

Special Issue

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THE

HEALING BEGINS



STATE OF THE UNION

TIME FOR

It was over. At last, after so many months of poisonous suspicion, a kind of undeclared civil war that finally engaged all three branches of the American Government, the ordeal had ended. As the *Spirit of '76* in one last errand arced across central Missouri carrying Richard Nixon to his retirement, Gerald Rudolph Ford stood in the East Room of the White House, placed his hand upon his eldest son's Bible, and repeated the presidential oath "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." By the time the 37th President of the U.S. arrived at the Pacific, the 38th President had taken command of a new Administration.

It was the first time in American history that a President had resigned his office. The precedent was melancholy, but it was hardly traumatic. All of the damage had been done before in the seemingly interminable spectacle of high officials marched through courtrooms, in the recitation of burglaries, crooked campaign contributions and bribes, enemies lists, powers abused, subpoenas ignored—above all, in the ugly but mesmerizing suspense as the investigations drew closer and closer to the Oval Office. Now the dominant emotion was one of sheer relief.

A few of Nixon's last supporters still summoned up bitterness. Not a few Americans cracked open bottles of champagne for the event. Mostly, the nation was massively grateful to have it ended. As Ford said at his swearing-in, "Our long national nightmare is over." By his leaving, Nixon seemed at last to redeem the 1968 pledge he took from a girl holding up a campaign sign in Ohio: BRING US TOGETHER. The resignation brought at least the unity of hope for a fresh beginning, and with Ford, the hope for a new style of presidential leadership. After the long, obsessive preoccupation with Watergate and its claustrophobic underground works, most Americans felt last week as if they were emerging for the first time in a long while into the upper air.

The denouement was jarring in its swift resolution and therefore a bit surreal. Nearly 800 days after the Watergate break-in, 289 days after the Saturday Night Massacre, 97 days after the White House transcripts were released, twelve days after the Supreme Court voted, 8 to 0, that the President must surrender 64 more tapes, five days after the House Judiciary Committee voted out articles of impeachment, Nixon's defenses finally vanished. On Monday he issued the June 23, 1972 transcript that amounted to a confession to obstruction of justice and to lying to the American people and his own defense counsel. With that his clock had run out.

His Healthy Practical Effects

His nationally televised resignation speech was a peculiar performance. In some ways, it sounded like a State of the Union address, a familiar recitation of his achievements in office. He admitted no guilt, only casually did he mention mistakes made "in the best interests of the nation." Yet in a way, he smoothed the process of transition by sounding, rather eerily, as if his resignation was, after all, a sort of parliamentary setback—no great dislocation. If some expected a bitter, angry valedictory, Nixon was controlled and ultimately conciliatory. Nixon once said that the test of a people is the way it handles the transition of power, and last week—in his resignation speech if not in his mawkish, self-pitying White House goodbye—he deserved credit at least for helping to bring off the transition with dignity in what must have been the most painful moment of his life.

Apart from its stimulating effect on American morale, Nixon's departure will have some healthy practical effects. Had he insisted upon a long Senate trial, lasting into the fall, the Republican Party might have faced disastrous results in the November elections—losses so great that they might temporarily have disabled the two-party system. As it is, Republicans have a new opportunity to fight their opponents on equal ground, out of the shadow of Watergate.

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DIRK HARTUNG

HEALING

A President who is not preoccupied with his own survival will be able to deal with much-neglected items of national business. The problems, of course, are extremely grave, and will not yield simply to candor and good will. The most urgent is inflation. Although Ford will not be a hyperactive President with a governmental solution for every problem, he will at least provide direction for reforms long overdue. The nation's foreign policy, despite Henry Kissinger's guidance, has also suffered from the suspense over Nixon's fate: the leadership crisis substantially reduced the chances for major agreements during Nixon's trip to Russia and if continued much longer, might have caused dangerous instability in the major-power relationships. With Ford securely in office, the conduct of foreign policy should resume the high level of competence Nixon and Kissinger established several years ago.

A Triumph for the System

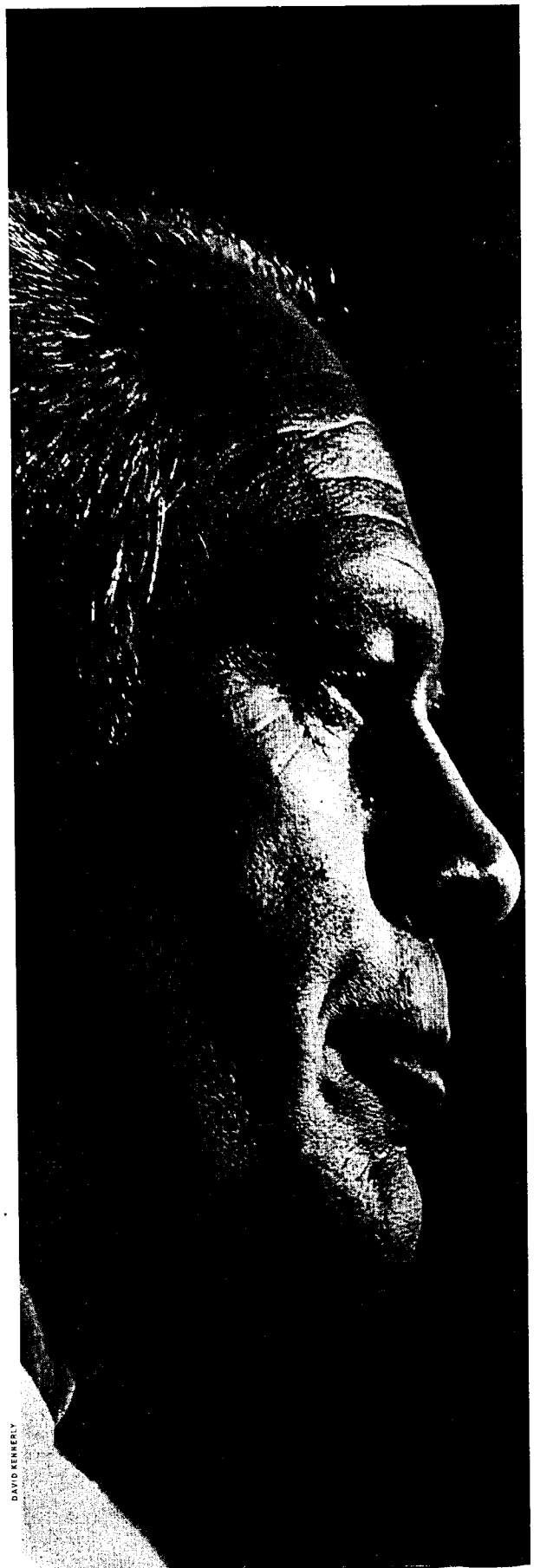
Nixon virtually ignored his Cabinet. Ford promises to restore its power and influence. Most important, the Administration should be able to develop once again a coherent legislative policy. The leftover Nixon legislative program is a shambles. There is no energy policy. Attempts at a foreign trade bill, welfare reform and land-use legislation have bogged down. In what promises to be a protracted honeymoon period, and the President undistracted by scandal, such programs can presumably be pushed forward again.

Nixon's resignation leaves a residue of unanswered questions, some of them with long-range historical reverberations. What of Nixon's legal future? Should he be prosecuted? What becomes of the White House tapes and documents that may contain the full story of Watergate? Should Nixon have stayed to allow the constitutional process to play itself out to a crushing bipartisan vote of conviction in the Senate? No doubt a kind of selective memory will set in among hard-core Nixon supporters, a feeling that the case was never clearly judged, that Nixon martyred himself for the good of the nation. But the case against Nixon was so clear that most of his supporters had deserted him before he quit; he was in effect *judged* by his own friends and allies in the Congress. It should be sufficiently obvious to history that Nixon was not driven from office but resigned because he was guilty of, at least, obstruction of justice, and his cause was hopeless. Some diehards, of course, will always believe that the offense was not really serious anyway—and other Presidents have behaved badly too.

Did Nixon's departure weaken the presidency? Will future Presidents have to operate with one wary eye on the polls and the opposition in Congress, not to mention the press, because the precedent now exists that a President can be overthrown? On the contrary: it was Nixon himself who foreshortened the constitutional process out of a realization that the case against him was overwhelming. By resigning, he conceded the inevitability of impeachment and conviction. Anyone who argues that Nixon was hounded unjustly from office has a quarrel not with Nixon's enemies but with the U.S. Constitution, for the Constitution would have done the work that Nixon chose to do himself.

The departure of Nixon was, above all, an extraordinary triumph of the American system. The nation is not wrong to permit itself some self-congratulation on that. Just after he had sworn in the new President, Chief Justice Warren Burger grabbed the hand of Senator Hugh Scott, the Government colleague nearest to him. "Hugh," said Burger, "it worked. Thank God, it worked." He meant the system.

There were, of course, useful accidents of fate and generous helpings of blind luck. A night watchman named Frank Wills came upon the Watergate burglars one night when they taped some door locks with an almost ostentatious incompetence. The system was fortunate that Judge



DAVID KENNERY

THE NATION

John Sirica pursued the case. And above all that Richard Nixon was surreptitiously taping his own conversations, and that he somehow never thought, or considered it necessary, or perhaps just did not dare, to heave all the tapes into the White House incinerator after their existence became known. Had it not been for the tapes, Richard Nixon would quite possibly have remained in the White House until January 1977. (Still, much of his misconduct could have been inferred.) No presidency in the nation's history has ever been so well documented, and it is safe to predict that none will be again.

