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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

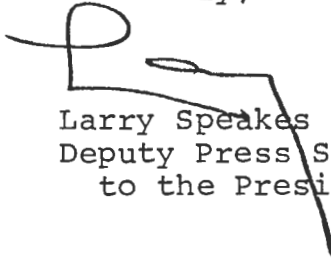
July 13, 1982

Dear Bob:

Sorry I missed your call when I was on the West Coast with the President last week. And I do appreciate your sending a copy of Lou Williams' speech. It makes good reading.

As for the Area Managers meeting in San Francisco, our schedule now calls for us to come to Santa Barbara on August 12 so that pretty well rules out my coming out a week or so earlier. Let's look for another opportunity to do this. Please keep in mind the open invitation for you and Jan in the President's box at the Kennedy Center whenever we can coordinate our dates.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'L. Speakes', written over the typed name and title.

Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. Robert L. Dilenschneider  
Executive Vice President  
Hill and Knowlton, Inc.  
111 East Wacker Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60601

**HILL AND KNOWLTON, INC.**

*Public Relations/Public Affairs Counsel*

111 EAST WACKER DRIVE

CHICAGO, IL 60601

312-565-1200

ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER

*Executive Vice President*

*National Division*

June 23, 1982

Mr. Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary to the  
President  
The White House Office  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Larry:

You and others in The White House might be interested in the enclosed speech delivered by Lou Williams at a convention here recently. Also enclosed is the AP story on the speech.

Hope to see you soon. Our managers are meeting in San Francisco on August 4 and 5, if you're in the area.

Best regards,



Robert L. Dilenschneider

RLD:sth

attachment

187 WAYS TO AMUSE A BORED CAT

OR

WHO'S SERIOUS ABOUT CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY?

by

Louis C. Williams

Senior Vice President

Hill and Knowlton, Inc.

for the

International Association

of Business Communicators

June 17, 1982

187 WAYS TO AMUSE A BORED CAT

OR

WHO'S SERIOUS ABOUT CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY?

Ah, yes, the Public Interest.

From trust-builders to trust-busters; from New Deal to Fair Deal to the Great Society; from investing-for-production to investing-for-consumption; from Dust Bowl to Super Bowl --

You name it -- and the American Society and the American Economy have had it! Including copious tears of self-admonition; much public concern over the disadvantaged and the poor; to self-indulgence in profits; to pets, to charity. All in the name of the public interest.

On the same day in early June 82, news media received two releases that illustrate the current moods of different sectors of the Society:

1. An organization named The Institute for Food and Development Policy's headline was:  
CATTLE EAT MORE, BUT MORE PEOPLE GO HUNGRY.

In the release, the author lamented the fact "that 10 years ago one-third of the world's grain production was fed to livestock while today almost one-half is -- while the percentage of people going hungry increases.

The hungry don't have the money to buy the grain they need, much less grain-fed meat," the author lamented -- doubtless in great sincerity.

Equally sincere, no doubt, was the author of  
Release

2. A pair of authors named Howe and Ruth Stidger ask: "Is your cat tired of playing with the same old humdrum rubber mouse? Does a ball of yarn no longer hold the same magic?" To entertain the 34 million cats that currently inhabit 24% of America's households, the authors have written a fun-for-felines book that they call 187 WAYS TO AMUSE A BORED CAT.

From the extreme of concern for a hungry world to the worry over a troubled tom/tabby does our world go these troubled days.

At bottom, of course, are both philanthropy and commerce.

In 1981, a record total of \$53.6 billion in contributions was made to health, education, and the arts by the private sector -- \$44.5 billion from individuals and \$3 billion by businesses.

At the same time, \$1.4 billion was shelled out for cat food -- one million tons of it. This does not include the

cost of other amenities for favorite felines -- including books about them.

With sums like those kicking around the American economy -- no wonder that both "professionals and bureaucrats" in the health/education/arts/welfare/ arena and "professionals" in the pet kingdom are standing in line with their hands out!

In these pursuits they are joined by legions of others -- in health centers, hospitals, symphony halls, dance studios, art galleries, colleges and universities, zoos, "public interest" and consumerist lobbies and law firms, and even in union halls.

In recent months, many activists from those centers have been found, throughout the news media, saying strongly critical things about a Society whose government has for a number of years been spending more money than it has had, and which is under a voters' mandate to cut back the growing rate of such expenditures.

In the ensuing confusion, many have been led to believe different things:

- that all moneys for health/education/welfare/ arts is being cut out by the Federal Government;
- that an affliction known as a "lack of compassion" has hit the White House and the political party that holds power in the Executive Branch;

- that "social justice" (a byword in America since the days of the New Deal) is being abandoned in America;
- that the funds being reduced by the Federal government for health/education/welfare/arts purposes will have to be made up in full by the private sector;
- that the best source inside the private sector for this funding is the Corporation and that, somehow, American businesses have sharply fallen short in their "social responsibility."

Americans are engaged in polemics about "lack of compassion in the White House" and about the cuts in Federal outlays for health/education/welfare and the arts -- and "corporate social responsibility" somehow emerges as a villain. This despite the fact that there is ample evidence that America's corporations and the rest of the nation's private sector have, indeed, met their "social responsibilities" to a remarkable degree.

Nevertheless, the demand for "more" rises throughout the land and the private sector seeks to accommodate itself to the new thinking.



In press appearances, conferences by the dozen, and in opinion surveys -- two facts clearly emerge:

1. The private sector cannot assume full responsibility for meeting needs that will result from cutbacks in Federal domestic programs.
2. Business does regard the improvement of social and economic conditions as a goal tied so closely to its bottom-line interests that it requires direct and effective action.

How much do Foundations give?

Grants are up 12% -- to \$2.8 billion. One-fourth of all reported grants are for continuing support to organizations which had received funding from the same foundation in the previous year. Grants to arts and cultural organizations increased 2% in both number and dollar value. Larger foundations tend to support higher education. Smaller foundations put a larger percentage of their grants into community service programs. Funding for special population groups accounts for almost 20% of the dollar value of foundation grants and 28% of the number of grants.

How much do corporation give? As I said earlier - in 1981, they gave \$3 billion. Individuals gave \$44.5 billion in 1981.

Would corporations give more - and could they?

Arthur W. Cowles, vice president of Koppers Company, recently told the Health and Welfare Planning Association in Pittsburgh on June 4 that, if economic conditions helped make an increase possible, the total could possibly reach \$5 billion.

