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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY
JERRY JONES
BOB GOLDWYN ✓
BOB HARTMANN

FROM: RON NESSEN *RHN*

Attached find a memo prepared by Jim Shuman of the Press Office staff pointing up a common criticism of the President which has appeared in a number of first anniversary assessments, and suggesting a possible course of action to meet this criticism.

May I have your comments or reaction to this memo? If I can get your comments back by mid-day Friday, Jim would have a chance to further develop his ideas while the President is in Vail.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: RON NESSEN

FROM: JIM SHUMAN

SUBJECT: VISION AND THE NEW POLITICS:
 PROPOSAL FOR A PRESIDENTIAL THEME

Does the Ford Administration have a vision to carry the country through the 1980's and into the next 100 years? Or is it to be little more than a nuts and bolts caretaker of the machinery of government?

These questions, which strike at the heart of what could become a major campaign issue, began to surface in the nation's press even before the President announced he would be a candidate.

Dennis Farney, writing in the Wall Street Journal several weeks before the President's formal announcement, asked: "Does Mr. Ford have a problem of substance.....Does he know what he wants to accomplish through the Presidency?"

"American political campaigns typically hold out alternative visions of the future." Farney wrote, "Does Gerald Ford have such a vision?"

Since then, there has been a steady, if still subdued, drum-beat of similar criticism.

"His style may be likeable, but what of substance?" The Milwaukee Journal asked in an editorial on July 10th.

"There's a nothingness there (at the White House); Peter Lisagor said on Washington Week in Review, July 18th, "There are no programs on the drawing board; there are no policies developing or emerging or evolving, so far as we can see."

The President, Time Magazine noted in a favorable cover story on Gerald Ford's first year in office, "has not provided anything resembling a blueprint for the nation."

Newsweek, in a similar article, said President Ford "has yet to demonstrate any larger capacity for leadership -- for defining goals and mobilizing the energies of a nation behind them."

"The country," Joseph Kraft wrote in a column on July 22nd, "wants more than Mr. Nice Guy."

David Broder, writing in the Washington Post, this morning, noted that "Mr. Ford has not yet attempted to give the nation a picture of where he is leading it."

And James Reston in the New York Times this morning described the President as "A happy and appreciative man with a kind of thumbby practical wisdom, [who] does not really grapple with the perplexing problems of the insurgent hum of the age."

These conceptions can, of course, change. Gerald Ford is more than Mr. Nice Guy. He does have a philosophy and it is, I suspect, more in tune with the feelings of most Americans than many political writers know.

But as this Administration enters its second year and gears up for the 1976 election, I think we should begin to put that philosophy into words and into a context that is relevant to what Reston calls "the insurgent hum of the age."

In the editorial in which it asked about Presidential substance, the Milwaukee Journal said that President Ford had indicated that "in his campaign he will stress traditional Republican notions -- opposition to big spending, opposition to big government, opposition to regulation of business. While these themes have some merit, they have been associated in the past with largely negative, uninspired thinking. They have too often served as excuses for neglect of major social needs. To be a worthy Presidential claimant, Ford will have to do more than pour his old wine into a few new bottles."

What type of new wine does the United States need as we celebrate our 200th Anniversary?

Pollster Louis Harris defined the political climate clearly in a speech at the Conference of Mayors in Boston.

"It is time for quite a radical rethinking in American politics," Harris said. "The old left-right division of 30 or 40 years ago is totally out-of-date. The old nostrum of a federal take-over of business appeals to no more than 11 percent. The even older nostrum of leaving the economy to the free market leaves over eight in every ten cold and unimpressed."

"The dominant mood of this public: they want men of hope, and genuine humanity, with compassion for the less privileged, but with a realism about the tough problems modern society faces."

"Underneath they have a deep yearning for new politicians, for non-organizational men who speak the language and give voice to the people. They are willing to listen carefully for quiet voices, if they are genuine voices. For make no mistake about it, the voices from the top today are by and large not the voices from below.

"The kind of leadership they would abide would be willing to ask for stringent sacrifice in energy and food when the world's supply says there is not enough to go around; the conservative who has the courage to speak with compassion about the fact that one in six Americans of a different color skin are not equal in fact; the liberal who has the courage to talk about the fact that trade unions, unwilling to join in equality of sacrifice in a crisis, can sink the modern city without a trace. Leadership, in short, that has the courage to cut through the usual political cant and say how rotten the old pork barrel politics really is."