But it was, at last, Richard Nixon who destroyed his own presidency. In his farewell speech to his staff, he counseled his audience never to be petty and never to hate those who hate them, because such hatred can destroy. Yet his White House, as revealed in the transcripts, was saturated with pettiness and hatred, a siege mentality, Us against Them. It was an unhappy and self-defeating spirit in which to govern a democracy.

In a curious way, Gerald Ford comes to the presidency under a kind of grace precisely because he was not elected to the

office. No one would propose such a succession as a model for a representative democracy, but it has its refreshing advantages just now. It is frightening to contemplate the prospect if Spiro Agnew or John Connally, Nixon's first choice to succeed Agnew, had been sworn in last week. But Ford promises a new and welcome style in the White House, an openness and candor harking back perhaps to Truman or to the more amiable qualities of Eisenhower. The office, surely, will be shorn of some of the pretentious Caesarism that has been growing for 40 years, of its imperial paraphernalia and edgy hauteur.

Nixon is gone—not a martyred figure as he may believe, but tragic at least in his fall from a great height. He is gone because, with all its luck in this case, the American system, the Congress and the Judiciary, with the eventual overwhelming support of public opinion, slowly and carefully excised him from the body politic. If there is a certain "the-king-is-dead-long-live-the-king" spirit in the American mood, the nation feels also that it deserves something better in its leadership, and is going to get it.

THE TRANSITION

ENTER FORD

Two hours earlier, the East Room had been the setting for Richard Nixon's farewell speech to his Cabinet and the White House staff. In the interim, pictures of Nixon and his family and scenes from his triumphant Peking and Moscow visits had disappeared from the corridor leading to the Oval Office. They were replaced by pictures of Gerald Ford and his family. Now the East Room was filled again with 250 guests, a few of them still red-eyed from weeping at the emotional Nixon farewell. But there were many new faces, Republican and Democratic alike: the guest list included the entire Michigan congressional delegation, Ford's staff, friends, his maid and driver and all eleven of the incumbent Congressmen who were first elected with Ford in 1948.

Several of Ford's political friends, either by their choice or Nixon's, had not been in the White House for years: former New York Republican Senator Charles Goodell, a longtime Nixon foe; Michigan Representative Donald Riegle Jr., who deserted the G.O.P. to become a Democrat early in 1973; and Democratic Senator Philip Hart. The stage was set for the transfer of the world's most powerful political office from Richard Nixon, even then airborne over Missouri on his way to California and retirement, to Gerald Ford.

Shortly after noon, everyone in the East Room rose as a military aide announced: "Ladies and gentlemen, the Chief Justice of the United States." Warren Burger, who had been

hastily summoned from a vacation in The Netherlands, strode into the room to administer the oath of office. Although his role was traditional, Burger's presence had special meaning. As Chief Justice, he was symbolic of the law and of the constitutional processes that, set in motion by the excesses of the President and the men around him, had inevitably led to the toppling of Richard Nixon. As Burger entered, the Vice President and Mrs. Ford were announced, and walked, amid thunderous applause, into the same stately chandeliered room Richard Nixon and his family had left a short while before.

The exit and the entrance were a poignant reminder of the smoothness with which the American system can transfer the world's most powerful office from one man to another. "Mr. Vice President," Burger intoned, "are you prepared to take the oath of office as President of the United States?" "I am, sir," Ford replied. Even before the Chief Justice asked him to do so, Ford raised his right hand, placing his left on a Bible held by his wife. It was opened to the *Book of Proverbs*, third chapter, fifth and sixth verses, which Ford says every night as a prayer.* Then, at 12:03 p.m., repeating the oath of office, Gerald Ford formally became the 38th President of the United States. (In fact, Ford assumed the presidency at 11:35 a.m., when Nixon's formal letter of resignation was delivered to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.)

"Congratulations, Mr. President," said Burger, and the audience rose to its feet in applause. Ford turned and kissed his wife on both cheeks. Then he delivered the kind of inaugural address (see box page 13) that the U.S. surely needed—refreshingly candid, sincere, unpretentious and effectively crafted to ease national tension and clear the air of Watergate.

The President wrote his soothing, low-keyed speech—which he described as "just a little straight talk among friends . . . the first of many"—beginning late Wednesday night, with the help of his chief of staff, Robert Hartmann, and Speechwriter Milton Friedman. With genuine humility, Ford conceded that "you have not elected me as your President by your ballots," and asked that he be confirmed "with your prayers." He emphasized the need for truth and promised to follow his "instincts of openness and candor." Time and again Ford talked about his "friends," not once mentioning enemies, domestic or foreign. Implicitly, he criticized

*"Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths."

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*The oath of office:
President Ford is sworn in*



The contrasts of an emotional week: above, crowds outside the White House watch soberly as Nixon announces his resignation on TV; top, Cabinet families, in a somber mood, listen to President Ford's remarks (front row, left to right: Rachel and James Schlesinger, Carol and William Simon, Nancy and Henry Kissinger); at right, Nixon pauses in helicopter door for a last hurrah

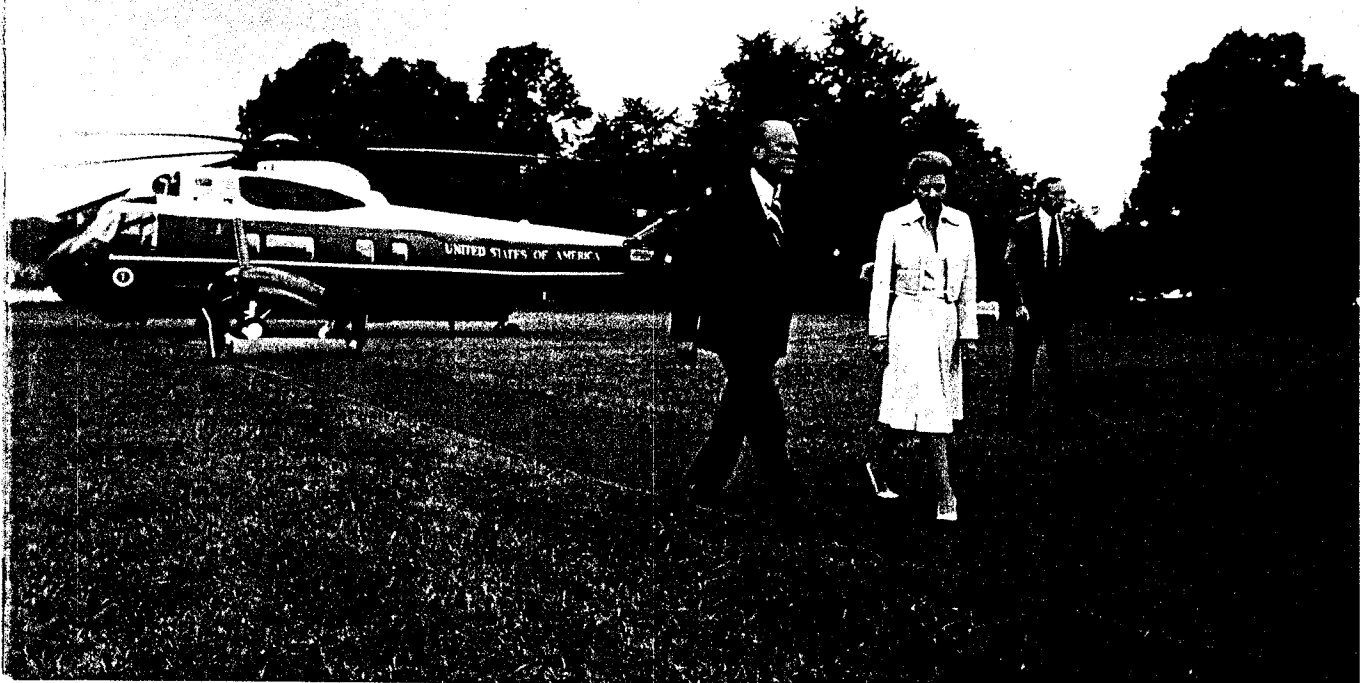
ABOVE: DENNIS BRACK—BLACK STAR; TOP: DAVID HUME KENNERLY. AT RIGHT: BILL PIERCE



The ordeal of departure: Pat and Tricia, at left, listen stoically as President Nixon says goodbye to Cabinet and staff; below, the Fords accompany the Nixons to helicopter on the White House lawn; as it prepares for takeoff, bottom, soldiers roll up the red carpet