In a recent survey of major corporations undertaken by the IABC and Hill and Knowlton, Inc., it was found that:

- corporate contributions to charitable and cultural organizations will rise during 1982 by an average of 14.7%.
- the rise is credited, in part, to the "return to voluntarism: urged on business by the Reagan Administration.
- education will receive the greatest amount of support within individual corporation budgets... followed by United Way agencies and their social welfare funds.
- A full 10% of all corporate contributions are expected to go to the arts, which is an area facing severe funding cuts in the 1983 budget proposed by the Federal Government's National Endowment for the Arts. Almost 60% of the businesses responding to this survey plan to increase their support for the arts, with the

balance saying that they expect to maintain their contributions at their current level.

- 86% of the corporations surveyed said that corporations should not attempt to fill the funding void for non-profit agencies -- the so-called "gap" which is being widely discussed.
- About 90% of the corporations surveyed said that they concentrated their contributions at the local level, "where both the need and the results were evident."
- 12% expect to contribute to national cultural organizations and even fewer allocated funds to state-level institutions.
- Strong support was voiced for another cultural, sometimes controversial, non-profit institution -- public television. More than 80% of the respondents in this survey said that they contributed to public television.

It is becoming more and more apparent that, over the next few years, the extent and impact of corporate involvement in health/education/welfare/arts support and programming will, and doubtless should, change. If it does not, it will perhaps be inevitable that public opinion - in the form of special interest group activity - will turn to an even

stronger anti-business, anti-corporation stance. Just last year, a Yankelovich/Skelly/White survey shows that less than 20% of the public believes that "business tries to strike a fair balance between profits and the interests of the public."

It is estimated that corporate giving represents 1.9% of pre-tax profits. Heretofore, business has been allowed tax advantages on contributions up to 5%; and the Reagan Administration has passed a new tax law that raises this to 10%. This was done in the interest of reducing the excessive cost of government and placing more of the responsibility for the future of the nation in the hands of private individuals and institutions.

The great majority of America's corporations now subscribe to the sentiments expressed in this policy statement of a large Northeast U.S. company:

"Our corporation is committed, as a fundamental element of its corporate purpose, to conduct an enterprise which is of real and continuing value to society. The Corporation believes that the most effective way it can demonstrate this commitment is by fulfilling its basic role as a business enterprise. This requires providing an organization where people can grow and thrive; where profits can be fairly won in the competitive marketplace; where customers are well-served; and where the business enterprise itself has the capacity to change as the needs and values of society change."

Corporate social responsibility now calls upon corporations to join in partnership with other elements of society to seek solutions to social programs. Government could not do it alone. Corporations, of course, cannot do it alone. Involvement of other segments of society is required -- neighborhood organizations, voluntary associations, churches, labor union locals, small businesses, ethnic groups, and many others. Government must continue to support the things that government is best equipped to do. There should be no line-by-line transfer from the Federal budget to our corporate budgets.

That is where we are... at a major crossroads in America. The social responsibility of corporate America requires us to:

- ° act with a sense of urgency.
- ° have a positive but realistic outlook.
- ° take the initiative.
- ° work cooperatively with many people and groups.
- ° accept the challenge that business people DO have a vital responsibility in our communities and in our nation.
- ° nurture personal strength and social vitality.

The distinguished author, Amitai Etzioni, says that America may need a New Ethic to help us in the turnaround. The cornerstones of this New Ethic, he says, will have to be:

- ° mutuality -- a deep commitment of persons to one another;
- ° civility -- our commitment to the commonweal.

Mutuality -- because we all need each other for our basic psychic well-being.

Civility -- because there are shared conditions -- from defense to the economy -- which we all must sustain, or lose, but which we cannot manage individually.

To shore up mutuality and civility, Dr. Etzioni says, America's main institutions must be renewed and we must not remain a nation torn apart by interest groups, by a kind of "egotism raised to a group level."

The role of corporate social responsibility will grow immeasurably to meet these challenges of the future, of that there is no doubt. And there will be plenty of work and challenge for all hands.

More, I am sure, than finding 187 WAYS TO AMUSE A BORED CAT.

HILL AND KNOWLTON, INC.

*Public Relations/Public Affairs Counsel*

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CHICAGO, IL 60601

312-565-1200

ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER  
*Executive Vice President*  
*National Division*

May 27, 1982

Mr. Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary to the President  
The White House Office  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Larry:

Thought you'd be interested in knowing that Bob Sacoff, one of the top trade-mark lawyers in this part of the country, will be joining Saidman and Sterne in about a month in Washington. I wanted you to know because Sacoff is a fine man, and would be a fine person for you to know as well.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Bob". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "B" that loops back over the rest of the name.

Robert L. Dilenschneider

RLD:sdm

HILL AND KNOWLTON, INC.

*Public Relations/Public Affairs Counsel*

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ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER

*Executive Vice President*

*National Division*

May 19, 1982

Mr. Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Larry:

It was great to see you in Chicago.  
You're doing a tremendous job.

On the topics we discussed, let me know when you'll be in Europe and I'll try to arrange a meeting with Dorio Mutti. I know he'd enjoy it. Our manager's meeting in San Francisco will be August 5 and 6. If you'd like to come for all or any part of it, we'd love to have you.

CC  
C...  
W...

I plan to be in Washington several times in the next few months, so I'll definitely let you know ahead of time.

Best personal regards,



Robert L. Dilenschneider

RLD:vw



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

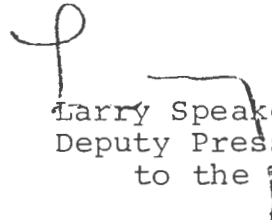
May 17, 1982

Dear Bob:

It was great to see you in Chicago and I enjoyed our conversation at the breakfast. Let's do keep in touch and keep things on track.

I'll follow up on your suggestions and I do hope you will let me know when you and Jan can get a night off in Washington and join Laura and me at the Kennedy Center.

Best regards,

  
Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. Robert L. Dilenschneider  
Hill and Knowlton, Inc.  
111 East Wacker Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60601

THE WHITE HOUSE

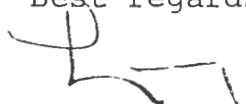
WASHINGTON

April 13, 1982

Dear Bob:

We will be coming out to Chicago on the evening of May 9. Although I'm not certain of our schedule yet, it would be a good opportunity for us to get together for a drink or dinner. Let's see if we can coordinate our schedules.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'L. Speakes', written over the typed name.

Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. Robert L. Dilenschneider  
Executive Vice President  
Hill and Knowlton, Inc.  
111 East Wacker Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60601

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 5, 1982

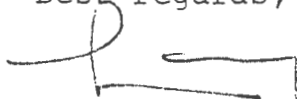
Dear Bob:

Many thanks for your letter seeking assistance on arranging the President's appearance at Gallaudet. It looks like a good opportunity to me also.

I'll take it back to the schedulers and see if I can bring back any change in their decision. I'll keep you posted.

This is a must: Lunch at the White House the next time you're in Washington. Let me know.

Best regards,



Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. Robert L. Dilenschneider  
Executive Vice President  
Hill and Knowlton, Inc.  
111 East Wacker Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60601

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**ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER**  
*Executive Vice President*  
*National Division*

January 29, 1982

Mr. Larry Speakes  
Deputy Assistant to the  
President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Larry:

I'd like to bring to your attention an opportunity for the President which could become one of his most significant appearances during 1982.

Gallaudet College, through the auspices of Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, is sponsoring the Lincoln Lecture Series on Liberty and Equality. Speakers are asked to take the opening line of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and analyze its themes -- liberty and equality -- in the context of today's public issues.

We feel that the lecture series is an ideal forum for discussion of the President's "New Federalism" concept, and how it relates to the ideals and thinking of our greatest Republican president, Abraham Lincoln. An appearance by Mr. Reagan also would strengthen the relationship between the White House and Gallaudet, a relationship which was much in evidence when some of Gallaudet's younger students shared in the White House Christmas festivities.

The first two speakers -- futurist Isaac Asimov and former Secretary of State Edmund Muskie -- were well received by the audience of Washington influentials and Gallaudet faculty and students.

Mr. Larry Speakes  
The White House

January 29, 1982  
Page Two

Two remaining dates have been set for the series -- March 22 and May 5, at 7:30 p.m. No speakers have been engaged for these dates. Gallaudet and Lincoln National would be delighted to host the President as a part of this series, on these or any other date of his choosing.

Gallaudet's President, Dr. Edward C. Merrill, already has requested the President's participation. On November 17, 1981, Gregory J. Newell indicated that Mr. Reagan's schedule prevented such a commitment.

We urge the President to reconsider. I would enjoy hearing from you on this, Larry.

Best personal wishes,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'RD', enclosed within a circular scribble.

Robert L. Dilenschneider

RLD/mk

cc: Mr. Gregory J. Newell

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 15, 1981

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for your letter regarding the recommendation of Homer Huhn for the Presidential Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives. Let's do two things: (1) have Members of Congress write directly to Jim Rosebush on the White House Staff (Jim runs the program); and (2) I will pass along your correspondence to Jim. That way we will hit him from two directions.

And ... thanks for your comments on The New York Times article. I believe I broke even -- but that's the price you pay.

Sincerely,

Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. Robert L. Dilenschneider  
Hill and Knowlton, Inc.  
111 East Wacker Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60601

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ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER  
*Executive Vice President*  
*National Division*

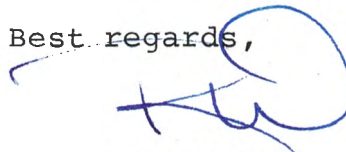
October 12, 1981

Mr. Larry Speakes  
Press Spokesperson  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Larry:

With respect to the October 7 New York Times  
story, we're behind you. All the best.

Best regards,



Robert L. Dilenschneider

RLD/ajh

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*Public Relations/Public Affairs Counsel*

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**ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER**

*Executive Vice President*

*National Division*

October 9, 1981

Mr. Larry Speakes  
Press Spokesperson  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Larry:

I know your day is more than cluttered,  
but if you could tell us what button to push on  
the attached or give us a hand, we'd sincerely  
appreciate it.

Jan and I send our best and hope you  
will visit us in Chicago when the wind picks up.

Best personal regards,



Robert L. Dilenschneider

RLD:sth  
Attachment







**GRAND LODGE**  
*Benevolent and Protective*  
**ORDER OF ELKS**  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

RAYMOND V. ARNOLD  
Grand Exalted Ruler

Box 1067  
JACKSON, MICHIGAN 49204

October 7, 1981

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As a major contributor in the private sector and having historically supported a variety of significant programs in the areas of civic betterment, youth activities, health and education, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, 1.6 million strong, believe we can provide a real contribution to your Task Force on Private Sector Initiative.

Our Order has contributed in excess of \$380,000,000 since the turn of the century in support of programs for those less fortunate. Had it not been for this support, many of these programs (aide for the handicapped, cerebral palsy therapy and rehabilitation, crippled children's hospitals, cancer research, scholarships for needy youngsters, just to name a few) would have been totally dependent on government subsidy for their existence. Last year alone, Mr. President, our Order contributed \$19.8 million and over 3.5 million hours of volunteer time to a variety of very badly needed projects in our communities and states. These contributions were made solely and totally by our membership without public solicitation or support.

This is only a brief overview of some of the programs that individual Elks organizations throughout America have initiated to help meet local needs with local expertise. Like you, Mr. President, we hold a firm belief in individual initiative, and applaud your dedication toward returning our country to the foundations that made it great. We want to be a key part in that journey.

*Tell America About Elkdom*

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan - 2

I would like to nominate a leader of our Order, Homer Huhn of Latrobe, Pa. to serve on your Task Force. As a Past Grand Exalted Ruler, a Past Grand Secretary and current member of the Grand Lodge Advisory Committee, no one individual is better acquainted with true grass roots voluntarism in this country -- what it is capable of accomplishing and what it has accomplished for the benefit of our country and its citizens.

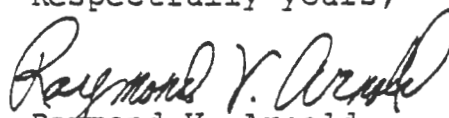
Mr. President, as a leading fraternal Order devoted to benevolent and patriotic principles, we strongly believe that the many organizations like us will provide the grass roots support and activism that your program will require if it is to succeed.

For the benefit of your program and this country, I respectfully urge that you give Homer Huhn's nomination serious consideration.

In response to your message to the nation on September 24, I am asking each of the Elks state association presidents to call on all the lodges in their respective states, in both our names, to increase their contributions both to our state major projects and the various benevolent programs we now have in force, and to seek opportunities to expand their voluntary man-hour contributions within their communities.

I have every confidence that the members of the Order will respond to this call. I will be happy to report that response to you once it has been compiled.

