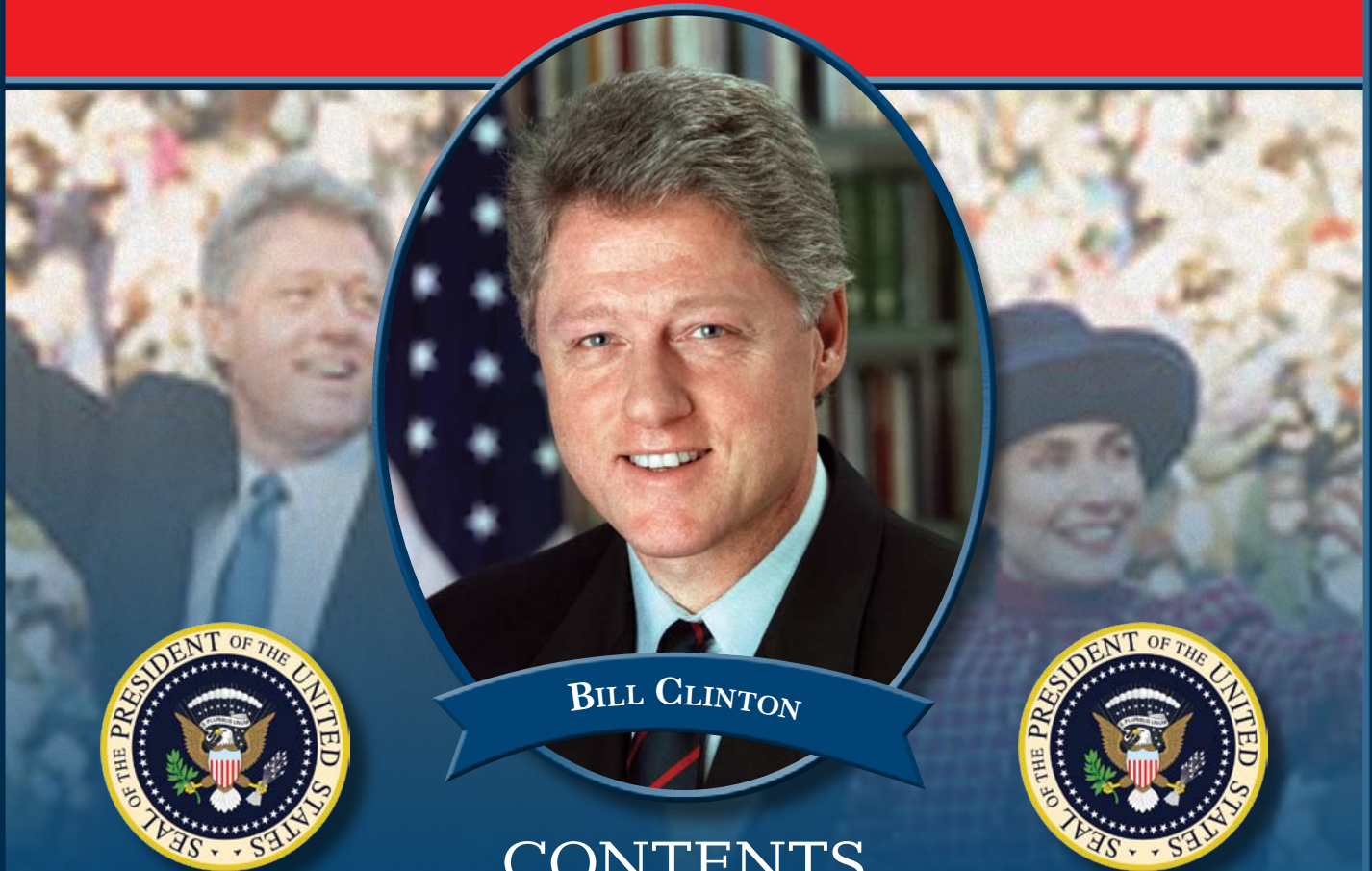


Clinton's Legacy



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Clinton's Legacy

Which President Will History Compare Him Most Closely To?

by Kevin Baker

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<http://www.americanheritage.com/content/clinton's-legacy>

AS HE COUNTS DOWN the last days of his second term, we can be assured that President Clinton is now focusing his thoughts exclusively on the one subject that has preoccupied him since he first took the oath of office: his place in history. Apparently, even back in his first term, Clinton asked his Faustian media adviser Dick Morris, "Where do I fit in?"

The story has it that Morris, displaying the same chutzpah that keeps him politically alive today, told the President, "Borderline third tier."

Clinton glumly agreed.

What Morris had in mind was no doubt those rankings of the Presidents, based originally on Arthur Schlesinger, Sr.'s pollings of his fellow historians in the 1950s, that used to adorn American history classrooms.

Those framed charts were always diamond-shaped, with pictures of Washington, Lincoln, and Franklin Roosevelt up in the "Great" category; Truman, Jackson, Theodore Roosevelt, and maybe a few others in the "Near Greats"; a whole bunch in the middle, "Average" group; and finally, all the way down, a grimfaced Grant and Harding at the sad "Failure" level.

The more recent Presidents would not be ranked, as scrupulous historians decreed that not enough time had passed for a fair, impartial judgment to be made.

Fortunately most journalists have no such scruples. No doubt you've already happened on several assessments of Bill Clinton's ranking in the presidential pantheon, all likely



The White House, Washington, DC.

determined by the commentators' own politics. Since about the beginning of his first Inaugural Address, Republicans have been repeating, in truly admirable near-unison, that the Clinton administration is the "most corrupt in history."

Sorry. But barring any new revelations—always a possibility—the Clinton administration does not even qualify as the most scandalous Presidency of the past 30 years.

If it's a matter of subverting the Constitution to political ends, no scandal in American history quite sinks to the depths of Watergate, with Richard Nixon using the CIA to thwart an FBI investigation and suggesting that his aides burgle the Brookings Institution.

Even when it comes to personal peccadilloes, Clinton doesn't hold a candle to Warren Harding, who during the 1920 campaign juggled not one but two mistresses, one of whom supposedly became the target of a piano stool launched by Mrs. Harding.

So if he dodges the "Failure" level, whom should Clinton be compared to? The yardstick for most Presidents in the second half of this century has become Franklin Roosevelt, or maybe Harry Truman, the reigning exemplar of courage in office. Here, too, Clinton falls short. Political careers must always be in part a matter of circumstances, and to reach the "Great" or "Near Great" level of Presidents, it's imperative to lead the nation through a war, a depression, or some similar crisis. FDR had the good fortune to serve during the most grueling depression and bloodiest war in human history. The Clinton administration just has not been



Bill and Hillary Clinton during the first inauguration parade, Jan. 20, 1993.

Clinton's Legacy

– CONTINUED –

blessed with the sort of catastrophes necessary to showcase real leadership.

So which President does compare most closely to Bill Clinton? I would opt for what might seem a most unlikely choice: Calvin Coolidge.

On a personal level, of course, few men could be more different. Coolidge was the quintessential New Englander, legendary for his taciturn, careful nature, the product of a stolid farm family. Where Clinton was a political Wunderkind, first winning election to the Arkansas statehouse at the age of 32, Coolidge worked his way up the political ladder painstakingly, winning an election every year or two for some two decades. He attained the Presidency only on the untimely death of Harding and had become Vice President in the first place only because he was mistakenly lavished with praise for his role in a Boston police strike that he actually bungled as governor of Massachusetts. Moreover, Coolidge seems to have been a devoted, if domineering, husband, a man who insisted on monitoring his wife's whereabouts at all times and who, shortly after they were married, presented her with a bag containing 52 pairs of socks that needed mending. (Try that with Hillary sometime.)

