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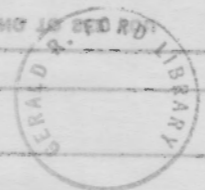
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN *RHN*

SUBJECT: TV Series on American Presidency

I am opposed to your taking part in this proposed television program for the following reasons:

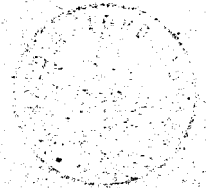
1. It will take up entirely too much of your time to serve as narrator on a 13-week series.
2. Even though this series is proposed for the Public Broadcasting network, it will have a commercial sponsor, "a major U.S. corporation" underwriting the program. I don't think it's proper for the President to take part in a commercially sponsored series.
3. As you know, there have been some critical comments after some of your recent televised speeches suggesting that Bob Mead and others are turning you into an actor. To appear in a regular televised series reading somebody else's words from a teleprompter on a set would merely contribute to this image of an actor.
4. Somebody else would write the scripts and their appraisal of former Presidents might not coincide with yours. This could be especially delicate in an election year.

If this TV series turns out to be an important contribution to the Bicentennial, you might consider taping a short introductory statement for the opening program.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Ron Nesson

What do you  
think?



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: JACK MARSH 

Jack Stiles has given to me a proposal involving a television series on the Office of the Presidency and American Presidents which would propose that the President be the narrator. I understand this has been prepared by a very reliable firm.

He has this proposal on his desk and would like to refer it to Ron's shop with follow up discussion with Jack Stiles by either Ron or Bill Greener.

Thanks.

  
Dich Ch.

①  
**SAMPLE Script**

On this day 200 years ago, the British House of Commons rejected another appeal on behalf of America on a redress of their grievances.



MEMO TO: Ray Courage  
FROM: Bob Henkel  
SUBJECT: The Presidency -- Commander In Chief

*Tim Klesper*  
May 16, 1975

For the TV series on the American Presidency, here is an outline of an episode on the President as Commander In Chief:

"THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY"

"The President as Commander In Chief"

Opening Cut: A panorama of newsreel footage showing Woodrow Wilson calling on Congress for a Declaration of War and later reviewing American troops in World War I; of Theodore Roosevelt sending the U.S. Fleet around the world; of Franklin D. Roosevelt aboard an aircraft carrier, or with President Eisenhower reviewing American forces in South Korea.

Pan To The Oval Office: President Ford is sitting on the edge of his desk with the flags of the United States and of the Presidency clearly in view.

The President: "The President is a man of many roles and duties. One of the most controversial is that of Commander In Chief. To be the Constitutional head of the United States' military establishment is an awesome and terrifying responsibility. The President's orders are never countermanded and relate to every man and woman in American uniform around the world. Many of the men who have held this office have anguished over their role as Commander In Chief. But like the other duties of being President, the man in this office determines how that responsibility shall be discharged.

But one thing upon which all of our Presidents could agree is the civilian control of the military. That is the keystone of our constitutional mandate to direct the activities of our armed forces.

Each one of the military services has a civilian secretary and all services are unified under a Defense Department also headed by a civilian. Each service is also answerable to an appropriate committee of the House and the Senate. But the over-all direction of the military services is under the President.

-more-



Having served in the Navy and seen combat, in the second World War, I am aware of the horrors of war and of its futility. As Commander In Chief, I see our military force as a preserver of peace.

What our Presidents have done in carrying out this duty has had a great influence on our history. The military services have had an important part in our history. The U.S. Marines are the oldest of the services. More than 24,000,000 million Americans have served in the Army, Navy, Air Force, Coast Guard and Marines, since we became a nation 200 years ago."

The President (or a narrator) then narrates the facts for a series of pictures and/or film footage of Presidents in the role of Commander In Chief, including the following:

George Washington

ordering U.S. Naval ships to remain neutral between British and French Naval battles.

James Madison

with his field Commanders as they evacuate Washington, D.C. during the Birtish invasion of the Capitol.

James Polk

signing orders sending the American Army to fight Mexico.

Abraham Lincoln

with General U.S. Grant in the field addressing the dedication of the national military cemetery at Gettysburg. Meeting with Generals Winfield Scott and Sherman ordering troops to quell the N.Y.C. draft riots.

