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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 5, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO: RONALD NESSEN

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN *RG*

Monday evening, December 9, the President will be the host for a dinner-seminar. We hope this will be the first of a series of small gatherings whose primary purpose is thoughtful discussion of serious issues among the President, his chief White House advisers, and a few outsiders drawn primarily from the academic world.

The complete list of participants will be:

The President
Mr. Hartmann
Mr. Marsh
Mr. Rumsfeld
Mr. Nessen
Dr. Goldwin
Mr. Robson
Dr. Boorstin
Dr. Diamond
Dr. Wilson.

Attached to this memorandum are biographical information and samples of recent writing by three of the guests--Daniel J. Boorstin, James Q. Wilson, and Martin Diamond--to give you the opportunity to acquaint yourself with some of their recent thinking before Monday evening.

It is the President's hope that these conversations can stimulate fresh thinking, suggest better analyses of major problems, and provoke hard questions.

I will have additional words of explanation about this project Monday evening, especially on the question of the difference between the people we hope to bring in to the White House for these conversations and "intellectuals," who are not helpful and who will not be invited to participate in these discussions.

Attachments



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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION:

MARTIN DIAMOND is presently in Washington as a Woodrow Wilson Scholar, on leave of absence as Professor of Political Science, Northern Illinois University. He is the author of The Democratic Republic and numerous articles about the Constitution, The Federalist Papers, and the period of the founding of the nation.

JAMES Q. WILSON is Professor of Government, Harvard University, former chairman of the National Advisory Council for Drug Abuse Prevention and former Director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of Harvard and M.I.T. He has written books and many articles on crime, drug abuse, race problems, and urban problems.

DANIEL BOORSTIN was Professor of American History, University of Chicago, until 1969, when he became the Director of the Smithsonian National Museum of History and Technology. He is the author of more than ten books on American history and politics and won the Bancroft award in 1959 and the Francis Parkman prize in 1966.



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Crime and the Criminologists

James Q. Wilson

THE "social-science view" of crime is thought by many, especially its critics, to assert that crime is the result of poverty, racial discrimination, and other privations, and that the only morally defensible and substantively efficacious strategy for reducing crime is to attack its "root causes" with programs that end poverty, reduce discrimination, and meliorate privation. In fact, however, at the time when their views on crime were first sought by policymakers (roughly, the mid-1960's), social scientists had not set forth in writing a systematic theory of this sort. I recently asked three distinguished criminologists to nominate the two or three scholarly books on crime which were in print by mid-1960 and which were then regarded as the most significant works on the subject. There was remarkable agreement as to the titles: *Principles of Criminology*, by Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, and *Delinquency and Opportunity*, by Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin. Agreement was not complete on the validity of the views expressed in these books. Quite the contrary; criminologists then and now debate hotly and at length over such issues as the cause of crime. But these two books, and others like them, are alike in the way questions are posed, answers are sought, and policies are derived—alike, in short, not in their specific theories of delinquency, but in the general perspective from which those theories flow. And this perspective, contrary to popular impression, has rather little to do with poverty, race, education, housing, or the other objective conditions that supposedly cause crime. If anything, it directs attention away from factors that government can control, even if only marginally, to move beyond the reach of social policy altogether. Thus when social scientists were asked for advice by national policymaking bodies on how to reduce crime, they could not respond with suggestions derived from and supported by their

scholarly work. In consequence, such advice as they did supply tended to derive from their general political views rather than from the expert knowledge they were presumed to have.

I

IN the 1960's the prevalent social-science perspective on crime found its most authoritative development in the treatise by Sutherland and Cressey whose seventh edition appeared in 1966, just after President Johnson appointed his crime commission. In this work Sutherland and Cressey reviewed various "schools of criminology" and faulted all but the "sociological" approach, according to which criminal behavior is learned by a person in intimate interaction with others whose good opinion he values and who define crime as desirable. The "classical" theories of Bentham and Beccaria were rejected because their underlying psychological assumptions—that individuals calculate the pains and pleasures of crime and pursue it if the latter outweigh the former—"assume freedom of the will in a manner which gives little or no possibility of further investigation of the causes of crime or of efforts to prevent crime." The hedonistic psychology of Bentham, in short, suffered from being "individualistic, intellectualistic, and voluntaristic." Theories based on body type, mental abnormality, or mental illness were also rejected because the available data were inconsistent with them. Criminals were no more likely than law-abiding persons to have a certain stature, to be feeble-minded, or to suffer from a psychosis.

