

Clyon

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 5, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-6-97

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL

I thought you might find the attached education poll interesting. I have also sent copies to Secretary Riley, Erskine Bowles, and Doug Sosnik.



Rahm

Was this done for Congress?
If not should Malin
leaders have been, along
w/ Boxer, Gromman

RE

Phil,

2/6/97

This was sent to us
via fax. ~~Don't~~

Send to ~~Wash~~?

Yes



no

JA.

Osage Executive Department

P.O. Box 53
Pawhuska, OK 74058
(918) 287-1128

PRESIDENT
GEORGE E. TALLCHIEF

VICE PRESIDENT
DUDLEY P. WHITEHORN

February 6, 1997

Honorable William J. Clinton
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

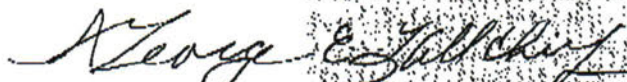
Dear Mr. President:

As President of the Osage Nation I would recommend Frank Ducheneaux for the position of Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs.

Having known Mr. Ducheneaux for many years, I find him to be very knowledgeable of Tribal matters relevant to the Cheyenne River Sioux and other Tribes. I am also aware of his effectiveness in working with Indian problems while he was a member of the House Indian Affairs Commission.

Mr. Ducheneaux has been a staunch Democrat all his life working diligently for the Democratic Party.

Sincerely,


George E. Tallchief, President
Osage Nation

Heroin spreads across the USA

Drug is cheap, pure and plentiful

By Tim Friend
USA TODAY

RESTON, Va. — Heroin use has never been higher in the USA, and it is spreading rapidly from the major cities to small towns and rural areas, the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) said Tuesday.

"Heroin is a problem in Brattleboro, Vt., and it is a problem in Yakima, Wash.," DEA chief Thomas Constantine says. "There is no section of the country where heroin is not a threat."

More than 250 in law enforcement from the United States, Colombia, Thailand, Pakistan and Mexico are reporting findings to the DEA here at a conference on heroin.

Constantine says the information will be used to develop a national and global strategy to stem supplies and use.

Heroin purity is at its highest, prices are cheapest and supplies are plentiful, the DEA says. Average street purity: 40%, 10 times higher than in 1980. High purity and low cost make heroin easier and less expensive to smoke; smoking rather than injecting makes it more attractive to new users.

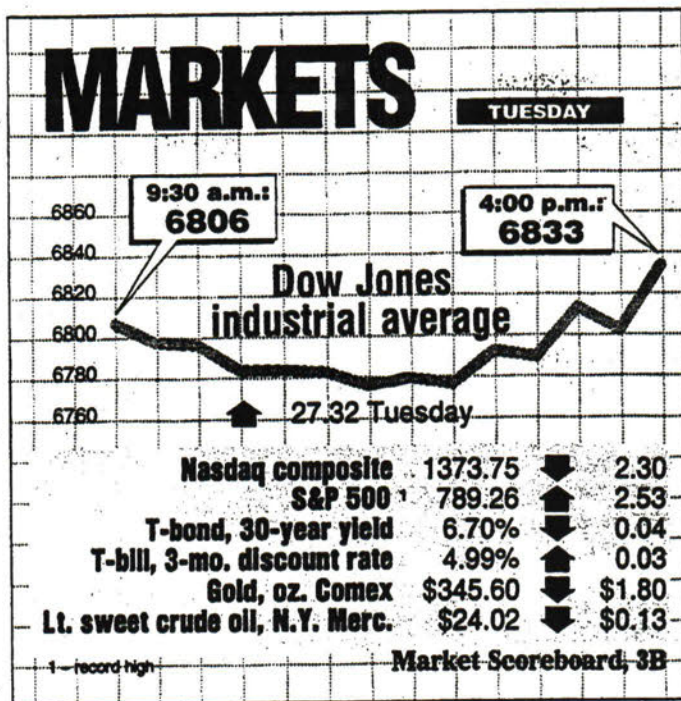
The DEA reports that 1.4 million people smoked heroin in 1995, twice as many as in 1994. Heroin deaths also are highest ever at more than 4,000 per year. Emergency-room visits rose from 33,000 in 1990 to 74,000 in 1995.