"Above all, people want leaders who have the courage to welcome the governed into the political process. 'Open Up' is the lesson of Watergate and the past few years. People do not want to be treated like 12- year-olds.

"We find the common community of interest underneath was never greater. The trouble with the leadership in all fields is that it has spent 20 years clawing its way to the top, only to find that when it once attains that upmost rung, it is 20 years out of date. In a chorus, people are saying we must learn not to attack each other, but instead to attack our common problems. And people want to find all that and get going on it now.... now before it is too late."

I would explain what has happened more dramatically.

In the past few years, the United States has undergone a major shift in values. It is, in effect, a silent revolution. It is a revolution which is consonant with basic Republican philosophy but which neither Republicans nor Democrats have yet seemed aware of.

It should be recognized politically, not just for the benefit of the politicians who sense it (and a few such as Governor Brown of California and Governor Dukakis of Massachusetts seem to), but to rebuild and strengthen the United States and to restore a needed and missing sense of personal competency, a sense that we, the people of the United States, can solve our problems.

Among the characteristics of this silent revolution are a desire for greater individual self-sufficiency, for greater individual self-determination (the right to make the important decisions about one's own life), and at the same time a greater sense of interdependence and personal responsibility.

It is what I would christen "Responsible Individualism."

One of the most momentous aspects of the silent revolution to "Responsible Individualism" is the strong reversal of the two-hundred year-long trend toward big and centralized government.

Although it is spurred by the inability of centralized government to efficiently deliver services or to respond to the needs of people at a local level, it is not negative. Nor, as much of national political rhetoric still seems to be, is it phrased in negative terms. It does not want to ignore problems, only to shift them to the level where they can be most effectively solved.

To supporters of the New Federalist concept articulated during the Nixon Administration, this shift may seem like confirmation of their ideas. But our response is too often seen as one that is negative. It is against "Big Government" but it seems to offer little to replace it.

There are, however, scores if not hundreds of examples.

The Center for Policy Process, a Washington-based national research center, recently noted some of them in each of the five major areas where this shift toward decentralization is taking place.

To quote from a report the Center developed in cooperation with the Urban Research Corporation, of Chicago:

"(1) Increasing community and neighborhood influence and control. In the history of neighborhood control, the first actions were based on criticisms of the system brought by community members seeking to make schools and police more accountable to local concerns. In the next stage, the cycle has moved toward more integration of civil activities leading to the development of 'neighborhood multi-service centers' which exist in some form in almost every city of over 75,000 population. The basic service elements are information and referral, health, employment, welfare, housing and youth programs. The newest development has turned from integration of present services to community goal setting. This is occurring in about 250 cities and towns including Memphis, Cleveland Heights, Iowa City, Santa Barbara, Seattle, Tulsa, Greensboro, New Orleans, Dayton, and Rochester, N.Y."

(2) "More power is being assumed by the state. The states of the union are taking charge in areas once considered the preserve of the federal government. Federal agencies continue proliferating regulations and promulgating codes, but the once one-way flow has ceased; significant decision-making authority is being lodged in state capitals."

(3) "Revenue sharing. The strong decentralizing impact of federal revenue sharing is being felt at all levels of government; states are now beginning to return tax money to cities and cities to neighborhoods. Once highly criticized, revenue sharing is now receiving greater praise."

(4) "A growing diversity in approach among governmental jurisdictions. This new geographic pluralism is following the pattern of increasing diversity that we saw in the counter-culture individualism and the ethnic diversity of the sixties (from 'Black is beautiful' to the use of bi-lingual and poly-cultural textbooks in schools). We are just beginning to recognize the extent of a jurisdictional diversity in approaches to problem solving--wide variations in the way towns, cities and states are approaching issues. The old notion that there was a "one best solution" to social problems to be imposed everywhere is fading."