As for poverty—defined as having little money—Sutherland and Cressey's references to its impact were few and skeptical. Sutherland was quoted from his earlier writings as observing that while crime was strongly correlated with geographic concentrations of poor persons, it was weakly correlated (if at all) with the economic cycle. That is, crime might be observed to increase as one entered a poor neighborhood, but it was not observed to decrease as neighborhoods generally experienced prosperity. Furthermore, Albert K. Cohen (to whom Sutherland and Cressey refer approvingly) had shown that much of the delinquency found among working-class boys was

JAMES Q. WILSON is Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government at Harvard and has often written on issues of crime in this and other periodicals. His books include *Varieties of Police Behavior* and, most recently, *Political Organizations*. Another version of the present essay was presented as a paper at a conference on "Intellectuals, Knowledge, and the Public Arena" at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst this past May.

BOORSTIN]

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IX

SELF-LIQUIDATING



IDEALS



(This is Chapter IX of Daniel J. Boorstin's Democracy and Its Discontents: Reflections on Everyday America. Published by Random House, 1974).

Worrying about our values is more than a characteristic headache of our time. It is a by-product of long and potent forces in our history and of many peculiarities of American life. More perhaps than any other people, we Americans have tended to talk and think or (more precisely) to worry about our values. In our own time this tendency is a by-product of the American concept of a standard of living, of the American attitude to technology and of American success in technology. We can better understand (though I suspect we can never cure) this American habit if we notice a peculiarity of the ideals to which we have been led by our geography, our wealth, our know-how, and our history.

We Americans have been led to the pursuit of some self-

(These few pages are the conclusion of a lecture by Martin Diamond, The Revolution of Sober Expectations. Delivered at Independence Square, Philadelphia, in the House of Representatives Chamber, Congress Hall, on October 24, 1973. This lecture is one in a series sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute.)

Americans, Tocqueville observed, were born equal. This was so because of historical reasons too familiar and also too complicated to dwell upon here. The Englishmen who came to this country were from the middling walks of life and the institutions they developed here were far more democratic than those of their contemporaries and kinsmen in England. America, as Marx observed in the same spirit as Tocqueville, did not have a "feudal alp" pressing down upon the brow of the living. During one hundred and seventy years of colonial life the *stuff* of American life was thus quietly being prepared in the direction of democracy. But democratizing as the American colonial experience had been, colonial *thought* on the eve of the Revolution remained essentially pre-democratic. Colonial thought was in unanimous accord with the dominant English and Continental belief in the doctrine of the mixed regime, or, as Englishmen called it, the balanced constitution. This idea, more powerful than ever in eighteenth century England, derived from a two-thousand year tradition stemming from Aristotle. The traditional idea rested upon the premise that the pure forms of government—monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy—all tended to their own corruption; any unchecked ruler, be he the one, the few, or the many, would become tyrannical. Hence, the idea of the mixed or balanced regime—that is, a combination of the three kinds of government in one to prevent that otherwise inevitable degeneration or corruption. For example, in England this meant the balance of Crown, Lords, and Commons. There was nearly unanimous American agreement on this political prescription, especially on that part of the teaching which emphasized that pure democracy was peculiarly untenable. So great a leader of the American Revolution as John Adams subscribed to the idea of the mixed regime until the Revolution (and in fact never quite rid himself of it). For example, the English constitution, he said, is "the most perfect combination . . . which finite wisdom has yet contrived . . . for the preservation of liberty and

file

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO: RONALD NESSEN

FROM: ROBERT A. GOLDWIN

RAG

Don Rumsfeld suggested I call this formulation to your attention. Attached is the article from Time Magazine with the relevant sentence marked in red. Attached also is a copy of Don's memorandum to me suggesting that this might be a helpful way for you to talk about my function whenever the subject comes up.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 19, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB GOLDWIN

FROM:

DON RUMSFELD

The statement you made about the value of your function--namely that the problems are not connected in many instances and that people not dealing with each of the specifics often can be helpful in discussing the connections and the linkages.