Behind the surge are pure and cheap supplies of heroin from Colombia, sold through established cocaine networks and marketed to new, middle-class users. More than 60% of heroin seized is from Colombia, DEA officials say.

"The same criminal structure that is pushing 240 metric tons of cocaine into America is also aggressively marketing heroin to a new generation of users," says White House drug czar Barry McCaffrey.

MONEYLINE

A QUICK READ ON THE TOP MONEY NEWS OF THE DAY



ECONOMIC REPORTS: New-home sales in 1996 were the strongest in 18 years, as sales rose 13% from 1995 to 756,000 homes, the Commerce Department said. But new-home sales in December fell 1% to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 783,000 units after rising a revised 18% in November. In a separate report, the Conference Board said its index of leading indicators — which forecasts economic activity six to nine months ahead — rose 0.1% in December. The reports come as the Federal Reserve policymakers finish a two-day meeting today.

Marijuana law loses support in Arizona

A majority of Arizonans think a new law that lets doctors prescribe marijuana or other controlled drugs should be changed or repealed, says a poll released today by an anti-drug group.

A telephone survey of 404 Arizona voters (margin of error, 5 percentage points), sponsored by Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America (CADCA), finds:

► 85% say the law should be changed; of those, 71% say it should be repealed.

► 87% say marijuana and other drugs should go through the same testing procedures as other prescription drugs before doctors can prescribe them.

► 34% say doctors should not be able to prescribe marijuana at all; 49% say they should be able to prescribe it to terminally ill patients or those in severe pain; 17% say doctors who believe it is needed should be allowed to prescribe it to adult patients.

► 73% say doctors should not be able to prescribe crack cocaine, heroin, PCP, LSD or methamphetamines at all; 19% say only for terminally ill patients or those in severe pain; 6% say doctors should be able to prescribe them to adults they feel need them; 2% "don't know".

In November, Proposition 200 was approved by 65.9% of Arizona voters. It allows doctors to prescribe controlled drugs such as marijuana and heroin, requires nonviolent drug users to get treatment rather than prison terms and says anyone who commits a violent crime under the influence of drugs must serve a full prison term.

Voters who approved the measure "thought they were voting to get tough on crime," says CADCA president James E. Copple. "The pro-legalization movement... put together a campaign strategy that misleads people."

But Sam Yegorov of Arizona's Drug Policy Reform, which led the fight for the law, says the poll is skewed and inaccurate. "This poll tells us that people are against legalization, and that's why they voted for Proposition 200," he says. Arizonans "think the drug war is failing, but they look to a middle-of-the-road alternative that places drug users in treatment instead of prison. We put 'get tough' in a new guise, a guise of progressive drug reform."

USA TODAY
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1997

Rain

We should put together something on heroin. It's not an...
for... ..



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

January 9, 1997

'97 JAN 14 PM 5:32

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Happy New Year! The Savings Bonds Poster Contest is one of the projects I truly enjoy. Please study the unique art of the 4th, 5th, and 6th graders in our country.

Sincerely,

Mary Ellen Withrow
Mary Ellen Withrow
Treasurer of the United States

Enclosure

Jim -

*I've decided not to send this to
the Oval -- could you just have a nice
reply done -- like the POPS saw it.*

Phil

2-6-97

Purity in Politics

By Roger M. Witten

MAD for money and fearing they will be outspent, political parties and their candidates enmesh them-

selves in complex schemes to raise campaign funds. These often seamy practices repel voters and decrease confidence in the integrity of the parties and elected officials.

This was the situation in 1972, before Watergate-era reforms sought to curb similar campaign finance abuses. Today, once again, widespread apathy and cynicism are poisoning our democracy. How did we reach this point?

The voters bear some responsibility. They are appalled by fat cats, but the one measure that would go furthest toward solving the problem — public financing of Congressional campaigns — has for years failed to gain wide popular support.

This attitude arises from an anti-government sentiment that rejects "welfare for politicians." Many members of Congress say they would antagonize their constituents if they voted for public financing. Lacking political courage, and happy to preserve the fund-raising advantages of incumbency, they ignore it as an option.