Respectfully yours,

  
Raymond V. Arnold  
Grand Exalted Ruler

Mr. Homer Huhn, Jr., PGER  
B. P. O. E.  
809 Shenandoah Drive, South  
Latrobe, PA 15650

HOMER HUHN, JR. - PAST GRAND EXALTED RULER

Brother Homer Huhn, Jr. is the 11th Pennsylvanian to hold the highest office in BPOElks of the United States of America. He was born in Uniontown, PA June 3, 1918. When he was 13 years of age he and his family moved to the Mount Pleasant area. He was educated in the Mount Pleasant Township Public Schools graduating from Mount Pleasant Township High School in 1937. He attended Pennsylvania State University, and following his schooling there successfully completed a course in Budgeting with the University of Pittsburgh.

For several years Brother Huhn owned and operated a Cleaning and Tailoring business, and then became Tax Clerk of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania in 1955 where he established its first mechanized tax writing system. He became Chief Clerk and Secretary to the Board of County Commissioners in 1964 and its Administrative Assistant in 1968. He was vice-chairman of the Westmoreland County Municipal Water Authority, organized and served as President of the State Association of Chief Clerks and County Commissioners, and a member of the State Association of Secretaries. He served as a Trustee of the Frick Community Hospital, and a Director of the Mount Pleasant Savings and Loan Association and the Standard Savings and Loan of Wilkinsburg, PA. He was very active in civic and political affairs and served as County Treasurer of his political party for many years.

The high-ranking Elks leader is a member of the Wesley United Methodist Church in Mount Pleasant and a member of Masonic Lodge #562 in Scottdale, PA, a member of the Odd Fellows Lodge #350 and the Moose Lodge #27 in Mount Pleasant, and the Eagles Lodge #1007 in Scottdale.

He was initiated into Mount Pleasant Lodge #868 in 1941 and was Exalted Ruler in 1952-1953. Serving as a Trustee of his Lodge until 1955 he then became its Secretary, holding the office for 11 years. He was very active in Lodge work, served as a member of the Building Committee and instituted the Student Aid Program, which is still in effect. In 1956 he was elected an Honorary Life Member in the Lodge.

Brother Huhn was also active in the Pennsylvania Elks State Association, serving as District Treasurer, District President and Chairman of the District Advisory Committee. He served on various State Committees and as Trustee of the State Association. He served as President of the State Association in 1964-1965 and in 1966 became its Secretary, an office he held until he was appointed Grand Lodge Secretary in January 1971. He was subsequently elected to this office in July 1971 and has been reelected annually since that time, constantly displaying his integrity, administrative ability, knowledge of the affairs of the Order and strict adherence to its Constitution and Statutes. He presently serves as Chairman of the Advisory Committee of his State Association.

His Grand Lodge activities, in addition to serving as Grand Secretary from 1971-1977, include District Deputy Grand Exalted Ruler in 1956-1957, a member of the Committee on Credentials in 1966-1967, Lodge Activities Committee of Grand Lodge in 1967-1968 and 1968-1969, the Auditing and Accounting Committee in 1969-1970 and Chairman of the Lodge Activities Committee in 1970-1971, an appointment he resigned to become Grand Secretary.

Brother Huhn married Josephine M. Hydock in 1942

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*Public Relations/Public Affairs Counsel*  
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ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER  
*Executive Vice President*  
*National Division*


September 15, 1981

Mr. Larry Speakes  
Press Spokesperson  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Larry:

All of us were sorry we missed you in Chicago. We believe we saw you fly overhead in a helicopter when we were cruising Lake Michigan on our annual staff outing. All of us wish you could have been there.

Best regards to you and Laura.



Robert L. Dilenschneider

RLD:sth

**HILL AND KNOWLTON, INC.**

*Public Relations/Public Affairs Counsel*

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**ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER**  
*Executive Vice President*  
*National Division*

August 12, 1981

Mr. Lawrence Speakes  
Principal Deputy Press  
Secretary  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Larry:

I don't know how my mother and father got this note from Ronald Reagan, but I sense your fine hand in the background.

Many thanks. They were surprised and delighted to receive a note from the White House.

Best regards,

*Bob*

Robert L. Dilenschneider

RLD/s



Nancy and I congratulate you as you celebrate your wedding anniversary. We are delighted to join with your family and friends in sharing the joy of this occasion, and we send you our warmest wishes.

*Ronald Reagan*

THE WHITE HOUSE



*Mr. & Mrs. S. J. Dilenschneider*  
*1885 Suffolk Road*  
*Columbus, Ohio 43221*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 8, 1981

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for your note of congratulations.

It's always good to hear from old friends,  
and you were kind to write.

Please keep in touch.

Best wishes,

Larry Speakes  
Deputy Assistant to  
the President

*see the sign, you*  
Mr. Robert L. Dilenschneider  
Hill and Knowlton, Inc.  
111 East Wacker Drive  
Chicago, IL 60601 *to town!*

*... at the side*  
*...*



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*Public Relations/Public Affairs Counsel*

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**ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER**

*Executive Vice President*

*National Division*

June 24, 1981

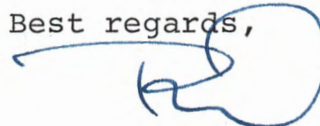
Mr. Lawrence Speakes  
Principal Deputy Press  
Secretary  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Larry:

The "Today" show this morning carried the good news that you've been named Principal Deputy Press Secretary. Congratulations on continued progress at the White House and here's all the best for good luck and success.

I'm really proud to know you.

Best regards,



Robert L. Dilenschneider

RLD/sg

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1981

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for your letter and your kind comments. The fact that they came from you makes them all the more meaningful. I believe we are getting things on an even keel.

I really wish you would schedule a visit to Washington, and let's sit down and talk.

Best regards,



Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. Robert L. Dilenschneider  
Executive Vice President  
National Division  
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111 East Wacker Drive  
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ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER

*Executive Vice President*

*National Division*

April 7, 1981

Mr. Lawrence Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Larry:

Your elevation to press secretary is well deserved in Jim Brady's absence. You've done and will do a great job under less than ideal circumstances. We're all behind you. Let me know if there is the slightest way I can help.

Best regards,



Robert L. Dilenschneider

RLD/sg

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 11, 1981

Dear Bob:

Thanks for sending the copy of Clifford Hardin's remarks on Presidents controlling the White House. It's a fascinating subject, and you were right -- I read it with much interest.

Keep in touch.

Best wishes,



Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. Robert L. Dilenschneider  
Hill and Knowlton, Inc.  
One Illinois Center  
111 East Wacker Drive  
Suite 1730  
Chicago, Illinois 60601

From  
Robert L. Dilenschneider

1/12/81

TO: Larry Speakes  
Washington, DC

I thought you'd be interested  
in this reprint.