(5) "The tired axiom about the 'economies of scale' is being challenged and supplanted by criteria for appropriately scaled activities which are effective economically and socially. In both the public sector, and the private sector, we are scaling down our activities in the name of economy: we have neighborhood councils and neighborhood courts emerging; small towns are regaining popularity; transit systems are being installed with mini-buses and jitneys; custodial institutions (jails and mental institutions) are being decentralized; and families are decreasing in size. The question is, what is the most appropriate scale (level of government) for each particular social goal."

This trend is not confined to government. It is showing up in attempts to improve factories and offices, educational institutions, and social service organizations. To me, this is the politics of the 1970's and most likely into the next century: Can this desire for responsible individualism, with its recognition of diversity and interdependence, be accommodated by our existing institutions.



I think it can. And I think this Administration not only should play a major role in creating the society these values call for, but that this Administration is the logical one to do so.

On July 4th, when President Ford spoke at Fort McHenry, he said that the next 100 years of the American experience should be ones in which we worked toward individual freedom.

I think we should begin, preferably as soon as Labor Day, to begin to articulate how that freedom is to be achieved. We should define it as "Responsible Individualism" or whatever, phrase catches popular fancy and notes that individualism must recognize interdependence. (And does not use the word "new". People are tired and distrustful of that type of rhetoric and promise.)

I would propose a program of several stages.

Stage I: Recognition and Learning-- This stage would have the President acknowledging, probably in a speech, that much has changed in the United States during the past decade. He would then set out to learn about it, through on-site tours, meetings, conferences, posturing himself as a leader concerned about his people and desirous of finding out how they are positively and successfully attacking problems -- and virtually all of our national problems fit under the overall schematology of "Responsible Individualism." There are many successful examples of such new approaches. Presidential recognition would doubtless spur others. In addition, in a period in which people are distrustful of politicians and feel their views are not heard, the posture of a President acknowledging the competence and wisdom of the American people would be, at least, reassuring. This stage would last perhaps three to four months, say up until the end of 1975.

Stage II: Reflective. This period would also last three to four months while programs were developed. During it the President would continue to make speeches and do other Presidential-type activities. There would be no public announcements of new policies, but the President in Bicentennial speeches could articulate the basic premises of "Responsible Individualism."

Stage III: Implementation. This would coincide with the election campaign, it would follow the traditional political pattern of a campaign, but would be well in tune with what the voters were thinking, and it would be offering fresh solutions.

All of this, of course, needs more thought than I have been able to give it in this memo. My intention here is merely to open an area for further discussion and exploration. It is one I see as having minimal risk and maximum gain.

-END-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Ron Nessen

FROM: Robert A. Goldwin

COMMENTS: The attached telegram has been sent by the American Jewish Congress. However, they called and dictated it to us over the phone.

9/2/75

TELEGRAM

9/2/75

Dear Mr. President:

We wholeheartedly support your call for the use of American civilians to monitor the new Sinai agreement. A U.S. presence there is essential for progress towards peace in the Middle East and for reducing world tensions.

The fact that small numbers of American civilian technicians will be stationed on both sides--and will be there at the request of both parties--should eliminate any serious apprehension that Americans will be drawn into some future conflict.

American citizens will not be there in any partisan capacity and will not be identified with the cause of either side. Any analogy to America's past involvement or to conflicts in any other part of the world is wholly misleading.

We trust that Congress--recognizing the crucial nature of the American commitments to monitor the agreement, to providing substantial military and economic aid to Israel and to assuring her oil supplies--will take appropriate action to ratify those commitments.

We are grateful for the contributions of our government in bringing about the agreement which carries with it the potential of an historic event for Israel and the Jewish people. If the parties faithfully and honestly carry out their promises and responsibilities the agreement can become the first affirmative step toward bringing genuine peace to the Middle East.

We commend you, Mr. President, and Secretary of State Kissinger for your remarkable and successful diplomatic effort.

Respectfully,

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg
President
American Jewish Congress

The President of
the United States
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: DONALD RUMSFELD
RICHARD CHENEY
JAMES CONNOR
RONALD NESSEN ✓
ROBERT HARTMANN

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

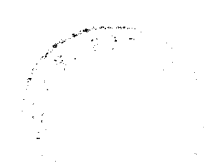
RG

I had a chance to talk on the telephone with one of the editorial writers of the Washington Post soon after the President gave his Helsinki speech. I reminded him of the editorial they ran entitled, "Jerry, Don't Go." I suggested that they might now want to write an editorial entitled, "Jerry, We're Glad You Went." He said he doubted they would go that far, but that they had a high opinion of the speech and would show it in their editorial. In case you missed it, I enclose a copy.