Instead, politicians who advocate change back half-measures like the McCain-Feingold bill. This legislation offers some incentives for candidates to limit spending — discounted and free broadcast time and reduced postage rates, for example — but candidates must still depend entirely on private fund raising. And escape hatches in the bill could lead right back to the money race: Even candidates who agreed to limit spending could exceed the cap if their opponents did.

Why abandon public financing as an alternative? Even though the Supreme Court's 1976 landmark decision in *Buckley v. Valeo* held that campaign spending is the equivalent of free speech, it nevertheless sus-

Public financing is the only loophole-free solution.

tained the legality of public financing, finding it consistent with the First Amendment. Moreover, the Court said that Congress could require candidates who accept public money for their campaigns to agree to spending caps and to commit themselves to stop raising private funds.

Public financing of Presidential races was adopted in 1974. It worked well for several elections, until the Federal Election Commission disgracefully permitted the parties to invent and then expand the "soft money" loophole. That loophole allows unlimited contributions from individuals, corporations and unions because the money is supposedly used only for state and local elections and "party building."

Congress must close that loophole even if it does not decide to finance House and Senate elections. The McCain-Feingold bill commendably addresses this problem by prohibiting national parties and candidates for Federal office from raising big money from corporations and individuals, and by preventing state and local campaigns from spending such funds if it might affect a Federal election.

But public financing would go further toward ending the manic efforts of candidates and parties to raise money from those who do business with the Government, or want to. It's true that public financing would cost taxpayers some money. But is there a more worthy investment than the integrity of our democracy?

No system of controlling campaign spending will eliminate all potential abuses. Aggressive political operators will always seek loopholes. But public financing, with effective curbs on soft money, offers the best hope for restoring confidence in the electoral process. Instead of settling for the McCain-Feingold bill, our leaders need to plead the case for this more fundamental reform. □

Roger M. Witten, a lawyer, was an assistant special prosecutor in the Watergate investigation.

Palmer
He's right
BC

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1997



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-6-97

Don Johnson
P.O. Box 27
Royston, Georgia 30662

2/5/97

Dear Mr. President:

Great speech last night!

I am writing to thank you for considering my appointment to the Vice Chairmanship of Eximbank. As supported by the enclosed letters I have previously sent to you and your Personnel Assistant, Bob Nash, my background and qualifications are uniquely suited for this position.

After experiencing two years in exile, I am very interested in returning to public service. My Congressional record, I believe, shows strong support for your Administration's policies and a willingness to make personal sacrifices for the public benefit. I would be honored and grateful for the opportunity to serve you and our country again.

If you would care to discuss this with me personally, I am obviously at your call.
Thanks again.

Respectfully,

Don Johnson

GLOBAL MARKETS, INC.

P.O. BOX 27, ROYSTON, GA 30662 USA (706) 376-1776 FAX (706) 376-1925

DON JOHNSON
PRESIDENT

FORMER MEMBER
U.S. CONGRESS

November 13, 1996

Hon. Bob J. Nash
Assistant to the President and
Director of Presidential Personnel
The White House - OEOB
Washington, D.C. 20503

Eximbank First Vice President and Vice Chairman

Dear Bob:

I am writing to reconfirm my interest in a Presidential appointment to the position of First Vice President and Vice Chairman of Eximbank. As you know, I have been seeking this appointment since I was first notified that it would become open almost a year ago. For your convenience I have enclosed a copy of my letter to the President of December 12, 1995, requesting the position and outlining my qualifications.

Over the last year I have continued to be involved in work that is directly related to Eximbank's function. My company and a related venture I am directing, The Global Capital Group, are in the business of international trade and investment in emerging world markets. Our focus has been in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and South Asia. For example, I am currently putting together equity and financing for a power plant in Andhra Pradesh, India, and am involved in the financing of several industrial projects in Ukraine. In addition to the business associations I have developed, this work has brought me in contact with a number of key foreign government officials. Just last month I set up a Washington meeting between Secretary O'Leary and the Indian Power Minister, Dr. Venugopalachari. In September, I conducted a week of workshops on legislative reform with the Bangladesh Parliament on behalf of the USIA. This experience has given me a keen understanding of developing market and political conditions in these areas which would be very helpful to in carrying out the Eximbank mission.