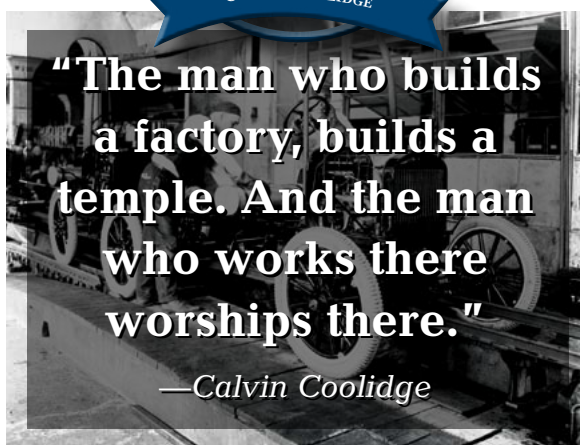
So what, then, do Clinton and Coolidge have in common? The answer lies mostly in the fit between the men and their times. More than any other Presidents of this century, both embraced a diminished role for the governments they ran, remaining largely content to celebrate the private energies and ambitions that coursed through America in their eras.

And there are some striking similarities between the Americas of Bill Clinton and Calvin Coolidge. The 1920s were a period of tremendous technological advancements that fundamentally altered the way most people lived. Coolidge's main reaction to them, like Clinton's to the wonders of the age of the Internet, was mostly to marvel at what science and business had wrought and get out of the way of future progress. Like Clinton, Coolidge took office on the heels of a government that had consciously repudiated years of progressive reforms and made a point of passing massive tax cuts for the wealthy. Also like Clinton, he was even more faithful to this legacy than its progenitors, keeping the federal budget nearly flat and greatly reducing the national debt.

During Coolidge's administration, the peacetime army shriveled away, far more than under Clinton's. He did nothing to police the



CALVIN COOLIDGE



runaway stock market or to redress the grievances of organized labor, largely demolished by big business soon after World War I. His Justice Department took no real action against the bold new crime syndicates that flourished under Prohibition. Again and again, Coolidge made clear his view that government had little place in most fields of human endeavor. Facing a wrenching nationwide farm depression that had persisted since the end of World War I, he only asked rhetorically, "When a man can't make any money in a business, what does he do?"

WHAT DO CLINTON AND COOLIDGE HAVE IN COMMON?

THE ANSWER LIES MOSTLY IN THE FIT BETWEEN THE MEN AND THEIR TIMES.

His approach to foreign relations was nearly as callous, letting his Secretary of State conclude a meaningless pact that "outlawed" war while doing little

to help Europe through its postwar shambles or to confront Japan's expansionist impulses in the Far East.

Yet Coolidge maintained a real idealism about the modern industrial world. He meant it when he told the Society of American Newspaper Editors, "The chief business of the American people is business," and when he proclaimed, "The man who builds a factory, builds a temple. And the man who works there worships there." There is in such statements a sort of rapture that dovetails with nothing so much as Bill Clinton's eager reveries about building his "bridge to the twenty-first century." And much as Clinton's opponents may scoff, he seems to have meant it, too, when he announced, "The era of big government is over."

It is doubtful that Calvin Coolidge would consider our government to be small. But it is Clinton, after all, who has run a sort of modern equivalent of a limited federal government—balancing the budget, ending the welfare state, and letting dreams of national health care expire—though entitlements alone preclude shrinkage to anything like the scale of things in Coolidge's day.

As for foreign policy, Clinton has hardly been as cynically isolationist as Coolidge was. Indeed, his concerted pursuit of peace in the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, and elsewhere has won support all over the globe. Still, he can be seen as at times having subordinated principles to narrower trade objectives, as in his abandoning his campaign promises to make civil liberties and the environment part of major trade agreements.

Clinton's Legacy

– CONTINUED –

And it is Clinton who has reversed a trend of some 70 years by overseeing a transfer of power from the nation's political capital, Washington, to its financial capital, New York. Wall Street has not held such a position of ascendancy in our country since, well, Calvin Coolidge. Perhaps the seismic proportions of this shift alone will induce historians to bump old Bill up a notch or two on some future classroom Web site. Or maybe not. Within months of Coolidge's retirement from public life, after all, the Depression had altered forever the future that he thought business alone would take care of.

What had seemed like prudent, limited government just a couple of years earlier looked like simply passing the buck. In the years ahead, America would sorely want for a social safety net and effective law enforcement, a better balance of power between labor and management, and a reasonable military deterrent.

It may be that the bridge to the twenty-first century will also require some rapid and bewildering adjustments, that building a global economy will take more than a few free-trade agreements, that we will face wars in which significant casualties are a real possibility, and that preserving human rights and liberties will require a concerted effort by the people, deciding their destiny through their elected representatives, not just the marketplace or the Internet. Of course, if Clinton too finds that the new era is not what he anticipated, don't expect him to admit it. These days the first thing former Presidents do is sit down in their presidential libraries, write their memoirs, and make their own cases. But what history suggests Bill Clinton will do with his life after the Oval Office is a subject we'll take up next time. ❧



Bill Clinton reversed a trend of some 70 years by overseeing the transfer of power from the nation's political capital, Washington, DC, top, to its financial capital, New York Wall Street, above.

Clinton's Legacy

Oklahoma Bombing Memorial Prayer Service Address by William Jefferson Clinton

APRIL 23, 1995

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/wjckoklahomabombingspeech.htm>

Thank you very much, Governor Keating and Mrs. Keating, Reverend Graham, to the families of those who have been lost and wounded, to the people of Oklahoma City, who have endured so much, and the people of this wonderful state, to all of you who are here as our fellow Americans.

I am honored to be here today to represent the American people. But I have to tell you that Hillary and I also come as parents, as husband and wife, as people who were your neighbors for some of the best years of our lives.

Today our nation joins with you in grief. We mourn with you. We share your hope against hope that some may still survive. We thank all those who have worked so heroically to save lives and to solve this crime – those here in Oklahoma and those who are all across this great land, and many who left their own lives to come here to work hand in hand with you. We pledge to do all we can to help you heal the injured, to rebuild this city, and to bring to justice those who did this evil.

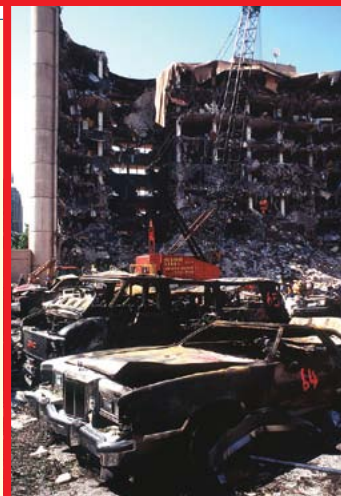
This terrible sin took the lives of our American family, innocent children in that building, only because their parents were trying to be good parents as well as good workers; citizens in the building going about their daily business; and many there who served the rest of us – who worked to help the elderly and the disabled, who worked to support our farmers and our veterans, who worked to enforce our laws and to protect us. Let us say clearly, they served us well, and we are grateful.

But for so many of you they were also neighbors and friends. You saw them at church or the PTA meetings, at the civic clubs, at the ball park. You know them in ways that all the rest of America could not. And to all the members of the families here present who have suffered loss, though we share your grief, your pain is unimaginable, and we know that. We cannot undo it. That is God's work.

Our words seem small beside the loss you have endured. But I found a few I wanted to share today. I've received a lot of letters in these last terrible days. One stood out because it came from a young widow and a mother of three whose own husband was murdered with over 200 other Americans when Pan Am 103 was shot down. Here is what that woman said I should say to you today:

The anger you feel is valid, but you must not allow yourselves to be consumed by it. The hurt you feel must not be allowed to turn into hate, but instead into the search for justice. The loss you feel must not paralyze your own lives. Instead, you must try to pay tribute to your loved ones by continuing to do all the things they left undone, thus ensuring they did not die in vain.

