

# Nixon Says He Won't Resign

## Rhodes Will Vote To Impeach; House To Curtail Debate

8/7/74  
By Richard L. Lyons and William Chapman  
Washington Post Staff Writers

Support for President Nixon almost totally collapsed in the House yesterday as Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.) announced he will vote for impeachment and the bipartisan leadership moved to speed up the impeachment process.

Rhodes told a news conference he decided to vote for Article I, charging the President with obstruction of justice for involvement in the Watergate cover-up, after reading the transcripts Mr. Nixon released Monday. These showed the President's participation in the cover-up nine months before he had previously insisted he had been aware of it.

Speaker Carl Albert (D-Okla.), Rhodes and other House leaders agreed informally yesterday afternoon to cut in half the time for debating impeachment on the House floor. The debate, which the House Rules Committee recommended yesterday be open to live television, would begin as scheduled, Aug. 19, but would be completed in one week instead of two.

The tidal wave of pro-impeachment sentiment that raced through the House after release of the new damaging transcripts took most of the fight and all of the suspense out of the impeachment issue and persuaded the leaders it wouldn't require so much time to decide.

Rhodes said not one Republican House member voiced support of the President to him yesterday.

The President has at least one defender left in Rep. Earl F. Landgrebe (R-Ind.), a conservative who often casts a lone opposition vote in House roll calls on spending legislation.

"I'm sticking by my President even if he and I have to be taken out of this building and shot," Landgrebe told reporters.

There was a chorus of requests that the President

resign and spare Congress and the country the ordeal of impeachment. Rhodes, however, refused to join the call for resignation, saying this was a decision the President should make alone.

The President stood virtually alone. By yesterday afternoon all 10 Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee who had voted against impeachment had turned around and announced they would vote in favor of at least the obstruction of justice article. On this article the committee now stands 38 to 0.

Rep. Paul Findley (R-Ill.), who led a compromise move to censure the President last week, abandoned that position in favor of impeachment. Conservative Southern Democrats such as Rep. John J. Flynn Jr. (D-Ga.), who had demanded firm proof of criminal conduct as their standard of impeachable conduct, were announcing their support of impeachment. Rep. Wilmer (Vinegar Bend) Mizell (R-N.C.), who was considered an all-out defender of the President, announced for impeachment, saying "It is now clear that the President has acted in a manner unworthy of the highest office in the land."

Some members were predicting that no more than

See IMPEACH, A11, Col. 4

## IMPEACH, From A1

30 of the 435 House members would stay with the President and vote against Article I.

The Judiciary Committee recommended that Mr. Nixon also be impeached on two other charges—that he misused federal agencies to violate rights of citizens and for defying committee subpoenas to turn over material for the impeachment inquiry. Both articles are expected to be approved by the House, but perhaps by lesser margins.

The new evidence relates chiefly to Article I on obstruction of justice, though it also involved misuse of the CIA and FBI covered in Article II.

Rhodes called the transcripts released Monday "cataclysmic." He said he had been prepared to vote against Article I until he read them. He explained his decision in these words:

"The most important aspect of our entire system of government is equal justice under the law—the principle that no person—ordinary person or President—is above the law. Cover-up of criminal activity and misuse of federal agencies can neither be condoned nor tolerated."

Rhodes expressed no interest in the proposal advanced by some leading Democrats that Congress might grant Mr. Nixon immunity from criminal or civil prosecution in exchange for his resignation. Rhodes said he did not believe Congress had the constitutional power to grant immunity.

Reps. John B. Anderson (R-Ill.) and Barber Conable (R-N.Y.), the third and fourth ranking House Republicans, also announced their support for impeachment yesterday and expressed similar reservations about immunity. They added the suggestion that it might

not be "appropriate," because it would suggest that the President is above the law.

Only the veteran Republican whip, Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R-Ill.), among House GOP leaders declined to take a public stand for impeachment. But he predicted the House would vote to impeach the President.

Rep. Robert Michel (R-Ill.), chairman of the House Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, said he would vote for impeachment and said he was opposed to the President's resigning until the House has had a chance to vote. Michel's job is to elect more Republicans to the House, a task considered easier if Mr. Nixon is out of office by fall.

"We ought to see it through the House," said Michel. "We have to have an extended unfolding of what was the final nail in the coffin, to let the admission of culpability sink in."

Rhodes was asked if there was any way the President could survive and remain in office.

"Maybe," he replied, "But at the moment I couldn't tell you what it is."

Asked if he felt the President had been "out of touch with reality" in his dealings with Congress on impeachment, Rhodes said: "I think he has been, but I think he is now being more carefully briefed."

Rhodes had scheduled his news conference for Monday morning but postponed it because of a sore throat and a warning that new evidence was to be made available. Rhodes would not say what he would have announced if he had made his statement as scheduled.

He said he changed his mind from opposition to support of Article I on Monday, is still opposed to Article III on defiance of subpoenas, and is undecided on Article II charging misuse of agencies. He said he has a

problem with the charge of misuse of the Internal Revenue Service to harass political enemies because nothing was accomplished.

Rep. Dave Martin (R-Neb.), a member of the party leadership in his role as senior Republican on the House Rules Committee, said he would vote to impeach on Article I, but would prefer the President resign.

Rep. Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen (R-N.J.), a senior Republican called the latest disclosures "an appalling betrayal" of the President's responsibility to the country and called for resignation or impeachment.

Rep. Robert C. McEwen (R-N.Y.) said he agreed with Mr. Nixon's assessment that impeachment was virtually a foregone conclusion, and said he would vote for it.

Rep. John N. Erlenborn (R-Ill.), a leading member of the Midwestern moderate-conservative bloc, said he would vote for both Articles I and II.

Rep. Charles W. Whalen Jr. (R-Ohio) said he would vote to impeach because "in his own words the President has admitted that he authorized and ordered obstruction of justice."

Speaker Albert still declined to take a position on resignation or impeachment, feeling apparently that though a Democratic leader he is also the presiding officer of the House, pledged to protect rights of all members and to stay above the battle.

House leaders met in mid-afternoon and agreed informally that the impeachment timetable could be cut at least in half. Albert said there would be only about 25 hours of general debate, instead of the 55 hours originally planned.

The proceeding still is to get under way on Aug. 19, is to last daily from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., and will probably be finished by Aug. 23 or 24, a week earlier than originally scheduled.

Time could be reduced, Albert said, "because we have a new desire on the part of members to get this job over as quickly as we can."

He said that Mr. Nixon's statement on Monday "had something to do with the members' desire to expedite this."

After the 25 hours of general debate, the House would take up each of the three articles separately and vote on each of them. Earlier, the leadership had indicated that votes on each paragraph of the articles would be permitted. But Albert said yesterday that the final rule might prohibit that and allow votes only on a complete article.

Some members hoped the debate could get under way even before Aug. 19, but Albert said logistical problems and a delay in writing the report would prevent that.

He said committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D-N.J.) believed the final report cannot be placed in members' hands until next Tuesday or Wednesday. Then the Rules Committee would meet on Wednesday or Thursday to vote out the rule governing debate on the House floor.

The Judiciary Committee is to meet this Friday to write the final report. That process was delayed for several days because Republicans who voted against impeachment will want time to write sections explaining why they changed their minds.

After Mr. Nixon's statement was made public Monday, the 10 committee Republicans who opposed impeachment began, one by one, announcing that the new evidence required a vote for impeachment on at least one of the three articles.

The last to change was Rep. Trent Lott (R-Miss.), who spent yesterday morning reading the transcripts of the June 23, 1972, conversation between Mr. Nixon

and his chief of staff, H. R. (Bob) Haldeman.

Lott told reporters yesterday afternoon, "I hope he will resign, but if not I have no alternative but to vote for Article I."

"It is obvious that he had knowledge from the early phase of the cover-up," Lott said. "He condoned it, if he didn't approve it."

Lott also said he would reconsider whether to vote for Article II, which charges presidential misuse of executive powers, on grounds that the latest transcripts show that Mr. Nixon approved trying to use the Central Intelligence Agency to interfere with the FBI investigation.

"This is a moment of deep sorrow for me," he added.

Rep. Edward Hutchinson (R-Mich.), the ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee, had stood solidly behind the President until yesterday, when he said he will vote for Article I. He expressed resentment with the evidence that came out after the committee had finished its business. "I feel that I have been deceived," he said.