RLD

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# **Can a President Really Control His Own White House?**

By Clifford M. Hardin

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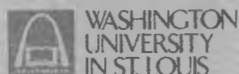
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## CAN A PRESIDENT REALLY CONTROL HIS OWN WHITE HOUSE?

by Clifford M. Hardin

This booklet is one in a series of informal talks delivered at Whittemore House, the Faculty Club at Washington University. These lectures, sponsored by the Center for the Study of American Business, offer a unique meeting ground for academics and business executives to meet and discuss contemporary subjects of mutual concern. The views expressed by the guest lecturers in this series are strictly their own.

Can a president really control his own White House? Yes, he can—if, before he takes office, he insists on a basic restructuring which is put in place immediately. But if President-elect Reagan accepts the traditional pattern and fills all the job slots that will be available, he will be frustrated eventually, just as his predecessors have been.

My remarks this evening will focus, therefore, on the structure of that institution known as the Executive Office of the President, and on how the very organization and size of that establishment often hinders the president in achieving what he believes is best for the country.

I believe that the White House staff group has become much too large. I further believe that the excess staffing contributes to loading the president's "in basket" with many items that might better be handled elsewhere, that too many people invite intrigue, and that they tend to add to confusion throughout government.

The "bottom-line" issue involves preserving the president's time for those items that must have his personal attention, gaining the time he needs for study and reflection—which he must have if he is to lead and not merely react—and providing him with ready access to the thinking of the best brains in government.

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Dr. Hardin is scholar-in-residence at the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis. He was former Secretary of Agriculture (1969–1971). He draws heavily upon that experience, as well as on extensive administrative experience both as Chancellor of the University of Nebraska (1954–1969) and as Vice Chairman of the Board of Ralston Purina Company (1971–1980), for this talk given at Whittemore House on November 11, 1980.

Dr. James S. Young, of the White Burkett Miller Center for the Study of the Presidency at the University of Virginia, writing in the *New York Times* on December 7, 1978, stated the issue quite effectively. After discussing the need for redefining the presidency, he stated:

It means disengaging the Presidency from many of the problems that public expectations, campaign exigencies, news-media pressures and the Washington Establishment will demand that the President do something about. It means substantially abandoning White House efforts to presidentialize the bureaucracy that only ends up bureaucratizing the Presidency. It means getting the Presidency substantially out of the business of managing the executive branch: ceding large parts of that domain to Congress, courts and Cabinet, but not ceding the President's power to pre-empt or intervene when reasons of state require. It means putting distance between the Presidency and the permanent government in Washington—distance enough to enable a president to watch the Government as the outsider he really is, to know when it is getting the country into serious trouble and when it isn't, to know when to step in and when to stay out.

I believe firmly that a president, once elected, should be free to determine and exercise his own style of leadership—how he communicates with the Congress, how he works with his close associates whom he himself has selected, how he relates to the American people, and how he administers foreign policy. What's new about that? Don't all presidents do just that? Yes and no. Yes, they do announce how they intend to handle all of those functions, but sometimes those goals and desires are not realized. Why?

### **Lessons from the Recent Past**

Nearly all, if not all, recent presidents have announced that they will make broad delegations for decision making to the members of the Cabinet and to the Vice President, and that they will become involved in the affairs of departments only in exceptional instances when concerns extend far beyond normal operation.

Recent administrations, both Republican and Democratic, have begun that way, but invariably, decision making has begun to flow back to the White House—not necessarily because of any overt action or policy expressed by the president, but because the nature of the structure surrounding the White House encourages it.

Paul Nitze, in the context of foreign policy and national defense, has spoken to this point in a paper published in the Miller Center Forum. He favors, as I do, transferring back some or all of the staff functions that have been going to the White House to the operating departments, and he states, "Frankly, I think the White House staff is too big, deals with too many diverse questions and isn't focused on the control issues. . . ." He concludes, "The main problem with the presidency is the economy of time. What we have is one man with a twelve-hour day. . . . How do you prevent everything going to the President? I think you prevent it mainly through decentralization of authority. In the Truman years. . . the great factor was Mr. Truman's confidence in General Marshall, Dean Acheson, Robert Lovett and a few others, confidence that gave them credibility in speaking and acting for him."<sup>1</sup> While Mr. Nitze was discussing foreign policy, I feel that his summary could and should apply to domestic matters as well.

Although I wasn't there, I have a feeling that the Truman pattern of utilizing Cabinet officers and their staffs continued with President Eisenhower, and that he also succeeded in delegating to other officials many items that in recent administrations have moved to the White House. But the White House staff wasn't as large in the 1950s as it has become in the 1960s and 1970s.

<sup>1</sup>See *The Virginia Papers on the Presidency: The White Burkett Miller Center Forums, 1979*, Kenneth W. Thompson, ed. (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1979).



### **Growth of the White House Staff**

Meaningful numbers showing the size of the White House staff are hard to find. The published number for 1979 is 315, but that is only the designated personal staff, and it does not include huge numbers of people who appear in other government budgets, but who are loaned on a more or less permanent basis to the White House. The number of 315 does not include the people in a long list of other offices which are active parts of the White House establishment. These include the Office of Management and Budget, the Council of Economic Advisers, the National Security Council, the Office of Science and Technology Policy, the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, the Council on Environmental Quality and the Office of Environmental Quality, the Domestic Policy Council staff, the Office of Administration, the Office for Special Assistance to the President, the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, the Council on Wage and Price Stability, the Intelligence Oversight Board, and several others. Perhaps the number of people may be as many as 2,000.

Additionally, there are some 60 to 70 independent agencies that are part of the Executive Branch and also report directly to the president—if indeed they report anywhere. Finally, there are 13 Cabinet departments. In industry, by contrast, the span of control that is generally considered maximum for efficient operation, in a direct reporting relationship, is six to eight people.

Even if the president is an experienced executive, skilled in the art of delegation and coordination, the management task itself is formidable. Add to it all the other roles the modern president is expected to play, all the issues and circumstances he is expected to react to on an almost daily basis, and you can wonder how anyone who occupies the office can find the

time for study and reflection that are so necessary.

Staff numbers grow for a variety of reasons. First, presidents sometimes desire to elevate an issue to White House status and appropriately create a small, ad hoc group to help with it. Even though initially regarded as temporary, such groups often continue in place after the emergency has passed, continue to find things to do and to grow. Numbers increase also because of the age-old tendency for everyone to want an assistant.