Wise words from one who also knows.



The Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, Oklahoma City, OK, two days after the bombing.

Clinton's Legacy

Oklahoma Bombing Memorial Prayer Service Address

– Continued –

You have lost too much, but you have not lost everything. And you have certainly not lost America, for we will stand with you for as many tomorrows as it takes.

If ever we needed evidence of that, I could only recall the words of Governor and Mrs. Keating: "If anybody thinks that Americans are mostly mean and selfish, they ought to come to Oklahoma. If anybody thinks Americans have lost the capacity for love and caring and courage, they ought to come to Oklahoma."

To all my fellow Americans beyond this hall, I say, one thing we owe those who have sacrificed is the duty to purge ourselves of the dark forces which gave rise to this evil. They are forces that threaten our common peace, our freedom, our way of life. Let us teach our children that the God of comfort is also the God of righteousness: Those who trouble their own house will inherit the wind.¹ Justice will prevail.

Let us let our own children know that we will stand against the forces of fear. When there is talk of hatred, let us stand up and talk against it. When there is talk of violence, let us stand up and talk against it. In the face of death, let us honor life. As St. Paul admonished us, Let us "not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good."²

Yesterday, Hillary and I had the privilege of speaking with some children of other federal employees -- children like those who were lost here. And one little girl said something we will never forget. She said, "We should all plant a tree in memory of the children." So this morning before we got on the plane to come here, at the White House, we planted that tree in honor of the children of Oklahoma. It was a dogwood with its wonderful spring flower and its deep, enduring roots. It embodies the lesson of the Psalms -- that the life of a good person is like a tree whose leaf does not wither.³

My fellow Americans, a tree takes a long time to grow, and wounds take a long time to heal. But we must begin. Those who are lost now belong to God. Some day we will be with them. But until that happens, their legacy must be our lives.

Thank you all, and God bless you. ✕

¹Proverbs 11:29 -- "He who troubles his own house will inherit the wind, and the fool will be servant to the wise of heart." (NKJV)

²Romans 12:21 -- "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good." (NIV)

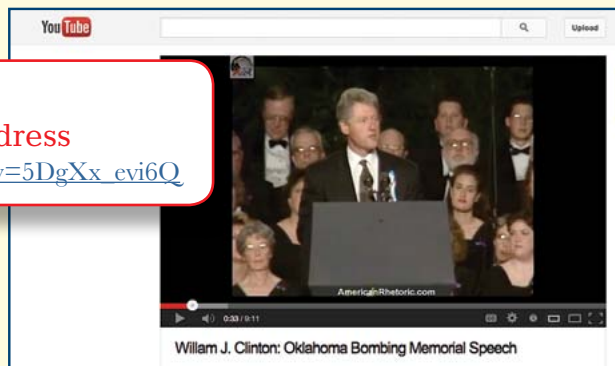
³Psalms 1:3 -- "Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked or stand in the way of sinners or sit in the seat of mockers. But his delight is in the law of the Lord, and on his law he meditates day and night. He is like a tree planted by streams of water, which yields its fruit in season and whose leaf does not wither. Whatever he does prospers." (NIV)



Audio Clip of Address

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5DgXx_evi6Q

*President William Jefferson Clinton's
Oklahoma Bombing Memorial Prayer
Service Address. Delivered April 23,
1995 in Oklahoma City, OK.*



Clinton's Legacy

“I Have Sinned” Speech

by William Jefferson Clinton

SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

<http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/clinton-sin.htm>

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to the White House and to this day to which Hillary and the vice president and I look forward so much every year.

This is always an important day for our country, for the reasons that the vice president said. It is an unusual and, I think, unusually important day today. I may not be quite as easy with my words today as I have been in years past, and I was up rather late last night thinking about and praying about what I ought to say today. And rather unusual for me, I actually tried to write it down. So if you will forgive me, I will do my best to say what it is I want to say to you - and I may have to take my glasses out to read my own writing.

First, I want to say to all of you that, as you might imagine, I have been on quite a journey these last few weeks to get to the end of this, to the rock bottom truth of where I am and where we all are.

I agree with those who have said that in my first statement after I testified I was not contrite enough. I don't think there is a fancy way to say that I have sinned.

It is important to me that everybody who has been hurt know that the sorrow I feel is genuine: first and most important, my family; also my friends, my staff, my Cabinet, Monica Lewinsky and her family, and the American people. I have asked all for their forgiveness.

But I believe that to be forgiven, more than sorrow is required - at least two more things. First, genuine repentance - a determination to change and to repair breaches of my own making. I have repented. Second, what my bible calls a "'broken spirit"; an understanding that I must have God's help to be the person that I want to be; a willingness to give the very forgiveness I seek; a renunciation of the pride and the anger which cloud judgment, lead people to excuse and compare and to blame and complain.

Now, what does all this mean for me and for us? First, I will instruct my lawyers to mount a vigorous defense, using all available appropriate arguments. But legal language must not obscure the fact that I have done wrong. Second, I will continue on the path of repentance, seeking pastoral support and that of other caring people so that they can hold me accountable for my own commitment.

Third, I will intensify my efforts to lead our country and the world toward peace and freedom, prosperity and harmony, in the hope that with a broken spirit and a still strong heart I can be used for greater good, for we have many blessings and many challenges and so much work to do.

In this, I ask for your prayers and for your help in healing our nation. And though I cannot move beyond or forget this - indeed, I must always keep it as a caution light in my life - it is very important that our nation move forward.

I am very grateful for the many, many people - clergy and ordinary citizens alike - who have written me with wise counsel. I am profoundly grateful for the support of so many Americans who somehow through it all seem to still know that I care about them a great deal, that I care about their problems and their dreams. I am grateful for those who have stood by me and who say that in



MONICA LEWINSKY



BILL CLINTON

Clinton's Legacy

I Have Sinned Speech

– Continued –

this case and many others, the bounds of privacy have been excessively and unwisely invaded. That may be. Nevertheless, in this case, it may be a blessing, because I still sinned. And if my repentance is genuine and sustained, and if I can maintain both a broken spirit and a strong heart, then good can come of this for our country as well as for me and my family. (Applause)

The children of this country can learn in a profound way that integrity is important and selfishness is wrong, but God can change us and make us strong at the broken places. I want to embody those lessons for the children of this country - for that little boy in Florida who came up to me and said that he wanted to grow up and be President and to be just like me. I want the parents of all the children in America to be able to say that to their children.

A couple of days ago when I was in Florida a Jewish friend of mine gave me this liturgy book called "Gates of Repentance." And there was this incredible passage from the Yom Kippur liturgy. I would like to read it to you:

"Now is the time for turning. The leaves are beginning to turn from green to red to orange. The birds are beginning to turn and are heading once more toward the south. The animals are beginning to turn to storing their food for the winter. For leaves, birds and animals, turning comes instinctively. But for us, turning does not come so easily. It takes an act of will for us to make a turn. It means breaking old habits. It means admitting that we have been wrong, and this is never easy. It means losing face. It means starting all over again. And this is always painful. It means saying I am sorry. It means recognizing that we have the ability to change. These things are terribly hard to do. But unless we turn, we will be trapped forever in yesterday's ways. Lord help us to turn, from callousness to sensitivity, from hostility to love, from pettiness to purpose, from envy to contentment, from carelessness to discipline, from fear to faith. Turn us around, O Lord, and bring us back toward you. Revive our lives as at the beginning, and turn us toward each other, Lord, for in isolation there is no life."

I thank my friend for that. I thank you for being here. I ask you to share my prayer that God will search me and know my heart, try me and know my anxious thoughts, see if there is any hurtfulness in me, and lead me toward the life everlasting. I ask that God give me a clean heart, let me walk by faith and not sight.