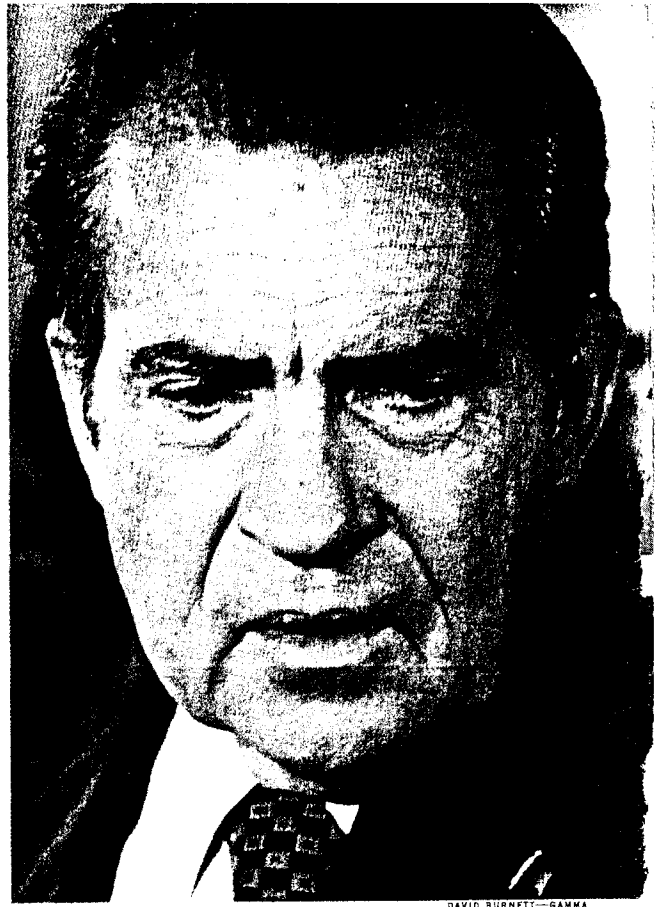


AT LEFT: DAVID BURNETT—GAMMA; BELOW: BRACK—BLACK STAR; BOTTOM: BRACK

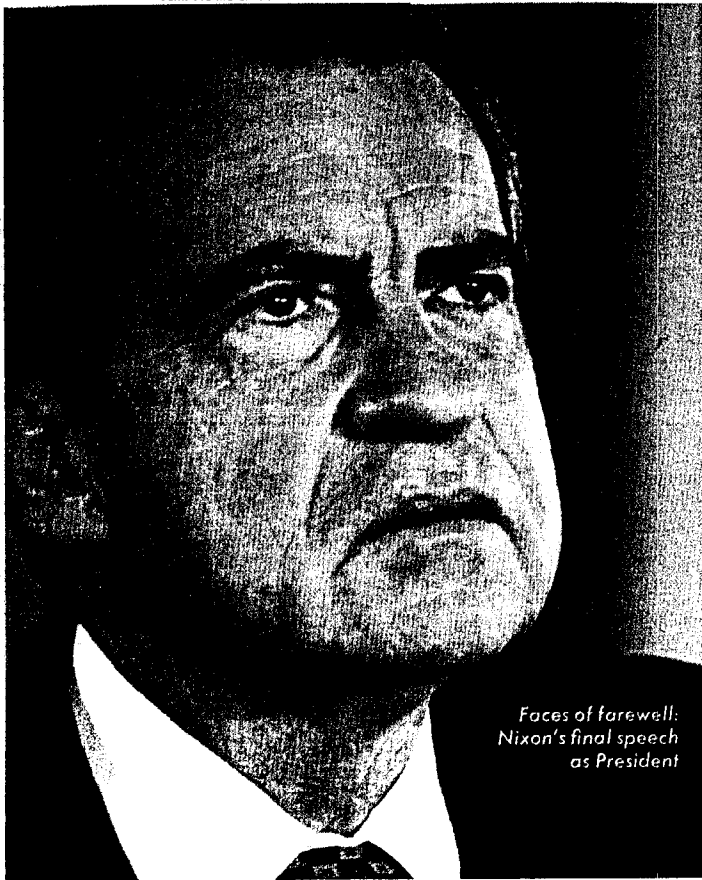




JEAN PIERRE LAFFONT—SYGMA



DAVID BURNETT—GAMMA



*Faces of farewell:
Nixon's final speech
as President*



his predecessor by stating his belief that "truth is the glue that holds Government together." Ford acknowledged that that bond was "stained," both at home and abroad, and described the internal wounds of Watergate as "more painful and more poisonous than those of foreign wars." At the same time, Ford urged that Americans pray for Nixon and his family. His voice broke and his eyes clouded as he said: "May our former President, who brought peace to millions, find it for himself."

As Ford concluded, there was an almost tangible lifting of spirits in the East Room and across the nation. From the Congress that had repudiated Richard Nixon, there was almost universal acclaim. "It will undoubtedly bring the country together," said Senate G.O.P. Leader Hugh Scott. "It was magnificent." Agreed Mike Mansfield: "It was superb. He hit all the right notes. It was authentic Jerry Ford."

A Call from General Haig

The week that was to elevate Ford to the presidency began rather routinely for him. Monday morning he addressed the Disabled American Veterans in New Orleans. As he flew back to Washington in his 1954 Convair turboprop, he received a call from White House Chief of Staff General Alexander Haig. For the first time, Ford learned that tapes soon to be delivered to Judge John J. Sirica contained statements by Nixon that directly implicated the President in the Watergate cover-up. At that moment, Gerald Ford must have become aware that his accession to the presidency had suddenly become nearly certain. Aboard the Convair, he drafted a statement to the effect that "the public interest is no longer

served" by his continuing to speak out on impeachment.

That evening, while having dinner with his family at their Alexandria, Va., home, Ford was notified that Nixon had called a Cabinet meeting for 10 a.m. Tuesday. But that morning Ford was able to attend a previously scheduled breakfast with eight young G.O.P. members of the House to discuss their concern about Nixon's economic policies. When the conversation briefly touched on the impeachment crisis, one Congressman reported, Ford gave the "distinct impression" that he was prepared to assume the presidency.

After the Cabinet meeting, Ford rushed to a luncheon meeting of the Senate Republican policy group. For the remainder of the day, as pressures for the President's resignation grew within the G.O.P., Ford carried on with his routine duties. He met with a group of Japanese legislators, then with officials of the National Association of Home Builders, and gave two long-scheduled interviews, one to Syndicated Society Columnist Betty Beale.

Ford's manner, however, had become anything but routine. Usually voluble with reporters, he refused to comment about Nixon's resignation or his political future.

On Wednesday, Ford again went through the motions of performing his vice-presidential duties, including a session with Navy Secretary J. William Middendorf and Admiral James Holloway. They presented him with a picture of the U.S.S. *Monterey*, on which he served during World War II. Interspersed with the routine were an urgent meeting and phone calls with Haig. Ford's staff members had been instructed to say nothing about the crisis, but some began to talk more openly about Nixon's resignation. "From any rational evaluation, it is bound to come," said a senior aide. Ford knew it too.

Ford: "Our Nightmare Is Over"

Excerpts from the President's inaugural address last Friday:

Mr. Chief Justice, my dear friends, my fellow Americans.

The oath that I have taken is the same oath that was taken by George Washington and by every President under the Constitution. But I assume the presidency under extraordinary circumstances, never before experienced by Americans. This is an hour of history that troubles our minds and hurts our hearts.

Therefore I feel it is my first duty to make an unprecedented compact with my countrymen. Not an inaugural address, not a fireside chat, not a campaign speech. Just a little straight talk among friends. And I intend it to be the first of many.

I am acutely aware that you have not elected me as your President by your ballots. So I ask you to confirm me as your President with your prayers. And I hope that such prayers will also be the first of many. If you have not chosen me by secret ballot, neither have I gained office by any secret promises. I have not campaigned either for the presidency or the vice presidency. I have not subscribed to any partisan platform. I am indebted to no man, and only to one woman—my dear wife—as I begin this very difficult job.

I have not sought this enormous responsibility, but I will not shirk it. Those

who nominated me and confirmed me as Vice President were my friends and are my friends. They were of both parties, elected by all the people, and acting under the Constitution in their name. It is only fitting then that I should pledge to them and to you that I will be the President of all the people. Even though this is late in an election year, there is no way we can go forward except together, and no way anybody can win except by serving the people's urgent needs. We cannot stand still or slip backwards. We must go forward, now, together.

To the peoples and the governments of all friendly nations, and I hope that could encompass the whole world, I pledge an uninterrupted and sincere search for peace. America will remain strong and united, but its strength will remain dedicated to the safety and sanity of the entire family of man, as well as to our own precious freedom.

I believe that truth is the glue that holds government together, not only our Government but civilization itself. That bond, though stained, is unbroken at home and abroad.

In all my public and private acts as your President, I expect to follow my instincts of openness and candor with full confidence that honesty is always the best policy in the end.

My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over.

Our Constitution works; our great

Republic is a Government of laws and not of men. Here the people rule. But there is a higher power, by whatever name we honor Him, who ordains not only righteousness but love, not only justice but mercy.

As we bind up the internal wounds of Watergate, more painful and more poisonous than those of foreign wars, let us restore the golden rule to our political process, and let brotherly love purge our hearts of suspicion and of hate.

In the beginning I asked you to pray for me. Before closing I again ask your prayers for Richard Nixon and for his family. May our former President, who brought peace to millions, find it for himself. May God bless and comfort his wonderful wife and daughters whose love and loyalty will forever be a shining legacy to all who bear the lonely burdens of the White House.

I can only guess at those burdens, although I have witnessed at close hand the tragedies that befell three Presidents and the lesser trials of others.

With all the strength and all the good sense I have gained from life, with all the confidence of my family, my friends and my dedicated staff impart to me, and with the good will of countless Americans I have encountered in recent visits to 40 states, I now solemnly reaffirm my promise I made to you last Dec. 6: to uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best I can for America.

God helping me, I will not let you down.