U.S. Grant

issuing orders to fight the Indian wars.

At the center of the controversy over U.S. military pursuit of the Indians following the massacre at Little Big Horn.

James Buchanan

and the U.S. Army's seizure of arms belonging to abolitionist John Brown.

William McKinley

orders to U.S. forces after the sinking of the U.S.S. Maine.

-more-

<u>Theodore Roosevelt</u>	and his Armed Forces preparedness program.
<u>Woodrow Wilson</u>	at U.S. Army training camp (World War I).
<u>Warren Harding</u>	sending the U.S. Fleet on a world wide goodwill mission.
<u>Herbert Hoover</u>	ordering the U.S. Army to disperse the Bonus Army.
<u>Franklin D. Roosevelt</u>	watching maneuvers of the Fleet, calling for a Declaration of War after Pearl Harbor, meeting with his military chiefs (Nimitz, Eisenhower, Arnold, etc.), reviewing troops in North Africa with Eisenhower.

This section should also show scenes from World War II battles, the invasion of Normandy, and the march on Germany.

<u>Harry S. Truman</u>	ordering the dropping of two H Bombs, ordering the Berlin Air Lift, ordering U.S. Forces into Korea as part of a UN Force, firing General MacArthur.
<u>Dwight D. Eisenhower</u>	at West Point and Annapolis, ordering military advisors to Vietnam.
<u>John F. Kennedy</u>	reporting on Bay of Pigs invasion, statements on the Cuban Missile Crisis and ordering of U.S. Naval blockade of Cuban waters.
<u>Lyndon Johnson</u>	with troops in Vietnam ordering an increase in U.S. forces in Southeast Asia.
<u>Richard Nixon</u>	with U.S. troops in Vietnam, with U.S. troops in Europe, announcing release of U.S. POW's from North Vietnam, announcing U.S. intervention into Cambodia.

The President then reviews how his role as a military leader as part of his everyday activities. He talks about his military advisors, his daily briefings by the National Security Council, his presence at the christening of Naval ships, presentation of medals, and meetings with members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He discusses how the President weighs foreign policy decisions along with military consideration and U.S. armed forces' commitments around the world. He closes with a statement of belief in civilian control of the military and of pride in U.S. forces. He cites the bravery of American men in wars and in times of stress.



The President then invites a leader of the U.S. Congress to discuss how the other branches of government view the President in his role as Commander In Chief. This section will deal first with Congressional response to (a) Presidential military budget and to (b) actions of the Chief Executive in meeting different kinds of situations.

Some of the more obvious examples that could be cited are: Washington dealing with piracy of U.S. ships; James Polk calling for troops to fight the Mexican War; Lincoln and his use of the military before and during the Civil War; McKinley responding to the sinking of the U.S.S. Maine; Wilson asking to arm U.S. merchant ships during the U-boat war and later as leader during U.S. involvement in World War I, etc.

The most recent Congressional action in terms of the 1974 War Powers Act illustrates further restrictions in the C-I-C powers of the President.

The President would then invite a Justice of the Supreme Court to review decisions made by the U.S. Supreme Court relative to Commander In Chief powers in times of war and peace as well as to provide an important viewpoint from the "third" branch of the Federal government.

The President invites a leading Constitutional expert to discuss the differing viewpoints as to how much power the President is allowed in the U.S. Constitution. This discussion will show that interpretation of the law relative to C-I-C power has been different with nearly every President.

The President concludes this review of the President as Commander In Chief by saying, "War has never been an instrument of national policy in this country, and never will be. The trust given to me and to my predecessors carries an admonition of prudence and of clear thinking. We can be safe in the knowledge that our military leadership is also prudent. The citizen soldier has been an integral part of our entire history. No other nation has had such a dedication to the preservation of peace as a motive of its Armed Forces."

The Episode closes with a panorama of Gerald Ford in U.S. Naval uniform and later with members of the Armed Forces.

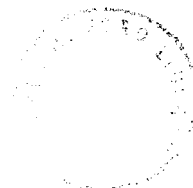
Close in on the Presidential Seal.

...BH...

THE PRESIDENTS & THE PRESIDENCY

A TELEVISION SERIES PROPOSAL

Carl Byoir & Associates, Inc.  
800 Second Avenue  
New York, New York 10017



## PROPOSAL

The aim is to produce a 13-week television series of one-hour programs on the American Presidency and the men who have held that office, with President Gerald R. Ford as narrator.