I ask once again to be able to love my neighbor - all my neighbors - as my self, to be an instrument of God's peace; to let the words of my mouth and the meditations of my heart and, in the end, the work of my hands, be pleasing. This is what I wanted to say to you today.

Thank you. God bless you. ✠



Audio Clip of the Speech
<http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/111139-1>

President Clinton stated "I have sinned" and "the sorrow I feel is genuine" when he addressed the White House prayer breakfast on Sept. 11, 1998. He plans to "continue on the path of repentance" and seek pastoral counsel. He asked for prayers and support from the American people.

Clinton's Legacy

The Budget and Deficit Under Clinton

by Brooks Jackson

FEBRUARY 11, 2008

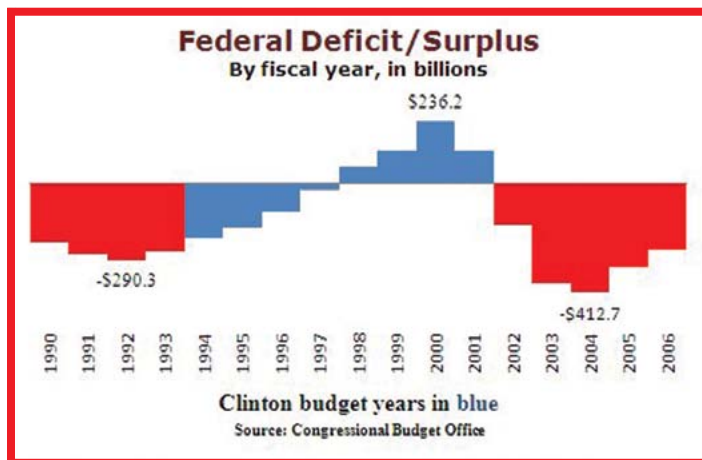
<http://www.factcheck.org/2008/02/the-budget-and-deficit-under-clinton/>

Q: During the Clinton administration was the federal budget balanced? Was the federal deficit erased?

A: Yes to both questions, whether you count Social Security or not.

FULL ANSWER

This chart, based on historical figures from the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, shows the total deficit or surplus for each fiscal year from 1990 through 2006. Keep in mind that fiscal years begin Oct. 1, so the first year that can be counted as a Clinton year is fiscal 1994. The appropriations bills for fiscal years 1990 through 1993 were signed by Bill Clinton's predecessor, George H.W. Bush. Fiscal 2002 is the first for which President George W. Bush signed the appropriations bills, and the first to show the effect of his tax cuts.



The Clinton years showed the effects of a large tax increase that Clinton pushed through in his first year, and that Republicans incorrectly claim is the "largest tax increase in history." It fell almost exclusively on upper-income taxpayers. Clinton's fiscal 1994 budget also contained some spending restraints. An equally if not more powerful influence was the booming economy and huge gains in the stock markets, the so-called dot-com bubble, which brought in hundreds of millions in unanticipated tax revenue from taxes on capital gains and rising salaries.

Clinton's large budget surpluses also owe much to the Social Security tax on payrolls. Social Security taxes now bring in more than the cost of current benefits, and the "Social Security surplus" makes the total deficit or surplus figures look better than they would if Social Security wasn't counted. But even if we remove Social Security from the equation, there was a surplus of \$1.9 billion in fiscal 1999 and \$86.4 billion in fiscal 2000. So any way you count it, the federal budget was balanced and the deficit was erased, if only for a while.

Update, Feb. 11: Some readers wrote to us saying we should have made clear the difference between the federal deficit and the federal debt. A deficit occurs when the government takes in less money than it spends in a given year. The debt is the total amount the government owes at any given time. So the debt goes up in any given year by the amount of the deficit, or it decreases by the amount of any surplus. The debt the government owes to the public decreased for a while under Clinton, but the debt was by no means erased.

Other readers have noted a USA Today story stating that, under an alternative type of accounting, the final four years of the Clinton administration taken together would have shown a deficit. This is based on an annual document called the "Financial Report of the U.S. Government," which reports what the government's books would look like if kept on an accrual basis like those of most corporations, rather than the cash basis that the government has always used. The principal difference is that under accrual accounting the government would book immediately the costs of promises made to pay future benefits to government workers and Social Security and Medicare beneficiaries. But even under accrual accounting, the annual reports showed surpluses of \$69.2 billion in fiscal 1998, \$76.9 billion in fiscal 1999, and \$46 billion for fiscal year 2000. So even if the government had been using that form of accounting the deficit would have been erased for those three years. ❌

Source: Congressional Budget Office, "Historical Budget Data," undated, accessed 6 Sep 2010.



Clinton's Legacy

Farewell Address

by William Jefferson Clinton

JANUARY 18, 2001

<http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/detail/4155>

MY FELLOW CITIZENS, tonight is my last opportunity to speak to you from the Oval Office as your President. I am profoundly grateful to you for twice giving me the honor to serve, to work for you and with you to prepare our Nation for the 21st century.

And I'm grateful to Vice President Gore, to my Cabinet Secretaries, and to all those who have served with me for the last eight years.

This has been a time of dramatic transformation, and you have risen to every new challenge. You have made our social fabric stronger, our families healthier and safer, our people more prosperous. You, the American people, have made our passage into the global information age an era of great American renewal.

In all the work I have done as President—every decision I have made, every executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed—I've tried to give all Americans the tools and conditions to build the future of our dreams in a good society with a strong economy, a cleaner environment, and a freer, safer, more prosperous world.

You have made our social fabric stronger, our families healthier and safer, our people more prosperous.

I have steered my course by our enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all Americans. I have sought to give America a new kind of Government, smaller, more modern, more effective, full of ideas and policies appropriate to this new time, always putting people first, always focusing on the future.



President Bill Clinton (center), first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (right) and their daughter Chelsea (left) wave to watchers at a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue on Inauguration Day, January 20, 1997.

Working together, America has done well. Our economy is breaking records with more than 22 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment in 30 years, the highest homeownership ever, the longest expansion in history. Our families and communities are stronger. Thirty-five million Americans have used the family leave law; 8 million have moved off welfare. Crime is at a 25-year low. Over 10 million Americans receive more college aid, and more people than ever are going to college. Our schools are better. Higher standards, greater accountability, and larger investments have brought higher test scores and higher graduation rates. More than 3 million children have health insurance now, and more than 7 million Americans have been lifted out of poverty. Incomes are rising across the board. Our air and water are

cleaner. Our food and drinking water are safer. And more of our precious land has been preserved in the continental United States than at any time in a 100 years.

America has been a force for peace and prosperity in every corner of the globe. I'm very grateful to be able to turn over the reins of leadership to a new President with America in such a strong position to meet the challenges of the future.

Tonight I want to leave you with three thoughts about our future. First, America must maintain our record of fiscal responsibility.

Through our last four budgets we've turned record deficits to record surpluses, and we've been able to pay down \$600 billion of our national debt—on track to be debt-free by the end of the decade for the first time since 1835. Staying on

Clinton's Legacy

Farewell Address

– Continued –

that course will bring lower interest rates, greater prosperity, and the opportunity to meet our big challenges. If we choose wisely, we can pay down the debt, deal with the retirement of the baby boomers, invest more in our future, and provide tax relief.

Second, because the world is more connected every day, in every way, America's security and prosperity require us to continue to lead in the world. At this remarkable moment in history, more people live in freedom than ever before. Our alliances are stronger than ever. People all around the world look to America to be a force for peace and prosperity, freedom and security.

The global economy is giving more of our own people and billions around the world the chance to work and live and raise their families with dignity. But the forces of integration that have created these good opportunities also make us more subject to global forces of destruction, to terrorism, organized crime and narcotrafficking, the spread of deadly weapons and disease, the degradation of the global environment.

