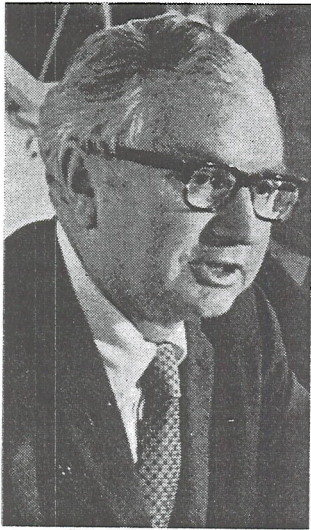


WHAT SHOULD THE PRESIDENT DO NOW?

How should Richard Nixon respond to the Watergate scandal that is engulfing his Administration? Newsweek asked a group of influential Americans and a thoughtful British journalist to give their views. The results:



Robert R. McElroy—Newsweek

John T. Connor

Commerce Secretary under LBJ, Connor is now chairman of the board of Allied Chemical Corp.

CONNOR: A COALITION WITH THE DEMOCRATS

We must confront the haunting question of whether the Presidency itself can survive the many crimes and the other serious implications of the Watergate conspiracy.

Impeachment of the President is not the answer. His impressive record—in handling the Vietnam troop withdrawal, the return of our prisoners, the establishment of new hopeful relationships with Russia and China, and the needed realignments of our foreign and domestic responsibilities—leads inevitably to the conclusion that his continuity in office is well deserved.

An alternative is available in this national emergency: a “coalition” government that would include some Democratic leaders of integrity and

experience who have been elected by the people to public positions of importance. Although unusual, that solution would not be without precedent. President Franklin D. Roosevelt called upon outstanding Republicans such as Henry L. Stimson, Frank Knox and Robert P. Patterson in World War II to achieve national unity. They served in his Cabinet and Administration with great distinction.

As a starter, I would suggest that the President needs bipartisan advice in choosing new aides, perhaps from the Democratic and Republican leaders of the House and Senate. Certainly some unusual procedures must be followed to fill the many vacancies that have resulted from the post-election

“purge” and the recent round of resignations.

We must also deal with the fact that altogether too much power has been lodged in the personal staff of the President and a few “super” Cabinet officers. The result has been an erosion of the constitutional authority of the Congress and the statutory responsibilities of Cabinet members.

A coalition government would have a reasonable chance of achieving sufficient national unity and public support to get us through this serious constitutional crisis. We could even hope that the resulting spirit of cooperation and joint participation in policymaking would help toward solutions of at least some of the other critical problems that face us.

HUGHES: TEN STEPS TOWARD MORAL LEADERSHIP

All through this republic's history—and not merely at times of political or constitutional crisis—the decisive essence of the Presidency has been its abidingly *personal* nature. This is why the historic worth of any President's leadership always has been, and must be, a matter beyond all measurement by organizational tables or flow charts—a matter of judgment rather than management, aspiration rather than administration. This is also why both the most memorable and the most effective Presidents have seen their office to be above all a place for moral leadership; and this can come only from a *man*, not an organization. And all this is why any question of what the 37th Chief Executive can do about his Presidency in the present crisis really amounts to: what can Richard Nixon do about Richard Nixon?

There immediately appears not even a sensible guess by way of answer.

There only appear a number of innovations that would be at least outward signs of inward things truly happening. To state such signs as plain-spoken appeals:

1. Stop speaking nationwide nonsense—sentimental and sanctimonious—to the American people.
2. Try the peril of a truly independent prosecutor to press and to finish the Watergate investigation.
3. Stop speaking of the people of the United States as “children.”
4. Try the risk of ordering forthright disclosure of all the hidden financial operations threaded through your 1972 campaign.
5. Stop speaking of any group of citizens—even suspected or convicted criminals—as a class that the republic should treat “without pity.”
6. Try the ordeal of regular press conferences, for—as tough as they can be—they provide you one of your best

chances to hear the truth as well as to say it.

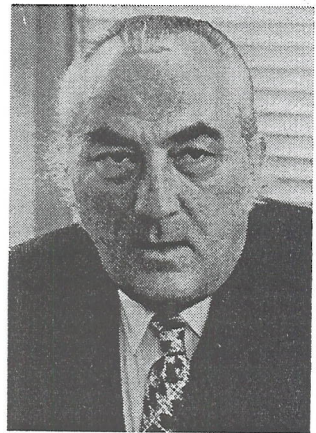
7. Stop speaking your stern determination to give no quarter to those who defied the draft during the Vietnam war—at least until Dr. Henry Kissinger stops appealing for “compassion” for the highly placed lawbreakers in or near your White House.

8. Try the venture of attracting to your Cabinet or high councils a couple of Democrats or independents with enough distinction to suggest a White House that is something more than a fortress of pride.

9. Stop speaking a self-congratulatory chant about “peace with honor”—at least so long as the whole citizenry can plainly perceive that there is not much peace around Saigon and not much honor around Washington.