Then why doesn't the president trim the size of the staff? President Carter announced that he intended to do just that, and a few moves were made in this direction in the early days of his administration. It is risky to ascribe motives when you were not present and part of the action. But we do know that in several administrations, many of the positions on the White House staff have gone to people who were active in the campaign—perhaps as a reward for their help and perhaps also because there will soon be another election to plan for. Furthermore, these people are known to the new president and he is comfortable with them. Once in place, they are difficult to remove, especially the former campaign workers.

### **Competition and In-Fighting**

Many White House staffers are inexperienced in government, but they tend to be both bright and ambitious. There is great competition among them to get close to the Oval Office. One way to get the president's attention is to surface an issue that may spark his interest. Once an issue has been staffed-out and an "option paper" prepared, it nearly always reaches the president's desk.

In addition, there is a strong tendency for the staffers to consider themselves the "insiders," and, in their view, for Cabinet officers and agency heads to be "outsiders" whose loyalties to the president are not as intense or pure as

their own—and who, therefore, must be constantly watched. Add to this the fact that the president normally spends many more hours with staffers than with his Cabinet officers, and a climate has been created which can lead to “second guessing” and perhaps distrust.

It doesn't stop at that point. The White House staff quickly becomes an institutional entity in its own right, with considerable power over what the president sees and finally over what he decides. In a new book entitled *Palace Politics, An Inside Account of the Ford Years*, Robert T. Hartmann, who was President Ford's closest personal aide for more than a decade—from Congress to the White House—describes, in great detail, the inner struggles and clashing ambitions that infected at least one White House staff. At one point, he states:

The Praetorian pattern was a thing of beauty. What they could not prevent they could delay. What they could no longer delay they could cause to fail. What they could not make fail they could alter. What they had altered was no longer the President's idea and should be discarded. After a while, initiators of new ideas simply gave up.<sup>2</sup>

As an example, Hartmann describes President Ford's announcement in New York that Vice President Rockefeller would head the Domestic Council for him. He quotes President Ford as follows:<sup>3</sup>

I want the Domestic Council to undertake the following responsibilities: First, assessing national needs and identifying alternative ways of meeting them; second, providing rapid response to Presidential needs for policy advice; third, coordinating the establishment of the allocation of available resources; fourth, maintaining a continuous policy of review of our ongoing programs and, as we look down the road, proposing reforms as we need them.

That is why I personally, with the deepest conviction and support have asked the Vice

President to serve as Vice Chairman of the Council and to personally and vigorously oversee its work.

This announcement by the President was widely acclaimed. For once a Vice President was being used. But it never happened, and Hartmann describes in his book how it was accepted by the staff and then completely frustrated by the same group. Vice President Mondale has stated that he was used more than any other Vice President, and while this may be true, he did not appear to be a regular part of the decision making process.

Hartmann then quotes from George Reedy's book on the Johnson Presidency<sup>4</sup> in these terms:

The White House does not provide an atmosphere in which idealism and devotion can flourish. Below the President is a mass of intrigue, posturing, strutting, cringing and pious windbagery. For the young, the process is demoralizing.

It is possible for a president to assemble a staff of mature men who are past the period of inordinate ambition that characterizes the courtier. But this rarely, if ever, happens. The White House is a court. Inevitably, in a battle between courtiers and advisers, the courtiers will win out.

These examples are given not to highlight any one administration, but because they are characteristic of the struggle for power and position that has become typical of all recent administrations.

### **The Vice President as Chief of Staff**

Let us return once again to the Vice President. Invariably, his staff is resented by the president's staff. The Vice President usually sits with the Cabinet; he attends other meetings on occasion, but quite soon he becomes an outsider. For several years, I have felt that a president, when selecting a running mate, should do so with the objective of making him his “Chief of Staff.” What better training could

<sup>2</sup>Hartmann, Robert T., *Palace Politics, An Inside Account of the Ford Years* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), p. 219.

<sup>3</sup>Hartmann, *ibid.*, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup>Reedy, George E. *The Twilight of the Presidency*, (New York: New American Library, 1970).

there be for the person who might become president without notice? Furthermore, the Vice President is typically one of two people in the entire executive branch of government who is there by election of the American people.

Interestingly, former President Ford, writing in the November 10, 1980, issue of *TIME*, makes the same point. He recommends using "the Vice President as a real Chief of Staff, both to control the administrative bureaucracy and to see that Administration relations with the Congress really mesh." He continues, "Having been the Vice President and having been the President, I know that there has to be a better delegation of responsibility between the two officers. I don't care how well intentioned a President or a Vice President is—and I have seen both Democrats and Republicans try to work it out—no Vice President that I have known has been a full partner."

Using the Vice President as Chief of Staff puts him in the position of helping to make government work and it leaves the decision making with the Oval Office.

### **Delegation**

If delegation and decentralization are to be effective, Cabinet officers must be people in whom the president has great confidence and who merit such confidence. They must be people who are sympathetic with the president's philosophy and goals, and who are knowledgeable in the areas they will manage; they must be people who will always be open and candid with the president. Once these conditions have been met, they can be as effective as the president's public expressions of confidence in them will permit.

Something needs to be done also with the 60 to 70 independent federal agencies. I don't think the answer lies in grouping them all into a new Department of Potpourri, but perhaps they could, on a selective basis, be made part of appropriate existing departments.

But span of control is only part of the problem. Associated with it is the quality of staff work and background papers. Increasingly, the background material and the option papers are originating within the White House staff. The system is not only funneling more decisions into the White House, but more and more of the "staffing out" is being done there also.

Yet, the experience, expertise, and general capability for developing position papers in both foreign policy and domestic areas exist, to a much greater degree, in the departments than they do in the White House staff. As a matter of fact, it has been my observation that in every Cabinet department there are a few top career people who can only be described as superb people—among the very best in the country in their fields of specialization. They are mature and "game wise" and they have long memories. Typically, they are non-political and are the kind of people who are able to be helpful on a professional basis, and who are able to transfer their loyalties to succeeding administrations.

The president needs the input of these unusual professionals. They are part of the glue that holds government together; they provide for continuity when there is a change of administration.

### **Some Positive Approaches**

As with so many things that happen, it is relatively easy to be critical or to analyze with the benefit of hindsight. It is difficult to recommend positive, workable and effective solutions. In this kind of forum, however, I feel an obligation to try.

First, I repeat, I believe that each president should and must have the freedom to organize his own White House. It would be wrong for the Congress to impose a structure on a president.

