mental health programs and took a variety of

actions, both substantive and symbolic, to promote civil rights and equal opportunity for women and minorities. The governor reflected his commitment to fairness and justice most obviously in his appointment policy. He appointed more women and minorities to his own staff, to major state policy boards and agencies, and to the judiciary than all of his predecessors combined.

### **President of the United States**

Still a relatively young man of fifty at the end of his term and ineligible to run for reelection under the state constitution (later changed), Carter had begun to explore



Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter

possibilities for higher office well before leaving the gubernatorial office. During the summer of 1974 he agreed to direct the Democratic National Committee's nationwide midterm campaign to elect Democratic governors, senators, and congressmen. The position allowed him to meet state party officials, political consultants, constituency leaders, and other party functionaries. This exposure proved invaluable when Carter officially declared his candidacy for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination. Meanwhile, the slow, agonizing unraveling of the Watergate scandal that eventually drove President Richard Nixon from office greatly enhanced the

Democratic Party's electoral prospects in the upcoming general elections.

Carter prevailed during the presidential primaries and then narrowly defeated Nixon's successor, incumbent Republican president Gerald R. Ford, in the general election. In office Carter emphasized high moral standards, ethical behavior, and democratic principles. He often projected himself in populist terms, dressed casually, and sharply reduced the level of pomp and ceremony that had come to be associated with the modern American presidency.

### **Stagflation**

An unpretentious, egalitarian demeanor, however, did little to offset the severity of the national and international problems that Carter inherited. In 1973 the Arab oil producing nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) had sharply reduced oil production, driving up prices and creating selective gasoline shortages. In addition to higher fuel costs, escalating health and food prices spurred a tenacious inflationary surge. The combination of rising prices, persistent unemployment, and a stagnant economy had by 1977, when Carter took office, been dubbed "stagflation." The Carter administration sought to slow inflation by raising interest rates and restraining federal spending.

Along with other measures, the program of federal fiscal austerity that Carter followed eventually brought inflation under control but at considerable political cost. Wage workers, a core Democratic Party constituency, fared poorly under Carter's economic prescriptions. In the battle to control inflation, administration policies encouraged reduced employment, and for those employed, it advocated pay restraints that had the effect of decreasing real wages. Disillusioned, many traditional Democratic supporters either deserted the party or abandoned politics altogether.

### **Domestic Record**

Despite rocky relations with Congress, Carter created two new cabinet-level

# THE NEW GEORGIA ENCYCLOPEDIA

## Roy Barnes (b. 1948)

Roy Barnes was sworn in as the eightieth governor of Georgia on January 11, 1999. A Democratic state legislator for nearly twenty-five years, Barnes had won the gubernatorial election with 53 percent of the statewide vote.

Roy E. Barnes was born on March 11, 1948, in Mableton, Cobb County. He was exposed to politics as a child as he listened to various conversations and commentaries at his family's general store. In 1966 Barnes graduated from South Cobb High School and enrolled at the University of Georgia, where he majored in history and was a member of the debate team. He received his undergraduate degree in 1969. In 1970 he married Marie Dobbs, with whom he has three children.

Barnes graduated cum laude from the University of Georgia School of Law in 1972. While attending law school, Barnes received many accolades and honors. He was elected president of the student bar association and was named outstanding senior at the law school. He was also named in *Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities*. Admitted to the bar shortly after graduation, he returned to Cobb County to work in the district attorney's office.

In 1974 Barnes won a state senate seat, and he served eight terms. After his second term he was named chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee and also served as floor leader for Governor Joe Frank Harris.

After eight terms in the state senate and an unsuccessful run for governor in 1990 against Zell Miller, Barnes was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives. During his tenure he became vice chair of the Judiciary Committee and was a member of the Rules Committee and the Banks and Banking Committee.