THE NATION

That evening, he stood in his backyard looking at his swimming pool. "I really hate to leave this pool," he said wistfully.

Thursday morning, Ford crossed Pennsylvania Avenue to Blair House, where he presented Medals of Honor to families of seven soldiers who had been killed in Viet Nam. By now, Washington was swept by rumors of Nixon's imminent resignation. Cheering and applauding crowds assembled to catch glimpses of Ford. Then, shortly after 11, Ford was summoned to the Oval Office, where Nixon told him of his decision to resign. Immediately after that meeting, Ford called Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. "I would like to talk to you some time this afternoon," he said. "I want to talk to you about staying on. So think about that." Kissinger reassured the Vice President: "There will be no problem."

In their two-hour meeting that afternoon, Ford was characteristically simple and direct. "I need you," he told Kissinger, stressing that they had known each other for years* and that they could probably get along without any trouble. Said Kissinger: "It is my job to get along with you and not your job to get along with me." The two made plans for messages to go out to all nations, assuring them of the continuity in U.S. foreign policy.

That night, after watching Nixon's resignation speech on television with his family at home, Ford stepped outside into a slight drizzle to speak to reporters and about 100 cheering neighbors. "This is one of the most difficult and very saddest periods, and one of the saddest incidents I've ever witnessed," he said. It was obvious to all that he meant it. "Let me say that I think that the President of the United States has made one of the greatest personal sacrifices for the country and one of the finest personal decisions on behalf of all of us as Americans by his decision to resign." Ford announced that Kissinger, whom he called "a very great man," had agreed to stay on as Secretary of State. "I pledge to you tonight," Ford concluded, "as I will pledge tomorrow and in the future, my best efforts in cooperation, leadership and dedication to what is good for America and good for the world."

Friday morning, while his staff feverishly completed preparations for the swearing-in ceremonies, Ford had another meeting with Kissinger. He then recorded a message that he had been scheduled to deliver at a housing project in Los Angeles on Friday. After Nixon's emotional farewell to his staff, Jerry and Betty Ford walked with the departing President and First Lady to the helicopter on the south lawn of the White House. Obviously saddened, the Fords bade their farewells. After the helicopter departed, they walked together into the White House that was suddenly theirs.†

Following his Inaugural Address, Ford met briefly with

*They first met 15 years ago, when Kissinger asked Ford to talk to one of his Harvard seminars.

†The Fords will move into the White House sometime this week.

congressional leaders, set the time for his address to a joint session of Congress this Monday, and returned to the White House reception to accept congratulations from his guests. Later, appearing in the White House press briefing room to introduce his new press secretary, J.F. terHorst, Ford noted that during the Nixon Administration the room had been built over the old White House swimming pool. He jokingly suggested that he might take steps to remedy that mistake. "You know my great interest in aquatic activities," he said. But, more seriously: "We will have, I trust, the kind of rapport and friendship we've had in the past."

Ford held successive meetings in the White House with his economic advisers (declaring that his No. 1 priority was to fight inflation), with Kissinger and members of the ambassadorial corps, and with a group of close advisers whom he appointed to handle the transition between Administrations (see story page 34). Because the Nixons had not had time to move their belongings out of the White House, Ford spent his first night as President at his Alexandria home, where a small group of old friends had gathered to celebrate.

The President in Pajamas

Next morning, early-bird celebrity-watchers were accorded an unusual sight: the President of the United States, clad only in a pair of baby blue summer pajamas, opening his door to look for his copy of the *Washington Post* (it arrived late and was passed into the Ford home by a Secret Service man). Seemingly unchanged by the week's events, he chatted with neighbors and reporters, and signed autographs. When would he move into the White House? "I didn't ask yesterday," he replied. "I felt it would not be very appropriate."

At 10 a.m. he presided over his first Cabinet meeting, and asked all the members to stay on and help in the transition from a Nixon to a Ford Administration. "I think we have a fine team here," he said. "I am looking forward to working with each and every one of you." Ford had just one directive: he wanted Cabinet members to adopt "affirmative" action in their press relations. Openness with the press, he said, was an effective way of demonstrating the drawing together of the country. Kissinger, speaking for the Cabinet, pledged "unflagging support and total loyalty to you."

It was a remarkable beginning—the beginning, perhaps, of a new style for the presidency. And it seemed to give prophetic meaning to the story that terHorst was writing for the *Detroit News* when he was asked to become press secretary. "Mr. Ford will not usher in a new era of Camelot or the big ranch scene," terHorst wrote. "Few will probably acclaim Mr. Ford as the brightest intellect ever to sit behind a desk in the Oval Office. But it may be possible that some will acclaim him as one of the most decent, the most honest and the most candid Chief Executives of recent memory."

AFTER THE INAUGURAL, THE FORDS CELEBRATE WITH NEIGHBORS IN THEIR ALEXANDRIA HOME

DAVID KENNERLY



THE RESIGNATION

EXIT NIXON

Amidst a riotous swirl of banners and balloons in Miami's cavernous Convention Hall, Richard Nixon strode to the microphones on Aug. 8, 1968, and, confidant of victory in November, accepted the Republican nomination for President. It was the culmination, he said, of "an impossible dream" he had had all his life. Four years later, Nixon was re-nominated for what looked like—and proved to be—a push-over of a campaign for a second term. On yet another Aug. 8, last week, Nixon announced his resignation, midway through his term, ruined by his own deeds. The impossible dream had been transformed into a nightmare and his fall from power was almost poetic in its stark, measured recession.

The decision to resign had probably been reached on Tuesday, Aug. 6, and firmed up on Wednesday. During his undecided hours he appeared gray and wretched. Once the decision was made, as has happened before when he finally resolved a crisis, Nixon seemed a different man. He seemed almost "serene," one aide said.

Nixon rose early Thursday, going by himself to the Lincoln Sitting Room to ponder and plan his day. He met later with his chief of staff, General Alexander Haig, and at 11 a.m. he called in his successor, Gerald Ford, for a private talk that lasted an hour and ten minutes. "The President asked the Vice President to come over this morning for a private meeting," Deputy Press Secretary Gerald Warren announced to newsmen shortly before the two sat down together. "And that is all the information I have at this moment." It was information enough, however, to alert reporters that resignation, expected since Monday's devastating admission of obstructing justice, was imminent.

If further confirmation were needed, it was visible a little later on the haggard, emotion-wracked face of the usually deadpan Ron Ziegler, who, with Haig, was Nixon's closest adviser in the dying days of his Administration. "Tonight at 9 o'clock, Eastern Daylight Time," Ziegler said, struggling to hold back tears, "the President of the U.S. will address the nation on radio and television from his Oval Office."

No Precedents

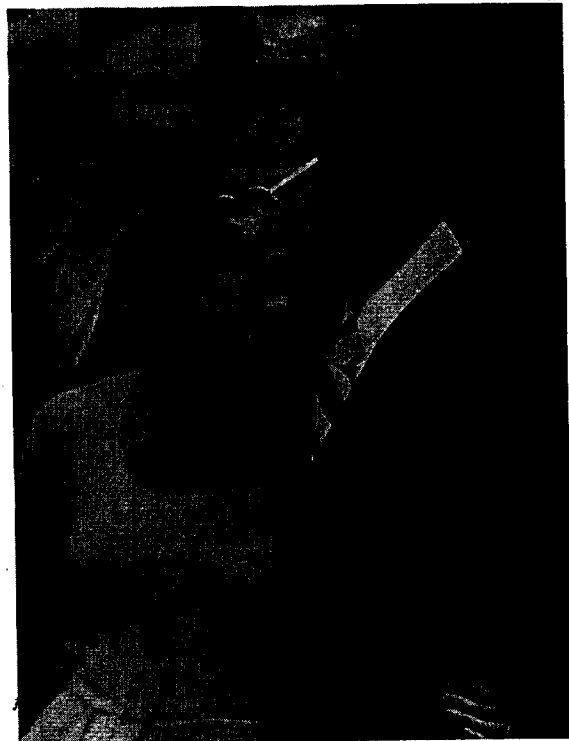
Without a glance at the 150 reporters who jammed the White House briefing room, Ziegler turned on his heel and walked out. Nixon himself sat down in the Executive Office Building and, working from a draft prepared by Speechwriter Ray Price, he composed his final nationwide address, which would be the 37th speech from the White House by the 37th President.

Even as he wrote, he was frequently interrupted by the more prosaic functions of his office as the federal bureaucracy continued to move ahead with its own ponderous momentum. A \$13.6 billion agricultural and environmental bill was vetoed as inflationary; legislation was signed providing cost-of-living Social Security increases; three people were nominated to be federal judges; and a new member was named to the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission.

Nixon dined early with his family, who until the night before had steadfastly opposed his quitting; now there was a feeling of glum acceptance that could really not be relieved by attempts at cheerfulness. At 7:30 p.m. Nixon left the White House for a meeting with five congressional leaders in the Executive Office Building next door. For perhaps the first time in his presidency, he asked his Secret Service men not to follow him on this the last night he would occupy the historic house and its grounds. The Secret Service men complied, but to ensure his protection nonetheless, they locked all doors to

the White House for 23 minutes, leaving some 100 reporters and 200 staff members temporarily incarcerated inside, wondering what was going on.