I thought it was very useful. You might give that to Nessen so that he will have that in his head as a way of talking about this function in the event the subject keeps coming up.

The Education of Gerald Ford

A log crackled in the fireplace of the White House Red Room as butlers served drinks from silver trays to President Gerald Ford, a handful of aides and his four guests: Historian Daniel Boorstin, Harvard Government Professor James Q. Wilson, Woodrow Wilson Fellow Martin Diamond and Chicago Lawyer John Robson. The group moved to a first floor dining room for a meal of roast beef, mixed vegetables and fruit salad. The scene was more reminiscent of the White House of Thomas Jefferson, who had company at his dinner table nearly every night for leisurely conversation, than that of Richard Nixon, who guarded his privacy and preferred to hear from outsiders by memo.

Ford, looking tired but relaxed and reflective, gently steered the conversation to the problems of presidential lead-

versation. For Ford, the evening was a relaxing opportunity to reflect on the broader historical and philosophical contexts of his decisions and, in a way, a remedial crash course in presidential perspectives.

The tutor who is styling the education of Gerald Ford is his newly appointed special consultant, **Robert A. Goldwin, 52**, former dean of St. John's College in Annapolis, Md., who was an aide to White House Chief of Staff Donald Rumsfeld when he was Ambassador to NATO. Goldwin is convinced that because Government is made up of specialists, "it is very hard to see the connections. What we hope for in these sessions is people who are trained to think and see things in terms of their broadest implications."

Goldwin plans a series of seven or

TI Inc., an electronics firm, suggested that the Government hire a private contractor to manage the nation's energy program, just as TRW orchestrated the ICBM project. Physicist Edward Teller urged that the Government press the conservation of energy by demanding that homes be better insulated and automobiles made more efficient. Former World Bank President George D. Woods proposed that the oil-rich Middle East countries use their new wealth to build desalination plants for poverty-stricken nations. Ford also met last week with representatives of the Trilateral Commission, including David Rockefeller and other leading citizens of the U.S., Europe and Japan.

A Trade-Off. At week's end Ford flew off to another round of summitry, his third trip abroad and 18th meeting with a head of government in four months. His destination this time was the West Indian island of Martinique, where he met with French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. Prominent on

File

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: RONALD NESSEN

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

RAG

The attached copy of a letter from Professor Wilson presents a problem I would like to discuss with you prior to the next gathering, now scheduled for lunch on Saturday, January 11.

Please let me know when it will be convenient for us to get together.

Enclosure

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

LITTAUER CENTER M-22

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

December 20, 1974

Mr. Robert Goldwin
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

I wonder if you find the stories in Time and Newsweek as troublesome as do I? I did not suppose that a meeting between a President and college professors ought to be done surreptitiously, nor did I think our conversation on that occasion warranted treatment as a state secret, but I did feel that if the President is to benefit to the greatest degree from such meetings, those participating should feel that they can speak with utmost candor.

To find one's views publicly stated, not as I would have stated them, but as someone else stated them for me, makes me want to be, on any subsequent occasion, less candid, if indeed I would want to say anything at all. I am not ashamed of my opinions; indeed, I plan to publish them, but in my words and first-hand, not second-hand in somebody else's words.

I don't think any real harm was done by the stories: the comments attributed to us are mostly banalities. But had I known, before the meeting, that somebody planned to tell the press what I said, I probably would have spoken entirely in banalities.

I think your excellent enterprise and the President's desire to benefit from that enterprise will suffer if subsequent visitors believe that some part of their remarks, selected and revised by others, will be given to the press.

If this publicity was intended, then I think you should warn all future visitors that they are speaking on the record. Or perhaps they and you can agree after the meeting on a joint communique. If the publicity was unintended, then you have a different problem, on which I can give no advice at all.

Sincerely,


James Q. Wilson
Professor

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: RON NESSEN

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

RGW

The attached letter from Richard Cohen of the American Jewish Congress to Len Garment gives a corrected list of the Jewish leaders. You might want to keep this copy in your files for future reference.