In 1998 Barnes made his second run for governor. He centered his campaign message on two vital themes: state education reform and health care reform. His message resonated with voters, and though he was outspent in the campaign by his Republican opponent, Guy Millner, Barnes was elected. Pushing education reform, Barnes focused on a smaller teacher-pupil ratio and more accountability by raising academic standards. He also supported legislation that guaranteed patients the right to choose their physicians and helped pass legislation that allowed insurance companies to be held liable for denying or delaying health care for individuals. Barnes successfully pushed for tax cuts on family farms and established a sales tax holiday for Georgia.

His tenure as governor was also marked by controversy over education reform and the redesign of the state flag, which, since 1956, had featured the Confederate battle emblem. Some of the state's citizens became angry because the decision to change the flag design was not placed on a state referendum. Barnes used a more centralized approach to education and eliminated tenure for newly hired teachers. He also pushed through a controversial initiative to end social promotion by requiring students to pass a test before advancing to the next grade. Many educators strongly disagreed with Barnes's criticisms of teaching methods and the education system as a whole.

In 2002 Barnes was defeated in his reelection bid by Sonny Perdue, the state's first Republican governor since Reconstruction. After leaving office Barnes joined a legal aid group in Atlanta to lend his talents to indigent defense.

**Joe Frank Harris (b. 1936)**

Joe Frank Harris, Democrat, served as governor of Georgia from 1983 to 1991. Much as his predecessor, George Busbee, had done, Harris brought a conservative, businesslike approach to the governor's office. Harris was a low-key campaigner and governor who served the state during an improving economy in the 1980s. By the end of his term in 1991 Harris had helped secure education reform, the Georgia Dome, the 1996 Olympics, and a more diversified state economy.

**Early Political Career**

Born on February 16, 1936, Joe Frank Harris is the second son of Frances and Franklin Harris. Harris's family lived near the small town of Atco, near Cartersville in Bartow County. In 1958 Harris graduated from the University of Georgia and returned home to work in his family's concrete business. In 1964 a group of local leaders persuaded him to run for the Georgia House of Representatives. Although initially reluctant to involve himself in politics, Harris agreed to run and won office, ultimately serving nine consecutive terms. As a member of the General Assembly, Harris was a workhorse who made himself a specialist on budgetary issues. By 1974 Harris had become the second-ranking Democrat on the House Appropriations Committee. When the chair of the committee died that year, Speaker Tom Murphy ultimately named Harris the chair. By 1982 Harris had so gained the respect of Murphy that the Speaker backed Harris in his gubernatorial bid.

**Gubernatorial Years**

In 1982 Harris ran for governor in a field of four Democrats headlined by Congressman Bo Ginn, a well-financed and popular candidate. Most pundits viewed Harris as a dark-horse candidate at best. Partly because of Murphy's support, Harris won the Democratic nomination and subsequently the governorship itself. As governor, Harris made his mark by being a conservative who maintained a very low profile, prompting critics to question his strength. Occasionally, Harris would propose legislation only to withdraw it if the General Assembly looked unlikely to pass it. Harris's business experience helped him to lure new businesses to Georgia, however, continuing a trend of gubernatorial involvement in this area that dated back to the 1950s.

Harris's most visible achievement as governor was a sweeping reform of public education. The program, known as Quality Basic Education (QBE), sought to improve funding for Georgia public schools by expanding student testing, introducing new programs for students with disabilities, and increasing teacher salaries. Although the legislature never fully funded the program, state expenditures for public education increased dramatically, and teacher salaries began to rise from dismally low levels. Although QBE was later replaced by other reforms, it represented a major financial commitment to public education that had not been seen in the previous decade.

Another notable achievement of the Harris administration was the funding of a sports arena, the Georgia Dome, which was ultimately the site of Super Bowl XXVII and a venue in the 1996 Olympics. Harris had played an instrumental role in securing Atlanta's bid for the Olympics. The administration also undertook an ambitious program to fund four-lane major highways around the state. The expansion of the state highway system was made possible by an economic and population boom in Georgia during Harris's tenure as governor. Although critics had often charged him with being too passive, Harris had notable successes as governor.