Note, especially, the praise in the last paragraph.

9/4/75

Encl.



REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Beyond Helsinki

8/11/75

The Helsinki summit is fading. has accused Russia of taking a hand into the footnotes but in an innocen- in Portugal and one of the big ques-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 2, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DON RUMSFELD
DICK CHENEY
JAMES LYNN
JACK MARSH
ROBERT HARTMANN
JERRY JONES
ALAN GREENSPAN
JAMES CONNOR
✓ RON NESSEN

FROM: BOB GOLDWIN *RG*

FYI, in case you missed it.

Attachment

10/1/75

Roscoe Drummond

A major political omen

Washington

New York's financial crisis is producing a significant political omen bearing on next year's presidential election.

What has happened is that the liberal center of the United States — New York City and New York State — has been shocked by the evidence that its policies of uncontrolled spending have brought the biggest city in the nation to near bankruptcy.

The omen to which I am referring is the fact that the Democratic liberal leaders in both the city and the state are sharply and suddenly turning to the conservative economics of Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan, and the maverick Democratic Governor of California, Jerry Brown.

Says City Council president Paul O'Dwyer, one of the most liberal Democrats in the state, and first in the line of succession to be the next mayor: "I don't see any difference between a hard-nosed reactionary and myself on how you run the City of New York."

Says Democratic state chairman Patrick J. Cunningham: "I'm afraid that has to be the thrust for the future. We can't have gimmick budgets any longer."

As a consequence of the city's financial plight, it is evident that the Democratic Party and its liberal supporters are rushing to embrace fiscal conservatism — perhaps too late.

It is evident that in taking the necessary steps to rescue the city from collapse, including dismissing thousands of employees, imposing a wage freeze, and raising subway fares, the Democratic leaders are straining to the breaking point their long-time alliances with the labor unions and minority ethnic groups.

But this is not the most important political consequence. What makes this development politically significant is not that New York Democratic leaders are turning conservative but that New York's democratically oriented voters are turning away from liberal Democratic candidates. Apparently they have serious doubts that this after-the-calamity conversion is for real or likely to be very lasting.

The evidence that New York voters are not putting their faith in the "reformed" liberals, who now proclaim how conservative they are, but in a really hard-core conservative, emerges from a poll taken only a few days ago for the Democratic state committee.

It's startling, it's stunning, and to true-blue conservatives, it's delicious. It reveals that New York Sen. James L. Buckley, who often criticizes President Ford on the ground that he is too liberal, defeats six of the leading Democratic senatorial prospects.

Even in the once strongly Democratic city precincts, Senator Buckley runs ahead of all the old-line Democrats, including such well-known figures as Daney Clark, John Lindsay, Bella Abzug, and Robert F. Wagner Jr. Only Bess Myerson, former City Consumer Affairs Commissioner, ran slightly ahead of Buckley in New York City but lost to Buckley in the statewide poll.

Is this rejection of the political liberals under the hammer of financial crisis an isolated phenomenon? When you consider that a recent national Gallup poll showed that 59 percent of the voters would support a conservative over a liberal party — if they had that choice — what is now happening in New York may point to the shape of things to come.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1975

MEMORANDUM FROM: ROBERT A. GOLDWIN *RG*
SUBJECT: Raising Everyone Above the Average

In the November 10 issue of The Chronicle of Higher Education, there is an article on the increases of State expenditures on education which begins this way:

"State legislatures have appropriated an average of 28% more money for higher education's operating expenses in 1975-76 than they did two years earlier.

"However:

"--Appropriation increases in 23 states failed to reach the national average." . . .

The error in understanding is humorous, but worth thinking about seriously. If there is an increase described in terms of the average for all 50 states, some large number of the states will, unavoidably, fall below the average. If they had used the word, median, they would have had to say that "appropriation increases in 25 states failed to reach the national median."

What the author of this article has unwittingly expressed is the strong desire of many people that no state, no school district, no school, and no pupil, should "fail to reach the average."