## IMPLEMENTATION

The series would be underwritten by a major U. S. corporation as a public service in connection with the Bicentennial, and would be produced by the Public Broadcasting Service for distribution to the National Educational Television network.

## SERIES FORMAT

President Ford would appear as the narrator/host for the series, much in the manner that Alistair Cooke has done for the "America" series and other Masterpiece Theater appearances -- appearing on camera for only a few minutes each program.

The actual production would be theatrical re-creations of historic events involving the American Presidency.

Such a format would serve to better acquaint the American public with the office of the Presidency: How it functions, what its powers are and what the limitations of its powers are. At the same time it would serve to point up the absolute human-ness of the occupants of that office as they either exercised their power or were frustrated in their attempts to exercise power.

## CONSULTING PANEL OF DISTINGUISHED HISTORIANS

A committee of scholars, academicians and authors has been tentatively assembled to oversee and guide the series of programs. Members will meet and correspond with the series producers to advise on over-all content and to assure thoroughness and accuracy. They will assure the proper identification of and

distinction between fact and opinion in describing historical events. At the same time, their own views could well be aired as demonstrating that there is room for interpretation in analyzing events. The people who have been invited to join this consulting panel of distinguished historians and who have indicated their willingness are:

- Henry Steele Commager of Amherst;
- Tom Cronin of the Aspen Institute;
- James David Barber of Duke;
- Alexander L. George of Stanford;
- Aaron Wildavsky of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences;
- James MacGregor Burns of Williams College;
- Fred I. Greenstein of Princeton.

SERIES CONTENT

As with any well-done historical piece, the series would be designed to instruct as well as to entertain. It would, for example, focus on the five functions that make up the strictly constitutional burden of the Presidency:

1. Chief of State
2. Chief Executive
3. Commander in Chief
4. Chief Diplomat
5. Chief Legislator

It would also point up the five additional functions that have been assumed or added to these:

1. Chief of Party
2. Voice of the People
3. Protector of the Peace
4. Manager of Prosperity
5. World Leader

It would examine the limitations on the Presidency imposed by written law and unwritten tradition:

1. By the Congress
2. By the Courts

Finally, it would trace the growth of the Presidential role in foreign affairs, as well as the broader national involvement, from George Washington's "no foreign entanglements" to Gerald Ford's "this is an interdependent world."

Program Number 1: The President as Chief of State

The near-royal dignity with which the framers of the Constitution imbued the office would point up this most difficult aspect of the Presidency and demonstrate what makes both the office and its occupant different from prime ministers and party functionaries. Not without humor, Presidents throughout history might be shown performing their respective roles as Chief of State as they:

- greet distinguished visitors from all parts of the world;
- lay wreaths on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier;
- make proclamations of thanksgiving and commemoration;
- bestow medals, hold state dinners, light Christmas trees, don Indian war bonnets, eat hot dogs, roll Easter eggs, etc.

Program Number 2: The President as Chief Executive

Presidents have had great power as business managers of the entire executive branch. In a sense, though, as the program would demonstrate, it is an area where the President's power has diminished as the federal bureaucracy has grown to enormous proportions. Because of this growth, no single Chief Executive is able to wield the power that might be expected of the office. Using the Constitution as a springboard -- that being the source of his twin powers of appointment and removal, as well as the duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" -- the program would feature such events as:

- Franklin Roosevelt's cashiering of Dr. A.E. Morgan from chairmanship of the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1938;
- Frances "Ma" Perkins, Secretary of Labor, voting against W.W.II;
- the "voluntary" resignation of Richard A. Mack from the F C C in 1958.

Program Number 3: The President as Commander in Chief

At first, this was viewed as purely military in scope, to be demonstrated by the appointments of various generals by Washington, Lincoln and Truman -- as well as by their forced retirements. But Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt would also be shown exercising power in the economic and social sectors based on their respective readings of their powers as Commander in Chief. Kennedy and the C.I.A. in the Bay of Pigs might demonstrate the limits of Presidential power.

Program Number 4: The President as Chief Diplomat

Dramatic re-creation of this aspect of the Presidency could well deliver an important lesson: That more often than not, when the primacy of the President comes under attack it is from those who object to a specific policy even more strongly than to a President's pursuit of it. The two Roosevelts would provide ample instances of this Presidential activity. At the same time, Madison in 1812 and McKinley in 1898 can be offered as cases where the Congress forced distasteful policies on Presidents.

Program Number 5: The President as Chief Legislator

While the Congress enacts legislation, and the courts interpret legislation, there are many incidents from our nation's history that would serve to highlight this Presidential function, in introducing, signing and vetoing legislation. (Eisenhower said in 1959 that "after all, the Constitution puts the President right square into the legislative business.") And so, various Presidents could be depicted at White House breakfasts with opponents or supporters of a particular bill. Or they might be shown holding press conferences to mobilize public opinion behind a particular bill. Or they might be shown offering patronage or other favors to wavering or even hostile members of Congress.

Program Number 6: The President as Chief of Party

The first of the so-called "extra-Constitutional" duties imposed on our Presidents would use vignettes from the careers of Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson and the two Roosevelts. The program would stress the distinction between this role and the English system, in which the leader of the majority party becomes prime minister.

Program Number 7: The President as Spokesman for the People

Wilson referred to his role as "the spokesman for the real sentiment and purpose of the country." One such example would be Jackson's thundering denunciation of the nullificationists of South Carolina. At the same time, it could be said that every President sets a national mood. Coolidge and Kennedy might serve as examples here.

Program Number 8: The President as Protector of the Peace

America as a nation has grown up on the principle of self-reliance. Floods, tornadoes, droughts, locusts, riots -- no matter what -- all were handled on the scene. Increasingly, though, we are turning to the occupant of the White House for aid and comfort in coping with factors that "disturb" the peace. Americans coping with crises, from bucket brigade to a Presidential helicopter tour of a stricken area, would be the focus of this program.

Program Number 9: The President as Manager of Prosperity

While some still view it as a heresy, the President is the one we count on to prevent runaway booms and plunging busts. It is, in essence, his job to prevent disturbances of the peace in the marketplace, too. The handling by various Presidents of depressions, in this and the previous century, would be the subject of this program.



Program Number 10: The President as World Leader

The American President has a much larger constituency than the American electorate. It is his combined functions of Chief Diplomat, Commander in Chief and Chief of State that lend him this air. While this function is barely more than a generation old, and may have peaked, it would present fascinating opportunities to enlighten and entertain. Roosevelt in Yalta and Kennedy in Berlin are two possible cases in point.

Program Number 11: The Legal Limitations on Presidential Power

This program would focus on discussions leading to the Constitutional limitations on the Presidency. The Federalist Papers and their several authors (Hamilton, Madison and Jefferson) would be shown arguing for the four-year term of office, and qualifications on the veto power. More recently, there would be re-enactment of the debate on the ban of a third term. There are unwritten laws as well. For example, the origins of Senatorial courtesy, a creation of the Senators from Georgia in the first year of President Washington's first term, could be shown as a restriction on the Presidential appointment power in hundreds of offices.

Program Number 12: The Congressional Limitations on Presidential Power

Congress, it would be demonstrated, places great limitations on the President. There are, for example, its power to legislate, to investigate, to disburse, to persuade and to impeach. A dramatic point in our history that could be shown is the Senate's censure of Jackson in 1834 for "the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue." (There is also a great deal to be learned from this incident, since the censure motion not only did not affect Jackson's subsequent conduct but rather ensured the victory of his fiscal policies.)

Program Number 13: The President and the Nation Face the World

In his Farewell Address Washington warned us to make "no tangling alliances," a dramatic presentation in and of itself. But juxtaposed against Ford's "this is an interdependent world," it presents a fascinating backdrop for a study of the isolationist-versus-interventionist see-saw of American Foreign Policy. The program would both present a review of the nation's 200 years in this area, as well as providing a basis for Americans to decide which way they feel the nation should move.

SERIES PRODUCER

Daniel Wilson is suggested as the producer for the series, working in close collaboration with the above-named consulting panel of distinguished historians.