**Post-Gubernatorial Career**

After retiring as governor, Harris returned to private business for a time. He published a book, *Personal Reflections on a Public Life*, in 1998. In 1999 Governor Roy Barnes appointed him to a seven-year term on the University System of Georgia Board of Regents, which oversees the state's public colleges and universities. In 2001 Harris served as the vice chair of the Board of Regents, and in 2002 he was elected to a one-year term as chair of the board.

**Suggested Reading**

James F. Cook, *The Governors of Georgia, 1754-1995*, rev. ed. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1995).

Scott E. Buchanan, Columbus State University

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# Zell Miller

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.

**Zell Bryan Miller** (born February 24, 1932) is an American politician from the U.S. state of Georgia. A conservative Democrat, he served as Governor of Georgia from 1991 to 1999 and was a United States Senator from 2000 to 2005. In the last years of his career, he proved to be a maverick Democrat, backing Republican President George W. Bush over contender John Kerry in the 2004 presidential election and frequently criticizing problems he sees in his own party. After not seeking reelection in 2004 he joined McKenna Long & Aldridge LLP in the firm's national Government Affairs practice.



Zell Miller

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## Early life

Miller was born in Young Harris, Georgia. There he was raised by his single-mother (Miller's father died when Miller was an infant) and continues to live in the home in which he grew up. Miller holds Bachelor's and Master's degrees in history from the University of Georgia.

During the 1950s, he served in the United States Marine Corps as a Sergeant and a Rifle Expert. His time as a Marine had a profound effect on his life, and he later wrote a book, *Corps Values: Everything You Need to Know I Learned in the Marines*, about the values which his experience in the Marines taught him. "In the twelve weeks of hell and transformation that were Marine Corps boot camp, I learned the values of achieving a successful life that have guided and sustained me on the course which, although sometimes checkered and detoured, I have followed ever since," he would write.

## Family

Zell Miller is married to Shirley Carver Miller. They have two sons, four grandchildren, and four great-grandchildren.

## Political career

Miller was the Mayor of Young Harris from 1959 to 1960, and was elected to two terms as State Senator in Georgia before serving in several positions in state government and in the Georgia Democratic Party.

Miller also taught political science and history as a professor at Young Harris College, the University of Georgia,

and Emory University.



The official portrait of Gov. Zell Miller, D-Georgia, hangs in the Georgia State Capitol

Miller first came to prominence as Chief of Staff for Georgia's segregationist governor Lester Maddox. He was elected lieutenant governor of Georgia in 1974, serving four terms from 1975 to 1991, through the terms of Governors George Busbee and Joe Frank Harris. In 1980, Miller unsuccessfully challenged Herman Talmadge in the Democratic primary for his seat in the U.S. Senate.

## Governor

He was elected Governor of Georgia in 1990, defeating the Republican Johnny Isakson, after defeating civil rights leader and Atlanta mayor Andrew Young in the primary. Miller's biggest election battle came in 1994. In 1992 he became the first Georgia Governor to openly proclaim a desire to remove the Confederate flag-based starred cross from the Flag of Georgia. He sponsored legislation to change the flag at the 1993 session of the Georgia General Assembly, but the legislature, perhaps influenced by polls showing consistent majority support for retaining the flag, did not enact any

changes. Miller then dropped the issue, but in the election that followed, Miller's Republican rival used the flag issue against the Governor, arguing it proved he was out-of-tune with Georgia's values and history. Many have since argued that the '94 election, which Miller narrowly won, was a key turning-point in Miller's career, and gave him a great desire to prove himself as a cultural conservative. In the late 1990s he shifted from being pro-choice to pro-life.

## Senate

Miller's successor as governor of Georgia, Roy Barnes, appointed Miller to the Senate seat following the death of Republican senator Paul Coverdell in July 2000, and Miller won a special election to keep the seat in November 2000. As Coverdell was last elected in 1998, Miller had a four-year term in the Senate before his retirement from politics in January 2005, following the conclusion of the 108th United States Congress.