The expansion of trade hasn't fully closed the gap between those of us who live on the cutting edge of the global economy and the billions around the world who live on the knife's edge of survival. This global gap requires more than compassion; it requires

action. Global poverty is a powder keg that could be ignited by our indifference.

In his first Inaugural Address, Thomas Jefferson warned of entangling alliances. But in our times, America cannot and must not disentangle itself from the world. If we want the world to embody our shared values, then we must assume a shared responsibility.

If the wars of the 20th century, especially the recent ones in Kosovo and Bosnia, have

**At this remarkable
moment in history,
more people live
in freedom than
ever before.**

taught us anything, it is that we achieve our aims by defending our values and leading the forces of freedom and peace. We must embrace boldly and resolutely that duty to lead - to stand with our allies in word and deed and to put a human face on the global economy, so that expanded trade benefits all peoples in all nations, lifting lives and hopes all across the world.

Third, we must remember that America cannot lead in the world unless here at

home we weave the threads of our coat of many colors into the fabric of one America. As we become ever more diverse, we must work harder to unite around our common values and our common humanity. We must work harder to overcome our differences, in our hearts and in our laws. We must treat all our people with fairness and dignity, regardless of their race, religion, gender, or sexual orientation, and regardless of when they arrived in our country—always moving toward the more perfect Union of our Founders' dreams.

Hillary, Chelsea, and I join all Americans in wishing our very best to the next President, George W. Bush, to his family and his administration, in meeting these challenges, and in leading freedom's march in this new century.

As for me, I'll leave the Presidency more idealistic, more full of hope than the day I arrived, and more confident than ever that America's best days lie ahead.

My days in this office are nearly through, but my days of service, I hope, are not. In the years ahead, I will never hold a position higher or a covenant more sacred than that of President of the United States. But there is no title I will wear more proudly than that of citizens.

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless America. ❖



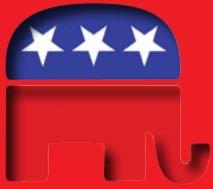
Clinton's Legacy

Bill Clinton's America

by Douglas Koopman

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<http://ashbrook.org/publications/onprin-v8n6-koopman/>



As the post-election drama in Florida slouches toward resolution, it allows one to reflect more broadly on the American political landscape and what has contributed to its troubled scene. It seems inescapable that the major contours of the year's partisan battles, election strategy, and even the post-election machinations were heavily influenced by the actions of one man.

He is President William Jefferson Clinton, the man most responsible for bringing politics and the American party system to where they are today. The relative power of the two major political parties is largely his doing. Each candidate's election strategy can only be understood as a reaction to Clinton's great political skills and personal weaknesses. And the post-election machinations are vintage Bill Clinton.

Clinton can take most of the responsibility for Republican gains at nearly every level of government in the 1990s. Consider the changed situation since Clinton's first presidential victory in 1992. Republicans had just lost the White House, and were seven seats below the fifty-seat majority in the U.S. Senate and forty-two seats below a 218-seat majority in the U.S. House. They controlled seventeen governors' offices and only thirty of ninety-eight partisan state legislative chambers. Today Republicans are at least even in the U.S. Senate and hold a nine-seat margin in the House, extending the duration of their congressional majorities to at least eight years. More impressively, the GOP now controls twenty-nine governors' offices and approximately half of all state legislative chambers. All Republicans should say "thank you, Bill Clinton" for restoring parity in the two-party system.

Democrats can thank Bill Clinton for showing how to run a successful Democratic presidential campaign. Get the presidency by talking like a new Democrat, friendly to free markets and critical of minority preferences. Saying these things were necessary to win in the 1990s, and to Bill Clinton's strategic credit he said them. That Clinton governed as a traditional liberal apparently caused him no personal intellectual discomfort. Clinton's moves to keep the presidency were necessarily creative. Thanks go to him for making presidential assessment a two-part question. As the economy rolled along and Clinton played along, he advanced the idea that the public should evaluate him on two separate questions, job performance and personal behavior, with the former criterion the only important one. Certainly this strategy of bifurcation was a short-term necessity and stunning success, with the national media as a willing accomplice.

But the American public was uncomfortable with this split evaluation, and it shaped this year's presidential race. Gore, apparently of stronger moral fiber than Clinton, could not honestly campaign as a Democratic centrist. To his moral credit but strategic

detriment, Gore ran as a Democratic throwback, turning what should have been a walk-away Democratic victory into a nail-biter. Gore's inability to come to terms with the dual Clinton legacy characterized his campaign, as the vice-president never figured out how to distance himself from Clinton's behavior while taking credit for the economic abundance of the last eight years.

The final legacy of Bill Clinton is the willingness to stay in office at the expense of the dignity of the office. To beat back forced removal, Clinton claimed attorney-client privilege, executive privilege, secret service privilege, and other assertions that all failed in court. He used every tool and person under his authority to defend himself and attack his opponents. Nothing, even the dignity of the office, was more important than keeping Bill Clinton as president.

So where does the Clinton legacy leave the two major parties? First, nationally they are at virtual parity. It is a mistake to assert that the nation wants either complete Republican or Democratic rule. Republicans are especially wrong in stating that the nation is becoming more Republican. To the extent people prefer Republicans in Washington, D.C., that preference is artificially inflated by Bill Clinton's presence. Subtract him from the equation, and there is little basis to think Republicans are the national majority. In the immediate future Republicans nationally will lose by standing still. Republicans made remarkable and more lasting gains at the state level precisely by talking like Bill Clinton (and then acting like it, too)—reasonable persons interested in solving problems, not engaging in ideological crusades.

Where does the Clinton legacy leave campaign strategy? Clinton provided the rhetorical roadmap for Al Gore, but Gore didn't follow it. As the bitterness of the post-election contest fades into history, Al Gore, president or not, will be seen as a poor strategist, and liberal Democratic rhetoric will lose further credibility.

Where does the Clinton legacy leave post-election politics? The answer is as obvious as it is sad. In Clinton's White House, Gore was exposed to the notion that winning is the only thing. Many folks who voted for Gore hoped that he had not accepted that notion, but his post-election behavior indicates he clearly did. Keep counting, keep litigating, keep attacking until the other side is overwhelmed or gives in. It's a sad legacy, but it might be the most lasting one of the Clinton era.

One struggles to close on a hopeful note. If there is one, it is that both Al Gore and George Bush are better people than they are letting on, and better, especially on Gore's behalf, than the people surrounding them. It is the hope that the presidential contest ends with a noble concession and a gracious beginning of a new presidency.

But that would be someone else's legacy, not Bill Clinton's. ❧

Clinton's Legacy

Impact and Legacy

MILLER CENTER | UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

<http://millercenter.org/president/clinton/essays/biography/9>

The Clinton presidency is still with the nation in ways that make it difficult to draw sound judgments about its lasting historical legacy. However, scholars are beginning to focus on some aspects of his administration in which Clinton's historical importance might be significant.

For example, Clinton managed to remake the image and operations of the Democratic Party in ways that effectively undermined the so-called Reagan Revolution. His "New Democrat" Party co-opted the Reagan appeal to law and order, individualism, and welfare reform, and made the party more attractive to white middle-class Americans. At the same time, the reborn party retained traditional Democratic commitments to providing for the disadvantaged, regulating the excesses of the private market place, supporting minorities and women, and using government to stimulate economic growth. Moreover, Clinton capitalized on growing dissatisfaction with far right-wing extremism within the Republican Party. Nevertheless, Clinton's claims to a lasting, positive legacy for the Democratic Party have been severely undermined by two realities: the shift in control of Congress to the Republican Party on his watch and the loss by his would-be successor, Vice President Al Gore, in the 2000 presidential election. Thus, Clinton's partisan legacy remains complex and uncertain.