At his meeting with congressional leaders, Nixon announced what all of them already knew—that he was resigning. "I'm sure none of you will be surprised at what I'm going to say tonight," he told them. "We can't put the country through this [impeachment]. If I had my way, I'd fight it through to the end. [But] there's much higher considerations than that." He then told them of his plans to leave for Cal-



JULIE & DAVID EISENHOWER WATCHING NIXON'S DEPARTURE

ifornia the next day and remarked, "I don't know when I'll come back to Washington—if ever." After that he seemed at a loss for words and wondered aloud if his suit fit properly for the TV address. "It looks like I've lost weight," he complained. Finally, deciding that the suit did in fact fit properly, he made his farewells: "I'll say goodbye to you, my good and dear friends." The congressional leaders could only say, in their turn, that they were sorry. "It was kind of pitiful," one of them said afterward.

Thirty minutes later, Nixon walked slowly back to the White House for a meeting in the Cabinet Room with 46 members of Congress whom he considered his friends—among them Senators Barry Goldwater and John Stennis and Representatives George Mahon (Texas), Les Arends (Illinois) and Joe Waggoner (Louisiana). There were tears on both sides, and as he looked across the polished Cabinet table, Nixon said: "Well, this is the last meeting that I'll share in this Cabinet Room . . . I just hope you don't feel that I let you down."

THE NATION

No one told him that he had, and as his eyes welled with tears, he disappeared through a side door.

His usual cool restraint had returned when he faced the television cameras half an hour later in the Oval Office. At Nixon's request, the crew of technicians was kept to a bare minimum; no aides, friends or family members were in the room to share his disgrace. There were no precedents at all in American history—and no exact precedents in world history, the resignation of West Germany's Chancellor Willy Brandt being perhaps the closest recent parallel—for the sort

of speech that Nixon, a head of state departing under a cloud, was about to make.

The 16-minute speech (see box) was delivered with remarkable restraint, given the circumstances, and without a trace of demagoguery or self-pity. There were no attacks on his old enemies, no visible bitterness. There was also no concession of anything more serious than "mistakes" in his handling of Watergate, and no hint of remorse except one line regretting "any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision." His statement that he

The President's Resignation Speech

This is the 37th time I have spoken to you from this office in which so many decisions have been made that shape the history of this nation . . . And all the decisions I have made in my public life I have always tried to do what was best for the nation. Throughout the long and difficult period of Watergate, I have felt it was my duty to persevere, to make every possible effort to complete the term of office to which you elected me. In the past few days, however, it has become evident to me that I no longer have a strong enough political base in the Congress to justify continuing that effort.

As long as there was such a base, I felt strongly that it was necessary to see the constitutional process through to its conclusion, that to do otherwise would be unfaithful to the spirit of that deliberately difficult process and a dangerously destabilizing precedent for the future. But with the disappearance of that base, I now believe that the constitutional purpose has been served, and there is no longer a need for the process to be prolonged.

I would have preferred to carry through to the finish, whatever the personal agony it would have involved, and my family unanimously urged me to do so . . . I have never been a quitter.

To leave office before my term is completed is opposed to every instinct in my body. But as President I must put the interests of America first. America needs a full-time President and a full-time Congress, particularly at this time with problems we face at home and abroad. To continue to fight through the months ahead for my personal vindication would almost totally absorb the time and attention of both the President and the Congress in a period when our entire focus should be on the great issues of peace abroad and prosperity without inflation at home. Therefore, I shall resign the presidency effective at noon tomorrow . . .

In turning over direction of the Government to Vice President Ford, I know, as I told the nation when I nominated him for that office ten months ago, that

the leadership of America will be in good hands. In passing this office to the Vice President I also do so with the profound sense of the weight of responsibility that will fall on his shoulders tomorrow . . . As he assumes that responsibility, he will deserve the help and the support of all of us. As we look to the future, the first essential is to begin healing the wounds of this nation, to put the bitterness and divisions of the recent past behind us and to rediscover those shared ideals that lie at the heart of our strength and unity as a great and as a free people. By taking this action I hope that I will have hastened the start of that

CBS-TV NEWS



ANNOUNCING THAT HE WAS QUITTING

process of healing, which is so desperately needed in America.

I regret deeply any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision. I would say only that if some of my judgments were wrong—and some were wrong—they were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interests of the nation. To those who have stood with me . . . I will be eternally grateful for your support. And to those who have not felt able to give me your support, let me say I leave with no bitterness toward those who have opposed me, because all of us in the final analysis have been concerned with the good of the country however our judgments might differ. So let us all now join together in affirming that

common commitment and in helping our new President succeed . . .

These years have been a momentous time in the history of our nation and the world . . . We have ended America's longest war . . . We have unlocked the doors that for a quarter of a century stood between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China . . . In the Middle East, 100 million people . . . many of whom have considered us their enemies for nearly 20 years, now look on us as their friends . . . We have made the crucial breakthroughs that have begun the process of limiting nuclear arms . . .

For more than a quarter of a century in public life I have . . . fought for what I believe in. I have tried, to the best of my ability, to discharge those duties and meet those responsibilities that were entrusted to me. Sometimes I

have succeeded. And sometimes I have failed. But always I have taken heart from what Theodore Roosevelt said about the man in the arena whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who strives valiantly, who errs and comes short again and again because there is no effort without error and shortcoming, but who does actually strive to do the deed, who knows the great enthusiasm, the great devotion, who spends himself in a worthy cause, who at the best knows in the end the triumphs of high achievement and with the worst if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly. I pledge to you tonight that as long as I have a breath of life in my body I shall continue in that spirit . . .

When I first took the oath of office as President five and a half years ago, I made this sacred commitment: to consecrate my office, my energies and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations. I've done my very best in all the days since to be true to that pledge. As a result of these efforts, I am confident that the world is a safer place today, not only for the people of America but for the people of all nations, and that all of our children have a better chance than before of living in peace rather than dying in war. This, more than anything . . . is what I hope will be my legacy to you, to our country, as I leave the presidency . . .

was leaving because his "political base in the Congress" had eroded sounded as if he had been defeated in some policy issue under a parliamentary system, and the speech could have been a valedictory at the end of a long and generally successful term of office.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was the first to come into the room after the speech, shaking hands with his boss and accompanying him along the West Wing Colonnade to the living quarters. Nixon then rejoined his family, who had been watching the address on television. Across the street in Lafayette park, a group of youths had been loudly chanting "Jail to the Chief." Julie Nixon Eisenhower, her husband David and Pat Nixon appeared at the window, one after the other, apparently to see what was going on. When they realized that they were being watched from below by reporters, the shades were abruptly drawn. The family had ignored all messages and phone calls, even from close friends, during most of the week, and once again they were isolated in their special grief.

If Nixon's resignation speech was dignified, it was also almost complacent and inadequate as his final official address to the people who had called him their President for 5½ years. His extemporaneous farewell to the members of his own Administration Friday morning, however, was merely awkward and embarrassing, a stream-of-consciousness outpouring of self-pity and self-torment (for excerpts from this extraordinary talk, see box page 68). Gone was the dry-eyed restraint of the night before; in its place was a tearful emotionalism.

Good Plumbers

For 19 rambling minutes Nixon talked of his mother, "a saint," and his "old man," who had never amounted to much in the eyes of the world, but who was a great person nonetheless. No job is too humble, Nixon said, and the world needs good farmers, good businessmen, good plumbers, good carpenters. There was an uneasy stir in the room when he mentioned plumbers—the word for the intelligence team assigned to plug information leaks and handle illegal operations like the Watergate break-in—but Nixon seemed not to notice.

As he had the night before, he quoted Teddy Roosevelt, whose famous bulldog courage seemed to be much on his mind in his last hours, describing how the young T.R. thought his life was over after the death of his first wife. Instead, Nixon pointed out, it was only beginning, because Roosevelt, despite his sorrow, was too much of a man to quit. "The greatness comes not when things go always good for you," Nixon said pointedly, "but the greatness comes when you're really tested, when you take some knocks and some disappointments, when sadness comes." Like much else in the speech, the point of his analogy was not clear when he first made it and in the end was not really appropriate, as none other than Alice Roosevelt Longworth, T.R.'s daughter, quickly noted. Her father, she said, had been a young man when his beloved Alice died, with his work ahead of him; Nixon, 61, has his own work behind him.

He emphatically claimed that "no man or no woman [in this Administration] ever profited at the public expense or the public till." A good many questions may still be asked on this score—on that very day, John Connally, his former Secretary of the Treasury, was arraigned in Washington's federal court on charges of bribery and other crimes—but in any

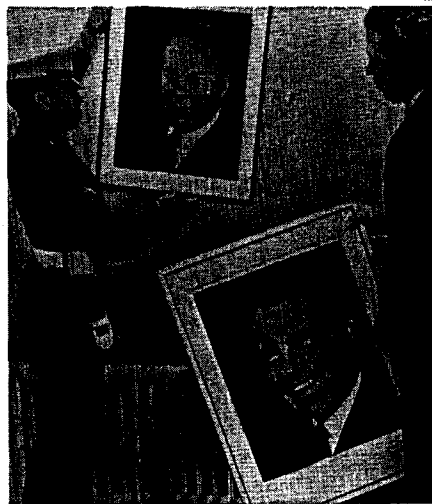
case it was largely beside the point. It has long been obvious that the real and profound corruption of the Nixon Administration consisted of the abuse of power and the violation of the Constitution rather than mere greed.