Additionally, I have remained very involved in Democratic politics this year. I was elected as a pledged, at-large Georgia Delegate to the Chicago Convention this summer and was an active regional speaker for the Clinton-Gore Campaign. I was a contributor of both time and money to Max Cleland's Senate Campaign, as well as to several Congressional campaigns in Georgia this year.

I would also like to remind you of the strong support I have received for my application for this position. Among those who have either written the President or otherwise endorsed my appointment to the White House are the following: Dick Gephardt, Vic Fazio, Bill Richardson, John Lewis, and Chet Edwards from the House Democratic Leadership; a cross section of other

SHIPPING: 1069 EAGLE GROVE SCHOOL ROAD, BOWMAN, GA 30624 USA
E-MAIL: DONJOHNSON 102021.275@COMPUSERVE.COM

Bob J. Nash
Page 2
November 13, 1996

Members including, John Spratt, Jane Harman, John Tanner, Earl Pomeroy, Bud Cramer, Bob Filner, Anna Eshoo, Cynthia McKinney, and Sanford Bishop; Senator Sam Nunn, Governor Zell Miller, and Lieutenant Governor Pierre Howard from Georgia; and Secretary Dick Riley from the Cabinet.

In closing, I will simply restate the obvious. I am very interested in returning to the public policy arena in a capacity which I can be of competent service to this Administration. My prior service in Congress should demonstrate my willingness to make personal sacrifices for the Administration and the public benefit. I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to serve the President and my country again. Although I believe my background is most suited for the Eximbank position, I want to let you know that I would also be interested in serving in other capacities related to international trade and finance, such as at USTR or OPIC. Please let me know if you have any questions or if any additional information is necessary from me. I look forward to hearing from you.

With warmest regards, I am

Respectfully yours,


Don Johnson

CDJ/jp

DON JOHNSON

P. O. Box 27 ♦ ROYSTON, GEORGIA 30662 ♦ TEL. 706-376-1776 ♦ FAX 706-376-1925

December 12, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

RE: Presidential Appointment
Eximbank, First Vice President & Vice Chairman

Dear Mr. President:

It has come to my attention that the office of First Vice President and Vice Chairman of Eximbank will soon be open, and I understand that my name is among those which have been submitted to you for consideration for this position. I am writing to formally request this Presidential appointment.

The essential requirements for this job involve a strong background in international trade and finance, significant experience in the legislative and budget process, and a proven 'team player' commitment to your Administration's economic policy. I have enclosed a copy of my resume to demonstrate how I fit these requirements and will summarize some of the key points here.

International Trade & Finance Background

I have a masters degree from the London School of Economics in international economic law and have studied international monetary relations and related subjects at the graduate level at several other respected institutions. My first job out of law school was as a staff counsel on the Ways and Means Committee, where I helped draft the Trade Reform Act of 1974. A substantial portion of my professional career has been concentrated in the fields of banking and international trade, investment, and finance - including work in the international sections of a money center bank in Chicago and a large law firm in Atlanta and service on the board of directors of a community bank. I have negotiated and drafted numerous Eurodollar, multi-bank, and Eximbank financial transactions and often assisted large and small business clients in utilizing government export facilities, including Eximbank. In the Georgia Senate, I chaired a study committee on export promotion which helped spur reforms Georgia's export promotion programs. In Congress, I focused on international trade issues, including assisting the GATT and NAFTA whip organization. In the past year since leaving Congress I have formed an international trade and investment company focusing on trade with Central and Eastern Europe and acted as a salaried advisor to the Dean Rusk Center for International and Comparative Law and the European Center in Atlanta.