Additionally, the Clinton presidency will certainly be studied and evaluated in terms of its major domestic success: eliminating the federal deficit and overseeing the strongest economy in recent memory. Although there has been some partisan debate about the extent to which the 1990's boom can be attributed to Clinton, the mainstream interpretation now tends to give great credit to Clinton and his economic team, especially Robert Rubin of the National Economic Council and later the secretary of the Treasury, for uncommon fiscal discipline in 1993. These efforts

fueled a period of confidence in the financial markets. What is unclear is whether this great economic success will weigh very heavily in the judgment of future historians, who tend to evaluate Presidents more on enduring programs than on the quality of their budgets; a new national health care system would have been just such a program. Clinton's failure to win that battle may thus loom larger in the judgment of history than the economic successes that benefited Americans of his era. This may be especially true in Clinton's case, since his successor as President, George W. Bush, took steps which reversed the nation's fiscal position, from one of exceptional surpluses to one of exceptional deficits.

In terms of foreign policy, the Clinton record is also mixed. One of Clinton's core missions as President, he often said, was to prepare Americans for a world in which global economic forces failed to respect national boundaries. Perhaps his greatest accomplishments, then, came in the area of economic globalization—establishing several new regimes of free trade, with NAFTA and GATT. Moreover, he and the Rubin Treasury Department, with the important assistance of Treasury Deputy Secretary Lawrence Summers, headed off a number of economic catastrophes in the developing world. But the complexities of the currency problems in Mexico and East Asia may deprive the administration of some of the credit it rightly deserves for resolving these problems. Not many Americans understood, or understand, exactly what was at stake in these arcane currency interventions. Those who watched carefully, however, often claim that the exercise of creative, unilateral executive power in the Mexican peso crisis, when the congressional leadership refused to provide



Clinton and Vice President Gore talk while walking through the Colonnade at the White House.

legislative support, was one of Bill Clinton's brightest moments.

The President's success in the Balkans will undoubtedly resonate well historically, as the administration helped end a conflict that threatened both the security of Europe and the viability of transatlantic cooperative arrangements. But the failure to act in Rwanda, in particular, seems likely to loom large in future historical evaluations. Clinton's overall management of the immediate post-Cold War environment will certainly endure great scrutiny.

Finally, it is probably the case that few Clinton historical retrospectives will get very far before noting that this was only the second American President to suffer the disgrace of impeachment. It is evident from the presidency of his successor that any harm Clinton did to the institution of the presidency was, all things considered, rather meager, as the younger Bush has amassed an extraordinary degree of power in that office. But the damage done to Clinton's place in history is far more pronounced and probably permanent. Future historians will likely evaluate not just what Clinton did, but also what he did not accomplish, because he was tied-up in a second-term struggle for political survival. It is this consideration of "what might have been" that may be Clinton's greatest obstacle to gaining historical stature. ❧

Clinton's Legacy

The Legacy of the Clinton Administration

AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, PBS

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/general-article/clinton-legacy/>

When he delivered his first inaugural address on January 21, 1993, President William J. Clinton noted that distinctions between domestic and foreign affairs were becoming blurred as the global population was affected by "a world economy, world environment, world AIDS crisis, [and a] world arms race." International communications and commerce, new technology, the dominance of 24-hour news coverage, and the end of the Cold War were creating a new context in which the U.S. and its government would need to redefine its role and priorities, both at home and abroad.

"The urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy," Clinton said at the 1992 Democratic National Convention. During his eight years as president, Clinton tackled this question head-on while ushering America into the 21st century.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

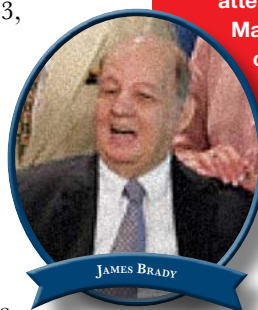
When Clinton assumed the presidency in January 1993, the US economy was reeling from a second wave of recession following an unprecedented stock collapse in the late 1980s, a savings-and-loan crisis that saw several bank failures, and an oil-price spike resulting from Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. US poverty and crime rates were climbing. Clinton promised both job growth and a reduction in the national debt: "We must do what America does best — "he declared in his inaugural address" — offer more opportunity to all and demand more responsibility from all."

Clinton's economic strategy focused on fiscal discipline; investment in education, healthcare, and technology; and opening foreign markets. Over strong Republican opposition, the Clinton administration passed budgets that combined tax increases on the wealthy with government spending cuts, achieving the largest budget surpluses and debt reduction in U.S. history by 2000. Poverty levels fell, more than 20 million jobs were created, and unemployment rates consistently decreased over his two terms in office, reaching their lowest levels since the 1960s. With Republican support, he passed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993, removing trade barriers in North America, and a sweeping welfare-reform bill in 1996 that required recipients to work and placed lifetime limits on benefits, fulfilling his campaign promise to "end welfare as we have come to know it."

Clinton had also promised to end a ban on homosexuals in the military. Focusing on that controversial issue early in his first term, Clinton satisfied few on either side of the argument in July, 1993 when he announced the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" compromise.



One of Clinton's efforts to reduce crime included gun control and safety, notably the 1993 Brady Law enforcing background checks for handgun buyers and a ban on assault weapons. Press Secretary James Brady was shot by John Hinckley, Jr. during an attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan on March 30, 1981. Shown here is Washington, DC police officer Thomas Delahanty (foreground) and Brady (behind) as they lie wounded on the ground.



JAMES BRADY

A series of efforts to reduce crime included gun control and safety, notably the 1993 Brady Law enforcing background checks for handgun buyers and a ban on assault weapons; increased funding to improve community policing in 1994; and programs to prevent youth crime and drug abuse. The overall crime rate fell during the Clinton administration to the lowest level in a generation. Clinton also confronted acts of terrorism on U.S. soil, most notably when a car bomb was detonated at the World Trade Center in New York City in 1993, and the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, which resulted in legislation that set new limits on habeas corpus intended to help deter domestic terrorism.

The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 provided job protection for workers needing to take a leave of absence for medical and family reasons. Intended to be Clinton's lasting legacy, sweeping healthcare reform proved beyond the reach of his administration, but the State Children's Health Insurance Plan, a major expansion of publicly funded health insurance, brought states funding to cover uninsured children in low-income families. And in major educational initiatives, Clinton backed the Federal Direct Loan program in 1993, providing low-interest college loans, and established the AmeriCorps program, through which volunteers providing community service earn education awards. Under the Clinton administration, college enrollments increased to historically high levels.

Clinton's Legacy

The Legacy of the Clinton Administration

– Continued –



Clinton, Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat during the Oslo Accords on September 13, 1993.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Clinton came into office with little direct experience in foreign affairs. In his inaugural address, he laid out a vision in which America continued to lead the world and outlined the beginnings of a new foreign policy in a post-Cold War era: “When our vital interests are challenged, or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act — with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary.”

Amplifying what would come to be known as the “Clinton Doctrine” in a 1999 speech, Clinton accented the importance of considering “the consequences to our security of letting conflicts fester and spread. We cannot, indeed, we should not, do everything or be everywhere. But where our values and our interests are at stake, and where we can make a difference, we must be prepared to do so.” As a successor to the Cold War doctrine of containing the Soviet threat, Clinton's was a doctrine of enlargement — of strengthening and expanding the world community of market democracies, with intervention becoming a matter of choice.

The choices would prove to be difficult ones, and the Clinton doctrine would be tested and shaped by a number of international conflicts, and by the vivid images of those conflicts increasingly spread by global media coverage. An intervention in Somalia initiated by Clinton's predecessor, President George H.W. Bush, was intended to provide short-term security for humanitarian relief following civil war and famine there. The conflict escalated after the mission was turned over to United Nations peacekeeping forces. After a battle in which 18 U.S. soldiers were killed and 84 wounded, and the bodies of American soldiers were desecrated by Somalis, Clinton ultimately was forced to withdraw U.S. troops.