Attachment



AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS



STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 EAST 84TH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028 • TR 9-4500

RICHARD COHEN
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

December 31, 1974

Mr. Leonard Garment
Trubin Sillocks Edelman & Knapp
375 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Len:

I knew that as soon as you left the White House the whole thing would cave in, but I didn't realize it would happen so quickly. While you were out of the country, President Ford met with a group of Jewish leaders. The New York Times story published the next day (Saturday, Dec. 21), concluded with the following paragraphs:

The White House issued the following list of those attending the meeting today:

Dr. Arthur Hertzberg, president of the American Jewish Congress; Rabbi Israel Miller, president of Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations; David Blumberg, president of B'nai B'rith; Lewis Cole, president of National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Board; Ray Epstein, president of Council of Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds.

Also, Melvin Dubinsky, chairman of United Israel Appeal; Frank Lautenberg, chairman of United Jewish Appeal; Fay Schenk, president of Zionist Federation of America; Rose Matukin, president of Hadassah; Rabbi Joseph P. Sternstein, president of Zionist Organization of America; Rabbi Alex Schindler, president of Union Hebrew Congregation.

Also, Arthur Levine, president of United Synagogues of America; Rabbi Irwin Blank, president of Synagogue Council of America; Harold Jacobs, president of Union Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America; I. L. Keren, chairman of America-Israel Public Affairs Committee; Seymour Graubard, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Rabbi Scheinkman, Jewish Labor Committee; Dr. Russell Sage, Mizrahi Organization; Stanley H. Lowell, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, and Max Fisher, past president of Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST

I'd be grateful if you would bequeath to whomever responsible for these matters the following corrections in this rather error-strewn listing, so that next time the White House has occasion to release such a compilation, or invite people for dinner, the names, identifications and spellings are correct. Here goes:

Mr. Leonard Garment--2

December 31, 1974

Rabbi Israel Miller is chairman (not president) of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Lewis Cole is chairman (not president) of the National Jewish Community Relations Council (not Board).

It's Raymond (not Ray) Epstein. (Only his friends call him Ray.)

It's Faye Schenck (not Fay Schenk) and she is president of the American Zionist Federation. (There is no Zionist Federation of America.)

Rabbi Alexander (not Alex) Schindler is the president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, not the Union Hebrew Congregation.

Arthur Levine is president of the United Synagogue (singular), not Synagogues, of America.

It's Harold, not Harrold, Jacobs, and he is president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.

I.L. Kenen is the chairman of the American Israel (not America-Israel) Public Affairs Committee.

Seymour Graubard is national chairman of the ADL (the listing omitted his title).

The president of the Jewish Labor Committee is not Rabbi Scheinkman but Jacob Sheinkman.

Alas, Russell Sage died many years ago and a foundation was named for him. The man who visited with President Ford is Dr. Maurice Sage and he is the president of an organization known as Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi.

Max Fisher is the past president of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (not the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations).

The listing of Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, president of the American Jewish Congress, was correct. And the decision to have him lead the list, like Abou Ben Adhem, was unexceptionable.

(More)



Mr. Leonard Garment--3

December 31, 1974

The enclosed booklet was published recently as a kind of road map through the maze of Jewish organizations in America. I think you'll find it useful as a reference source.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,



Richard Cohen

RCsg
enc.



January 27, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB GOLDWIN

FROM: RON NESSEN

Jim Karayan sent me a copy of his letter to you suggesting a TV program featuring the President and "three of the nation's leading thinkers." I hope you did not get the idea that I approve this or that I have encouraged Karayn in it. I think it is a bad idea and as we have agreed before, it's important not to "use" scholars with the President in any kind of PR or image-making sense.

I hope you will discourage Karayan from pursuing this idea.

RN/cg



February 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB GOLDWIN

FROM:

RON NESSEN

Thank you for the Milton Friedman and Irving Kristol columns. It seems to me that their views, which in many ways reflect the President's views, are being given a serious hearing by journalists and the public. I don't think their views have been accepted yet by a majority, but at the very least the President has laid down the framework for a healthy and serious public debate on the issues discussed in these two columns.