His face perspiring, his eyes red-rimmed, Nixon scarcely looked at his audience most of the time, his eyes focused down and to the side. In one stunningly incongruous and belated insight, considering that it came from a man who was brought down by his own congenial suspicion and mistrust, Nixon told his colleagues: "Always remember others may hate you. But those who hate you don't win unless you hate them—and then you destroy yourself."

Nixon immediately walked with his family through the applause in the East Room, out to the south lawn and into Army One, the olive-drab helicopter that the Army provides the President, which was waiting to ferry them to Andrews Air Force Base. There Air Force One, the silver-and-blue 707 that had taken him to his triumphant tours of China and the Soviet Union, was in turn waiting for the 4-hr. 44-min. flight to California. Betty and Gerald Ford walked with the Nixons down the red carpet that had been laid from the Executive Mansion out to the lawn, and the couples exchanged kisses and handshakes at the helicopter door; Nixon touched Ford's elbow, as if in final encouragement. Though Ford was not to take the oath of office for another two hours, the famous black box, the repository for the nation's military codes—an ugly talisman that signifies the transfer of power in the nuclear age—was left behind with a military aide. It was the first time it had been away from Nixon since Jan. 20, 1969, the day he had taken charge of it from Lyndon Johnson.

Air Force One was 13 miles southwest of Jefferson City, Mo.—Middle America by geographical as well as political definition—when Richard Nixon became an ex-President and a private citizen. It was the 2,027th day of his presidency—896 days short of a full two terms. Tricia Nixon Cox and her husband Edward listened to President Ford's first speech on a radio in the plane, but Nixon and Pat did not leave their separate compartments to hear it.

At El Toro Marine Base in California, a crowd of 5,000 was waiting, and Nixon's first words were "We're home!" He promised to work for peace, the legacy for which he wants to be remembered, and "for opportunity and understanding among the people here in America." Then, climbing into another waiting helicopter, Nixon sped with his family the 40 miles to San Clemente and Casa Pacifica. There, shielded from public view by the Bougainvillea shrubs and a cement wall that had been installed for him, Richard Nixon began his exile.



CHANGING EMBASSY PORTRAITS IN BONN

WHITE HOUSE SECRETARY PACKING TO LEAVE



BRACK—BLACK STAR



WHITE HOUSE STAFF WAVES FAREWELL TO THE NIXONS AS THEIR HELICOPTER LIFTS OFF ON FIRST LEG OF HOMEWARD TRIP TO CALIFORNIA

BURNETT—GAMMA

THE LAST WEEK

THE UNMAKING OF THE PRESIDENT

When the nation's worst political scandal finally rendered the presidency of Richard Nixon inoperative, it did so with savage swiftness. Hopelessly entrapped in the two-year tangle of his own deceit, forced into a confession of past lies, he watched the support of his most loyal defenders collapse in a political maelstrom, driven by their bitterness over the realization that he had betrayed their trust. Yet, as throughout his self-inflicted Watergate ordeal, Nixon remained unwilling to admit, perhaps even to himself, the weight of his transgressions against truth and the Constitution. He was among the last to appreciate the futility of his lonely struggle to escape removal from office.

Fittingly, the prelude to collapse began on July 24, when three "strict constructionist" Supreme Court Justices appointed by Nixon searchingly scoured the Constitution and joined in a unanimous finding that it contained no legal basis for his withholding 64 White House tape recordings from Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski. The President on May 6 and 7 had listened to some of those tapes and abandoned a proposed compromise under which he would turn twelve of them over to Jaworski. He did not tell his chief Watergate lawyer James St. Clair that those tapes would destroy his professions of innocence in the cover-up conspiracy. In-

stead, Nixon allowed St. Clair to carry a claim of absolute Executive privilege to the Supreme Court and to argue before the House Judiciary Committee that the President was unaware of that cover-up until informed of it on March 21, 1973, by John Dean.

An Inquisitive Federal Judge

Incredibly, St. Clair had taken on the job of defending the President without any assurance that he would have access to all of the evidence.* But just two days after the Supreme Court decision, St. Clair was jolted into a full awareness of his responsibilities by Federal Judge John J. Sirica, whose judicial inquisitiveness has played a pivotal role in unraveling the Watergate deceptions. "Have you personally listened to the tapes?" Sirica asked St. Clair in court, well aware from news reports that St. Clair had not. "You mean to say the President wouldn't approve of your listening to the tapes? You mean to say you could argue this case without knowing all the background of these matters?" Visibly flustered for the first time in his presidential-defense role, St. Clair promised to

*Robert Bork, U.S. Solicitor General, had turned down an offer to become Nixon's chief defense lawyer precisely because he was not assured such access.

analyze each tape submitted to the court.

That promise set the trap. Nixon insisted upon listening to each tape once more before transmitting it to the court. Even if he had wanted to, there was no way he could now alter the evidence. The erase mechanism on the President's Sony recorder had been disconnected by the Secret Service. Even more important, Nixon Aide Stephen Bull delivered duplicate tapes rather than the originals to the President. After Nixon listened to the tapes, trusted secretaries prepared verbatim transcripts, and, in accordance with Sirica's wishes, copies went to St. Clair.

For the President's lawyer, the awful moment of truth came on Wednesday, July 31. On that day, he received and read the transcripts of three conversations held on June 23, 1972, between Nixon and his top aide, Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman. Instantly, the stunned St. Clair knew that the contents were devastating to Nixon's defense. The transcripts showed that just six days after the Watergate wiretap-burglary, Nixon was fully aware that Re-Election Campaign Director John Mitchell and two former White House consultants, E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy, had been involved—even though Hunt and Liddy had not then been arrested (see box page 18). He was told by Haldeman that "the FBI is not under control," and that agents were tracing money found on the burglars to Nixon's re-election committee.

Nixon immediately proposed cover-up actions. His first suggestion to Haldeman, according to the transcripts, was

Trying to Ensure an Epitaph

Some day history may rank them as special heroes, emerging out of a shadowy world of anguish that now we can only begin to comprehend. Alexander Haig, the President's chief of staff, who, with deep care and sensitivity, midwived the political death of Richard Nixon. James St. Clair, reviled by many when he went before the Supreme Court and the Congress, who finally recognized there was no defense of the President and told him so. Henry Kissinger, who came into Nixon's orbit of power as the lone outsider, but who in the end was comforter, friend and the man to whom Nixon entrusted his one hope—to be remembered as a man of peace.

Perhaps no story like this has ever been written. Kings have gone. Dictators have been forced out. But there has never been a man of such power, a man of such renown, a man elected by 47 million people, who gave it all away.

It was Wednesday, July 31, when Haig learned of the evidence that would end Nixon's career. He hurried through the humid streets of Washington to Kissinger's State Department office. He told Kissinger what had been found. It was a curious time for these two old friends who had been through so much together. It was a time of relief, surely. They had talked many times before, and vaguely in the distance they had seen the end approaching, even without the new tapes. Now it was real, and rushing in on them.

They had no choice. Their loyalty, and the loyalty of the others who stood around Nixon, had to be lifted beyond that one personality. It had to be fixed on the office of the President, on the United States of America. Nixon somehow had to be shepherded through the ordeal so that he understood and would not ravage himself even more in futile resistance.

Kissinger kept in touch with James Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense, and William Simon, Secretary of the Treasury, the two other most powerful and visible Cabinet members. Their understanding was that the Cabinet must be calmed, must be kept in touch with reality. A careless speech or comment on fighting it out might falsely mislead Nixon about the inevitability of resignation, might freeze him into a position that would grow even more tragic. In Haig's frantic orchestration were the Republican Congressmen and the Republican Senators, men whose voices would mean something in bringing the light to Nixon.

Haig, St. Clair and their few allies walked on eggs through the last weekend at Camp David, responding instead of telling, implying more than explaining. With his family gathered around him, all of whom wanted to fight it out, Nixon still did not believe that beyond the White House cocoon the world had turned so hard against him.

On his yacht, cruising the Potomac Monday night, he was the tough field marshal, devising some grand strategy that would roll it all back in one brilliant stroke so that he could stand vindicated in some distant place and time. He put it bluntly the next day at the Cabinet meeting. He would not resign. There were no protests. But for the first time there were no spontaneous expressions of joy about fighting the good battle. The absence of cheers for his defiance may have helped make things come more clearly into focus for Richard Nixon.

He asked Kissinger to see him after the Cabinet meeting. History will tell the story some day. We can only assume it was then that the man who had carried the faltering Nixon credibility so far by his own genius and honor said, face to face, that he felt that for everybody's good, Nixon should resign.

Then the legacy of peace suddenly became uppermost in Nixon's mind, and in the minds of all these men. Haig, Kissinger and the others wanted to save that much for Nixon. If there was to be an epitaph, Nixon wanted it thus. Kissinger emerged to tell the world that American foreign policy stood

unchanged. It would go on, just as America was going on.

On Tuesday evening Nixon was coming to grips with hard reality. He called Kissinger five times on the phone. He talked about his position: what would happen in the world, the country, if he stayed, if he went. He was a man reaching for any support, yet knowing there was none, or at least beginning to perceive it. He was a man trying to fashion something graceful from the terrible debris that, as in a Greek tragedy, he had created.

Some place there must be a log of the number of times Nixon met with Haig and Kissinger, but they could not keep track. By Wednesday night Nixon's mind was fixed. He would go. He told his family.