Rep. Charles W. Sandman, Jr. (R-N.J.), a highly vocal defender of the President during committee debates, said the new evidence furnished by the President left him with no alternative but to vote for impeachment.

"These conversations contain specific, clear and convincing evidence constituting the criminal charge of obstruction of justice, leaving me no recourse but to support impeachment on Article I of the articles of impeachment," Sandman said.

Rep. Delbert L. Latta (R-Ohio) said that if he were in Mr. Nixon's shoes he would resign, and announced that he will vote for the obstruction of justice article.

Rep. Henry P. Smith III (R-N.Y.) came out for impeachment and said it would be in the "best interests" of the country if the President resigned.



By Douglas Chevallier—The Washington Post

Mr. Nixon talks to Defense Secretary Schlesinger

## Dismay Pervades White House Staff

By Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward

Washington Post Staff Writers

Senior White House officials, stunned by President Nixon's admission of complicity in the Watergate coverup, are dismayed at his apparently steadfast refusal to resign, according to informed sources.

Mr. Nixon's principal deputies, including White House chief of staff Alexander M. Haig Jr., are thus moving toward independent assumption of day-to-day control of the executive branch, the sources said, while the President conducts what some top aides regard as a hopeless struggle to remain in office.

The intense loyalty once extended to Richard M. Nixon by his White House staff, Presidential aides reported yesterday, has now

shifted to the office of the presidency itself—and decisively away from its current occupant.

Sadness and pity, tempered sometimes by a sense of personal betrayal, are evident in the conversations now taking place in corridors and offices of the executive mansion.

But two other attitudes, revealed in extensive interviews with members of the White House staff in the past 48 hours, seem more pervasive: uncertainty, and a determination that the orderly process of government continue.

There are guarded statements and reluctant confirmations, generally in the most restrained language,

See STAFF, A6, Col. 1

## STAFF, From A1

that the President is under great psychological strain.

"I don't mean to be alarmist," one source with firsthand knowledge said, "and it has to be said delicately, but the President will not listen to anyone, not really listen . . . He's serene, I'd say serene, but not in touch with reality."

Privately, Haig has told high-level members of the White House staff that he perceives his mission as insuring that the decision-making requirements of the presidency be met in the absence of effective leadership by Mr. Nixon.

Late Monday, more than 100 presidential aides and assistants rallied around the exhausted White House chief of staff, giving him an extended ovation when he told them that their task is to continue the business of government in a time of doubt and concern.

Significantly, informed sources reported, Haig made no explicit attempt to tie his function or that of the White House staff to Mr. Nixon's continuing determination to remain in office.

Following Haig's meeting with members of the White House staff, one presidential assistant observed: "We now have something more than a caretaker government, something less than government fully committed to Nixon as President."

Another senior aide, someone whose loyalty to the President has always been unflinching, compared Mr. Nixon's demeanor to that of Captain Queeg—the erratic Navy captain of the *Caine Mutiny*, relieved by his second-in-command as his ship swirled leaderless in the torrent of a typhoon.

One of the President's principal deputies was asked about the Captain Queeg characterization yesterday and answered that he would not quarrel with the comparison. "Just remember that the government will go on," he said.

In their conversations, presidential aides seemed particularly concerned about Mr. Nixon's apparent refusal to heed the counsel of some of his closest deputies that he should resign in

order to save himself, if not the country, from what they regard as the agony of impeachment and trial by the Senate.

Even in the White House, it is difficult to find anyone who seriously believes the President would be acquitted by the Senate, according to these aides. But they come to varying conclusions about Mr. Nixon's perception of the situation.

One source with access to the President said Mr. Nixon seems realistic about his chances and expects to be removed from office. "But he is willing to be hu-

miliated by it," this source said. "It is almost as if he feels he has to be humiliated by it, to go down the road all the way."

Another White House aide, expressing the contrary view that the President is not yet convinced his situation is hopeless, said there is dismay on the presidential staff—but not resentment—about such an assessment by Mr. Nixon.

"He won't resign and we're accepting that," the aide said. "It's his decision and there is a great sympathy for his position . . . This is the man we've served and believed in for years."

Another White House aide cautioned that the situation could change at any given moment and predicted that the President will be forced to resign in coming weeks as he "becomes more aware" of the full weight of public and congressional pressure.

At this point, several persons close to the situation observed, Mr. Nixon seems to have made a concerted attempt to wall himself off from those of his former political supporters who are known to be counseling resignation.

They noted that when two of the President's top advisers, Watergate lawyer James D. St. Clair and speechwriter Patrick Buchanan, suggested through an intermediary to Mr. Nixon on Sunday that he consider resignation as his only viable alternative, the President responded in words to the effect that "I wish I had heard something else."

One person familiar with

Sunday's meeting at Camp David observed afterwards: "He didn't quite understand all that. He wouldn't believe all this is happening."

Since then, another source said, the President has secluded himself "from the real political experts, who would tell him . . . to take a walk. He won't talk to the people with the background and knowledge who would give him some straight advice."

Agreeing with this view, one White House aide said the President's admission of complicity in the Watergate cover-up has given Mr. Nixon a sense of relief at finally telling the truth—but that the President prefers not to dwell on its possible consequences.

After the release of the President's new self-incriminating tape transcript evidence on Monday, this aide said Mr. Nixon "walked as if a burden was lifted."

Another source spoke of President Nixon "living a lie for the last two years," during which he repeatedly insisted to the public he was ignorant of the Watergate cover-up. The same source said Mr. Nixon had privately assumed the same dogged

See STAFF, A7, Col. 1

## STAFF, From A6

insistence on his innocence in contacts with Cabinet officers, close aides, friends and congressional leaders. He even went to the extent, this source said, of "taking people by the lapels and shaking them to emphasize the point."

"It was a hoax," a different White House aide said yesterday, "a total hoax and I feel sorry for the man."

Referring to Mr. Nixon's statement Monday that "the record, in its entirety, does not justify the extreme step of impeachment and removal of a President," another source observed: "Somehow he thinks that his act of contrition is going to bring him absolution in the Senate . . . He is going to look ridiculous to all of us after a while."

Two high-level White House officials cautioned yesterday, however, that additional information damaging to Mr. Nixon is contained in at

least one more of the 64 tape recordings the President has agreed, under a Supreme Court order, to surrender to U.S. District Court Judge John J. Sirica and, voluntarily, to the U.S. Senate for an impeachment trial.

In addition, both officials spoke of "astonishing" things that have happened in the White House in the past several months, and one said: "This last phase of the cover-up will be an amazing story."

The two officials indicated that the so-called "last phase" began on July 24, the date of the unanimous Supreme Court decision ordering that the 64 tapes be surrendered. The President, they said, argued with his senior aides that he should not comply with the court's order. ("He was the only one who considered defying the order," a presidential lawyer said, "...and that shows how far things had gone.")

Only after presidential counsel St. Clair had threatened to resign if Mr. Nixon refused to comply did the President agree to obey the court's order, the two officials said.

Then, two days later, Judge Sirica extracted a promise from St. Clair that the President's lawyer would listen to the tapes himself for the first time. Until that point, the officials said, St. Clair had complained to colleagues that the President would not give him access to some evidence. Mr. Nixon had instead wasted St. Clair's time in long, rambling discussions during which the President insisted on making the key legal de-

isions, according to the officials.

But Sirica's order to St. Clair altered that situation and soon afterwards the President's lawyer learned the devastating contents of the June 23, 1972, tapes: Mr. Nixon's own recorded admission that he approved a cover-up of the facts of Watergate to hide involvement of his own aides.

Because the President had listened to these tapes this May, at a time when St. Clair was trying to fashion Mr. Nixon's anti-impeachment defense, St. Clair insisted that the President release transcripts of the damaging recordings, the officials said. And St. Clair also insisted that the transcripts be accompanied by a presidential statement making it clear that St. Clair was not a party to withholding such information from the House Judiciary Committee.

"The President readily agreed to St. Clair's request," one source said Monday.

Meanwhile, another source said this week that one of the President's attorneys has recommended that Mr. Nixon attempt to plea bargain with the special prosecutor's office, exchanging his resignation for immunity from prosecution. It is not known whether that recommendation has reached the President.

Expressing what appeared to be a consensus of the White House staff, one middle-level White House aide said yesterday: "We're ready for an orderly transition of power — whenever that comes."