Legislative and Budget Process Experience

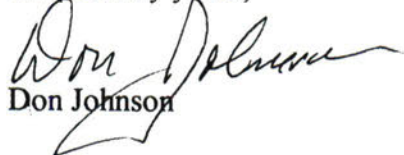
In my second year in the Georgia Senate, I was appointed by then Lt. Governor Zell Miller to be Vice Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the jurisdiction of which included more legislation than any other committee. That year I was also appointed to serve as one of then Governor Joe Frank Harris' three floor leaders and handled a significant portion of the Administration's legislative package. During my third year, I was appointed by Lt. Gov. Pierre Howard to the chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee where I was principally responsible for the state budget in the Senate until I left to run for Congress. Among the more significant pieces of legislation of which I was the original author and which were passed into law were the State Torts Claims Act (sovereign immunity reform), the State Hobbs Act (ethics reform), and major reforms in the state budget process and rural telecommunications regulation. In Congress, in addition to my work on the Armed Services and Science, Space, and Technology Committees, I served on the Speaker's Working Group on Policy and was an active participant in the informal Budget group which met weekly. Since leaving Congress, I have taught Southern Politics, Legislative Process, and Federal and State Budget Process in the Political Science Department and the highly-ranked MPA program at the University of Georgia.

Commitment to Administration Economic Policy

The best evidence of my support for the Administration's economic policies is found in my Congressional voting record. Going against the political winds blowing through my District and other parts of the nation, I voted in favor of every budget proposal made by the White House during my term of office, including the critical vote in favor of the August 1993 reconciliation package. Not only did I vote for these policies, but I was also an outspoken proponent for them in Georgia and elsewhere. Although these votes, together with my votes in favor of the assault weapons ban, the Crime Bill, NAFTA, and GATT proved costly to me in my bid for reelection, I continue to believe that they were the right thing to do under the circumstances and I have no regrets about them. I would bring this same commitment to the job I am seeking at Eximbank.

If you believe that I could serve the Administration well in the position that I am seeking as First Vice President and Vice Chairman of Eximbank based upon your personal association with me and the information outlined above, I would be greatly honored to serve you and your Administration in that capacity. If you have any questions or if I need to provide you with any additional information, please let me know. With warmest regards and appreciatively, I am

Respectfully yours,


Don Johnson

DJ:acj
Enclosure

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-6-97



Georgia State Senate

Majority Leader's Office

KENNETH WALKER

Executive Assistant
to the Majority Leader

236 State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

404-656-5034(O)
404-651-5588(F)

Amanda Crambling
Copied

Call to
Michael Riccards
re recent favorable
articles
[Signature]
Call to be made
in next week

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JIM DORSKIND:
Please coordinate
the reply.

January 24, 1997

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

97 JAN 24 PM 3:38

TO: Michael Riccards
Author of The Ferocious Engine of Democracy: A History of the American Presidency and president of Fitchburg State College in Massachusetts.

DATE: Within the next week, if possible.

RECOMMENDED BY: Mike McCurry *[Signature]*

PURPOSE: Both Michael Riccards and USA Today's Richard Benedetto, have recently talked or written favorably about your Presidency.

BACKGROUND: While in St. Thomas, you had a brief conversation with Richard Benedetto and mentioned that you were reading Michael Riccards' book. As a result of your discussion, Mr. Benedetto included Mr. Riccards in a roundtable panel organized by USA Today to explore the changing nature of the Presidency in the eyes of the American people.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: 1. Mr. Riccards' book.
2. Mr. Riccards' comments from the USA Today roundtable (highlighted interview attached).

CONTACT PERSON AND TELEPHONE NUMBER: Michael Riccards or Liz Rodenhiser
(508) 665-3112

ATTACHMENTS: USA Today story resulting from the roundtable panel and published January 17, 1997.

ACTION: _____

'Around the table on the Oval Office

s the nation prepared for resident Clinton's second inaugural, USA TODAY assembled a panel of presidential historians and scholars to discuss changing American perceptions of the highest office in the land.

Richard Benedetto: The American people have long expressed ambiguous feelings about the presidency. On one hand they revere the office and exalt its occupants, while on the other hand they have often been its severest critics. What do we talk about that?