Kissinger was asked to the mansion late Wednesday after the President had had his dinner. Nixon wanted to talk one last time as President, one last time as they used to talk when they so joyfully contemplated the world and saw their great plans succeeding.

Nixon told Kissinger that he would resign the next day. Nixon talked on; he talked about many things. He talked about his family and about his Quakerism, and about peace and how deeply he believed in it. He talked about prayer and some will beyond his. He wanted to know if he would be remembered for bringing world peace in his years as President. Henry Kissinger told him that he would be.

There are few historic moments that could exceed this in intensity and pain and sorrow. The most powerful man in the world was giving up his power, which he had devoted his life to achieving. The man in whom he had placed the most trust in the use of that power was listening, and somehow trying to make it right or at best bearable.

What thoughts must go through those minds? Again, we can only begin to imagine. But surely Kissinger sensed the irony of it all. Richard Nixon, the immensely complex figure in front of him, had done all the things that eventually brought him down out of his general aspirations for good. If Nixon had only hated totally, it might have been easier. But he was not that simple. He craved the adoration of the press and the Eastern liberals even as he assaulted them. He coveted the public trust as he withdrew from people. He espoused the ideals of a democratic society even as he violated them.

It was after midnight when they parted. Kissinger went back to his office in the West Wing of the White House. The phone rang. Nixon wanted to talk some more, a kind of last, thin reach for a life that was ebbing. Then, some time between midnight and 1 a.m. as far as anyone knows, Richard Nixon cut himself off from the outside world and returned to his family to wait for the daylight.

NIXON MEETING WITH KISSINGER



THE NATION

that each campaign contributor whose check was traced to the burglary by the FBI should claim that the burglars had approached him independently for the money. Haldeman objected that this would involve "relying on more and more people all the time." Haldeman relayed a suggestion from Mitchell and Dean that the CIA should be asked to tell the FBI to "stay to hell out of this" because the FBI probe would expose unnamed—and actually nonexistent—secret CIA operations. Asked Haldeman about the FBI, "You seem to think the thing to do is get them to stop?" Replied Nixon: "Right, fine." Added Nixon later: "All right, fine, I understand it all. We won't second-guess Mitchell and the rest."

With those words, Nixon authorized the cover-up, a criminal obstruction of justice that was eventually to destroy his

with Nixon that day, indicating a prior discussion. One such occasion almost certainly was on June 20, the day on which the two held an 18½-minute Watergate discussion—the tape of which was later manually erased by someone with access to the White House-held recordings.

Reading the transcripts, St. Clair had no doubt about what should be done: they must be released promptly and publicly. He knew that once Jaworski got them under the Supreme Court order, they would eventually become public, if only at the cover-up conspiracy trial of six Nixon aides. He knew that the Senate could acquire them for its probable trial of the President, and he feared that their contents might leak out earlier. Release in any of those forms would look involuntary. That would not only destroy Nixon but it could ruin St. Clair

would have to resign from the Nixon defense if his advice was not taken. Fatalistically, Nixon finally concurred. "What's done is done," he said. "Let it go."

Just how to explain the transcripts publicly was a dilemma. Before the details were worked out, Nixon could conceivably change his mind. In a move that seemed designed to block any such possibility and to assess Congressional reaction, Haig and St. Clair on Friday, Aug. 2, asked the President's ablest defender on the House Judiciary Committee, California's Charles Wiggins, to come to the White House. He had never been in Haig's office before.

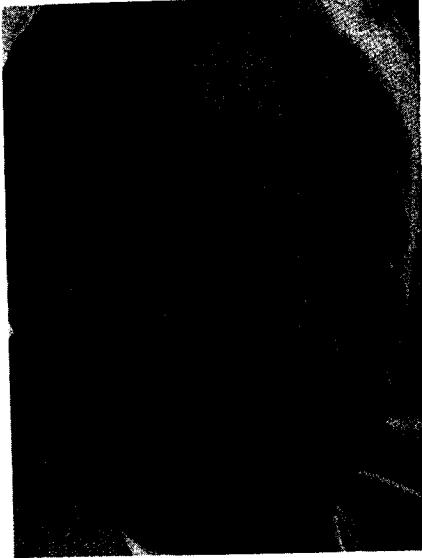
Only Two Options for Nixon

Haig, St. Clair and Wiggins gathered round the coffee table in Haig's office. Haig thanked Wiggins for his efforts on Nixon's behalf during the televised impeachment deliberations of the Judiciary Committee. Wiggins was preparing to carry that fight to the floor of the House and had already scheduled briefings on the evidence for Republican Congressmen whom he hoped to persuade to join the battle to save Nixon. Then St. Clair handed Wiggins the June 23 transcripts. Wiggins read them. "The significance was immediately apparent," he explained later. Wiggins reread the documents, looked up, and asked St. Clair what he intended to do with the adverse information. Before St. Clair could answer, the alarmed Wiggins gave his own advice: "The President really has only two options: 1) claim the Fifth Amendment and not disclose, or 2) disclose."

St. Clair assured Wiggins that Nixon had agreed to give the transcripts to the Judiciary Committee. Wiggins asked how long St. Clair had known of this evidence. Only since the tapes had been transcribed for delivery to Judge Sirica 2 days before, St. Clair replied. "Haig said that was true for him too, and I believed them," Wiggins recalled. "St. Clair was very apologetic that the case had proceeded on an incomplete-fact basis."

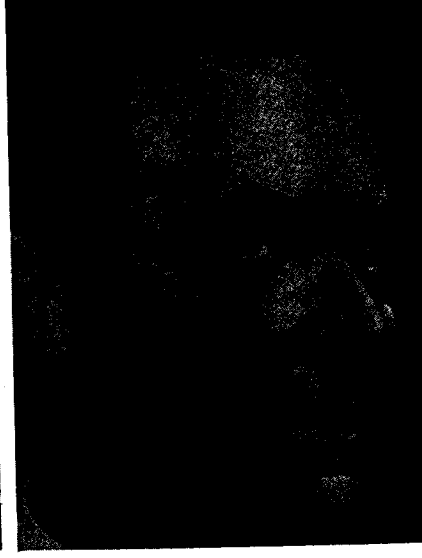
Heartsick, Wiggins studied the document for a third time. He told the Nixon aides that "the case in the House will be hopelessly lost because of this," and that "you have to face the prospect of conviction in the Senate as well." Moreover, he advised, "somebody has to raise with the President the question of his resigning. The country's interest, the Republican Party's interest and Richard Nixon's interest would be served by resignation." St. Clair and Haig acknowledged as much, but observed that it was very difficult for them to broach the subject to Nixon. Returning to Capitol Hill, Wiggins instructed an assistant to cancel his briefings for the Republican defenders of the President. The aide looked puzzled.

DAVID KENNERLY



PRESIDENTIAL LAWYER ST. CLAIR
The awesome import of the transcripts was immediately apparent.

UPI



WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF HAIG
The awesome import of the transcripts was immediately apparent.

presidency. The transcripts show that Nixon ordered Haldeman to call in CIA Director Richard Helms and Deputy CIA Director Vernon Walters and get them to tell Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray "to lay off" his investigation of the Watergate burglary money. Nixon suggested that Haldeman could claim that "the President believes" that such an investigation would "open the whole Bay of Pigs thing up again" (as a CIA agent, Hunt had helped organize the disastrous 1961 invasion of Cuba), and that the CIA officials "should call the FBI in" and tell Gray, "Don't go any further into this case, period!"

The June 23 conversations hinted, moreover, that Nixon had been concerned even earlier about the FBI investigation touching the White House. "We're back in the problem area," Haldeman said early in the first meeting

professionally, since he could be accused of having withheld evidence and argued falsely in Nixon's behalf.

The President's lawyer showed the transcript to White House Chief of Staff Alexander Haig, who also realized at once their awesome potential. At that point, both men knew that Nixon was finished. Their delicate problem was gently to persuade the President that he must resign. Haig, in turn, went immediately to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. He too saw no way out for Nixon and joined in the careful diplomatic exercise of convincing a proud Chief of State that he must step down.

With Haig's backing, St. Clair braced Nixon. Stressing the dire dangers, legal and political, in withholding the damaging information any longer, the lawyer urged its release. Implicit in St. Clair's appeal was the threat that he

Next day President Nixon helicoptered to Camp David, joined by his family and his friend Bebe Rebozo. Richard Nixon was there as the last week of his presidency began, and the events he had set in motion swept him through four fateful days of irresistible outside pressure, internal anguish and ultimate decision.

SUNDAY: INDECISION

Nixon secluded himself in Aspen Cabin, his favorite, rustic four-bedroom retreat, and summoned five aides: St. Clair, Haig, Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler and Speechwriters Raymond Price and Patrick Buchanan. Arriving in the afternoon, they worked on the release of the confessional transcripts. Assembled in Laurel, the camp's main dining lodge, the distraught aides were diverted by larger worries. St. Clair and Buchanan saw the President's position as doomed and suggested that he must consider resigning. Haig and Ziegler shuttled between the two buildings, expressing these concerns. "I wish you hadn't said that," Nixon told the pair when resignation was proposed.