# Rejects Demands From Supporters For Resignation

8/7/74

By Carroll Kilpatrick  
Washington Post Staff Writer

With resignation demands coming from some of his staunchest supporters in Congress, President Nixon yesterday told his Cabinet he does not intend to resign and believes that the constitutional process should be allowed to run its course.

The beleaguered President, who has acknowledged that his cause in the House is hopeless, was quoted by one Cabinet officer as declaring that resignation "is not the course to follow. For me to resign would be something outside the Constitution."

Nevertheless, despite the President's determination, events moved with such speed yesterday that presidential supporters acknowledged that resignation is a possibility, if not now, before a Senate trial.

Deputy press secretary Gerald L. Warren confirmed a Washington Post report that at Camp David last weekend the President considered the possibility of resignation.

"Obviously, the President did not choose that course," Warren said.

While the President maintained his struggle to stay in office, the pressures on him mounted, from within his own party, both in the House and the Senate.

In seeking ways to defend himself, the President has for the time being rejected proposals that he speak once more to the nation on television. But he still has under consideration a suggestion that he address a joint session of Congress, aides said.

Meanwhile, as part of contingency planning, aides are preparing material for a possible speech should the President decide to resign.

No one at the Cabinet meeting suggested that the President resign, and no Cabinet member offered his own resignation, Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon and others present said.

Simon, who spoke to a large number of reporters at the White House, said Mr. Nixon "sincerely believes" that he has committed no impeachable offense.

The President expressed his resolve not to allow the tragedy of Watergate to prevent his administration from attending to the nation's business, Simon said.

Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan and Secretary of Commerce Frederick B. Dent, who stood by while Simon spoke, confirmed his account.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who stayed for a private meeting with the President, said when he departed that "the foreign policy of the United States is always and continues to be conducted on a bipartisan basis in the national interest and in the interest of world peace.

"When questions of peace or war are considered no foreign government should have any doubts about the way in which foreign policy will be conducted."

As Kissinger entered his car, a reporter asked if he believed the President should resign. But Kissinger drove off without replying.

Another Cabinet officer, who declined to allow his name to be used, said the President began the meeting by speaking for 15 minutes about the possibility of being im-

## PRESIDENT, From A1

peached. He told the Cabinet he had considered resignation and that some people had advised him it would be best to resign.

But Mr. Nixon said he was not in the position of an ordinary citizen in this matter and must be governed by the Constitution.

The Constitution provides a process for this kind of problem and that process should be used, Mr. Nixon said. He said he released the tapes because he wants the evidence out, adding that he does not believe he has committed an impeachable offense.

Vice President Gerald R. Ford, who sits across the Cabinet table from the President, then made some comments explaining his public statement Monday declaring that he would stop talking about the impeachment issues.

However, the Vice President told the Cabinet he would continue to talk about what he regarded as the President's achievements.

The President complimented the Cabinet and said it was a good one. "Do your extra best to run the government," a Cabinet officer quoted the President as saying "The important thing is that this government be run right in these difficult times."

The President said it was very important that the government continue operating despite the strains of impeachment, one member said.

Kissinger added that it was important not only for the governmental process but so that the world would recognize that the American government is strong enough to go through impeachment and yet carry on in a normal way.

The President, according to Cabinet members present, said he had gone through the arguments for and against resignation from A to Z. Although he had received advice from personal friends and political colleagues that he ought to spare himself and his family the ordeal and preserve his financial advantages that would be saved by resignation, he concluded that these considerations were immaterial. The word "resignation" is not in the Constitution, Mr. Nixon noted.

"There was no uncertainty in his mind as to what his course is going to be," one

member said. "There was no suggestion that he would resign. It is totally foreign to what he would do."

No one in the room challenged the President's arguments.

The discussion of impeachment took nearly half an hour. Matters then turned to the budget, the economy and inflation for about an hour.

One member, asked how the President looked, said, "Obviously, he has been through a tortuous period of decision and analysis. He appeared to show it. His speech wasn't flowing. But after he got into topics dealing with the economy and international affairs, he seemed to get back his old gait, to have gotten a kind of second wind."

Roy L. Ash, director of the Office of Management and Budget, told the Cabinet meeting that Mr. Nixon might have to veto a series of money bills to prevent excessive spending.

Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton, who has been a staunch Nixon supporter in the crisis, declined to speak to reporters after the Cabinet meeting.

He confined himself to this statement issued through the Interior Department's press office:

"As to the matter of impeachment, I accept the President's desire to see the constitutional process go forward in a orderly manner. He has decided that his resignation would not serve the Republic, and has reaffirmed his commitment not to resign.

"As to the Interior Department, we are reviewing our entire spectrum of programs in preparation for the presentation of the fiscal 1976 budget and legislative plans."

Kenneth Rush, counselor to the President for economic affairs, said after the meeting he had never seen the President look better.

"He was very relaxed, in excellent humor, never better," Rush said.

Regarding the decision to carry on as President, Rush said Mr. Nixon "made the decision," and that "no dissent was expressed to that decision . . . Everyone rallied behind (him)."

Rush said the President did not go around the table asking for opinions but that

there was an atmosphere of "everyone saying they were going to back the President . . . all going to do what we can to run our operation and cooperate fully."

Asked how he felt about Mr. Nixon, whom he has known since he taught him law at Duke University, Rush said "the President is one of the strongest, most dedicated men to the country I have known.

"As you use hindsight with the tapes many different interpretations can arise. He did nothing he thought was wrong, nothing that would justify either impeachment or conviction.

"I know he's always been absolutely honest and truthful with me in every way."

Warren told reporters that there was no change in the President's relations with the Vice President now that Ford has decided he should no longer speak on the impeachment defense.

Asked if Mr. Nixon has been in touch with any Republican leaders in Congress since he returned from California July 28, Warren said he had not. The President has had only two official appointments, one with Simon last week and the Cabinet meeting yesterday.

Mr. Nixon has met almost exclusively with two persons: Alexander M. Haig Jr., White House staff chief, and press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler, to the annoyance of other advisers.

At Camp David Sunday, the President conferred indirectly with Haig, Ziegler, James D. St. Clair, his attorney, and speech writers Raymond K. Price and Patrick J. Buchanan.

However, the President saw only Haig and Ziegler. The others met in separate quarters to help draft the presidential statement released Monday and to confer on other matters. Their opinions and decisions were transmitted to the President by Haig or Ziegler.

Reporters were allowed into the Cabinet room briefly at the beginning of yesterday's session while photographers took pictures.

The president was smiling, chatting with those seated near him and he appeared to be relaxed. He displayed no signs of tension or concern.



# Rep. Rhodes on Impeachment

*Text of a statement yesterday by Rep. John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.), House Minority Leader:*

For me, this is a sad day. I admire Richard Nixon, for the many great things he has done for the people of America and the people of the world. I have no doubt whatsoever that the final analysis of history will be that few American Presidents did more for the solid advancement of world peace than Richard Nixon.

But the most important aspect of our entire system of government is equal justice under the law—the principle that no person—whether he be rich or poor, black or

white, ordinary citizen or president—is above the law. Coverup of criminal activity and misuse of federal agencies can neither be condoned nor tolerated. And as long as we adhere as a nation to this principle, our nation will remain great and strong.

I have considered the evidence to the best of my ability. When the roll is called in the House of Representatives, I will vote "aye" on impeachment Article I. In addition, the new evidence made available yesterday has considerable bearing on my decision concerning Article II, a decision which I have not yet finalized.