Second. If meaningful reorganization is to occur, it must begin to take form during the transition period between election and "swearing in." The successful candidate simply must have

a clear picture in mind, and this must influence his choice of people. If he waits until he is the president, he will have neither the time nor the flexibility.

Third. I would recommend to a successful candidate that he refrain from filling at least half the slots that will be provided on the transition budget sheets. If he feels compelled to reward some of his key campaign workers, that can be done by placing them elsewhere in government.

Fourth. It is paramount that organization and reporting patterns be clearly established. The Chief of Staff—and I think there must be one, whether he is the Vice President or not—must be a person who clearly understands the president's desires and in whom the president has complete confidence. That person must also be a skilled manager.

Fifth. The president must begin immediately to express confidence in his Cabinet officers. This must be done with actions as well as words. It must be clear that they individually speak for the president in their fields of responsibility. As a matter of good management, utilization of Cabinet Secretaries to make decisions and announcements that may become controversial is an excellent technique. It buys time for the president. The president can observe reactions and is still available to apply a patch if that should prove necessary. If the president makes the announcement himself, there is no room left for maneuvering. Above all else, the president must make it clear at all times to his staff that the Cabinet officers are decision makers who are authorized and commissioned to speak for the president.

Sixth. The president should solicit background materials from appropriate departments and agencies, utilizing the wisdom and memories of some of the experienced and able civil servants. The president does not have to follow their

advice, but he definitely should know their views, especially on sensitive issues.

Seventh. I believe every president needs one individual who is wise and experienced in Washington to be a personal advisor and counselor. This person should have Cabinet rank, be "without portfolio," and have full access to all parts of the White House organization. Arthur Burns performed this function early in the Nixon administration.

Eighth. The president should decree, and enforce such decree, that no one on his staff is authorized to call anyone in or outside of government and say "The President wants . . ." unless that person has been specifically authorized to do so. Normally, only three or four people will be calling at the direct request of the president.

Ninth. The president must be alert at all times to actions by his staff that will undermine the effectiveness and authority of his Cabinet officers. There is something about the White House atmosphere that sooner or later infects even nice people with an inner feeling of superior knowledge and judgment.

Tenth. Consideration should be given to removing certain entities from the White House complex. The National Security Council is a case in point. If it cannot be removed from the White House, then perhaps it should be headed by the Secretary of State. Does the Council on Environmental Quality need to be in the White House, or the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention?

Reform will not come easily, but the stakes are high. As we begin the decade of the 80s, the leadership of the United States is being challenged. The need for a strong and clear voice from the White House is paramount. A well-disciplined staff that focuses on the control issues may not guarantee an effective presidency, but it will greatly increase the likelihood of success.

*Question and Answer Session*

*Question:* I have a question regarding your point about making use of the experience and wisdom of senior staff people who are retained from a previous president's administration. In the present case, it seems clear that President-elect Reagan will try to shift directions in a number of areas in his new administration. What, then, can Reagan—or any other president—do about senior government staff whose thinking is different from his? What are his alternatives? Can he simply replace these people?

*Hardin:* I don't think he can replace them very easily. He can transfer them or he can simply work around them. But I don't think I made my point completely clear. Most of the senior people to whom I was referring are located in the departments. Historically, when more of the decisions were made in the departments by cabinet officers—a higher percent than is true today—issues were staffed out in the departments. As more and more issues have gone to the White House for decision, so has the preparation of the background papers. That is what has cut the President off from the wisdom of some of these old-timers. I think you almost take care of the problem when you push some of the decision making back into the Cabinet departments. Cabinet officers can then utilize those civil servants who can be of most help.

*Question:* Do you feel that the people from prior administrations will be able to effect changes?

*Hardin:* Yes, I think they can. The Cabinet officer or the president is still going to make the decisions, but I found it helpful to be able to learn what had happened before. If you were talking about an issue concerning the Common Market, for instance, certain members of the career staff knew the personalities involved and knew what the reaction would be if you took

certain actions. You may not always follow the advice of such people, or their recommendations. You may go in a different direction, but you do so with better knowledge of the risks.

*Question:* I was wondering about the particular relationship between the staff bureaucracy within the departments and the permanent staffs and committees in the Congress. Regardless of how a president staffs his White House, there is always something of a unique "symbiosis," so to speak, that develops between the congressional staffs and the permanent bureaucracy in the Executive Branch.

*Hardin:* I agree with you completely. As the size of the White House and congressional staffs have increased, so has the interlocking among the various groups. That's a whole chapter unto itself. It is a case of wheels within wheels, of course, and it involves the staffs of the White House, the departments, and the Congress. They all have their organizations, grapevines, or whatever you may wish to call them. If you are on the Hill testifying as a Cabinet officer, the word of what happened is often flashed to the White House, to your own department, and to other places in government before you even get out of the hearing room. These staff people organize to have influence—"I'll deliver my boss if you can deliver yours," and that sort of thing with senators and congressmen. Yes, that is very much a part of the pattern.

And yes, you do have these mind-sets among the Executive Branch staffers, but if we can relieve the president of some of the minutia, we increase the opportunity that the president has for selecting initiatives that are *his* initiatives—and his Cabinet officers are presumably people who agree with his philosophies or they wouldn't have accepted their posts. Thus, new ad hoc groups can be established to determine new directions, but that direction has to come from the White House, or it has to come from

the Cabinet officer through either presidential delegation or directive. So, I agree with you. I think this is a very necessary part, and I think you encourage it by getting some of the staffing out of the White House.

*Question:* We have people who end up in the office of the governor or president whose background has been, perhaps, a legal background or some background with little business experience. They have had no experience with a complex organization, and they wind up “captured” by the bureaucracy. So the problem is inherent in the whole process. They are dealing with something that is too large.

*Hardin:* Yes. We know that the system for selecting a president does not place a premium on executive ability or on experience in running an organization—and I guess perhaps it *should* not. And this is why we are talking about restructuring so that a man of good intentions, who is not necessarily an experienced manager, can still have some chance of being successful. Let’s change this tradition and get an organization in place which will have the capacity to serve the president, not inhibit him. I think this is an obligation, because if you look back over the presidents of this century, I don’t think you will find more than two or three who had comprehensive management experience prior to becoming president.