Although giving it some consideration, Nixon stiffly resisted that choice. "He kept mentioning the importance of not short-circuiting the constitutional process and of avoiding the setting of a dangerous precedent," said one Nixon aide. Nixon proposed that he take his case once more to the people in a last-ditch television appeal, thought about it, then rejected his own idea. As so often in the Watergate saga, his perception was poor, almost disconnected from reality: he was not at all certain that the effect of the newest tape disclosure would be that fatal. He ordered his aides to draft a statement to accompany the release of the transcripts. He would take his chances with the result. Price moved into an unoccupied cabin and began drafting the President's explanation. St. Clair insisted on a paragraph making it clear that he had been unaware of this damaging evidence. With the statement still unfinished, the aides returned to the capital.

Word of the unusual activity at Camp David had rapidly spread through Washington. Speculation grew that some major new Nixon move was imminent. Ominously, House Republican Leader John Rhodes postponed a press conference scheduled for Monday, at which he had been expected to say how he would vote on impeachment. He pleaded the discomfort of a sore throat, which was true. But at home in suburban Maryland, he had received a call from Haig. The chief of staff asked him to delay his news conference. Why? There was "new information," said Haig. "Can you tell me any more about it?" the Congressman inquired. "No," replied the general. "You will be briefed tomorrow about it. Believe me, you will

be happy if you don't go before the cameras tomorrow."

The Senate's second-ranking Republican, Michigan's Robert Griffin, announced that he had sent a letter to the President warning that he would vote for conviction if Nixon defied any subpoenas for tapes and documents issued by the Senate. Already, Nixon's congressional support appeared to be shaky and shrinking.

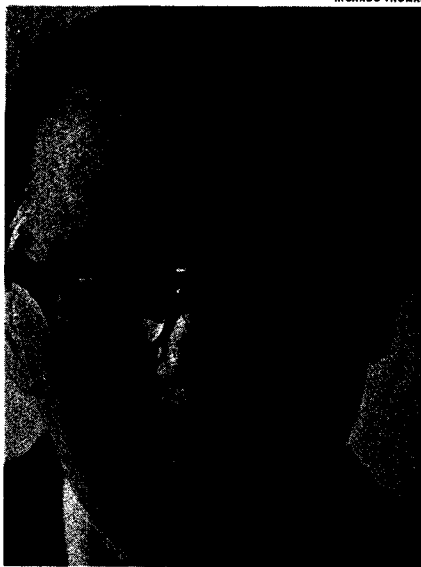
MONDAY: CONFESSION

Flying back to the capital from a weekend in Michigan, Senator Griffin worked on a statement that went beyond his previous warning. He too had learned that adverse evidence was about to be revealed. Stepping before television cameras outside the House Rules Committee room, he urged Nixon to re-

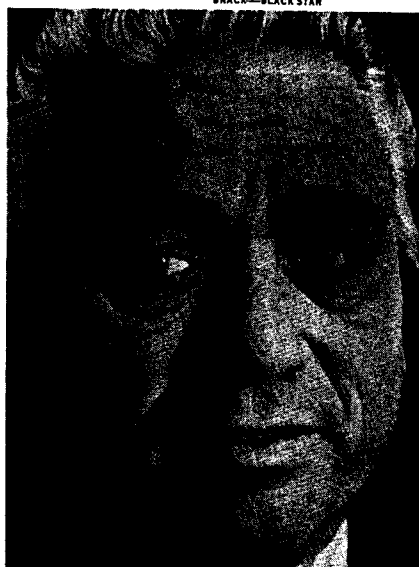
we must all keep going for the good of the nation. And I also hope you would do it for the President too." Haig was warmly applauded. Explained one staff member: "The applause was not for what he said. It was for Haig himself. Everybody knows he's been under the gun for a year."

A similar but more difficult notification chore was undertaken by Lawyer St. Clair. He headed for the Capitol in a black limousine to brief the men who had stuck their political necks out for the President in the House Judiciary Committee meetings: the ten Republicans who had opposed every article of impeachment. All but Mississippi's Trent Lott and Iowa's Wiley Wayne were able to attend the meeting in the office of Republican House Whip Leslie Arends.

"Gentlemen, I'm sorry to say it, but



REPUBLICAN SENATOR GRIFFIN
Not just enemies; his friends felt the same way.



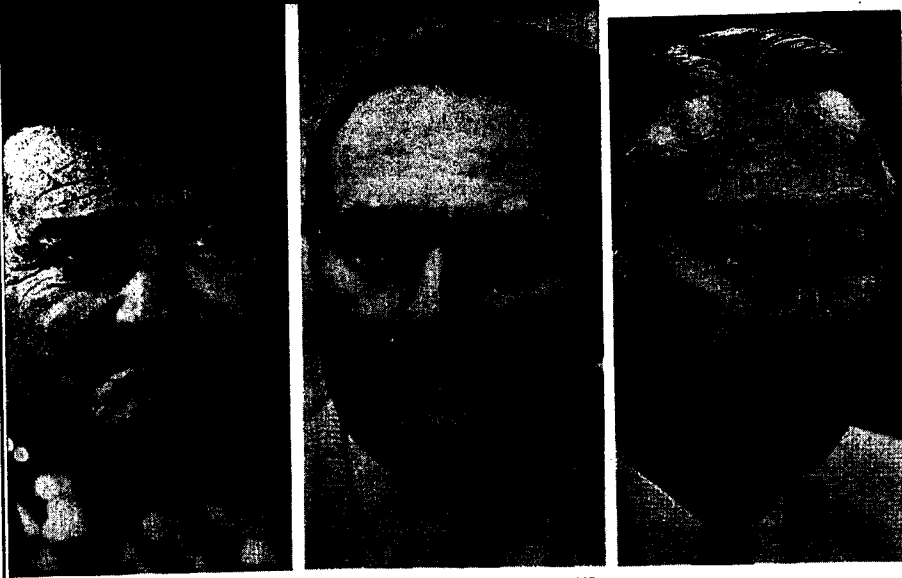
REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN WIGGINS

sign "in both the national interest and his own interest." Added Griffin in a quavering voice: "It's not just his enemies who feel that way. Many of his best friends—and I regard myself as one of those—believe now that this would be the most appropriate course." Griffin said later that he considered the suggestion to resign as the earnest advice of one friend to another.

At the White House, General Haig began telephoning Cabinet members to prepare them for the shock of the coming revelations. After informing the Cabinet, Haig asked some 150 members of the White House staff to assemble in a large conference room in the Executive Office Building. "I hate to be the harbinger of bad news," he said, before reading the President's incriminating statement. "You may feel depressed or outraged by this," he concluded, "but

I'm not the bearer of good tidings," St. Clair began. Then he explained the nature of the new evidence, which was soon to be described as more than the long-sought "smoking pistol" and actually, in the apt phrase of Columnist George F. Will, akin to a "smoking howitzer." St. Clair said flatly that he had been ready to resign if Nixon had opposed release of the material. "I have my professional reputation to think about," he explained, adding that any other action would have been to withhold evidence of a possible criminal conspiracy.

The Republicans' reaction was a mixture of anger and dismay. "We were just dumbfounded," said Ohio's Delbert Latta. "We'd put our trust in the President. We felt he was telling us the truth. I think every American has that right—to put his trust in the President. It was a terrible, let-down feeling." Indi-



REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN SANDMAN, LATTI & MAYNE
 "Devastating . . . dumbfounded . . . direct evidence."

ana's David Dennis said that he was "shocked and disappointed." He had planned to fight for Nixon on the House floor. "We'd have got some votes too. The President would have gone to the Senate not in all that bad shape." But now Dennis was convinced that Nixon's "lack of frankness" had undercut

his case and that he was impeachable under Article I as a member of the cover-up conspiracy. Angry at having been "led down the primrose path" by Nixon, Dennis said that he and his colleagues were not mad at St. Clair since, "we knew he'd been led down the primrose path too."

THE NATION

Within hours of the publication of the transcripts, all ten Republicans on the Judiciary Committee announced that they would vote for the impeachment of the President. On Article I, at least, that would make the committee unanimously in favor of sending Nixon to trial in the Senate. Barely controlling his emotions, Wiggins read a statement saying that the new facts were "legally sufficient in my opinion to sustain at least one count against the President of conspiracy to obstruct justice." It was time, he added, for "the President, the Vice President, the Chief Justice and the leaders of the House and Senate to gather in the White House to discuss the orderly transition of power from Richard Nixon to Gerald Ford."

Specificity Had Been Found

"Devastating—impeachable," rumbled New Jersey's Charles Sandman, who had been the President's most vocal champion on the committee; now he finally found the "specificity" he had declared lacking in the evidence. When he learned of the news, Iowa's mild-mannered Mayne declared that "the President has today admitted deceiving the American people, the Judiciary

"Stay to Hell Out of This"

The evidence that finally convinced Richard Nixon's lawyer, his intimate aides and his hard-core congressional supporters that he had been involved in the Watergate cover-up was contained in three transcripts that he released to the public last week, along with a statement that "portions of the tapes of these . . . conversations are at variance with certain of my previous statements." The extraordinarily revealing transcripts were of conversations that he had held with H.R. Haldeman, then White House chief of staff, on June 23, 1972, just six days after the Watergate break-in. The most incriminating portions of those talks:

FIRST MEETING (10:04-11:39 a.m.)
HALDEMAN: Now, on the investigation, you know the Democratic break-in thing, we're back in the problem area because the FBI is not under control, because [Acting FBI Director L. