

~~Chron.~~

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Boyle

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing a chapter from *The Sense of Reality*, the latest compilation of Isaiah Berlin's lectures and articles. It is called "Political Judgement". He wrote it in the 1950s, but it is as timely and pertinent today as it was then.

Although his principal exemplars are FDR, Churchill and Bismarck(!), I am sure he would add you to his list of the very few who have possessed this essential sixth sense.

You are having a very good second term. Keep it up! Polly and I send our love to you both.

Sincerely,

Lloyd

Lloyd N. Cutler

Enclosure

Send to Davidkind for thank you?

Yes

☒

No

☐

The View of the Capitol, From So Far a Distance

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

MISSOULA, Mont., Aug. 7 — The sky arches here far more grandly than does the dome of the Capitol, and no one knows that better than Pat Williams, the Washington politician come home.

"I miss Congress every day," said the voluntarily retired Democratic Representative, who drove back here through the snows of last winter after 18 years in the House. "Every day I wake up, my eyes pop open, and I'm not in Congress. I miss my pals, the sense of accomplishment."

Then again, Mr. Williams has to laugh in his readjustment as he eyes a new spinning rod nestled in a corner of his office, within casting distance of the Clark Fork River, roaring beyond the doorway.

"I've learned an irony," he said, "and that is you can miss something but be damned glad you're not doing it in the same breath."

For Mr. Williams, a 59-year-old lifelong political worker, there is more to going cold turkey outside the Beltway than working on his wrist flick at the riverbank that borders his fine new perch as senior fellow at the University of Montana's Center for the Rocky Mountain West.

"It's a morphing thing, and I'm still trying to get here," Mr. Williams admitted. "But I'm almost over what I call headline-jerk: you know, you pick up the newspaper, see the headline and say, 'Whoa, what am I going to say about that?' Two seconds later I realize I don't have to say a damned thing about that."

The university has dispatched Mr. Williams, an amiable talker, into a dozen different issues and lecture halls. When journalism students asked the best way to interview politicians, he kept his reply as primal as the neighboring woodlands: "Keep watching their eyes."

Free now to rail at the absurdities and hypocrisies of politics, Mr. Williams concedes all that plus "the seedy life" at the heart of a Congressional incumbent's treadmill existence of eating and voting on the run and campaigning endlessly as a transcontinental "gypsy" bereft in airports and hotels. But he takes care to cite a few glories, too, even

insisting that Congressional incumbency is "great for your mental health."

"Really," he said, bemused that, finally immune to voter controversy, he can claim to see virtue in Washington. Leaning back in his office, dressed as soft and tieless as a model in an L. L. Bean catalogue, he explained: "It's good for your mental health because at the end of the day you've won or lost. In other words, you get to vote; you've achieved something, reached an end point every day. And occasionally you win."

The former lawmaker keeps this in mind as he works at his new academic analyst's post here in a pristine region that is paradoxically facing some of the highest population growth rates and political challenges in the nation.

When he first went to Congress, Mr. Williams recalls, members seemed more respected. But later, anti-Government attack politics became the fashion, seizing the public's imagination right down to each night's final television jokes. "There was no internal payoff anymore," he said.

Safely gone, Mr. Williams dares to extol working politicians. "Congress is filled with some of the best people I ever met," he said. "It's difficult to be a good member of Congress; it requires craftsmanship."

On the other hand, out here he better senses how his former colleagues cannot fathom the public's disgust on issues like campaign spending abuses. "My old friends tell me nothing's happening back there on that, but I can see they're missing a bigger point," he said. "People aren't so much angry at the system as embarrassed by it. And that's worse, because people drop out."

He recalls the blind spots of incumbency. "Part of what you do when you're back there is see to your self-preservation, and that muddles your thinking," he admitted.

"It's inevitable that people come to Congress full of themselves, heading for a crash," he said of the anti-Gingrich coup attempt, which made less of a splash here than one of the more splendid rainbow trout dancing past in the Clark Fork, where Lewis and Clark once explored.

Pleased to be
out of Congress,
and missing it
every day.

As a progressive western Democrat, Mr. Williams won some bills before his party lost the majority, notably the Family and Medical Leave Act and various aid measures for higher education and the arts. He lost his biggest "wilderness war," in which he sought full Congressional protection of a 6,000-acre swath of Montana. But he hopes he achieved enough safeguards in roundabout piecemeal measures, something he will be testing on site in his new job. He holds himself fortunate to have retired from Washington in time to face this region's challenge of protecting its beauty even as fresh settlers pour in. This is the academic specialty of himself and his colleagues at the Center for the Rocky Mountain West.

Mr. Williams departed Washington as deputy whip. He had found himself more "homesick" than fed up. He took with him an ominous impression that he prays will fade once he fully adjusts to a constituent's perspective.

"Tragically, the Federal Government is less able to achieve great things and is less trusted in the doing of it," he said. "That's painful because I believe the Government has been a wonderful partner to the American people."

He is already missing "the fun of politics — how you have to entertain as a candidate as a part of your role." He laughs grimly at what he finds to be the ultimate entertainment in the politics he left behind — of "condemning the very Government you run and are part of."

"Criticism of the Federal Government has begun to unravel the cord of trust between the American people and their government at all levels," he said, finding this particularly true at home now on the school-board level.

"I sense the unraveling more clearly from here," he said.

Yet he is also sensing some mixed signs about it.

"You can feel distrust in state and local government, too," he said, "but people also tell me about two watershed events — transitional American events, to my mind: the shutting down of government during the budget fights a few years ago, and the Oklahoma City bombing."

People have been coming up to their former Congressman to ask and complain about extremism, he reports.

"History turns," Mr. Williams said, "and people so want to believe in elective government and the goodness of the system that — who knows? — Congress will have some second chances."

Mr. Williams does not miss the artifice of Washington life, which he summarizes as the "double-knit haircut" sort of political culture. He can dismiss such burning Beltway questions as whether President Clinton is moving to the right or the Republicans are moving to the left. He suspects the latter, but he can also go fishing.

Send to Roskinial for reply?

Yes ☒ No ☐

Contract Is Approved, Ending Steel Strike

By Bloomberg News

PITTSBURGH, Aug. 12 — The steelworkers union approved a new labor contract with WHX Corp. today, ending a 10-month strike at the company's Wheeling-Pittsburgh unit.

The vote was 3,105 to 817, the United Steelworkers of America said.

Under the agreement, about 850 workers will be offered early retirement, including health benefits and either a lump-sum payment of \$25,000 or \$400 in monthly payments until age 62.

Some of the 4,500 striking workers could resume work within weeks at eight steel plants in Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia, the union said.

The contract, which will expire in September 2002, would raise wages by 25 cents an hour for each of the next three years and by 37.5 cents an hour for each of the subsequent two years. The agreement would also prevent WHX from closing any plants for at least 30 months. WHX is based in New York and is the ninth-largest steel producer in the United States.

Government officials will review the panel's recommendation within the month. If the Health and Human Services Secretary, Donna E. Shalala, agrees, the public health campaign could begin as soon as mid-September, said Dr. Eric Goosby of the health agency. Blood banks could take several more months

it has no method of tracing the smaller number of blood recipients who received possibly tainted blood between 1990 and today.

Under the new recommendation, blood banks would be required to trace anyone with the disease.