Among the recent network television specials produced by Daniel Wilson are:

- Winning And Losing: Diary of an Election Campaign
- The Bridge Of Adam Rush
- Rookie Of The Year - Emmy Award 1974
- You Should've Seen The One That Got Away
- Arthur Godfrey's America - The Everglades
- The Calgary Stampede
- Arthur Godfrey's America - The Ocean Frontier
- With These Hands - The Rebirth of the American Craftsman
- How Life Begins starring Eddie Albert
- Rachel Carson's The Sense Of Wonder starring Helen Hayes
- Mr. Dickens Of London starring Sir Michael Redgrave
- The Legend of Mark Twain starring David Wayne



Among the awards and citations bestowed upon programs he has produced are:

2 Christopher Awards

2 Emmy Award nominations in "Specials" category

8 Emmy Award nominations in children's programming

George Foster Peabody Award in "Specials" category

3 Ohio State Awards in Children's programming

American Film Festival Blue Ribbon Award

5 National Association for Better Radio and TV Awards for children's programming (Parent's Magazine)

Catholic Broadcasters Association Gabriel Award

3 Thomas Alva Edison Awards in children's programming

3 Motion Picture Daily Awards in children's programming

3 Radio-TV Mirror Awards in children's programming

2 Western Heritage Awards

Freedom's Foundation Award

Cine Golden Eagle Award

National Conference of Christians & Jews Brotherhood Award

American Baptist Convention Radio-Television Award

Environmental Awareness Award: U.S. Department of the Interior

Chicago Film Festival Gold Plaque



# Watergate Forces a Re-examination

Washington Post Service  
New Orleans, La. — The Watergate crisis forced almost all Americans to re-examine their views of the presidency. In no group has that responsibility been more clearly felt than in the political science profession.

From the time of Woodrow Wilson, a political scientist who became president, the structure of the presidency and its role in the American system has been at the center of political scientists' thought.

During the recent American Political Science Association convention here, six leading students of the presidency sat down for a conversation on the White House with Washington Post political correspondent David S. Broder. Excerpts follow:

**Broder:** Let's begin with this question: When we talk about Watergate, are we talking about a problem of a specific president, or about a problem that goes to the nature of the presidency and the way in which the office functions?

**Thomas E. Cronin:** I would call into question the school-boy adage that all of us grew up learning, that the office

uplifts the man. I have a feeling that if we look back over the past couple decades, that what actually may have happened, is the reverse, namely, the weaknesses, the fragility and the smallness of character have frequently been accentuated by the office of the presidency.

One reason for this is the cold war. The penchant for secrecy, the national security justifications, have made presidents do things that, prior to the cold war, were rarely done. So we ought to look much more critically at the institution. . . .

**Fred I. Greenstein:** There is an extraordinarily intricate and inseparable mix of institution and individual in this case. . . . Now, we all know that the invisible presidency and the institutionalized presidency in an expanded White House have been a particular phenomenon of the period since the New Deal.

It's not just the way in which the presidency has taken over the Executive Office Building . . . but the way in which it has successfully mined the entire federal government and the military es-

Turn to Power, page 11, col. 1

## The Experts

**JAMES DAVID BARBER**, professor and chairman of the Department of Political Science, Duke University; author of "The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House."

**JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS**, professor of political science at Williams College; books include "Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom" and "Presidential Government."

**THOMAS E. CRONIN**, visiting fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; author of the forthcoming book, "The State of the Presidency," and co-editor of "The Presidential Advisory System" and "The Presidency Reappraised."

**ALEXANDER L. GEORGE**, professor of political science at Stanford University; author, with Juliette L. George, of "Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study."

**FRED I. GREENSTEIN**, Henry Luce professor of law, politics and society at Princeton University; books include "Personality and Politics" and "The American Party System and the American People."

**AARON WILDAVSKY**, dean of the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of California—Berkeley; author of "The Politics of the Budgetary Process" and co-author

establishment for its physical wherewithal. . . .

### Presidency Is a One Man Show

**James David Barber:** I think you can say at a minimum that the institution didn't require Watergate; it didn't impose the necessity for this kind of behavior in the presidential office.

It's difficult in many ways to talk about the presidency as an institution, in the same way as we talk about Congress or the courts as institutions. The presidency is so highly personalized. It centers on one individual, to whom all the other actors in the presidential establishment look for their cues. . . .

Institutions, including the presidency, are largely in the participants' minds. They are not physical structures. . . .