Michael Riccards: It's the bivalent feelings of a democratic people toward authority in general and that's become accentuated. Doris Kearns Goodwin in her fine study of Franklin Roosevelt mentioned how people in the middle of the Great Depression would put on their Sunday best, which oftentimes wasn't much, cause the president of the United States was riding down the center of town. We've lost even that notion of deference. In part it's a consequence of Vietnam and Watergate, the general condemnation of actions of presidents, but we've also become a more nihilistic people.

Michael Beschloss: The ambivalence problem really comes from the office itself, cause the founders constructed this sort of bizarre office which is two things that are sort of contradictory. On one hand you have the role of the chief of state, which is a resident as a unifying figure from parents bring up their children to be like, who conducts diplomacy around the world as sort of an emblem of American society. And then in the same human being — you find this in very few systems around the world — you have also a political leader who, necessarily partisan, has to divide people, has to run for office and choose enemies.

For someone to carry off both roles harmoniously is a very tough job.

Stephen Hess: Presidents complain from time to time about being president, but it's something of an affection. There really is no shortage of people who want to be president. ... Most of them enjoy every minute of their time in the presidency. It certainly gives them an opportunity that comes to few human beings to make a difference in the lives of the people of the country and the world.

Shirley Anne Warshaw: The president is the leader of the policy-making structure. It's the leader of the free world in addition to that. Americans look for leadership. The president is the only national leader we have today.

Benedetto: Presidents have often found themselves torn between sticking to their principles and ideals and the world of realpolitik. How have presidents bridged this gap?

James MacGregor Burns: Well, usually what they have done is to forget their ideals and to go about the practical job of governing and getting re-elected. I haven't seen many examples of presidents who have been willing to face defeat as they have pursued their ideals.

A great example of courage in the presidency is Harry Truman sticking to his policies in 1948 when he was running for election, and he was broke and everybody said he was going to lose, and he stuck to his positions and won.

And I would make the same point about Ronald Reagan. The impressive thing about Reagan was his willingness to pursue his conservative ideals even when he was defeated.

Riccards: Presidents are basically politicians, and the important skill for politicians is to be able to somehow put the vision part and an exquisite sense of timing together. You have to both be able to mobilize people, but also know when the time is right to be able to choose an appeal that's efficacious but not contrived. That's really what great presidents are able to do.

Warshaw: But it's very important we say two things. One is that many of the Republican presidents that we say "had a vision" were attempting to dismantle something rather than to create something. Creating is always much more difficult



Riccards: The great ones combine vision with an exquisite sense of timing.

Typically in America, presidential candidates and presidents when they are defeated, shift and retreat. Clinton is an example.

Beschloss: Oftentimes presidents feel that the only reward for displaying political courage is that historians say nice things about them 30 or 40 years later. And when you're in the presidency and particularly when you're running for re-election, that might seem like pretty small reward.

There really is another payoff, and that is when a president like Truman in '48 or Reagan after his (GOP nomination) defeat in '76 takes a position that seems risky or bold and then convinces the American people to change their view and support him. It



Hess: 'Great presidents have vision ... some grand scheme that sticks together and defines where they want the country to go.'

increases their authority. ... So if you're a president who wants to expand your reputation and your authority, one way of doing that is by taking a risky position on a major issue and enlisting the power of the presidency and your own talents to convince Americans to support you. If it works, you will be a much more powerful and prestigious president.

Hess: The great presidents also have vision. It's George Bush's "vision thing." You can have vision and not be a great president, but you can't be a great president without vision. ... My view of vision is some grand scheme that usually sticks together and defines where they want the country to go. It's not a separate item here and there.

Clinton lacks vision. Bush and Carter lacked vision. Reagan had vision; Nixon did at least in foreign policy. Johnson had it in domestic policy. ... The ones with vision weren't all successful because you've got to take that vision and get from here to there. Some stumbled along the way.

Riccards: Presidents are basically politicians, and the important skill for politicians is to be able to somehow put the vision part and an exquisite sense of timing together. You have to both be able to mobilize people, but also know when the time is right to be able to choose an appeal that's efficacious but not contrived. That's really what great presidents are able to do.