RN:jg



March 5, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB GOLDWIN
FROM: RON NESSEN

You **will** see from the **attached** correspondence and Presidential briefing paper that the President has agreed to **an** interview next Tuesday with Fortune Magazine for its special April issue on "The American System." He **will** be asked **questions** about the state **of** the American political and economic system, the mood of the public, and other such broad, philosophical questions.

Perhaps you might want to help the President focus **his** thoughts in these areas before he does this interview.

Attachment

cc: Don Rumsfeld

RN:jg



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INTERVIEW BY FORTUNE MAGAZINE

Tuesday, March 11, 1975

5:00 p.m. (30 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: Ron Nessen

I. PURPOSE

To be interviewed by Fortune Magazine for its special April issue on "The American System."

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: Fortune Magazine is planning a special issue dealing with a single subject, The American System. The interviewers will want to know your views on such matters as how is the American political system working; is the American economic system working, and if not, why; and what is the mood of the American public and how does it compare with the public mood during various periods in American history.

B. Participants:

Robert Lubar, Managing Editor
Headly Donovan, Editor-in-Chief, Time Inc.
Daniel Seligman, Executive Editor
William Bowen, Assistant Managing Editor
James Reichley, Member of the Board of Editors

C. Press Plan: White House Photographer.



FORTUNE

Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York 10020
(212) 556-4371

Office of the Managing Editor

December 13th, 1974

Mr. Ron Nessen
Press Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nessen:

To mark the nation's bicentennial, Fortune is devoting its April issue entirely to a single subject, "The American System." It will be both a celebration and an examination of the unique political, economic and social framework developed in this country over the past two hundred years. The issue will address itself to the critical question: Does the system still work?

This landmark editorial effort would obviously draw great distinction from a contribution by the President, and I trust I am not being presumptuous in thinking that he might find our pages an attractive forum in which to express himself on fundamental national questions. If the President is agreeable, I suggest that we do this in the form of an interview, with three or four Fortune editors posing the questions. The session would be on the record and in view of the special circumstances, our report would be checked with you before publication. For our purposes, the best time would be the latter part of February.

I do hope you, and the President, will find this a plausible proposition, and I thank you for considering it.

Yours sincerely,


Robert Lubar
Managing Editor

Rec'd
in file
12-23-74

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Ron Nessen

FROM: Robert A. Goldwin *LAG by mch*

COMMENTS: Here are Wilson's
thoughts on crime, now in writing.