For decades we have been acting as if we could repeal the law of supply and demand, as if we thought we really could

have our cake and eat it, and as if we could make everything and everybody above average. That irrational desire is what this Administration must contend with.

One mission this Administration ought to impose on itself and proclaim is the task of reminding the nation and the world, that the very meaning of average is that some sizeable portion, frequently half or close to half, must inevitably be below average.

Equality means equality of rights and equality of opportunity. We cannot have equality of results without the repressive imposition of levelling. In a free society there will be differences. And where there are differences, some will be above the average and some below. The best we can do is try to raise the level of the average. That sad fact is not the doing of malevolent forces or neglectful leadership, but simply one of the unchangeable facts of human existence--not to speak of the unchangeable rules of arithmetic. I think there is a theme in this worth developing.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

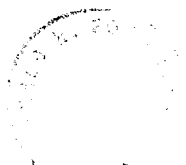
TO: JERRY JONES
JAMES CONNOR
RONALD NESSEN ✓
JAMES SHUMAN
JAMES CANNON
JAMES CAVANAUGH
ROBERT HARTMANN
MILTON FRIEDMAN
JAMES LYNN
PAUL O'NEILL
DAVID LISSY
ALAN GREENSPAN

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

RAG

Attachment

11/25/75



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Ron Nessen

FROM: Robert A. Goldwin

RAJ

COMMENTS: FYI

12/19/75

*In case you
missed WWD last
week!*

Getting Around

by Beverly Galt

Bob Goldwin: Ford's talented talent scout

I look for a man who, when I ask, 'What do you think I should do about a problem?' answers, 'Hell, I don't know. I'm just telling you what's wrong.'"

That's Robert Goldwin, talent scout, telling me how he recruits the right academic people to invite to the White House. Robert Goldwin, ex-Dean of St. John's University, former assistant to Donald Rumsfeld when he was ambassador to NATO, is presently mixing the worlds of academia and politics in White House seminars, and relishing his role.

Many presidents have had an "intellectual-in-residence" (a term he abhors). "Some," he says, "have thought of themselves as 'scholarly stars' who

ment will pay a portion of it for a year, and I'll work for you, if you can give me some assurance that I'll learn something on this job." Goldwin adds, "Leave it up to the kid not to spend his voucher unwisely! What we have to look for is a substitute for apprenticeships because apprenticeships are almost dead in most trades."

In Japan, Goldwin continued, a student who has left school one day, has to register the next with the government unemployment service. "They don't lose track of them for a day. In this country, kids sort of get lost. They leave school and nobody knows who they are or where they are or shows any special concern for them."

to college, figure up the lost income for the first four years — not only what you don't pay out but what you don't earn during those four years. Invest that sum, then compare the income level with, say, plumbers to government workers or teachers or the other occupations for which you need a college degree. It's likely that the college graduate will not be significantly better off than a fairly successful tradesman."

That's the practical academic addressing the problem. In short, he is an educator who believes that college education is not for everyone. In a world where the job situation changes constantly, salable skills are more important than length of education or even training for a particular industry.

making automobiles safer by adding safety features with buzzers, lights, seat straps, padded dashboards, and so on. He has found that the more safety features a car has, the more likely it will be in an accident. For some reason, the rate of accidents has gone up as we've added safety features year after year. His interpretation is people feel too safe in these cars and therefore drive more recklessly. One of the indications is that there's been a great increase in pedestrian injuries and deaths. That's the kind of thing I keep on encountering."

I asked for some other examples. "In a survey of drug regulations, it was found that all new medicines that don't

THE Public Interest

EDITORIAL OFFICES: 10 East 53 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022

Editors: IRVING KRISTOL • NATHAN GLAZER

Associate Editor: PAUL WEAVER

Rule

February 5, 1976

Mr. Robert Goldwin
Room 170
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

I thought the President's statement on abortion was a good one, on the whole. But I think there were two weaknesses, one trivial the other a little more serious. Fortunately, the more serious one, at least, is correctable.