With the unsuccessful intervention in Somalia providing a strong cautionary example, Clinton and the UN decided not to intervene in another African civil war in Rwanda, during which hundreds of thousands were massacred. The horrific events led

Clinton to regret this decision and count it among the worst of his presidency (David Remnick, *New Yorker*, “The Wanderer,” September 18, 2006.)

Meanwhile, civil and ethnic conflict in the Balkan Peninsula was escalating to genocide, as Bosnian Serbs slaughtered Muslim men, women, and children in their own country. Reluctant to intervene at first, Clinton finally acted after international appeals for the U.S. to take a leadership role, and with the media projecting new images of the atrocities daily. Clinton set up a NATO response plan, which was quickly triggered by a Serbian attack. NATO missions brought an end to the fighting, and within several months Clinton presided over the Dayton Peace Accords, establishing himself as a competent and credible world leader.

International terrorism was also escalating during Clinton's presidency. A deadly truck bombing outside a military housing complex in Saudi Arabia in 1996, devastating explosions targeting the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998, and a suicide attack on the USS Cole in Yemen in 2000 were all linked to al Qaeda and its leader Osama bin Laden. In response to the U.S. embassy bombings, Clinton ordered missile strikes on an al Qaeda affiliate in Sudan and on training camps in Afghanistan, despite knowing that his response would likely provoke accusations that he was deflecting attention from the ongoing scandal involving his extra-marital affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. The strikes missed their target, but Clinton maintained that he had made the right decision in the interest of U.S. national security.

Clinton advocated strongly for international trade agreements that would open markets for US exports. In addition to NAFTA, he pushed through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), establishing in 1995 the World Trade Organization (WTO), an international group of member states responsible for monitoring trade rules among nations. By extending normal trade status to China in 2000, Clinton supported its admission into the WTO. He also lifted Vietnamese trade embargos, laying the groundwork for a new era of cooperation with Vietnam.

LEGACY

Although President Clinton hoped to become a “repairer of the breach,” calling upon Congress in his second inaugural address to move beyond extreme partisanship and instead focus on America's mission, the ongoing investigations and scandals that plagued his second term and ultimately led to his impeachment would deny him that achievement. Reflecting on his administration, some will inevitably continue to question what else could have been accomplished. Nevertheless, Clinton's presidency is also remembered as one of the most successful of the 20th century — not only for its enormous domestic accomplishments and significant foreign-policy achievements, but also for creating a stronger nation at the beginning of a new century. ❧

Clinton's Legacy

Bill Clinton on Life After the Presidency

<http://www.npr.org/temp6rlates/story/story.php?storyId=4676259>

Since leaving office, Bill Clinton remains a newsmaker. From his recent travels with former President George H.W. Bush, seeking aid for Asian tsunami victims, to a reported flirtation with the idea of serving as secretary-general of the United Nations, Clinton is taking an expansive view of his new role as former president of the United States.

The former president appears on *Talk of the Nation* to discuss his presidency, the state of modern politics, and his views on the future. He also took questions and e-mails from listeners.

Below, a look at some of the more notable moments of his presidency and his time since leaving the White House.

NOV. 3, 1992

Clinton elected 42nd president of the United States.



Bill and Hillary Clinton during inaugural parade, January 1993.

JAN. 27, 1993

White House announces Clinton will order military officials to end policy of discrimination against gays in military.

DEC. 8, 1993

North American Free Trade Agreement signed into law.

FEB. 26, 1993

Islamist terrorists set off bomb in garage of World Trade Center in New York City.

APRIL 19, 1993

Federal agents raid Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas. A fire consumes the compound and kills more than 80 people inside.

AUG. 22, 1996

Clinton signs welfare reform legislation.

JAN. 20, 1997

Clinton sworn in for second term.

AUG. 7, 1998

Car bombs explode outside U.S. embassies in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya and in Dar es Salaam, the capital of Tanzania, killing 258 and injuring more than 5,000.

AUG. 17, 1998

Clinton admits to relationship with Monica Lewinsky, 25, "that was not appropriate."

AUG. 20, 1998

In response to embassy bombings, U.S. launches strikes in Afghanistan on camps affiliated with Osama bin Laden.



DEC. 19, 1998

House votes to impeach Clinton.

FEB. 12, 1999

The Senate finds Clinton not guilty on two articles of impeachment.

SEPT. 20, 2000

Independent counsel states there is not enough evidence to charge Clintons in Whitewater investigation.



The Branch Davidian's Mount Carmel Center in flames on April 19, 1993.

Clinton's Legacy

Bill Clinton on Life After the Presidency

– Continued –



USS Cole after the attack.

OCT. 12, 2000

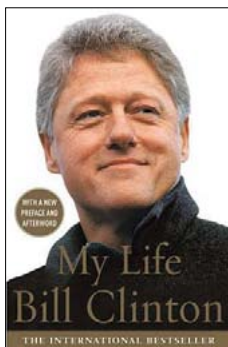
USS Cole bombed off coast of Yemen.

JAN. 5, 2001

Clinton announces a ban on logging and new roads on 58.5 million acres covering 39 states.

JAN. 20, 2001

Clinton pardons financier Marc Rich.



AUG. 10, 2001

Knopf announces Clinton will write memoirs. The former president receives a \$12 million advance.

AUG. 4, 2001

Clinton moves into Harlem offices in New York City.

SEP. 6, 2004

Clinton has heart bypass surgery (He returns to hospital to have scar tissue removed from lung, March 10, 2005).



From left, former U.S. presidents George H. W. Bush, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Jimmy Carter at the library's dedication.

NOV. 18, 2004

William J. Clinton Presidential Center in Little Rock dedicated.



Tsunami stricken Indonesian refugees gather under an approaching helicopter to receive food and supplies.

FEB. 1, 2005

Clinton chosen as UN's special envoy for tsunami relief in Asia.

APRIL 8, 2005

Clinton attends Pope John Paul II funeral at request of President George W. Bush. ❖

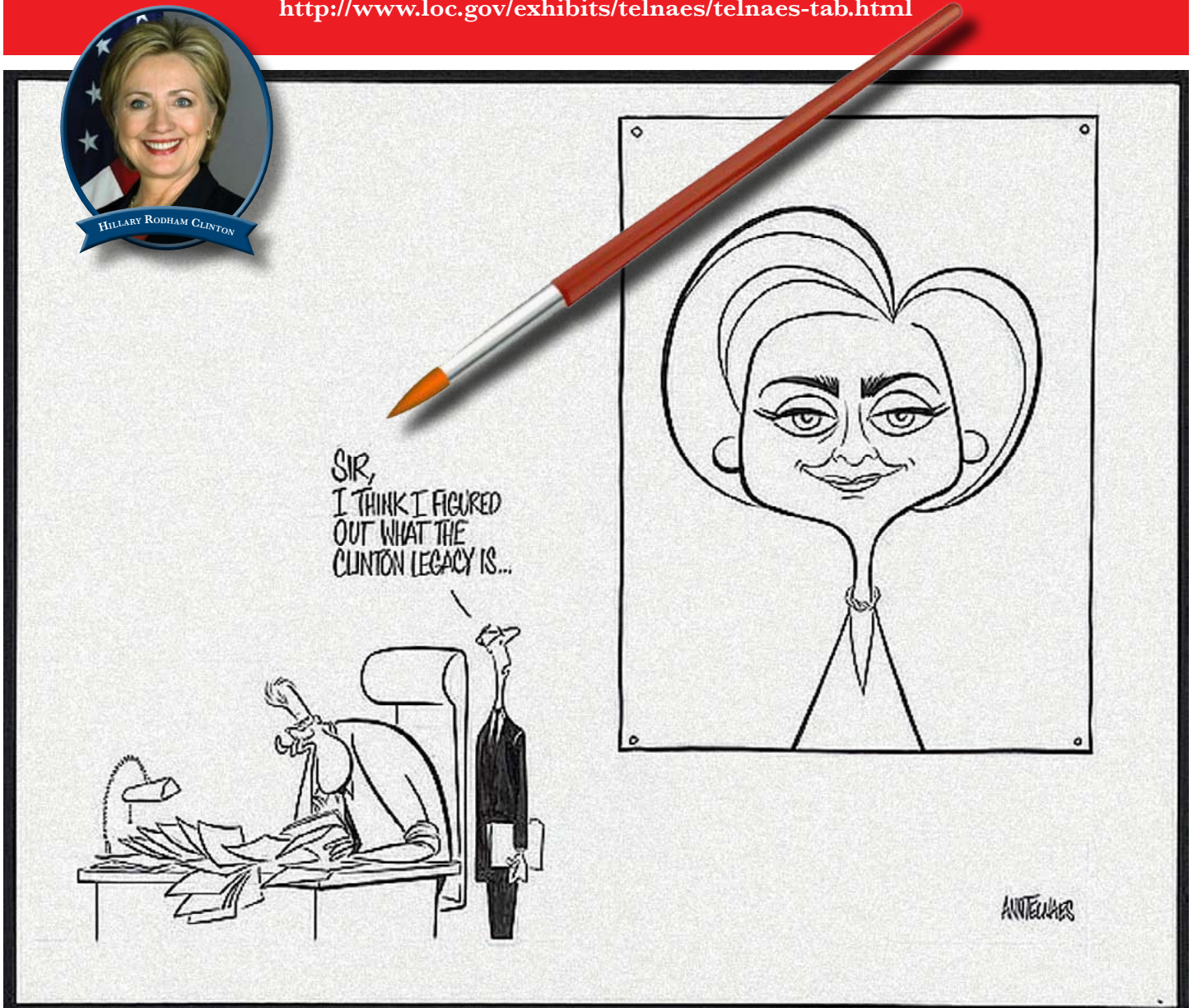


Clinton, along with George W. Bush, Laura Bush, George H. W. Bush, Condoleezza Rice, and Andrew Card pay their respects to Pope John Paul II before the pope's funeral.

Clinton's Legacy

Sir, I Think I Figured Out What the Clinton Legacy Is...

<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/telnaes/telnaes-tab.html>



Description:

Hillary Clinton's Senate Campaign: First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton filed papers to create an exploratory committee to consider running for Senator from New York state on July 6, 1999. The possibility that she would be a candidate arose after the Monica Lewinsky scandal had tarnished Bill Clinton's reputation. Hillary Clinton was elected to the Senate in 2000.

Clinton's Legacy

Final Presidential Job Approval Ratings by Gerhard Peters

http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/data/final_approval.php

FINAL PRESIDENTIAL JOB APPROVAL RATINGS TRUMAN - G.W. BUSH

YEAR	INTERVIEW DATES	PRESIDENT	% APPROVAL	% DISAPPROVAL	% NO OPINION
1952	Dec. 11-16	Harry S. Truman	32	56	12
1960	Dec. 8-13	Dwight D. Eisenhower	59	28	13
1969	Jan. 1-6	Lyndon B. Johnson	49	37	14
1974	Aug. 2-5	Richard Nixon	24	66	10
1976	Dec. 10-13	Gerald Ford	53	32	15
1980	Dec. 5-8	Jimmy Carter	34	55	11
1988	Dec. 27-29	Ronald Reagan	63	29	8
1993	Jan. 8-11	George Bush	56	37	7
2001	Jan. 10-14	William J. Clinton	66	29	5
2009	Jan. 9-11	George W. Bush	34	61	5

**data excludes presidents who died in office (F. Roosevelt & Kennedy)
data compiled from the Gallup Poll*

TRUMAN	EISENHOWER	JOHNSON	NIXON	FORD
				
				
CARTER	REAGAN	GHW BUSH	CLINTON	GW BUSH
				
				



Clinton's Legacy

C-SPAN's 2000 Survey of Presidential Leadership

<http://www.americanpresidents.org/survey/historians/>

This is C-SPAN's first effort at surveying presidential leadership. The cable public affairs network was guided in the survey effort by a team of four historians and academics: Dr. Douglas Brinkley, Director of the Eisenhower Center at the University of New Orleans; Dr. Edna Greene Medford, Associate Professor of History, Howard University; Richard Norton Smith, Director of the Gerald R. Ford Museum and Library; and Dr. John Splaine, Education professor, University of Maryland.

The four survey advisors devised a survey which asked participants to use a one ("not effective") to ten ("very effective") scale to rate each president on ten qualities of presidential leadership: "Public Persuasion," "Crisis Leadership," "Economic Management," "Moral Authority," "International Relations," "Administrative Skills," "Relations with Congress," "Vision/Agenda Setting," and "Pursuit of Equal Justice for All". And, to reflect the changing role of the presidency over the course of US history, the advisory team chose as the tenth category, "Performance Within the Context of His Times."

The survey was sent by mail in December to 87 historians and other professional observers of the presidency whose work contributed to C-SPAN's 41 week biography series, American Presidents. Fifty-eight agreed to participate. Interested C-SPAN viewers were also given the chance to participate in a separate tabulation. The complete survey was available online for a ten-day period at the end of December. The online program was designed for one-time participation from a computer address; 1145 people took part in the survey which its designers estimate took at least 45 minutes to complete.

C-SPAN SURVEY OF PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

HISTORIAN AND VIEWER SURVEY RESULTS CATEGORY: TOTAL SCORE/OVERALL RANKING

President's Name	Ranking-Historians	Ranking-Viewers	President's Name	Ranking-Historians	Ranking-Viewers
Abraham Lincoln	1	1	Jimmy Carter	22	27
Franklin D. Roosevelt	2	4	Gerald R. Ford	23	23
George Washington	3	2	William Howard Taft	24	24
Theodore Roosevelt	4	3	Richard M. Nixon	25	20
Harry S. Truman	5	7	Rutherford B. Hayes	26	26
Woodrow Wilson	6	13	Calvin Coolidge	27	22
Thomas Jefferson	7	5	Zachary Taylor	28	25
John F. Kennedy	8	12	James A. Garfield	29	28
Dwight D. Eisenhower	9	8	Martin Van Buren	30	30
Lyndon B. Johnson	10	19	Benjamin Harrison	31	31
Ronald Reagan	11	6	Chester A. Arthur	32	34
James K. Polk	12	17	Ulysses S. Grant	33	29
Andrew Jackson	13	14	Herbert Hoover	34	33
James Monroe	14	9	Millard Fillmore	35	37
William McKinley	15	18	John Tyler	36	32
John Adams	16	11	William Henry Harrison	37	35
Grover Cleveland	17	21	Warren G. Harding	38	40
James Madison	18	10	Franklin D. Pierce	39	39
John Quincy Adams	19	15	Andrew Johnson	40	38
George Bush	20	16	James Buchanan	41	41
Bill Clinton	21	36			

(Continued next page)

Clinton's Legacy

C-Span's 2000 Survey of Presidential Leadership

– Continued –

VIEWER SURVEY RESULTS

Categories	Category Ranking
Public Persuasion	15
Crisis Leadership	35
Economic Management	19
Moral Authority	41
International Relations	39
Administrative Skills	34
Relations with Congress	40
Vision / Setting an Agenda	33
Pursued Equal Justice For All	26
Performance Within Context of Times	37

HISTORIAN SURVEY RESULTS

Categories	Category Ranking
Public Persuasion	11
Crisis Leadership	20
Economic Management	5
Moral Authority	41
International Relations	21
Administrative Skills	21
Relations with Congress	36
Vision / Setting an Agenda	22
Pursued Equal Justice For All	5
Performance Within Context of Times	21