*"... the weaknesses, the fragility and the smallness of character have frequently been accentuated by the office of the presidency."*

—Thomas Cronin

So the real challenge is not to seek organizational solutions for presidential problems. You can organize that office in many different ways, but the person who inhabits the office is going to use those instrumentalities for his own purposes.

The real question is, as Tom Cronin posed it, "What is the effect of this particular kind of office on the man?" The word I would use is "exaggeration." It tends to pull out temptations already in the character. . . . The trouble presidents have is keeping their balance, keeping their sanity in the midst of a tremendous storm of feeling that surrounds the office. So I would probably put considerably more stress than anyone else here on the character of the president.

**Cronin:** . . . In several of our recent presidents, and Nixon in particular, we have seen an increasing tendency to separate partisan politics from the exercise of presidential leadership. Being a party

campaign trail and supporting people in your party — has become undignified, beneath the personal dignity of a president. This separation of the presidency from politics is one which, in my judgment, is untenable. We can no more take politics out of the presidency than we can take the presidency out of politics.

### Lack of Credit Increases Pressure

**Aaron Wildavsky:** I want to pick up on the challenge of Dave Barber that there was really no law that Watergate had to occur.

I would raise again the thought that if Watergate itself was not mandated, then some such presidential response is certainly in the cards. When you consider the tremendous pressure put on all presidents and the fact that they can't get credit for domestic policy.

**Broder:** Why do you say presidents can't get credit for domestic policy anymore?

**Wildavsky:** If you take a look at the record of the last presidents, it just has become exceptionally difficult. If you provide more money for welfare, you add more people to the welfare rolls. If you provide less, you're making people suffer. And on and on like that.

**Barber:** I don't think we're going to get very far by asking the public . . . to be skeptical about the president. The president is the focus of feelings that just aren't going to go away, no matter what we preach and teach.

Basically what you're left with is the thought that you'd better control him (the president) at the time you're picking him.

**Broder:** What kind of control are you talking about?

**Barber:** I'm talking about picking someone, in the first place, who will control himself and who won't fall for these temptations of power. I think the controls have largely got to be internal.

We're just beginning to face up to the inevitable challenge of guessing before we select a president what kind of president he's going to be. After the fact, we always know that the character forces turn out to be the things that shape the presidency. We should learn from that experience and try to get some system for selection.

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

# Presidential Reform: How Much?

By Carl Schwartz  
of The Journal Staff

Chicago, Ill. — In 1968, shortly before being elected president, Richard Nixon told an audience: "The days of a passive presidency belong to a simpler past. . . . Under a Nixon administration, the presidency will be deeply involved in the entire sweep of American public concern."

It is exactly the kind of presidency that liberals had been advocating for generations.

Six years later, however, many of them are having second thoughts, and Nixon's resignation amidst charges of abuse of presidential power helped generate them.

It was against this background that a liberal think tank, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, convened a series of seminars devoted to rethinking the role of the presidency.

Center President Malcolm Moos, former speech writer for President Eisenhower and more recently president of the University of Minnesota, spelled out a central theme of the discussion in the seminar here.

"The problem," Moos said, "is not to dismantle the presidency, but to reconnect it with people, the political parties and the Congress in an effort to solve the nation's problems."

## Discussion Splits

From there, participants split into two camps — those arguing that future abuses of presidential power could be prevented simply by guaranteeing the election of bet-

ter people and those arguing that the whole institution of the presidency had to be overhauled.

Richard Goodwin, now director of the Washington office of the biweekly, Rolling Stone, said he "was there when the crisis of the presidency began and I saw it firsthand." Referring to his days as a speech writer for President Johnson, Goodwin said he came to believe that the powers of the presidency had to be curtailed — "the power to bomb, the power to overthrow, to wiretap, to a b use agencies of government."

"There is no solution to these problems that can be found in merely 'hoping' for an honest president," Goodwin said. "Nixon is far from the worst president we could get."

"And since there is no way to guarantee a great leader, the power of the president must be dismantled, decentralized — and that power restored to Congress, the people and local interests."

## Opposing Argument

Goodwin added that he believed the centralization of economic power had helped lead to the centralization of government power.

The opposing argument was spelled out by Rep. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.), himself a presidential hopeful. "A change in machinery isn't going to help," Udall said. "What we have to do is to elect presidents who show self-restraint, who aren't pompous."