1. I really do not understand why the President thought it necessary to qualify his position that the abortion issue ought to be devolved on to the states. He seemed to be particularly concerned with abortions arising from rape, or where the pregnancy threatened the life of the mother, and such like. Well, the President is not a theologian and I don't think it's wise for him to get involved in these issues. They may look "minimal" and commonsensical to him, but they unduly offended a great many people. Orthodox Jews, for instance, do not believe that rape is a possible justification for abortion (it isn't the child who raped, after all!); and orthodox Catholics believe that the mother's life must be subordinate to the life of the child (on this issue orthodox Jews take a contrary view). These are the kinds of issues which the President should not want to get involved in. Let these moral-theological debates take place at the community level.

2. I think the President's position on abortion would be strengthened if, at the first opportunity, he puts it in a larger context. He should make it clear that he is not in any way trying to "duck" the abortion issue by devolution to the states, but rather believes in this as part of his general political philosophy. This political philosophy says that all such moral issues should not be made matters of national policy but should be solved by the people themselves in their own communities. Such issues include: abortion, the death penalty, pornography, prohibition of alcohol, and legalized gambling. In a heterogeneous nation like the United States,

add to Q+A book

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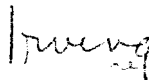
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Mr. Robert Goldwin

2/5/76

these are all very divisive issues because they touch on different views of personal morality, and the reason we have a federal and pluralistic governmental system is precisely to prevent these issues from becoming nationally divisive. Moreover, I do think that people will be readier to accept a governmental policy that emerges from the lower levels of government rather than from Washington.

Best,



Irving Kristol

IK:rl

P.S. I do hope that whoever replaces Moynihan will be someone who will continue more or less his line of thinking and talking. It could mean a lot of trouble, otherwise.

(Goldwin)

RGZ

2/11/76

TO: RON NESSEN

QUESTION AND ANSWER ON PRESIDENTIAL POWER (FOR PHIL SHABECOFF)

Q: Has the power of the presidency been reduced? Has something of constitutional importance happened? If so, what accounts for it and how lasting is the change, in your opinion?

A: There is a built-in tension in our political system among the several branches of government, especially between the legislative and the executive branches. You can see it directly from practical experience, or you can see it just from reading the Constitution.

Much of our political effort has gone into building a strong



and effective executive who can get things done at home and abroad. At the same time, at least as much political effort has gone into trying to prevent abuses and curb excesses in the exercise of that executive power.

To my mind, this is just as it should be. The pendulum swings back and forth. If the Congress goes too far in its attacks on the executive power, wiser heads in the Congress and the press and the public start the pendulum swinging the other way. And if the President goes too far, the reaction is sure to come and the reverse swing begins.

It doesn't work with the precision of the pendulum on a clock, of course. We are not talking about a machine, but a system of government involving human beings with opinions and interests and emotions. It doesn't go like clockwork. Sometimes we are off balance too much and too long.

In my opinion, the Congress has recently gone too far in its inroads on the executive power, and the nation has been harmed. I have in mind not only Angola, but arms aid to Turkey, the Soviet trade bill, and the conduct of the recent

congressional hearings on intelligence agencies.

When the Congress begins to encroach on the executive powers, we lose all around: the legislative gets involved in matters they cannot handle, and the executive power is hamstrung. The result is that the nation and the people as a whole are the real losers, and there are no winners.

In fact, that is the test, I think, of what is the proper constitutional limit of authority for any branch of our government. If the power of one to serve the people is not increased, and the power of the other is decreased, then you can be quite sure that the action is an encroachment and not what the Constitution intended.

As I have said many times, the Congress has gone too far in the last year or so. It may be a natural reaction, in part, to the steady growth of executive power that started more than 40 years ago. Part, too, was to be expected as a reaction to Vietnam and Watergate. It is also relevant that I am a President who was brought to office by the Constitution rather than by election, and that there is a very sizable majority of the other party in both Houses of the Congress.

But all in all, the situation is not out of hand, and where it is I sense that the pendulum is about in position to start swinging back. This is essential, for all sorts of reasons, but most important is the foreign policy reason.

Our relations with the rest of the world must be conducted by the President and the Executive departments. Congress has an important constitutional role to play, but it cannot conduct negotiations or manage day-to-day relations with hundreds of other nations. This is becoming clearer and clearer.

Let me add a few thoughts about the veto, which is one of the constitutional ways in which the President participates in the legislative process. When I use the veto, it is a constitutional use of a constitutional power for constitutional purposes. The authors of the Constitution meant the President to have the power to tell the Congress, when he disagrees with their judgment, that more than an ordinary majority is required. They then have to think the matter through again. A two-thirds majority, if they can muster it to override my veto, means that the representatives of enough people

have spoken to erase any doubt that they speak decisively for the whole nation.

I do not consider use of the veto a negative action. Billions of dollars have been saved by the veto in the last year and a half. Frequently, once my veto is sustained, Congress passes an improved but less expensive bill to replace it, and I sign it into law.

Of my _____vetoes, _____have been sustained, at a saving of \$_____billion to the taxpayers. That record persuades me that the presidency still has plenty of authority. It also makes me think that after January, 1977, when I am elected President in my own right, with more Republicans in the Congress, with improved economic conditions, and with the predictable reverse swing of the pendulum, concern over the supposed loss of executive authority will diminish.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: *Ron Nessen*

FROM: Robert A. Goldwin

COMMENTS: *As requested.*

2/19/76



Rowman's job FYI

February 18, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: MARGITA WHITE
FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN
SUBJECT: Article for Saturday Evening Post

1. I think we should do the article and I agree to draft it, if you want me to.
2. If the article is to be a "personal" view of the Presidency, as SEP suggests, I think someone else should be asked to write it. For me to attempt such an article would require a session with the President and his schedule is too full to justify it.
3. If you want me to do it, I suggest a more general article that develops one of the themes outlined below:
 - A. The current significance of our motto, e pluribus unum--one out of many. The article would consider the sense in which we are an integrated people and yet also many; the appropriate governmental response to the tendency of different elements of the people to group themselves; the importance of diversity in maintaining freedom.
 - B. The future of America in the next century--
The article would discuss why "blueprints" or "visions" of the future are inappropriate; we get guidance for the future in the enduring principles laid down two

hundred years ago; a discussion of those principles.

C. The importance of the non-profit, private sector in America--voluntary organizations for education, health care, social services, symphonies, operas, Boy Scouts, etc.

The article would discuss the unique American use of voluntary organizations; its relation to limited government and maintaining freedom; its importance to certain activities like education and the arts.

D. My view of the Presidency - (not "personal," but presidential powers)

The article might discuss the occasional swings from a too-powerful Presidency to a too-powerful Congress; the way the office adjusts to the style and concerns of the occupant; what the President sees as the most important part of the job.

February 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB GOLDWIN
FROM: RON NESSEN

Attached is a Presidential answer on the question of power of the President after Watergate and Vietnam which I drafted from ideas from you and several others.

The President approved this and I have given it to the New York Times for Phil Shabecoff's long article on Presidential power.

Attachment:

Draft Response to Questions on Presidential Power



RN/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/17

NOTE FOR: *Bab Baldwin*
FROM : RON NESSEN

*Do you have
time to prepare
a draft to
fulfill this
worthwhile
request?*

R.A.N.

Press Office
Shirley Mike
to Mr. [unclear]

U.S. News & World Report

WASHINGTON

2300 N STREET, N.W. · WASHINGTON, D. C. 20037

March 12, 1976

MARVIN L. STONE
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

The Honorable Ronald Nessen
Press Secretary to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ron:

After several months of preparation, we are starting work in earnest on an enterprise we consider one of the most distinctive and thought-provoking we have yet undertaken: a Bicentennial issue, appearing just before July 4, that celebrates the nation's past by taking a look at the third century just ahead.

In addition to the research being done by our own staff, we are asking leading heads of state abroad for short appraisals of the American future.

What we see as the highlight of the issue, however, is a signed article by President Ford that represents his own view of the opportunities and problems ahead for the United States. In essence, this would be an article of perhaps 1,600 words that addresses itself to such questions of primary interest as these:

How fares the heritage of the nation--a commitment to liberty and justice for all--after 200 years?

What major tests, at home and abroad, in times ahead, are likely to be crucial to our existence as a free and democratic nation in years and decades to come?

What principal assets--in will, purpose and resources--do we have for meeting these challenges? What shortcomings are apparent in the turbulence of recent years?

What should be our primary goals in world relationships? Will Century 3 be an "American Century"? Or will it be something different? What changes should Americans strive for in the nation's society, politics and economy?