Warshaw: But it's very important we say two things. One is that many of the Republican presidents that we say "had a vision" were attempting to dismantle something rather than to create something. Creating is always much more difficult



The roundtable: The five scholars Tuesday discuss the powers and pressures of the presidency and how Americans view the person in the Oval Office.

THE ROUND-TABLE PANEL

Five distinguished scholars discussed the presidency in a 90-minute roundtable conversation with USA TODAY national political correspondent Richard Benedetto. This page presents highlights of the discussion. The panel:

Michael Beschloss, presidential historian and author of several books on the presidency, including *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-63*. His specialty has been to examine how presidents call upon their political skills and personal character, and their willingness to take risks, to lead in

times of crisis.

James MacGregor Burns, Leadership Academy, University of Maryland, and Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and presidential biographer (FDR, Kennedy). His many textbooks have been primers on American history and political science, and his two biographies of Roosevelt demonstrate the importance of bold leadership as the key to presidential success.

Stephen Hess, Brookings Institution presidential scholar, author of nine books and White House staffer in four

administrations (Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford and Carter). He has studied the changing effects of the media on the presidency and Congress, and the changing style, complexity and cacophony of presidential races. His latest book: *Political Dynasties from Adams to Kennedy*.

Michael Riccards, president of Fitchburg (Mass.) State College and author of *The Ferocious Engine of Democracy: A History of the American Presidency*. His two-volume work shows how American concepts of the presidency, and expectations

of the president, have changed over time, and how each president has put his own stamp on the office. (President Clinton said recently that he is reading the book).

Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College political scientist and author of *The Domestic Presidency: Policy Making in the White House*. Her work focuses on the way presidents organize their staffs and give individuals power and authority, and how that affects the ability of their administrations to succeed.

rary atmosphere is that if you fight for ideals that may not be initially popular, you're jeopardizing your political position. And one result of what has happened in 1996 could be that political leaders all the way down to the school board level looking at Clinton as the most successful politician in America may very well say the key to his huge comeback was that he didn't take risks. He followed the polls. ... It could have a very damaging effect throughout the political system because you're going to have many fewer people willing to take risks.

Riccards: One can be critical in that area, but it seems to me that (Clinton) has taken risks where people said that he had the least experience: foreign policy. He has consistently done the unpopular thing or made the decision that most people had qualms about in areas like Bosnia, Northern Ireland, the Middle East. The president has really recognized the importance of the peace-keeping role of the United States as the great and lasting superpower.

Beschloss: But the one place that Bill Clinton has been almost silent in talking about foreign policy to the American people. Haiti is a very good example. He didn't give a major statement on why he thought it was possibly necessary to go to war in Haiti to change the government until the Thursday before the Sunday on which the invasion was to begin. I would say that is not in the tradition of presidents going to the American people and going to Congress and educating them about a foreign issue that may involve some sacrifice.

Russia is another example. We all had very good luck last summer that Boris Yeltsin was able to defeat the Communists. Had that not happened, it would have had an almost hysterical reaction among the American people, largely because their president for the previous 3½ years did not expend very much political capital in explaining to them what was at stake in Russia.

Warshaw: Americans want decisive leadership. ... To have that, which the American public wants, there is a need for this clear set of goals and objectives, short and sweet, and how we accomplish them. Part of the problem with this administration is the president had during the '92 campaign a fairly short set of goals and objectives that included health reform, welfare reform, education reform, environmental reform. But none of those agen-

da items were achieved in the first term, so where does he go? That decisive leadership is somewhat at risk now.

Hess: Clinton has one top priority domestically. He wants a balanced budget. ... Given that that's it, it's very hard for him to do anything else domestically. So that may be the reason he moves to foreign policy, because he's got no money to do the things he might otherwise like to do domestically.

Benedetto: The presidential nominating system that we have now was supposed to be a reform. It was supposed to be more democratic. It was supposed to be more open. What's gone wrong?

Burns: Well, that's where the progressive movement which gave us the nominating system made a terrible mistake. Their idea was that somehow if we could bypass the political parties, which they looked on as simply corrupt and archaic, and give the choice back to the electorate, that we would do better.