Although Miller is formally a Democrat, he has been widely viewed as very conservative and opposed to the party, especially since he became a U.S. Senator in 2000. While the Democratic Party's historic control of Georgian politics diminished greatly during his tenure as lieutenant governor and governor, Miller always remained popular and easily won his elections, demonstrating his ability to please members of both major parties in Georgia.

During his term in the Senate, Miller received attention for his controversial and occasionally inflammatory comments, including his calling rap music "crap" on the Senate floor, and his call for the abolition of the 17th Amendment (this would revoke the right of the people to elect U.S. senators and transfer it back to the state legislatures).

During 2001 and 2002, when liberal Republican senators from New England like James Jeffords and Lincoln Chafee threatened to (and in Jeffords' case, did) leave their party over ideological disputes, rumors abounded that Miller would become a Republican in order to return control of the Senate to that party. These rumors were, however, repeatedly denied.

In 2003, Miller announced that he would not seek reelection after completing his term in the Senate. He also announced that he would support President George W. Bush in the 2004 presidential election rather than any of the nine candidates then competing for his own party's nomination, but again denied that he would become a Republican. He did not change this position after fellow Senator John Kerry became the Democratic nominee, and Miller, who had been a keynote speaker at the 1992 Democratic National Convention, was subsequently announced to be the keynote speaker at the 2004 Republican National Convention.

In his speech [1] ([http://news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&cid=694&u=/ap/20040902/ap\\_on\\_el\\_pr/cvn\\_miller\\_text\\_1&printer=1](http://news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&cid=694&u=/ap/20040902/ap_on_el_pr/cvn_miller_text_1&printer=1)), delivered on September 1, 2004, Miller struck what was regarded by many commentators as the fiercest tone of all the major speakers at the convention. In it, he criticized the current state of the Democratic party. He also criticized John Kerry's Senate voting record, claiming that Kerry's votes against defense and weapon systems indicated support for weakening U.S. military strength. In one widely-quoted line, he asked, referring to Kerry, "This is the man who wants to be the Commander in Chief of our U.S. Armed Forces? U.S. forces armed with what? Spitballs?"

2004 was not the first year in which Miller gave the keynote address at a party nominating convention in Madison Square Garden. In 1992, Miller keynoted the Democratic National Convention, supporting then-Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas over then-President George H. W. Bush. In a memorable line contrasting his later endorsements, Miller said, "Not all of us can be born rich, handsome, and lucky, and that's why we have a Democratic Party."

## Critics

Following the speech, Miller appeared in interviews that garnered notice for Miller's combative manner. Miller appeared on MSNBC for an interview with Chris Matthews. Matthews tried to examine the premise of Miller's assertion that Kerry had actually voted against such defense programs by noting that in voting on appropriations bills, senators often vote against a version of a bill without wishing to oppose every item in that bill. Matthews also asked Miller to compare his hyperbolic assertion that a Kerry military would be armed only with spitballs with rhetoric from the other side that Republicans "want to starve little kids, they want to get rid of education, they want to kill the old people" and whether such level of rhetoric was constructive. When Miller expressed irritation at this line of questioning, Matthews pressed Miller with the question "Do you believe now—do you believe, Senator, truthfully, that John Kerry wants to defend the country with spitballs?" Miller at first said that he wished the interview had been face-to-face so that he could "get a little closer up into your face" and asked him to "get out of my face." Finally, objecting to Matthews's style of questioning, Miller said, "I wish we lived in the day where you could challenge a person to a duel."

Given his conservative ideology and increasing political distance from the Democratic Party, many Democratic leaders have publicly claimed that Miller is no longer a real Democrat. He has in fact stopped meeting with the Democratic Party senate caucus and instead sat in on the Republican one.

Miller argues in his book *A National Party No More* that the Democratic Party has lost its majority because they do not stand for the same ideals that they used to in the era of John F. Kennedy. He argues that the Democratic Party, as it now stands, is a far-left-wing party that is out of touch with America of today and that the Republican party now embraces the conservative Democratic ideals that he has held for so long.

Many people have wondered why Miller has not switched parties in light of his strong alignment with the Republican Party and staunch opposition to the Democratic Party. Miller says that he was born a Democrat and considers his party label "like a birthmark." Critics claim that Miller remains a Democrat because of the increased attention he gets when he attacks the Democratic Party as a "fellow Democrat". Democratic National Committee Chairman Terry McAuliffe went so far as to accuse the senator of attacking his own party to sell books.

"If he were just another Republican with a book, he wouldn't sell any. But a Democrat out whacking Democrats sells books," McAuliffe told CNN, urging Miller to switch parties. As a result of Miller's complete abandonment of the Democratic Party, many other prominent Democrats have also stepped up their demands that Miller get out of the party. In reply, Georgia's retiring senior senator says he was "born a Democrat and will die one."

## Remarks on Bush re-election

After Bush was re-elected, Miller said Democrats must change their message:

"Fiscal responsibility is unbelievable in the face of massive new spending promises. A foreign policy based on the strength of 'allies' like France is unacceptable ... A strong national defense policy is just not believable coming from a candidate who built a career as an anti-war veteran, an anti-military candidate and an anti-action senator.... When will national Democrats sober up and admit that that dog won't hunt? Secular socialism, heavy taxes, big spending, weak defense, limitless lawsuits and heavy regulation - that pack of beagles hasn't caught a rabbit in the South or Midwest in years." [2] (<http://www.washtimes.com/national/20041104-121406-2051r.htm>)

## Books

By Zell Miller:

- 1975: *Mountains Within Me*
- 1983: *Great Georgians*
- 1985: *They Heard Georgia Singing*
- 1997: *Corps Values: Everything You Need to Know I Learned In the Marines*
- 1999: *The First Battalion of the 28th Marines on Iwo Jima: A Day-By-Day History from Personal Accounts and Official Reports, With Complete Muster Rolls*, also by Robert E. Allen
- 2003: *A National Party No More: The Conscience of a Conservative Democrat* ISBN 0974537616
- 2003: foreword to *What'll Ya Have: A History of the Varsity* by Dick Parker

About Zell Miller:

- 1998: *"Listen to this Voice" Selected Speeches of Governor Zell Miller*
- 1999: *Zell, The Governor Who Gave Georgia HOPE* by Richard Hyatt
- 1999: *Signed, Sealed, and Delivered: The Miller Record*

## External links

- Official website (<http://miller.senate.gov/>)
- Project Vote Smart - Political Profile ([http://www.vote-smart.org/bio.php?can\\_id=CNIP0616](http://www.vote-smart.org/bio.php?can_id=CNIP0616))
- "See Y'All in New York" (<http://www.opinionjournal.com/editorial/feature.html?id=110005426>), *The Wall Street Journal*
- Commentary on *A Majority Party No More* (<http://gadflyer.com/articles/?ArticleID=65>) by Terry McAuliffe's speechwriter
- September 1, 2004: Text and video of speech at Republican National Convention (<http://www.gopconvention.com/rewind/wed.shtml>)
- Miller's introductory speech for John Kerry in 2001 (<http://miller.senate.gov/speeches/030101jkdinner.htm>)
- "Zell Miller: Why the Democratic Senator Loathes Democrats" (<http://slate.msn.com/id/2105700/>), *Slate*
- "Letter from Jimmy Carter to Zell Miller" ([http://www.talkingpointsmemo.com/archives/week\\_2004\\_09\\_05.php#003438](http://www.talkingpointsmemo.com/archives/week_2004_09_05.php#003438))

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**Carl Sanders (b. 1925)**

Carl Sanders is best remembered as Georgia's first New South governor, a Democrat who provided progressive leadership for the state from 1963 to 1967. By implementing an array of reforms during a turbulent period, Sanders greatly enhanced Georgia's national image. In addition to his political achievements, he had successful careers in both business and law.

**Early Years**

Born in Augusta on May 15, 1925, Carl Edward Sanders was the eldest of Roberta Alley and Carl T. Sanders's two sons. He excelled in athletics in high school and attended the University of Georgia on a football scholarship. World War II disrupted his education, and he enlisted in the U.S. Air Force in 1943. At age nineteen Sanders was commissioned to pilot B-17 heavy bombers. After the war he returned to Athens, where he completed his bachelor's degree and earned a law degree. While in law school, he met Betty Bird Foy of Statesboro. They were married in 1947 and have two children, Betty Foy and Carl Edward Jr.

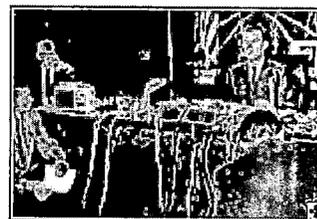
**Political Career**

Settling in his hometown of Augusta, Sanders practiced law and began his political career in 1954, easily winning a seat in the Georgia house. Two years later he advanced to the state senate, where he quickly emerged as a leader. After a stint as Governor Ernest Vandiver's floor leader, he served two years as president pro tempore of the senate.

The ambitious and urbane Sanders defeated the folksy former governor and arch-segregationist Marvin Griffin in the 1962 Democratic primary to become, at age thirty-seven, the nation's youngest governor. Sanders's election marked a turning point in Georgia's political history. With the demise of the county unit system, he became the first modern Georgia governor elected by popular vote and the first urbanite elected since the 1920s.



Carl Sanders



Carl Sanders

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- [Carl Sanders: Concession Speech, 1970](#)
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- [William Russell Pullen Library, Georgia State University](#)
- [Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, UGA: Carl Sanders](#)

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### Agenda and Accomplishments

Ideally suited by training and temperament to direct the affairs of a state in transition—shifting from a traditional agrarian economy to a more complex urban and industrial economy—Sanders was committed to a major reform agenda and had the political skills to carry it out. A strong governor, he selected the Speaker of the House and the committee chairmen, wrote the budget, initiated most legislation, and totally dominated the legislature, which enacted his entire program.

Governor Sanders put education and governmental reform at the top of his agenda. Under his leadership, the state saw a vast increase in



Carl Sanders

the number of public schools built and teachers hired. Minimum standards were implemented at all levels of the school curricula, and the Governor's Honors Program was established. Funding for higher education in the state dramatically increased as well. College and university faculty received substantial raises, and

more funds were appropriated for campus construction projects than the university system had received in more than thirty years.

Sanders pushed equally hard to modernize state government through streamlining its operation and structure and to end the corruption that had tainted several areas of government in previous administrations. He appointed a commission to study ways of making state agencies and departments more efficient and followed through on their recommendations with significant reorganization and reform of the departments of highway, welfare, health, and revenue, as well as the state Board of Education and the prison system.

Equally as important an achievement was Governor Sanders's creation of a more moderate racial climate in the state during the turbulent later years of the civil rights movement. Though he himself was a segregationist, he was realistic enough to recognize the futility in continued resistance to federal legislation and court rulings and to refrain from the inflammatory racist rhetoric of his predecessors. He cooperated with both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in insisting on compliance with the new civil rights laws. From his campaign on, Sanders stressed progress and worked to change Georgia's image as a backward, racist, and rural state.

Another means of achieving that end came with Sanders's efforts in reapportioning legislative and congressional districts to more fairly represent the state's electorate. Spurred by a federal court order, he led a massive effort to reapportion both houses of the General Assembly and the state's ten congressional districts. Along with the banishment of the county unit system in 1962 (of which he had been a beneficiary in his gubernatorial race), this reconfiguration provided further representation to the state's cities, and thus black voters, than had earlier been the case.

The Sanders term saw considerable economic development for Georgia. The governor actively courted foreign trade and investments and brought a billion dollars worth of new industry to the state. He worked closely with Atlanta mayor Ivan Allen to bring professional football and baseball teams to the city, along with a new convention center that helped cement Atlanta's position as the New South's premier metropolis.

### **Business Career**

Leaving office at the crest of his popularity, Sanders seemed poised for national leadership. Although President Lyndon Johnson offered him several federal positions, he rejected all of them and instead established a new law firm in Atlanta. In 1970, when again eligible to serve, he sought a second term as governor. A prohibitive favorite, he waged an ineffective campaign and lost to state senator Jimmy Carter. Embittered by his first political defeat, Sanders never sought public office again. Maintaining a keen interest in politics, however, he worked behind the scenes and raised funds for the Democratic Party and its candidates, including George Busbee and Zell Miller.

Continuing to reside in Atlanta, Sanders directed his talents and energies to the practice of law, numerous business investments, and civic activities. His law firm grew steadily until it became one of Atlanta's largest and most prestigious. Through expansion and mergers, the firm of Troutman Sanders currently employs more than 500 attorneys and has offices in Atlanta, London, Hong Kong, and Virginia. Recently Sanders relinquished day-to-day management of the firm and now serves as chair of the firm and its executive committee.



Carl Sanders

Long associated with the Augusta businessman J. B. Fuqua, Sanders expanded his business investments after leaving the public arena. As he did in both politics and law, Sanders achieved impressive success in business, especially in real estate and banking. He has served on numerous corporate boards and continues to serve on the board of First Union Bank.

### **Suggested Reading**

James F. Cook, *Carl Sanders, Spokesman of the New South* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1993).

Harold P. Henderson and Gary L. Roberts, eds., *Georgia Governors in an Age of Change: From Ellis Arnall to George Busbee* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

James F. Cook, Floyd College

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**George Busbee (1927-2004)**[Printable Version](#)

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George Busbee was the first Georgia governor to serve two consecutive four-year terms (1975-83). He gave the state eight years of effective, low-key leadership and ranks among the most popular and least controversial of modern Georgia governors.

Born in Vienna, Dooly County, on August 7, 1927, Busbee attended Georgia Military College and Abraham Baldwin College before joining the navy. After his discharge, he completed his education at the University of Georgia, where he earned a bachelor's degree in 1949 and a law degree in 1952. There he met Mary Elizabeth Talbot of Ruston, Louisiana; they were married in 1949 and had two sons and two daughters.



George Busbee

Settling in Albany, Busbee practiced law and in 1956 began his political career by winning a seat in the Georgia legislature. Intending to serve only two years, he wound up serving eighteen years in the Georgia House of Representatives and eight years as governor before retiring from politics in 1983.

Busbee shunned publicity while working quietly and methodically in the house. His moderation, sound judgment, and willingness to spend long hours at the job enabled him to advance to positions of leadership. After serving as floor leader for Governor Carl Sanders in 1967, he became majority leader, a position he held for eight years.

Despite his accomplishments in the house, Busbee faced an uphill battle to secure the Democratic nomination for governor in 1974. He had less name recognition than his chief rivals, Lieutenant Governor Lester Maddox, Highway Director Bert Lance, and former U.S. senator David Gambrell. With the slogan campaign, "A workhorse, not a showhorse," Busbee gradually increased his following and forged ahead of Lance to place second to Maddox. He easily defeated Maddox in the runoff, capturing nearly 60 percent of the vote. In the general election he soundly defeated Republican Ronnie Thompson of Macon, 646,777 votes to 289,113 votes.

**Gubernatorial Years**

Busbee's inaugural address stressed the need for cooperation among the state's elected officials.