On balance, should Americans be mainly concerned or mainly hopeful about their nation's future?

I believe the President's thinking on these broad and critical questions would attract profound interest and study among national and world leaders who comprise a large share of our readership-- and among millions of Americans in all walks of life.

If the President agrees, and I hope he will, let me know so we can set up deadlines and provide any more information on the project that might be useful guidance in preparation of the article.

Sincerely,


Executive Editor

MLS/mlp

Press Office -
Chas. L. Mike
to



March 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB GOLDWIN

FROM: RON NESSEN

The Press Office and the Scheduling Office would like your opinion of this proposal before responding.

Attachment:

Letter from Oscar E. Remick of
Chautauque Institution

RN/jb



Chautauqua

INSTITUTION

CHAUTAUQUA NEW YORK 14722 716/357 5635

March 12, 1976

Mr. Ronald Nessen
Press Secretary
Executive Office of
the President
The White House Office
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Nessen:

At the suggestion of our mutual friend, Ted Koppel, I am writing to seek your help in bringing to the President's attention this invitation to appear at Chautauqua sometime during the coming summer. Ted had volunteered to call you about this matter but we concluded that it would be quite appropriate for me to write to you directly. You will, I hope, feel free to call Ted about the Institution and/or its president for information and "unbiased" views.

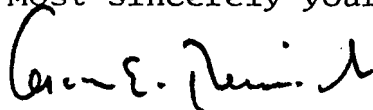
Chautauqua's platform has been claimed by seven Presidents over the more than a century of its history as America's leading center for education, religion, and the arts. President Ford, when he was a Congressman, appeared here. This American cultural center brings to southwestern New York some fifty or sixty thousand community leaders from nearly every state in the union during the course of our summer program. The enclosed literature will help acquaint you with certain aspects of our activities and philosophy. I would think it a tremendously symbolic gesture for President Ford to use this national center for a major radio broadcast to the citizens of our country. President Roosevelt from here broadcast his famous "I hate war" speech. The program is already completed for 1976, celebrating as we are the Bicentennial occasion with a broad program in lectures, art, education, and religion. But surely we can move heaven or hell (even earth) if Mr. Ford will come. It would present an unequalled opportunity and occasion for an address on the priority of a concern for the quality of life of our citizens.

Mr. Ronald Nessen
March 12, 1976
Page Two

I am convinced that President Ford would benefit significantly by a visit to Chautauqua. So would we.

My desire is to help the President. This is the best means available to me. I hope you will encourage his personal consideration of an invitation extended with highest hopes and expectations.

Most sincerely yours,



Oscar E. Remick

OER: jr
cc: Ted Koppel
Enclosures



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB GOLDWIN

FROM: RON NESSEN

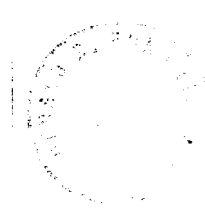
I'm not sure how you are dividing up your time these days, but if you can, I'd appreciate your providing draft answers for the attached 8 questions submitted to the President by the National Journal.

They are similar to the question submitted by Phil Shabecoff of the New York Times on the powers of the Presidency in the post-Watergate period.

Your answer to Shabecoff's question was quite good, and the President indicated it reflected exactly his views, so I hope you will be able to help out with this one too.

Attachment:

Questions for the National Journal



National Journal

THE WEEKLY ON POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

1. Have the Presidency and the powers of the President been significantly altered in the post-Watergate period (as a result of Vietnam, the civil rights disturbances of the 1960s, the Watergate scandal and disclosures of other governmental improprieties and the Nixon resignation)?
2. Assuming there have been changes, do you believe they are of a lasting or transitory nature?
3. The conventional view is that Congress is bent on reasserting its authority; is it? And how?
4. If it is, how has this affected your Presidency and the course of your proposed policies?
5. More specifically, do you think the War Powers Act and the establishment of the congressional budget committees inhibit or restrain presidential action or have any impact at all?
6. Can Congress realistically compete with the White House in the formulation and promotion of public policy?
7. Do you think the anti-Washington theme underscored by some presidential candidates is a legitimate issue? If not, why not?
8. How does it differ, if it does, from your criticism of "big government"?