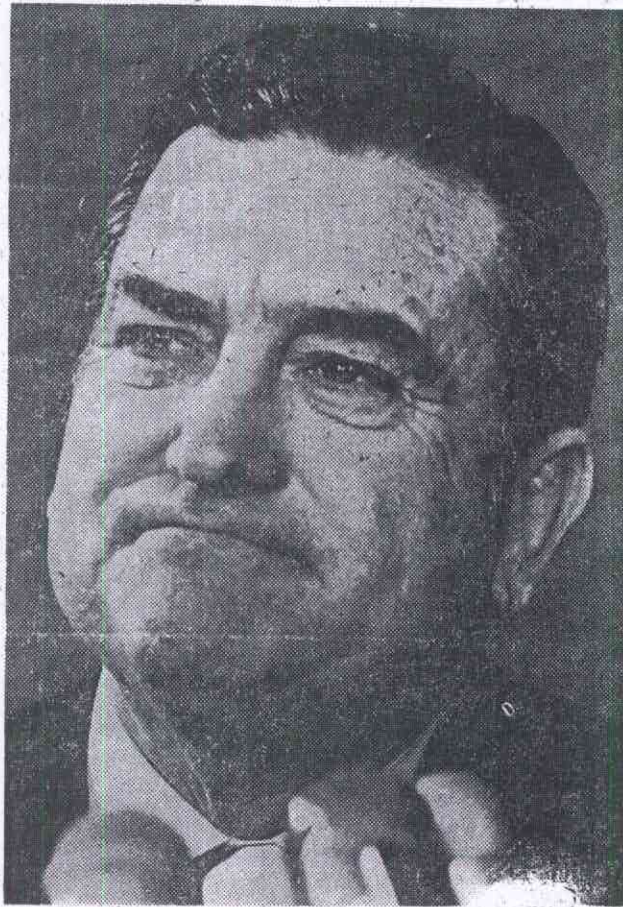
I make my judgment as a lawyer, a person with some acquaintance with the Constitution, and as a member of Congress from Arizona. Others may interpret the evidence differently. This requires a highly personal decision.

I still believe that impeachment is not a party matter. It is strictly a matter of conscience. Thus, I have no intention of imposing my interpretation of the evidence on any other member of Congress. For a party leader to attempt to dictate a matter of individual conscience would be entirely ill-advised.

The past year has been a difficult period for the American people. However, we have come through it with our fundamental belief in justice and the law intact. As was said by President Dwight David Eisenhower:

"America is great because America is good. And if America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

I have every confidence that America will remain both good and great.



By Larry Morris—The Washington Post

**Rep. Charles W. Sandman Jr. (D-N.J.), who defended Mr. Nixon during House Judiciary Committee hearings, urges President to resign during a press conference.**

# View Beyond Watergate

## Politicians of Both Parties Refocusing

By David S. Broder  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Republican Party yesterday came close to a formal break with Richard M. Nixon, and the Democrats readjusted their sights to a political world without a Watergate issue.

Politicians in both parties and their public opinion advisers began a wrenching process of refocusing on a political landscape in which most assumed the dominant figure would be Gerald R. Ford.

Almost ignoring Mr. Nixon's reiterated intention to fight against removal from office, Republicans said with near-unanimity—and some Democrats conceded—that if Ford succeeds to the presidency this fall, as most of them now expect, it would mean happier returns for the GOP in both the 1974 and 1976 elections than anything that could have been expected a week ago.

In an avalanche of reaction to Monday's disclosure by Mr. Nixon of his own long-suppressed role in the Watergate cover-up, droves of GOP congressmen and party officials abandoned their defense of the President and called for his quick impeachment or resignation.

Several key GOP officials urged Republican National Chairman George Bush to formalize the break by joining

Republican governors, senators and representatives in expressing disapproval of the President's conduct.

His opposite number, Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss, called on both Ford and Bush "to make clear whether their first loyalty is to Richard Nixon or to the American public."

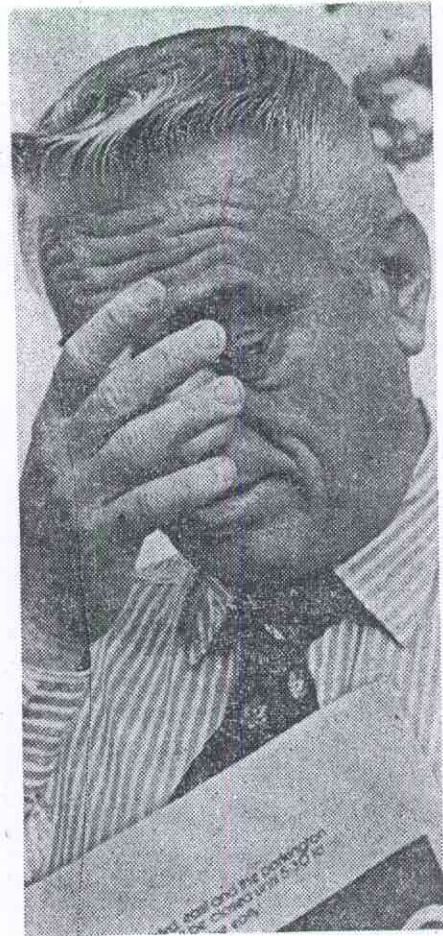
Despite the pressure from his own and the opposition party, Bush last night issued only a bland statement expressing his "deep feelings for those who supported the President on the basis of the facts . . . which they believed to be true" and his continued "confidence the President will do what is right—what is best for the country."

The statement said "resignation is something that the President alone must decide," and urged that if there is an impeachment trial, it be held in "as expeditious a manner as possible to spare the nation more trauma."

The troubled GOP chairman told a reporter yesterday, "I understand that there may be criticism from some party people, but that is all that I can say."

Strauss, in a telephone interview from California during the afternoon period when Bush was shuttling between the White House and his head-

See GOP, A4, Col 1



Associated Press

Wiggins: a "painful" conclusion.

### GOP, From A1

quarters on Capitol Hill, said both Ford and Bush had "done a disservice to the American people over the past two months by insisting on the innocence of the President when it was becoming increasingly obvious that he was not innocent."

Ford had announced Monday night that he would neither repudiate nor reaffirm his own previous statements of confidence in Mr. Nixon's innocence of any impeachable offense, and he held to that vow of silence yesterday.

Strauss said that he believed that "the way Ford and others have positioned themselves has come back to haunt them," but he insisted that the Democrats would not perpetuate the Watergate issue solely for campaign purposes.

"I have consistently said that those candidates who run on Watergate didn't deserve to be elected and probably wouldn't be," Strauss said, "so I don't think we'd make any major change in our campaign strategy at all if Ford is in the presidency."

"Ford's position on domestic issues

relates very closely to Mr. Nixon's," the Democratic chairman said, "so we'd still run on the basic pocketbook issues and the question of unmet human needs that we'd always planned to use."

Despite Bush's agonizing, the general reaction among Republican politicians—after Monday night's initial shock at the President's disclosure—was almost one of relief yesterday.

Before, House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.) held his late-afternoon press conference—canceled Monday ostensibly because of laryngitis—to declare his support for impeachment, good-humored GOP congressmen joshed him, "Hey, John, you've got your voice back."

Many Republican Members said the President's confession of complicity in the cover-up had made it possible for them to urge his quick removal—a step that most of them had long ago concluded was in their own best interests politically.

Typical of this group was Houston I. Flournoy, the underdog Republican candidate for governor of California. Flournoy, a progressive Republican

who has been elected twice as state controller, had been privately critical of Mr. Nixon for months, but was fearful of antagonizing the President's hard-core conservative supporters in his native state.

But Monday night, he called the President's admission "unbelievable", and called for his resignation.

Yesterday, the man Flournoy is seeking to succeed, Gov. Ronald Reagan, a staunch Nixon defender, said he was "deeply disturbed" by the revelations but would not urge resignation. Instead, Reagan said it was "imperative" that the President "go before the Congress immediately and make a full disclosure of all the information he has on this matter. . . ."

Reagan aides disclosed that he is rewriting a speech for Thursday's Republican telethon in California in an effort to emphasize that Watergate is not a Republican responsibility. They described him as approving Flournoy's statement and is hopeful that the disassociation will improve Flournoy's chances against the Democratic nominee, Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown Jr.

Significantly, Flournoy's pro-resignation statement was echoed by H. L. (Bill) Richardson, the staunchly conservative Republican candidate against Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.).

The new-found Republican unity was visible in other major states where party officials had earlier anticipated an autumn campaign in which the GOP candidates were split down the middle on the impeachment issue.

For example, all nine Republican congressmen from Michigan lined up on the side of impeachment yesterday, and Gov. William G. Milliken (R) said the President would likely be forced to resign.

The same thing occurred in New Hampshire, where Gov. Meldrim Thomson (R) and Rep. Louis Wyman (R-N.H.), a prospective Senate candidate, switched sides simultaneously and came out against the President.

Noting this phenomenon, public opinion analyst Patrick Caddell, who had been the pollster for the 1972 McGovern campaign and is working for several Democratic candidates this year, said in an interview yesterday, "I'm beginning to think the Republicans

can rehabilitate themselves on this issue."

