



The Romans etc. al looked implicitly that the dictator was needed in emergencies, how can we disagree?  
Let us ask? --

Have any other fundamental conclusions about man & society & god etc. changed so that the theory of Capital dictatorship too can be said to be changed?

with the curviness of history in this regard.

i.e. 's' Const Dict / ?

one side of a coin the other side of which (the need or source or justification for const dict) has never been heard but then for granted.

of Keynes

Wash as constal dictator → Jackson  
~~Lincoln~~  
W. Wilson  
FDR

The Road to Bure. Centralism: -----

Refusal of People to talk in terms of the PROBLEM  
They are caught up in the personalism of the debate.

Could it be possible for any agency to turn back to Congress any program for which it has authority but which appears to be so important now that it is a truly national representative matter?

Could the courts also be authorized to do the same? We have heard a lot for <sup>years</sup> about means of letting Congress or legislature put an advisory ~~and~~ opinion to the courts. Why can't we now reverse this & let the courts put a <sup>hot</sup> decision back to Congress?

Also let Congress have more scientific means of ascertaining the ~~scope~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~policy~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~administration~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~policy~~ of a policy. When the scope, domain & extensity of a set of actions is expected to, or therefore is found to, reach a certain level, the problem must be decided by Congress.

Let us move back into the larger field of general social theory to see why it is so necessary to develop a new appropriate theory of administration. Afterwards we can move back to explain the meaning of a representative theory in administration.

I. The goals of American are our starting point.

1. The rule of law.
2. Equality of Opportunity
3. Freedom or Personal Autonomy
4. Religiousness

These constitute in general one philosophy of the public interest

Let us dispose of this troublesome concept now.

II. An overall structure for achieving these goals:

This is called republican government or democratic, if you wish.

1. Independent, non-political, objective, and precedent-based judiciary.
2. Federalism (state-local autonomy)
3. Pluralism, voluntary associations, /churches <sup>free</sup>
4. Free enterprise
5. Localized educational systems
6. Decentralized administration
7. Government by legislature

III. Abstract from the republic those structural elements that give shape and form to the process of government in keeping with the ideals of society and the resulting system can be called Representative Government.

Representative government is a set of devices to promote a ~~an~~ universal body of self-governing citizens acting under a rule of law with equality of opportunity for all, and an openness of mind towards society ~~and~~ the world and the future. In the most general terms, representative government promises to fulfill these ideals by a structure that is flexible, operates by consent, restrains people as little as possible and does so only within an equitably administered legal system, and somehow manages (by dozens of devices) to make of the governing process ~~an~~ a cooperative enterprise of citizens and their officials.

The search for representative government must go on not only throughout society, as we have already indicated, but within all branches of government -- constituencies and elections, the courts, interests and pressure groups, the presidency, Congress, and finally and perhaps most importantly in the administrative establishment.

IV. The representative establishment is a major element in representative government not only by virtue of its significant proportions of all national activity but also because of the effects of its activities. What does it consist of? What is its scope, Domain, Intensity.

- 1/7 of all Americans occupied in government posts (11+ millions)
- Half American population is either in government or has a direct interest in it.
- Tendencies of growth are startling.
- ~~As many~~ Administrative actions take up = col inches w Congress in NYT.
- Any activity dropped?? -- Any agency lose employees?? -- Any computer unemployment from the 3000 computers in the executive establishment?

*The condition of his representation expected to follow.*

Wash.  
Speech

Alfred de Grazia

Like noise level, we get used to  
the level of bureaucratization &  
don't notice it, even while it's  
deafening us.

~~Ordinarily an address on such  
a general and important topic is  
but we should amass evidence over  
the ages and should ~~take~~ sparkle with a  
1000 years of history. I am taking an  
opposite perspective -- a very immediate  
one, a 30-day wonder, on the greatest  
of U.S. problems, -- for reasons that  
I think I can make clear to you~~

1  
2  
3

## III. The Executive Force

1) The Scope & Limits of Power

2) The Struggle for monopoly of the public interest.

3) The intrinsic ~~and~~ merits of a <sup>The</sup> centralized bureau state =

4) The demerits of bureaucracy -

The absorption of human & material energies

The level of occupational personality.

A narrowness of view

A unresponsiveness -

The laying waste of the public

# Critical Points for the Entry of ~~Principals~~ Representation into the Administrative Establishment.

What measures shall we apply to this establish. to determine the degree of its representative quality?

~~Take it above & sell them out.~~

~~Consent with State Through Against State~~

## What makes ~~the~~ the Rep. Estab. Representative or Not?

WHAT ARE <sup>3</sup> ① External pre-preparation: Society as a whole Educational System

ARE THE POSSIBILITIES

PROBLEMS EACH AREA

② Recruitment Procedures

③ Education & Training in-service

Exchange, mobility, leaves, seminars, politicization or at least civicization.

④ By laws & rules handed over to them by Congress & the President (There should be a way of handing laws & rules that are too "public" for ordinary opinion. More PR men in Pentagon than there are Congressmen.)

⑤ By the press (& press analysis)

⑥ By internally given & enforced procedure (Internal governance & accountability) Fight against abuse & extravagance

⑦ By public opinion polls, surveys, other forms of (USIA polling under the pro-K, by recording original USIA polling under the pro-K, by recording original)

⑧ By dealing with real people { objectivity vs sympathy: the struggle of principles.

⑨ By Representative Councils (clientele representation) rationalized and regularized ties to the Congress. Sub-legislative Corps

⑩ By a better theory of the Public Interest (CONFLICT OF INTEREST) But under Congressman or Chief's team.