*Question:* A recent article—I forget how close it claimed to be to the voice of the President-elect—said that a “cluster theory” of Cabinet officers and Cabinet departments was going to be used. The President would recognize issues according to specific fields and make one particular Cabinet officer the recognized leader in that field—I don’t mean a “supersecretary” *per se*. It might be, if it were tax policy, then the Secretary of the Treasury might be the lead

officer and Labor and Commerce would be grouped somehow under the Treasury Secretary. This would be done through the president’s recognition of one individual as more responsible for related kinds of policies. I just wondered if you would react to that.

*Hardin:* Some presidents have done this to a degree. Perhaps not enough. President Nixon, I think in his second term, had four “super-Cabinet” officers, and formalized this arrangement. That didn’t work very well, in my opinion. Of course, he started late in the game with the concept, too. But I can recall instances when the President would call in three of us, just as you described, and say, “Here is an issue. Now, I want the Secretary of Commerce to take the lead on this. And I want you two to give your input to him to see what you can work out.” Now that’s a specific organization approval, it is ad hoc, and it does work. I have no idea whether past presidents have done that or not, but I did observe it in operation in President Nixon’s first term.

Typically, the president must initiate this type of cooperative approval—although *not* always. For example, before the environmental agency was set up, there were three departments with responsibility for pesticides. I had the lead position, but the Department of Interior was involved and HEW was involved through the FDA. We three Secretaries suddenly found out that the staff of the three departments had been fighting for 20 years, and a whole lot of things had been locked up and never acted on. So the three of us had lunch together one day on that specific subject, after each of us was briefed by our own people. We laid the problems out on the table. Well, it was utterly, completely ridiculous. So we wrote a little message that we each sent out to our staffs that day, which was: “The following issues have been blocked by inaction for many, many years. Unless you can get together with the people in the other

departments and get these problems settled by one week from today, the issue will be elevated and the three of us are going to decide." The staffs cleaned up nearly all of the problems in one week. The two other Secretaries and I had one more meeting in order to settle the few remaining issues. And they were settled.

*Question:* Richard Fenno has written a classic book, *The President's Cabinet*. He takes the view, if I remember correctly, that since Cabinet members are selected not because of their management ability but because they represent their political party in specific geographic sectors, some of the Cabinet officers are perfect strangers to the president. First, would you comment on that oversimplified view and, second, do you think it is a partial explanation for the growth of the White House office—that is, the natural tendency for the president to surround himself with trusted associates?

*Hardin:* I guess it would depend on who you were talking to. I think the quality of Cabinet officers has varied greatly through the years. I think some of the presidents have picked people who you had some reason to believe were competent to handle the assignment. There were other presidents, however, who were thinking about politics when they made the selections, or there was a defeated senator or governor who had to be taken care of. In those instances, the person selected might not have been the best person for that particular Cabinet assignment. Yes, that goes on. But that is up to the president. He picks his people, and they serve at his pleasure, and if he is going to put up with incompetence, there is nothing anyone else can do about it. But I would hope that we could build a tradition of picking able people to be the Cabinet officers, and I think it can be done. But I won't defend what has happened. Murray, what do you think?

*Murray Weidenbaum:* I won't even defend what will happen!

*Question:* Wouldn't it be very helpful, in the administration of the bureaucracy and in the administration of the White House staff, to apply some of the practices of the British, who have found, for example, that making very bright individuals private secretaries to Cabinet ministers gives them an overview experience of the operation of the government? Sometimes these people later come back as ministers. They go through the political process. They have a unique perspective on the relationship between Parliament and the permanent bureaucracy that average individuals appointed to the Cabinet positions surely do not have in the United States. Murray Weidenbaum is a perfect example of what I am mentioning. He has seen the bureaucracy at an earlier part of his life, and he came in later as an appointed individual, and so he saw two perspectives.

*Hardin:* On the other hand, where has that system taken the British? They haven't been exactly brilliant in building their economy, or getting the leadership to build a country, or establishing national goals. I think there is merit in what you say, but I, for one, think it would take 100 years to build enough tradition to make the British system work in America.

*Question:* What about the White House Fellows program? Isn't this the American version of training experienced leaders in government?

*Hardin:* Yes, you're correct in saying that the White House Fellows program is one way in which bright individuals from the private sector are given first-hand experience in the Executive Branch of government. I think it can be considered a valuable training opportunity for potential political leaders. While I was Secretary of Agriculture, I had four different Fellows

working for me, and I regard it as a sound program. Perhaps twenty or so years down the road, some of these people will come back into government in senior positions.

*Question:* You made, I believe, some reference to the fact that part of the problem of staffing is holding people through the reelection. At least in the first term, that is the situation. There are a number of people advocating that the presidential term be extended beyond four years and that the president not be subject to reelection. Do you think if that were done—a term of, say, six or eight years—that the president would have more ability to control the staff, and that there would be a little more incentive—and would he be more courageous, perhaps, in administering?

*Hardin:* I think almost everything I have said tonight would point in the direction of a six-year presidency, or in the direction of one term, whatever the length. There is one issue that I don't think that we know much about—maybe we will never know until we try it—and that is, to what extent, or for what portion of that term, would the president be a lame-duck? I don't know the answer to that. I *think* there is enough power in the White House to make it work. I think the president has that much power, as long as he is in office, but there would be a tendency certainly in the last year to “wait out” the president, I suspect, to see what the new guy would do. On the other hand, what's new about that? So, I think I would be in favor of the single term.

*Question:* How are second terms compared to first terms? How do you standardize the data?

*Hardin:* When I was thinking about leaving government, I talked to one of my good friends, who was an old hand around Washington. He

said it was his experience—and he was with Eisenhower for the whole eight years and had been around Washington most of the time since then—that most of the fun is in the first term, and the second four years are rough. He said it was true in Eisenhower's time and it was certainly true in Johnson's. It turned out to be that way in Nixon's, and Carter isn't getting a second term. So, perhaps there *is* a difference.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 9, 1981

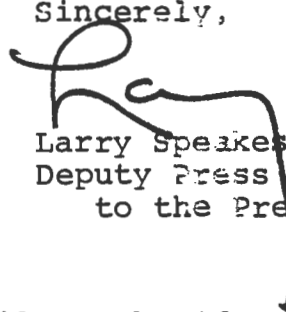
Dear Bob:

Now that things have settled down, I want to take this opportunity to say how much I appreciate your advice, counsel, and friendship during the years at Hill and Knowlton. I am particularly grateful for your confidence in my abilities to join your office, and I shall always be grateful for your offer.

I do want us to keep in close touch, and I am particularly anxious for you to visit me at the White House when you are in Washington.

Again, thank you.

Sincerely,



Larry Speakes  
Deputy Press Secretary  
to the President

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