Caddell said Republicans "now have an opportunity to turn this thing around," because the actions of Republican members who argued and voted for impeachment during the televised proceedings of the House Judiciary Committee "showed people there are Republicans of conscience . . . who do their duty as Americans.

"If they get rid of Nixon any time this month," he said, "they might really be in a position to turn this election around. It could make November a referendum on Jerry Ford—and that would help a lot of Republicans who are not very serious challengers right now."

Other Democrats, however, said they thought it unlikely there would be as dramatic a recovery in Republican fortunes as Caddell seemed to suggest.

Strauss and his political deputy, Robert J. Keefe, both argued that Ford's own long record of opposition to Democratic domestic programs in Congress and his close association

with the Nixon administration would validate the Democrats' economic issues.

"Ford's got a long record on issues of housing and health care and matters of concern to working people," Strauss said, "and he and his party are going to have to live with it."

"Our problem," said Keefe, "has been to get the voters' minds off Page 1 impeachment stories and onto the Page 3 and 4 economic stories. When Nixon leaves, our issues move onto Page 1."

Another Democratic pollster, Peter Hart, agreed that "the Democrats are better off without the Watergate issue," but he and Caddell both questioned whether a Ford administration, in its early months, would be held responsible by the voters for the economic ills that are troubling the country now.

"What we're going through is like an assassination," Hart said, "and after an assassination, what everyone wants is to look forward, not backward. Honesty and responsiveness are the keys, and on those, the Republicans have to be better off with Ford."

# Panel Backs Kissinger in Wiretap Flap

8/7/74  
By Marilyn Berger

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday reaffirmed its decision that Henry A. Kissinger's role in the wiretapping of subordinates and newsmen did not constitute grounds to bar his confirmation as Secretary of State.

"The committee has concluded that there are no significant discrepancies between the new information developed and Dr. Kissinger's testimony during the confirmation hearings last year," the report released yesterday said.

The nine-page report is studded with qualifications relating to the issue of wiretapping. "probably it will never be possible to determine exactly what took place," the report says.

The committee undertook its inquiry at Kissinger's request, following the publication of FBI reports which said the secretary, then the President's national security adviser, was the person who requested the wiretaps that were intended to stop leaks of national security information. Kissinger threatened to resign unless his name was cleared.

Yesterday State Department spokesman Robert Anderson said "the secretary is gratified by the committee's report." Given the context of the report, Anderson continued, Kissinger "no longer sees any reason for resignation and therefore he does not intend to resign."

The report acknowledges that there are discrepancies "between the FBI documents and the testimony of participants in the (wiretapping) program" relating to who requested the

See KISSINGER, A30, Col. 1

# Senate Committee Backs Kissinger on Wiretaps

KISSINGER, From A1

surveillance and who saw the logs.

Some questions, the report says, could only be answered by President Nixon, others only by the late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Inconsistencies between testimony and FBI documents could only be resolved by William C. Sullivan, former No. 3 man in the FBI who is physically unable to testify because of a recent heart attack. There are gaps in FBI documents, the report notes, and the recollections of some participants are hazy because of the passage of time.

The committee report says it was not necessary "to make definitive findings of fact on each of the allegations that have been made concerning Dr. Kissinger's role in the wiretapping . . . But we believe it should lay to rest the major questions raised about Secretary Kissinger's role."

Given what it called "the impossibility of laying to rest every question about the wiretap program and secretary Kissinger's role in it" the committee set what it characterized as "a more modest and realistic objective."

It posed two questions:

"Is there a basis in ascertainable fact to conclude that Dr. Kissinger misrepresented his role in the wiretapping during his (confirmation) testimony last year?" To this the committee, in a report adopted by consensus, answered no.

Secondly, it asked whether the committee would still be prepared to confirm Kissinger as Secretary of State if the information available now has been available last September. To this the committee answered "yes."

The report also concedes "semantic problems" on the question of whether Kissinger "initiated" individual wiretaps. Last year, the report notes, Kissinger testi-

fied that he had supplied names to the FBI: ". . . in supplying the names we did not specifically request a tap, although we knew, of course, that this could be, was a probable outcome."

In testimony this year Kissinger said: "Insofar as the submission of a name triggered a series of events which resulted in a wiretap, it would be said that the submission 'initiated' the tap."

Most of the testimony still is being cleared for release.

Although FBI documents do carry Kissinger's name as the person requesting taps, the committee report says during its closed-door hearings "Bernard Wells, the FBI agent who handled the preparation of most of the papers relative to the program, stated that the wording on the individual request forms could not be taken literally."

"The committee," the report stated, "was unable to settle to its satisfaction some questions about the initiation and termination of certain wiretaps. But it did establish to its satisfaction that Secretary Kissinger's role in the program was essentially as he described it in testimony last year." It said: "Words on FBI documents or on presidential tapes cannot be considered as definitive statements either of what transpired or of Dr. Kissinger's part in the overall program."

The report quotes a letter from the President in which Mr. Nixon stated he "directed the surveillance." The report said Kissinger was "acting on the assumption . . . that the wiretaps were perfectly legal." But it, notes that the committee remains "very much concerned about the broader issues posed by the 17 wiretaps" and hopes subcommittees now looking into the problem will come up with "effective statutory safeguards to govern the use of wiretaps for foreign policy or related purposes."

# Support Slips in Md., Va.

By Stephen Green

Washington Post Staff Writer

Presidential support in the Maryland and Virginia House delegations slid further yesterday, while the four senators from those states refused to commit themselves publicly.

Although Maryland Republican Senators J. Glenn Beall and Charles McC. Mathias maintained public positions of neutrality, the eight House members from Maryland, including several once strongly pro-Nixon conservatives, appeared to be unanimous in support for impeachment.

Virginia Republican Sen. William L. Scott and independent Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. also refused to commit themselves. But it seemed certain that at least six, and possibly more, of the 10 Virginia House members would vote for impeachment.

Defection from Mr. Nixon in the Virginia delegation is particularly significant for that state's House members supported the President's position more consistently than any other state delegation last year. Virginia House members voted with Mr. Nixon position 68 per cent of the time, followed by the Nebraska delegation with 67 per cent. The Maryland delegation voted with Mr. Nixon's position 46 per cent of the time.

Until yesterday, four of the Maryland House members had declared they would vote for impeachment. They were Republicans Gilbert Gude and Lawrence J. Hogan and Democrats Paul S. Sarbanes and Parren J. Mitchell.

They were jointed yesterday by Republican Robert E. Bauman and Democrat Goodloe E. Byron. Republican Majorie S. Holt, who previously said she was emotionally leaning toward impeachment, called for Mr. Nixon's resignation. Democrat Clarence D. Long continued to say he will wait before announcing his vote but he is expected to vote

for impeachment.

Except for Republican M. Caldwell Butler, a member of the Judiciary Committee, the members of the Virginia House delegation have refused to say publicly how they would vote on impeachment. Butler voted for articles of impeachment.

Republican Stanford E. Parris from Northern Virginia's Eighth Congressional District said yesterday that he now believes Mr. Nixon is guilty of "obstructing justice." He said he would vote for the Judiciary Committee's first article of impeachment if it was "strengthened to accuse the President of a 'willful obstruction of justice.'"

Republican Joel T. Broyhill of Northern Virginia's

10th Congressional District is now also considered a vote for impeachment in private estimates made by Virginia House members and their staffs. Yesterday he refused to state publicly how he would vote. "Why should I?" he asked. He added: "Why should I discourage people from writing to me and making their feelings known?"

Democrat Thomas N. Downing of Newport News said that "in the best interests of the country and himself he (Mr. Nixon) should resign." While declining to state his position on impeachment, Downing is considered a vote for it.

Also considered for impeachment in the Virginia delegation are Republicans G. William Whitehurst of Norfolk and Robert W. Daniel of Spring Grove.

Until yesterday, Virginia Democrats Dan Daniel of Danville and David Satterfield III of Richmond and Republicans William C. Wampler of Bristol and J. Kenneth Robinson of Winchester were considered foes of impeachment. Statements from several of them yesterday, however, indicate they could end up voting for

## Delegations

impeachment."

Robinson said Mr. Nixon's revelations of Monday were "most distressing to me." Dan Daniels said he is "disillusioned and distressed." Wampler called the disclosures "damaging."

Maryland's Bauman, in announcing he would vote for impeachment, said that if Mr. Nixon resigned it "would spare the country a great deal of further disruption and anguish."

Bauman said he had hoped he "would never have to" vote for impeachment and made his decision "with a sense of profound sadness." He said he gave "the President every benefit of doubt" and stated, "The evidence demonstrates clearly that the President willfully participated in and directed a conspiracy to obstruct justice."

Mrs. Holt described Mr. Nixon as a "tormented man." She asked him "to resign the presidency to spare himself and the country further agony. He has lost forever the trust of the Congress and the overwhelming majority of the people." She added, "There were high crimes and misdemeanors associated with his office and he cannot escape responsibility for them."

Byron said the "President has clearly admitted participation in obstruction of justice. I would have no alternative but to vote for the first article of impeachment (obstruction of justice)."

In the Senate, Beall said he could not comment because he probably will have to sit in judgment on the



**ROBERT E. BAUMAN**  
... "profound sadness"

an impeachable offense. Yesterday he had his office tell inquiring reporters that Mr. Nixon's admission of

President. "It's my obligation to be faithful to the Constitution and particularly to be fair," he said. Asked whether Mr. Nixon can effectively continue to govern, Beall said: "I'm not going to answer that."

Mathias refused to talk to The Washington Post, despite repeated calls to his office. "He doesn't have anything to say... events are happening so quickly," a spokesman for Mathias said. The spokesman said Mathias continues to maintain that as a potential judge and juror in a Senate trial of Mr. Nixon, he cannot discuss the case.

Scott, until yesterday, had said he has seen no evidence that Mr. Nixon committed

Monday "does adversely reflect on the credibility of the President." Scott declined to "make a judgment at this time as to whether the latest revelation is an impeachable offense." He said, through a spokesman, that he "was surprised at the admission of the President that he had not fully disclosed to the public, his attorney or to the principal members of the White House staff."

The spokesman said Scott "does not intend to make any final decision regarding the removal of the President from office until the House of Representatives presents its evidence against the President and the President presents his defense before the Senate."

# Support Crumbles in Nixon

By Tim O'Brien

Washington Post Staff Writer

The latest barrage of Watergate events left a shambles of confusion, shock and anguish yesterday in those most steadfast bastions of pro-Nixon sentiment across the country.

From Mississippi and Alabama to the Illinois heartland to Whittier, Calif., the President's long-time grassroots support appeared to be crumbling.

In Alabama, which gave Mr. Nixon 74 per cent of its presidential votes in 1972, the President's strongest

supporters asked him to resign.

C. Snow Hinton, the Tuscaloosa mayor who a week ago called the House Judiciary Committee hearings "disgusting," said yesterday Mr. Nixon "would do the nation a service by resigning, as I don't feel under the present circumstances he could provide the leadership this country needs at this time."

In Huntsville, Ala., an influential Nixon-supporter, Louis Salmon Jr., called the latest revelations "sicken- ing."

"I couldn't feel worse,"

said Salmon, a lawyer. "Here's a man I've publicly supported from the beginning. I've defended him. I've felt like he was leveling with us. Then the walls come caving in."

In its Tuesday editions, The Birmingham News, Alabama's largest newspaper, called on the President to resign: "Since the President yesterday admitted his complicity in the cover-up, there is no longer any question of his being forced to resign for strictly political reasons."

The Huntsville Times, largest paper in northern Alabama, also called for resignation "because the President has admitted guilt, even though he seemed, at least as a defense maneuver, to claim it as excusable guilt. The nation does not see it so."

Both papers endorsed Mr. Nixon in 1972.

In Mississippi, which gave the President 80 per cent of its presidential votes in 1972, U.S. Rep. Thad Cochson, a Republican, joined Rep. Trent Lott, another Republican, in urging the President to resign.

Clarke Reed, chairman of the Southern Association of

Republican State Chairmen and party chairman in Mississippi, said, "I have already relayed to both Trent and Thad that I personally back their actions. I can find no fault in them at all. I concur in their positions."

Gil Carmichael, a progressive Republican from Meridian who ran a surprisingly close senatorial race against Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) in 1972, said, "The majority of the people in the state have stood by him. I've stood with him and I think we all feel a great disappointment in that he's let us down."

In Whittier, Calif., the President's home district, the reaction among many of the faithful echoed the anguish shown by Rep. Charles E. Wiggins (R-Calif.), a key Nixon defender during the Judiciary Committee debates, in his statement Monday calling on Mr. Nixon to resign.

Wiggins' statement came as a surprise to his district aides. "We're in a complete state of shock," said Jane B. Dressen, Wiggins' executive secretary in Fullerton. Of 15 calls received yesterday morning, 10 supported the



# Territory Across Nation

congressman's new position, she said.

The Orange County Register, the largest daily in the district, plans to editorialize in support of Wiggins today. Executive editor Jim Dean said, "The illusion has been dissipated. The President has admitted obstruction of justice. Maybe lawyers can continue to haggle about his guilt or innocence, but, for the layman, yesterday's revelations should settle it."

Roy Knauff, who headed the campaign to re-elect the President in Yorba Linda, Mr. Nixon's birthplace, said, "I think most people here believe (Wiggins) acted with integrity. But we're a long way from Washington and we're not yet willing to dump the President. I think we are willing to let the chips fall where they may and to support the Congress in whatever position it might take."

Blake Sanborn, mayor of Whittier, said he feels "a sense of shock" reverberating through Nixon supporters. But he said he does not favor impeachment and will watch events "to see what evidence there is."

The Whittier Daily News,

the town's only daily, has consistently supported the President but plans to say today that Mr. Nixon's knowledge of the cover-up is astounding."

"Much more serious is why he kept such information from his own counsel and the Supreme Court," says the News' editorial. "It may be that he is throwing himself on the mercy of the court in the hope of ameliorating his potential punishment." The editorial calls for a formal conclusion to the impeachment process.

In the 16th District of Illinois, which went for Mr. Nixon by hefty margins in both 1968 and 1972, the Rockford Morning Star will reiterate today an earlier call for the President's resignation. "The President has forfeited all but his job," the paper will say. "He can resign. Or he can bow to what he sees as inevitable—impeachment in the House, trial in the Senate."

The Janesville (Wis.) Gazette, a traditionally conservative newspaper across the state line, yesterday called for the first time for the President's resignation.

In Wisconsin's 8th District, another Nixon stronghold in the 1968 and 1972 elections, some of his GOP support appeared to wither. Gerald Buckley, a Green Bay stockbroker and local GOP official, said, "There has been an overt act of withholding information. For the good of the two-party system I feel he must resign immediately."

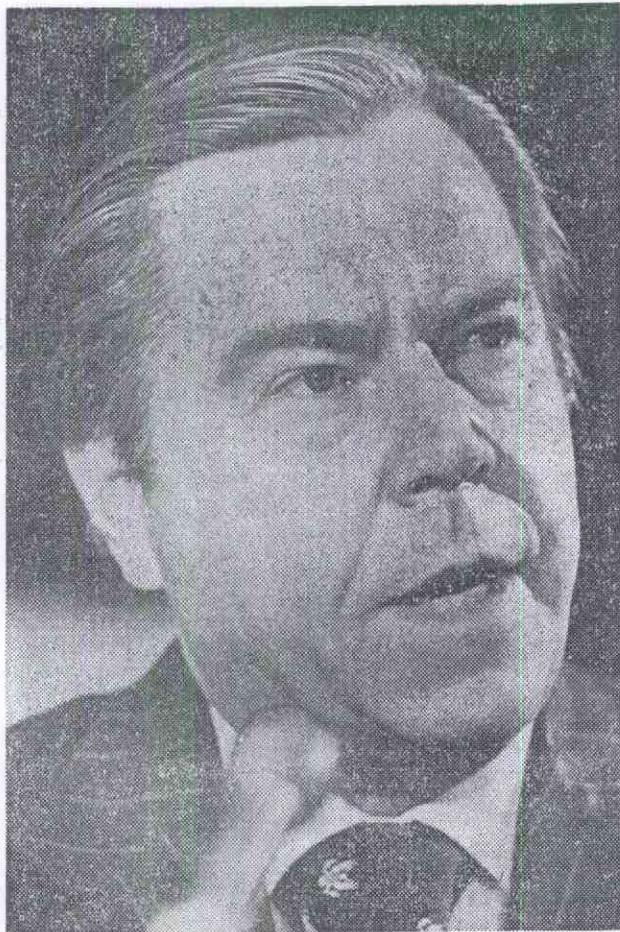
Elizabeth Pfeifer, GOP National Committeewoman and Green Bay resident said, "I find the news very disturbing . . . I am very, very saddened by all these events I think all Americans are."

And in the Greenville, S.C., area—which went 80 per cent for Mr. Nixon in 1972—the county GOP chairman said he is "disappoint-

ed" and "regretful" that the "regretful" that the President "hid the evidence." But, said Chairman Mike Spivey, "it would almost have to be armed robbery or something of that nature to convince me that he has committed an impeachable offense."

Paul Foster, Democratic chairman of Greenville, called for the President's resignation but urged that he be granted some protection against further prosecution.

But through this chorus of dismay and confusion, at least one loud voice was sounded in support of the President. Eddie Harbin, past chairman of the Greenville GOP, said he proudly declares himself a "loyal Nixonian." He said, "President Nixon will go down in history as one of the greatest Presidents since the inception of this country."



By Larry Morris—The Washington Post

Rep. John J. Rhodes . . . "I will vote aye."



Associated Press

Rep. Margaret M. Heckler (R-Mass.) tells reporters that she will vote for impeachment if President Nixon stays in office. She called the transcripts released Monday by the President "shocking beyond belief."

# Resignation Urged By GOP Senators

By Spencer Rich  
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Nixon's Senate support appeared to be collapsing yesterday, with new calls for his resignation and a widening belief that a two-thirds vote is already on hand to oust him from office once the House files impeachment charges.

Sen. John Tower (R-Tex.) told reporters that the Senate Republican Policy Committee, at a meeting open to all 42 GOP senators, had debated possible courses of action and "the majority sentiment among Republican senators is that he should retire from office."

At the same time, Tower said, the senators expressed fear that "the President does not perhaps comprehend the great hazard he faces if it comes to trial."

Although the policy com-

mittee didn't take any formal action, in part because GOP Leader Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) was away at a funeral, it decided tentatively to send a delegation to the President to advise him of the strong sentiment among Republicans for retirement and to warn him that he will very likely be convicted in the Senate if he doesn't resign first.

Tower said two proposals for such a delegation appeared to have the most support: to have the entire 42-man GOP delegation see Mr. Nixon, with each member telling the President his views; or to send the GOP leadership team. Tower said a decision on how to proceed may be reached in a few days.

See SENATE, A31, Col. 1

## SENATE, From A1

"It's pretty obvious that there is growing sentiment for resignation. . . We hope the President understands the sense of the Republican caucus," said, Tower, a the past.

Later in the day, Scott met in his office with Tower and the other Senate Republican leaders, with Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) also present, to discuss the best means to approach the President and convey the sentiments of the Senate Republicans. No final agreement was reached and the same

group will meet again today.

Scott said he agreed there are "hazards" for Mr. Nixon if he lets the issue go to trial. He added that the prospect of a six-month trial, which White House spokesmen have hinted at, is "very distressing," and said he will ask the Rules Committee to write in rules to see that a trial can't last that long.

Meanwhile, individual senators yesterday were saying openly that the events of the past few days—particularly the President's release of transcripts of his conversations on June 23, 1972—have pushed the anti-Nixon count in the Senate past the two-thirds mark. This indicates a tentative vote sufficient for conviction on the charges expected to be sent over by the House.

"It's very likely this could have put him over the edge in the Senate," said Sen. Walter Huddleston (D-Ky.). "He wasn't in a position to withstand this further bombshell."

Sen. Peter Dominick (R-Colo.), when asked if he believes the votes are there in the Senate to convict Mr. Nixon, said, "I think they are." He added that Mr. Nixon's announced decision against resigning is "not a wise decision. From the party point of view, we'd be better off if he did; from his point of view, he'd be better off."

Although only last week the consensus of the Senate's best vote-counters was that the Senate was still a handful short of the required 67 for conviction, one of them said yesterday he believes the total has pushed past that number, at least for the moment.

Another Republican figure, known for his total loyalty to the President, said privately, "We haven't got the 34 votes now to ward off conviction."

But he pointed out that presidential attorney James D. St. Clair had told Senate GOP leaders Monday afternoon that he wants six months of trial in the Senate for his defense of the President. "Maybe in six months, we will have the needed 34 votes. This latest tape release will become just another incident and the flare of sentiment will go back and we'll have 34.

It's a long shot, but it's possible," he said.

Tower, in his remarks to reporters, confirmed that St. Clair had estimated a Senate trial would last six months.

That appeared to scotch hopes for a speedy disposition of the case. There was some talk of reducing the length of the House debate, scheduled for about 10 to 12 days starting Aug. 19, and Senate Majority Leader

Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) said yesterday he would be happy if the Senate trial could start early and finish before Election Day. But Tower said that in view of St. Clair's remarks, he felt it "highly unlikely" that the trial could finish before the November elections.

Senate Majority Whip Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) said, however, that he foresees a speedier trial. Now that the President has promised to turn over more tapes, the evidence will be available, he told reporters at a breakfast meeting, and presidential lawyer James St. Clair no longer has any reason to ask for a delay in its start.

Once the issue is joined in the Senate, he added, the trial "could be completed in a month. It certainly would not take more than three months and even two months would strain my credibility."

In confirmation of judgments by senators yesterday that the President's position is badly eroding, it was learned that last week Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) had advised presidential staff chief Alexander M. Haig Jr. that it looked as if the President would be convicted in a Senate trial.

Yesterday, a number of Senate Republicans publicly expressed shock or outrage at the President's actions and said resignation would be welcome—but stopped short of demanding it outright.

George D. Aiken (R-Vt.) said resignation "would

bring a sigh of relief here on the Hill." Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) confirmed that he felt he had been deceived, and said, "I don't know whether it's wise or not, but surely everyone would be relieved if he resigned."

Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) said, "The country would be better off if he were not in the office now." But he stopped short of calling for resignation, as Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich) had on Monday.

Democratic Sens. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.), Huddleston, John V. Tunney (D-Calif.), Abraham A. Ribicoff (D-Conn.) and Joseph M. Montoya (D-N.M.) were among those flatly calling for resignation yesterday.

One topic being discussed increasingly was whether the President could be given absolution from any criminal prosecution if he agreed to resign. Griffin and Tower said they favor this course. But it wasn't clear what legal formula could be used to achieve this.

About the only Senator who came out strongly in defense of Mr. Nixon yesterday was Carl Curtis (R-Neb.), who told a TV audience that Congress shouldn't panic. He said the United States would be like a "banana republic" if it ousted Mr. Nixon in favor of Vice President Gerald R. Ford, who in turn then named someone to fill the vice presidential slot.

Curtis said this would mean both Ford and the new Vice President would be men who hadn't been elected to their high office, but merely nominated by a President under procedures for filling the vice presidency when it is vacant.

# World Press Focuses on Nixon's Woes

Realization that President Nixon's departure from office may be imminent provoked varying amounts of surprise and interest in world capitals yesterday, depending on how closely each country had followed the unraveling of Watergate.

The constant, mostly in newspaper comments, seemed to be a feeling that a change in American leadership would not have any widespread effect on international relations.

Although other governments had no official comment on what they described as an internal American affair, Monday's revelations were splashed across front pages everywhere except in the Soviet bloc and China, which maintained the discreet veil they have cast over the President's troubles.

## Soviet Union

From Moscow, Washington Post correspondent Peter Osnos reported that Tass, the Soviet news agency, and Moscow radio and television carried excerpts of Mr. Nixon's Monday statement, but did not include the President's observation that "Impeachment is virtually a foregone conclusion." The English-language service of Tass did add that comment late last night in a second report on the statement.

Earlier, Pravda, the official Communist Party newspaper, published a major article on the long-term importance of better U.S.-Soviet relations and the accomplishments of the recent summit talks, but significantly did not mention Richard Nixon by name a single time, Osnos said.

While the language in the

article—written before Mr. Nixon's statements—was somewhat oblique, Soviet sources familiar with the nuances of the official line on detente said the omission of Mr. Nixon's name from such an important article was too systematic to be accidental.

From the outset, the Soviet media have rarely men- and have tended always to cast their reports in terms most favorable to the President. In recent days, however, as the pace of events has quickened, news items have been appearing more frequently.

## Japan

From Tokyo, Washington Post correspondent Don Oberdorfer reported that Japanese leaders not feel that Mr. Nixon's departure from office would bring about long-term instability in American policy or harm Washington's relations with Japan. The Japanese press and Japanese officials have generally taken the line that the impeachment process demonstrates the strength of the American political system.

Noting that Mr. Nixon is not popular in Japan, because of his tough stand on textile imports and his failure to consult Tokyo before reversing U.S. policy toward China, Oberdorfer added that the President's fall from power would bring only pro forma expressions of regret from senior political and diplomatic figures.

The Washington developments rated very heavy newspaper coverage in Tokyo under such headlines as "American President Confesses Cover-Up" and "At the Edge of Impeachment or Resignation." Tokyo mass-circulation dailies carried the text of the Monday presidential statement as well as portions of the June 23, 1972, transcript, translated in a low form of Japanese akin to gutter language, which would be considered disgraceful for any Japanese official.

The influential public television network carried newfilm of Mr. Nixon's previous denials of early knowledge of the Watergate cover-up, along with a simulation of the Nixon-Halde-

man conversation in which a cover-up attempt was authorized.

## South Vietnam

In Saigon, although officials and politicians have long expected Watergate to force President Nixon out of office. His admission that he directed the cover-up caused surprise and excitement, Washington Post correspondent Philip A. McCombs reported.

Foreign Minister Vuong Van Bac said in an interview that economic and military aid to South Vietnam "is the assistance from a nation to a nation and does not come from Mr. Nixon himself.

"The policies of the

United States are government policies of the American people... so I think that no matter who is President the policies will remain the same," he added.

Despite this cool official view, President Thieu is said to have been immediately alerted to the news and to be receiving frequent up-to-the-minute reports in the presidential palace.

The news was featured yesterday as the most important page-one story in Democracy, the newspaper of Thieu's own political party and was the largest Watergate story ever run by the official organ.

## China

The official Chinese press remained silent on Watergate, Agence France-Presse reported from Peking, and Chinese sources questioned by Western newsmen refused to comment.

The AFP dispatch noted that although the Chinese have steadfastly maintained that Watergate was an "internal affair" that did not call for public comment, the scandal must have been reported in some detail by a controlled circulation daily publication called "Reference Sheet," which regularly translates Western news.

The publication—which is not available to foreigners in China—has a circulation

of 7 million copies.

### Israel

For the first time, the Israeli press took it for granted yesterday that Mr. Nixon's departure from the American political scene seems almost inevitable, special correspondent Yuval Elizur reported from Jerusalem.

The latest events in Washington came as a shock to most Israelis, who until now have been largely unexcited by the Watergate affair and often said in private that Americans had "overreacted" to it.

Editorials dealt mainly with the possible consequences for the Middle East, rather than with Watergate's meaning for the American political system. Two of Israel's leading newspapers wrote that the main danger is not a new administration, but a vacuum that could develop in international affairs while President Nixon fights for survival.

Israeli officials refrained from comment.

### Europe

In London, the chairman of the opposition Labor Party's foreign affairs committee, Tom Dalyell, said that the admission came as no surprise.

"Most of our colleagues have assumed for many months that President Nixon was up to his neck in Watergate from an early stage," he said, expressing a hope "that the executioners will act quickly and decisively."

"The business of the West-

ern world has been clogged up by the situation in the White House," Dalyell added.

The influential Paris newspaper, *Le Monde*, seeing something "pathetic in what must be called the irresistible agony of President Nixon," added: "Even a statesman as hard-bitten as Nixon must have nerves. There are limits to solitary resistance, especially when it reveals itself to be hopeless."

The news reached Western Europe too late for most daily newspapers to comment editorially.

The timing was even worse for Eastern Europe, and Hungarian newspapers, for example, relegated brief news dispatches of Mr. Nixon's announcement to inside pages.

### Ethiopia

President Nixon's admission of an early involvement in the Watergate cover-up was the leading news on radio stations in Addis Ababa and throughout most of black Africa all day yesterday, *Washington Post* correspondent David B. Ottaway reported.

Ethiopians, who have generally admired Mr. Nixon for his foreign policy and only vaguely understood the import of his political difficulties at home, were shocked by the news.

"I would never have believed such a thing of an American President," one Ethiopian official said, "It's shocking."

The state-run radio station, which only recently began giving any coverage at all to Watergate developments, called it a "sensational admission of guilt."

# Poll Finds Support Eroding

By Austin Scott

Washington Post Staff Writer

A Washington Post sampling of 75 previously uncommitted Republican congressmen shows 41 of them will now vote to impeach President Nixon on at least one of the three articles approved by the House Judiciary Committee.

The movement appears indicative of the impact of Mr. Nixon's disclosure Monday that he ordered a cover-up of some of the facts of Watergate within six days of the June 17, 1972, break-in at the Democratic National Committee headquarters.

Thirty-five of those 41 had said in Washington Post poll taken just last week that they had not decided how they would vote.

Of the 75 contacted by The Post, 49 said the latest disclosures had moved them closer to voting for impeachment. Fifteen said they remained undecided. The rest would not comment.

Most of those responding predicted a tidal wave of impeachment votes in the House, and many predicted conviction in any subsequent Senate trial. Eleven said they would like to see Mr. Nixon resign to spare the nation further turmoil.

Most members explained their changed decisions in written statements tinged with shock, shame and sadness.

Typical was a comment from Rep. Louis C. Wyman of New Hampshire, a friend and supporter of the President for more than 20 years:

"In the light of his statement yesterday, the best interests of the country would be served by his resignation and he should meet with the Chief Justice and the Vice President to make the necessary arrangements for an orderly transition of executive power without delay.

"I am truly sorry for the President. He has done much for the good of the world, but it's all over for him now. The admissions

he's made, they pull the rug out from under even his staunchest supporters in the House..."

A sampling of other comments:

Rep. James T. Broyhill (N.C.): "... In light of these developments, I anticipate that the vote for impeachment will be overwhelming if the President does not resign."

Rep. Mark Andrews (N.D.): "Now that we've got the additional tapes... we know beyond any doubt there was a deliberate attempt by the President to obstruct justice. I think that the best interests of the country now call for the swiftest transfer of government to Jerry Ford."

Rep. William F. Walsh (N.Y.): "When the President admitted he had acted to slow the FBI investigation of the Watergate case and that he had withheld this information from the Supreme Court, the Congress, and his own lawyer, he effectively eliminated any options the members of the House may have had."

Rep. Nelson Jack Edwards (Ala.): "... I have said all along that I didn't want to vote for impeachment, but that I would do so if the evidence warranted that drastic step. The President's admission, supported by the June 23 transcript, seems to provide the missing evidence..."

Rep. George M. O'Brien (Ill.): "I'm convinced that the President clearly attempted to use the CIA to curb the FBI investigation of the Watergate conspiracy. This makes out a prima facie case for obstruction of

the country further agony."

Rep. Richard G. Shoup (Mont.): "The question of the impeachment of President Nixon has now been resolved. Through his own admissions and statements there is now clear and convincing evidence to support Article I, obstruction of justice, and Article II, misuse of presidential powers."

Rep. Margaret Heckler (Mass.): "Now we are confronted by the President's own admission of involvement in cover-up activities, which is shocking beyond belief."

Rep. Frank Horton (N.Y.): "The only thing now is to remove Nixon from office. If his own resignation is not forthcoming, the House

must impeach him so that the Senate can soon begin the impeachment trial, which I believe will end with his removal from this highest office of public trust."

Rep. William H. Harsha (Ohio): "What he has admitted to is a felony and that certainly comes within

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the definition of high crimes and misdemeanors."

Only one of those surveyed by The Washington Post, Rep. Earl Landgrebe of Indiana, said he had not changed his support for the President.

"I'm sticking by my President even if he and I have to be carried out of this building and be shot," Landgrebe said.

The President's own congressman, Rep. Clair W. Burgener of California, said that if "careful examination" bears out reports of the latest disclosures, he would "sadly have to vote for Article I of impeachment."

Staff writers Stuart Auerbach and Jane RippetEAU contributed to this article.