- ① regularity, thoroughness, methods on a great scale.
- ② a small need for innovation
- ③ strong respect for authority.
- ④ large ideas in & carrying out of cause & their work
- ⑤ insulated division that some 'free'
- ⑥ caution, persistence, honesty





emperor, and suppressing the ~~development~~ <sup>development</sup> of local ~~institutions~~ interests.

"My dear Pliny," writes the Emperor Trajan, "it is the fixed maxim of my government not to create an awe of my person by severe and rigorous measures and by construing every slight offence into an act of treason." This general maxim, quite in keeping with the spirit of those few emperors who sought not to plunge the republican spirit into the abyss of mental superstition, came when a philosopher buried his family in the same holy ground where an emperor's statue was to be erected.

A ~~fire~~ <sup>bad</sup> fire breaks out, <sup>in the city of Nicomedia</sup> on another occasion and, Pliny ~~reports~~ <sup>reports</sup> indignantly that people stood around and watched the flames instead of assisting. "Pray determine," he writes the Emperor, "whether you think it well to institute a guild of fire-men, not to exceed one hundred and fifty members." ~~I will take care that~~

And the answer, from the ~~Roman~~ Roman bureaucracy under the name of the Emperor comes back: "Whatever title we give them, and whatever our object in giving it, men who are banded together for a common end will all the same become a political association before long."

would come from men who are the janitorie and eunuchs, so to speak, of the state.

~~But there can be only one~~

There is some point ~~of~~ to dipping ~~back~~ back many centuries for an illustration. We find ~~them~~ in correspondance <sup>enlightened</sup> and ~~with~~ a Roman Emperor ~~and~~ and his dutiful governor of Bithynia. The Roman Empire, we recall, ~~was~~ was the longest recession in bankruptcy in history. It ~~did not~~ <sup>did not</sup> contribute ~~many~~ <sup>many</sup> great innovations to the Republic that it took over.

~~It developed an~~ ~~empire~~ In ~~the~~ time it ~~got~~ weakened and finally fell because, among other things, it could not ~~figure out~~ settle upon a means of succession to the Imperial robes. It ~~fell~~ <sup>declined</sup> also because it ~~did not~~ <sup>did not</sup> become increasingly bureaucratized: the burden of carrying <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>and unmanageable operations of</sup> centralized government ~~and~~ <sup>the ever fewer products of</sup> provincial government fell upon <sup>local</sup> individual farmers, businessmen and ~~the~~ communities.

At its very peak, the process of establishing <sup>One</sup> monolithic state could be observed. <sup>These were the</sup> ~~These were the~~ main developments, consciously pursued, of promoting the divinity of the

## Wash speech

### The bureaucratic assault

Rob a man of his choice of time and work & he is done for as a man. ~~The law~~. The only <sup>proper</sup> judge of a man's time should be himself & there should always be some kind of counterbalancing motive vs the abuse & waste of his life.

But what ~~can~~ can rescue a man's time in the bureaucracy?

And when bureaucrats take over the schools, as they largely have, what protection has a child got or even a man up to the age of 25 ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> this imprisonment of his time?



## VII. Reforms of the Administrative Establishment

1. A Congressman can justifiably intervene as advocate of a person being seriously harmed by the executive branch, or as advocate of a person receiving treatment that reveals corruption or abuse of administration.
2. A congressional committee can do the same & can also use its substantive & fiscal competence to cause agency officials to treat its views with as much respect as those of the President or agency head. The administrator has no right to "freedom from fear of Congress". The executive hierarchy retains, of course, the final say on the policy or action at issue.
3. Congress as a whole can structure & restructure all agencies down to the last unit, and can give and recapture all initiatives (powers) that it believes important to have.
  - 3a. It may & should perhaps set up separate and competing personnel systems for civil service.
  - 3b. The GAO should be organized as an independent service.
4. Stronger laws against secrecy where that secrecy cannot be clearly demonstrated to be vital to national security.
5. Congressional Tribunes should be designated from a panel of qualified persons serving under an Office of Congress. They would be assigned <sup>to an agency &</sup> each year ~~to~~ would be required annually to report on the agency as a Devil's Advocate recommending contraction, termination and devolution of the agency.

6. A Sub-Legislative Corps should be created.
7. Zero Sum Activity Formula should be adopted by the government.
8. Each session should begin with the enactment of an Exemplary Legislation bill containing an ~~affirmation~~ affirmation of many major matters of procedure or minor matters of substance, thus forcing the continuous public affirmation of Congressional rule.
9. ~~Broadening~~ Broadening of the examination system to ~~discourage~~ ~~eliminate~~ close-minded persons <sup>and</sup> persons with an anti-legislative bias.
10. Increasing the number and employment of representative councils in the executive branch, placing a Congressman ~~on~~ on each major council of an agency and putting the whole system of representative councils under the Congress.
11. Encourage Congress to establish scientific policy research groups under its own roof:
  - a. Sanctions Institute, an Institute of Behavior Research, ~~and Expert Panels~~ Panels of Experts for Committee Employment, and Expansion of use of committee funds for outside research.
  - 11a. Establish a central computerized Data Storage and Processing operation specially for the legislature.

Fed Register  
Fed. Employees  
Drop in Employment

VIII, Conclusion:

The Reg. Establishment finally is characterized and I now call all those applied operating principles of ~~administration~~ management that tend to produce it by the name of the representative theory of administration.

Big job of restatement & revision.

Need for a thoroughgoing development of new principles. Broadens scope of admin. Takes in more of pol. sci. + the social science.

Are we to be dismayed -- just a few years after admin was carved out & ~~established~~ & given respectability it has to be transformed? Why not? So it was with physics. So with chemistry. So with biology. So with ~~classical~~ Classical history. So with astronomy. We are in good company. Let us hope our achievements will be as great. They are possibly important.