Udall and others called on the American press to help

ensure that the public elects better presidents. Some of their suggestions:

"Knock off all this regal stuff . . . quit contributing to the image of the imperial president," Udall advised. "Focus on the candidate's character and personality, not on his short term solutions to current problems."

Martin Diamond, professor of political science at Northern Illinois University, urged the press to pay more attention to the workings of Congress, which he said the press underrated as a source of power.

Oregon Gov. Tom McCall, a Republican, urged the press "to get off its buttocks and help the nation discover" capable candidates for national office who are now working at the state and local level.

Most seminar participants were willing to concede that Congress was in the process of recovering some of the powers that had eroded to the president in recent years. Udall cited Congress' reassertion of its warmaking power, committee and budget reform and the opening of committee hearings as proof that Congress was no longer "vegetating."

While conceding that Congress needed to reassert itself, D. J. R. Bruckner, vice president of the University of Chicago, suggested that Congress, too, would have to yield some power back to state and local governments. Udall quickly added that he was becoming "less and less convinced that the federal government has the answers to all the nation's problems."

Diamond said that at some point the "vastly increased burden of power resting on Washington would become too much of a strain on our republican form of government."

Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution joined Bruckner in calling for "a big dose of localism" to put both Congress and the president on a lower pedestal and thus forestall any future crises.

Seminar participants conceded that this, indeed, marked a shift away from past liberal dogma. The argument of who should be more powerful — Congress or the president — was being resolved in neither's favor.



# New Look at Presidential Power

Alexander L. George: If I thought we knew how to carefully screen candidates for the presidency, with high confidence, O.K. But I don't think we can do very much of a practical nature. So I think we have to take a multiple approach. Yes, let us improve our selection of candidates . . . but let us also monitor them after they get into office—monitor the health of

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“. . . the institution didn't require Watergate.”

—James Barber

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men in high stress office for severe mental illness or poor performance under stress.

Broder: How would you do that?

George: Through the use of medical doctors. I wait for the day when a president will say, "I now have a personal physician who has had some psychiatric training." I think that would be a very wholesome precedent to set.

## New Screening System Sought

Barber: . . . at least we could agree that some kind of screening of presidential candidates is . . . done all the time by the politicians, by the press, by the primaries and the conventions. It's a matter of improving the way we do it. Now, in Nixon's case, as Jim Burns pointed out, we had all the evidence in the world, from his past behavior, about how he'd work as president. His history and his character, as we knew them, were in direct contradiction to his statements about how he'd work as president, that "open presidency" business. But his history and character were neglected, and his speeches were overemphasized, and this is what we got.

George: I want to pick up a theme that has been referred to several times and ask whether we have not, for very good historical reasons, overloaded the presidency in several different ways.

I don't disagree with Jim Burns on the need for a strong presidency, but . . . I think we have to stop, as political scientists, and re-ex-

amine the premises that went into our concept of the presidency.

When FDR took over, everyone said, "Look to the presidency to save the system." Everyone said, "The president needs help; give him a lot of help." Now, we have a swollen White House in which, step by step, we have miniaturized within the presidential office the rest of the executive branch. This was becoming very worrisome even prior to Watergate.

So I think we must develop a revisionist view of the presidency, and re-examine some of these assumptions. . . . I'm not saying abandon the strong presidency, but we need to develop safeguards against the monster we've created.

Wildavsky: The institution I think is performing worst now is not the presidency and not Congress, but the parties. If there is any group of people that ought to hold the president to account, that should be telling him off when he oversteps his boundaries, it is the party leaders. . . .

Barber: I'd like to agree with that 1,000%, as has been said. There's too much tendency to blame all this on the people and on popular attitudes. . . .

We've developed a system that encourages the superambitious into early pursuit of the nomination, starting years before the election, with personal organizations separate from the parties. That reached its apex in the Committee to Re-elect the President.

If I had to say what kind of screening is most likely to be effective, it would be informed screening by party leaders, rather than the team of psychiatrists. The party leaders are familiar with the character and life histories of these contenders. But they have abdicated that screening role.

George: The party wants to win the election. Can you guarantee to me or to anyone else that the party leaders will choose a man who will govern well, rather than one who will win the election?

Barber: There are no guarantees. . . .