Parties played a tremendously important role in producing great leadership in this country, and not just at the national level. You take a state like New York, which did have stronger parties and had a

there was a progression where this thing would go on seriatim through June, very often at one-month intervals. A candidate could get started without a great deal of money, without being the front-runner, and do quite well in small states like Iowa and New Hampshire. Money came to him as he succeeded and he had enough time to move on to the next state.

Beschloss: This all really began in 1968 when many worried that within the Democratic Party a huge number of delegates were chosen even before the calendar year 1968. There was a feeling that you should change the system. ... The intention was simply to make this more of a hybrid system: some presidential primaries to allow voters to get into this directly; some state conventions so that you've got statewide activists and officials; and some caucuses so you've got activists on the precinct and the district level. ...

The problem is it's no longer a hybrid system; it's a system that is hugely dominated by presidential primaries.

Benedetto: To what degree are presidents a captive of their staffs? To what degree do the staffs make decisions or drive decisions?



Beschloss: President is both a unifying figure and a politician. 'For someone to carry off both roles harmoniously is a very tough job.'

strong convention system. This was a party system that recruited both among Democrats and Republicans some of the great leaders of the 20th century. We're not getting that from New York and the other great states today. Again, because of this tremendous change in the nominating system.

Hess: What went very wrong (in the primaries) last year was when suddenly every state wanted to be first and the whole thing was immediately over (in March). Before that

Warshaw: It depends on whether the president has laid out a clear vision. During the campaign, they need to establish the goals and objectives for the administration. It's the task of the White House staff to move those goals and objectives to the Cabinet offices with very specific policy initiatives.

Riccards: As the office has grown enormously since '33 the presidents are very dependent upon their staff and more so than on their Cabinet. That obviously has been a historic

shift we've all seen. What also becomes important is that the presidents themselves have to decide how they're going to organize their office.

Republicans seem to have followed Dwight Eisenhower in choosing a strong-chief-of-staff model. It's served them well. And Democratic presidents have had a difficult time in part because they have not really put that strong chief of staff model in place right away. That's been one of the major differences in the modern presidency.

Beschloss: It does make the president rather dependent on the people who happen to be on his staff. Ronald Reagan's chief of staff during the first term was James Baker, who had a history in Washington in dealing with Congress, and who had a lot to do with the legislative successes of the Reagan first term. And then Reagan made Donald Regan his chief of staff in 1985. That had a lot to do with the disasters of '85 and '86. So when you have a president who is somewhat disengaged, the downside is your taste in people better be awful good.



Burns: A president's pragmatism often outweighs idealism.

Hess: Generally we have to be careful about thinking that the president is putty or being manipulated by his staff. The staff is there to serve the president, and by and large, they do it. Sometimes less well than in other cases.

Burns: Could I bring in another aspect: the staff as a source of ideas to a president. When I think back not only to Roosevelt, where he was surrounded by people who were tremendously imaginative in the whole policy area, but the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, where the presidents had in the White House people with ideas. These people were feeding the president ideas. I would say that a crucial aspect of presidential greatness is the ability to listen to people with ideas and advance those ideas to the people.

Beschloss: That's a terrific point. One measure of a president is how comfortable he is with people who will stand up to him and in some cases be independent and say things that he might not like to hear. Another test is to what degree the people whom a president promotes and brings to national prominence turn out to be national leaders in the future.

Burns: Great leadership is a matter of people with ideas they believe in strongly pushing relentlessly for them so they come to stand in history as representing those ideas. And that applies whether they're presidents or Cabinet members or staff members.

~~TO Sylvia~~
New tree
checked
out



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-6-97

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

CHARLIE NORWOOD
10TH DISTRICT
GEORGIA

February 5, 1997

The Honorable William J. Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President,

Last fall the milk excess base plan expired. This will have a significant negative impact on dairy farmers throughout the southeast. I would appreciate any help that you might be able to provide. Secretary Glickman can certainly provide you further information on the subject.

I look forward to working with you in the future. If there is anything I can do for you, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

Charlie

Mr. Benetto and Mr. Okey did this
on the last vote of the 104th. It was uncalled
for and premature, to say the least!