3/27/75

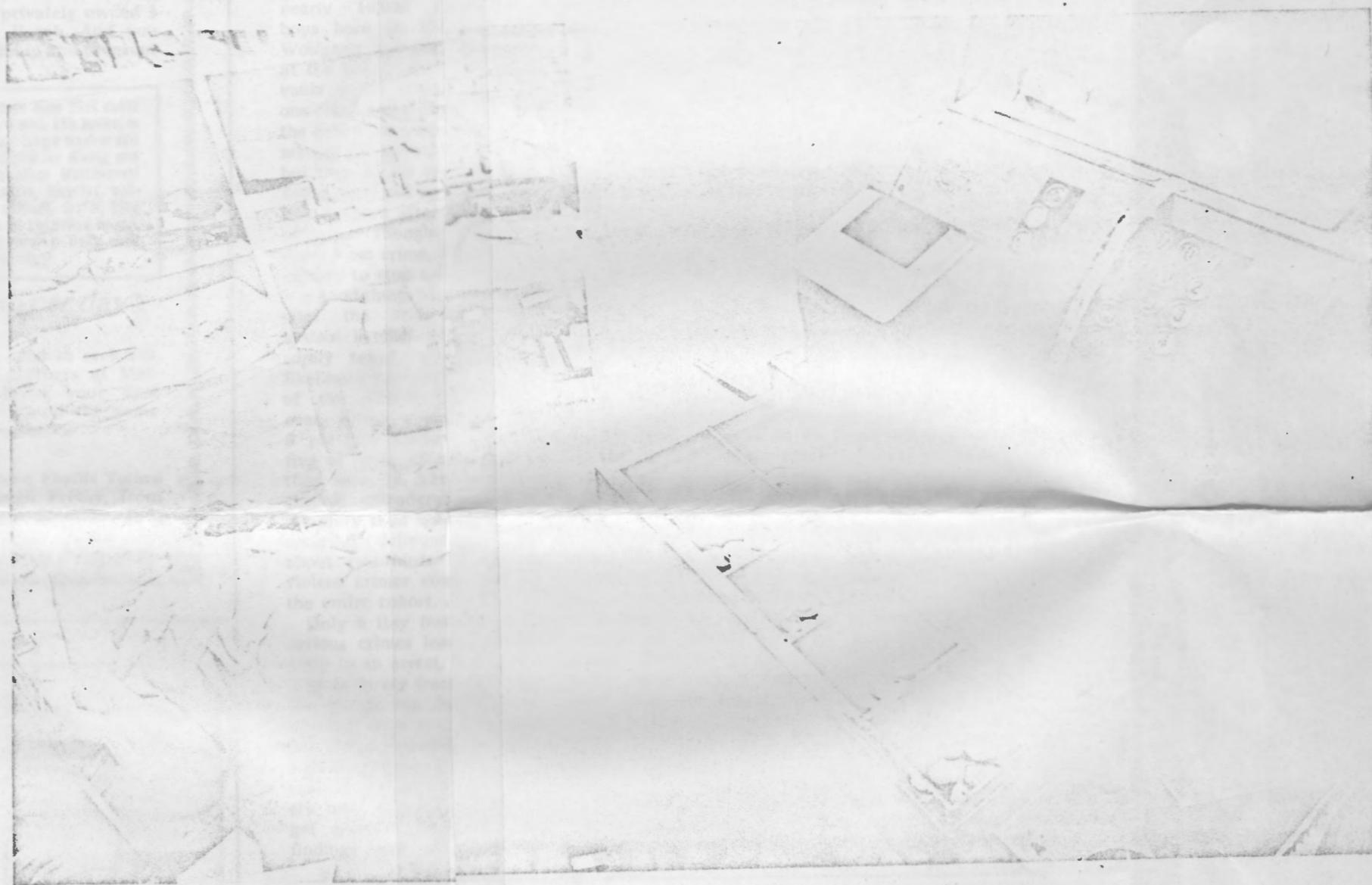


Intellectuals do not wish to be caught saying uncomplimentary things about mankind.
But wicked people exist.



LOCK 'EM UP

AND OTHER THOUGHTS ON CRIME



Leonard Freed

By James Q. Wilson

As much as anything, our futile efforts to curb or even understand the dramatic and continuing rise in crime have been frustrated by our optimistic and unrealistic assumptions about human nature. Considering that our society is in the grip of a decade-old crime wave despite a decade-long period of prosperity, it is strange that we should persist in the view that we can find and alleviate the "causes" of crime, that serious criminals can be rehabilitated, that the police can somehow be

James Q. Wilson is Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government at Harvard. This article is adapted from his forthcoming book, "Thinking About Crime."

made to catch more criminals faster, and that prosecutors and judges have the wisdom to tailor sentences to fit the "needs" of the individual offender.

I argue for a sober view of man and his institutions that would permit reasonable things to be accomplished, foolish things abandoned, and utopian things forgotten. A sober view of man requires a modest definition of progress. A 20-per cent reduction in robbery would still leave us with the highest robbery rate of almost any Western nation but would prevent about 60,000 robberies a year. A small gain for society, a large one for the would-be victims. Yet a 20 per cent reduction is unlikely if we concentrate our efforts on dealing with the causes of crime or even if we concentrate on improving police efficiency. But were we to devote those resources to a strategy that is well within

our abilities — to incapacitating a larger fraction of the convicted serious robbers—then not only is a 20 per cent reduction possible, even larger ones are conceivable.

Most serious crime is committed by repeaters. What we do with first offenders is probably far less important than what we do with habitual offenders. A genuine first offender (and not merely a habitual offender caught for the first time) is in all likelihood a young person who, in the majority of cases, will stop stealing when he gets older. This is not to say we should forgive first offenses, for that would be to license the offense and erode the moral judgments that must underlie any society's attitude toward crime. The gravity of the offense must be appropriately impressed on the first offender, but the effort to devise ways of re-educating or uplifting him in order (Continued on Page 44)