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George Busbee "The people are tired of personal bickering, petty infighting, and political clatter," he said, in an obvious reference to the stormy Maddox and Jimmy Carter administrations. Lieutenant Governor Zell Miller echoed the call for harmony. A consistent supporter of education throughout his legislative career, Busbee made education his top priority as governor. Economic development, prison reform, constitutional revision, and restructuring the Department of Human Resources were other priorities. Working cooperatively with Miller and the General Assembly, Busbee made noteworthy progress in each of these areas during his eight years, despite a recession, soaring inflation, and an economic slowdown.

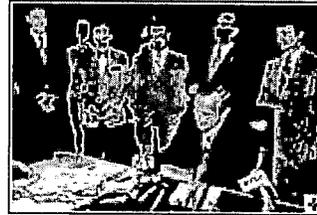
Establishing a statewide kindergarten program was Busbee's chief educational reform. Despite the lukewarm support of teachers' organizations and the opposition of House Speaker Tom Murphy, he secured funding for kindergartens in his initial legislative session. The governor's victory was short-lived, however, as a national recession plunged the state into what Busbee characterized as the state's worst financial crisis in forty years. With an estimated state deficit of \$108 million, he had little choice but to call a special session that eliminated property-tax relief, pay raises for state employees, and funding for kindergartens. Forced into a policy of retrenchment, he sought economies in all areas of state government and reduced the 1976 budget by \$176 million. Later, when the economy improved, he obtained full funding for kindergartens and provided substantial raises for public schoolteachers and college professors.

When Busbee took office, the Georgia Constitution, with 831 amendments, was the longest in the nation. The need for revision had been apparent for many years. Governors Sanders and Maddox had attempted to revise the constitution, but without success. Having participated in both failed efforts, Busbee had gained valuable experience. Determined to produce a new document that was clear, brief, and flexible, he overcame several setbacks and finally won legislative approval of a new constitution in a special session in 1981, which the voters endorsed the next year.

Recognizing that Georgia could no longer depend on agriculture and textiles as its major industries, Busbee sought to attract high technology companies and establish a favorable business climate. His administration improved the infrastructure by rapidly completing the original interstate highway system, investing more than \$100 million in the ports at Savannah and Brunswick, and expanding efforts to provide sufficient water and sewage. It placed new emphasis on agribusiness, tourism, and films. Under Busbee, Georgia became a popular site for film and television productions as 160 feature films, television movies, and specials were produced on location in the state. An administration-sponsored law allowing international banks to operate in Georgia brought sixteen international bank offices to the state by the end of his term. Finally, Busbee's extensive travels

throughout North and Central America, Europe, and the Far East advertised Georgia and encouraged investment in the state. These efforts produced impressive results as the number of international companies in the state increased from 150 in 1975 to 680 in 1982.

With more legislative experience than the eight previous governors combined, Busbee provided solid leadership to a state experiencing rapid population, economic, and urban growth. A fiscal conservative, he avoided major tax increases and worked harmoniously with the state bureaucracy and the General Assembly. Given Busbee's popularity, both the legislature and Georgia voters readily approved of the constitutional amendment that



George Busbee

allowed the governor to serve two consecutive terms. In 1978 he won a second term, easily defeating Republican Rodney Cook of Atlanta. The *Atlanta Constitution* editorialized in 1983 that Busbee was leaving office "with an enviable record of progress and stability." In a 1985 poll, historians of Georgia ranked Busbee as the most fiscally-responsible governor of the state among all those who held the office since World War II.

After retiring from office in 1983, Busbee settled in Duluth in Gwinnett County and became a partner in the prestigious law firm of King & Spalding. In addition to practicing law, he became an active member of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and served on several corporate boards as well as the Export Council for Presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. Busbee died suddenly of a massive heart attack in Savannah on Friday, July 16, 2004, at the age of seventy-six. He is buried in Duluth.

### Suggested Reading

James F. Cook, *The Governors of Georgia, 1754-1995*, rev. ed. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1995).

Harold P. Henderson and Gary L. Roberts, eds., *Georgia Governors in an Age of Change: From Ellis Arnall to George Busbee* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

James F. Cook, Floyd College

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