10. Stop speaking nationwide nonsense, please, to the American people.

I cannot rate as very high the odds on Mr. Nixon's in-



Tony Rollo—Newsweek

Emmet John Hughes

A former Eisenhower aide, Hughes now teaches at Rutgers University and is author of “The Living Presidency,” to be published this summer.

stant enthusiasm for many of these notions. This is too bad, for him and for the republic. For I honestly see no other ways toward a rebirth of the popular trust that alone gives pulse and breath to any Presidency.

GARDNER: ELECTION-LAW REFORMS



John W. Gardner

Secretary of HEW under LBJ, Gardner is the founder of Common Cause, the citizens' lobby.

The Watergate is a story of what men will do for power, and how the public process is corrupted by money and secrecy. There are concrete things the President can do immediately to set government on the road to integrity.

He should throw his full support behind legislation for public financing of election campaigns. In view of the historic unwillingness of the Justice Department to enforce campaign-financing laws, he should ask Congress to create an independent elections commission with its own subpoena powers and its own ability to go directly to court for enforcement.

He should ask Congress to replace the present loophole-ridden lobby-regulation law

(which applies only to lobbying of Congress) with a tough new law applying to both the Congress and the executive branch.

He should call on Congress to pass legislation requiring full disclosure of the finances of its own members.

He must recognize that while Congress has been moving away from secrecy as an operating principle, the executive branch has been moving in the opposite direction. He should, by Executive order, remedy the evasions and violations that have marred the performance of executive agencies under the Freedom of Information Act of 1966.

He should put the Administration squarely in support of a Federal "shield" law for newsmen.

He should resolve the insurmountable difficulty faced by the Justice Department in acting on misconduct at the highest levels of government. The department should retain the broad range of its law-enforcement powers but should be relieved of responsibility for advising and defending the Administration and drafting and advising on the President's legislative program. The latter activities could be moved to the executive office of the President.

There is no profit in talking generalities about the integrity of government. Action is what will count—action to end identifiable abuses.

FAIRLIE: BACK TO REAL POLITICS



Carl Iwasaki

Henry Fairlie

A British journalist living in the U.S., Fairlie is the author of "The Kennedy Promise."

Mr. Nixon must cease to treat the present scandal as a mere incident, whose meaning can be obscured by the sacrifice of a few obscure individuals. What is being revealed in the whole dismal affair is the fundamental weakness of his political attitudes and methods.

The lessons are political.

1. The whole system of White House aides has become a menace. They are courtiers; flatterers and deceivers; political eunuchs. Their purpose is to protect the White House from political influences, and therefore from political correction from elsewhere within the political process.

2. President Nixon's last election campaign was avowedly "unpolitical," and he is paying the price. The absurd Committee for the Re-election of the President was an attempt to win a merely personal victory without the experience and resources—including the wisdom—of a great political party. Its methods were necessary, or thought by it to be necessary, because it—and Mr. Nixon—treated the Republican Party as unnecessary.

3. He is further paying the price for downgrading the Cabinet, the departments which it represents and the public servants within the departments who owe him no personal loyalty. It is the career men in, for example, the Department of Justice

and the FBI, who could have supplied him with the impersonal loyalty—and therefore again the political correction—which he has required.

He should, in short, be doing the opposite of what he says he is going to do. Rather than trying to "decentralize" power within the White House, he should be opening the White House and himself to diverse political influences outside. Rather than removing himself to the allegedly great issues of foreign policy, he should attend to the plumbing.

An American President is a politician first and last. If he uses the political resources of his country, instead of trying to transcend or bypass them, the catastrophe of a Vietnam or a Watergate are more likely to be avoided.

PHILLIPS: AN INTEGRITY TRANSFUSION



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

Kevin P. Phillips

A '68 Nixon campaign aide, Phillips wrote "The Emerging Republican Majority."

Confidence in the Nixon Administration is hemorrhaging so rapidly that it can only be restored by prompt Presidential action to put the White House and Federal departments under control by persons of unquestioned professional and political stature.

An independent Watergate prosecutor must be named; several Cabinet posts should be opened up to outside talent; and someone like former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird or Presidential assistant Bryce Harlow ought to be named permanent chief of staff with sufficient power to cleanse the White

House of moral taint and cliquish mediocrity.

The institutional needs of the Presidency argue against further pursuit of what Mr. Nixon might or might not have peripherally known. Appointment of outstanding men to key posts can bring the moral erosion of Watergateism under control regardless. Before Democrats recoil in pompous hypocrisy, let us remember that each of their last three Presidents was also associated at some point with election fraud and political chicanery.

If the President can dispel my doubts, I would be delighted. But in a more realistic context, Mr. Nixon must move top-flight people in to

change the atmosphere in which all of this took place. Indeed, his place in history is already dangerously soiled by his appointment and maintenance in office of aides—lacking any real commitment either to party or philosophy—who have treated the United States as cynically as if it were their own private Nicaragua.

It appears—and we must hope—that they substantially bamboozled Mr. Nixon. He can reassure us by cleaning house. If he merely engages in a defensive shuffle of White House mediocrities, I believe he will face not only a renewed press onslaught but civil war within the Republican Party.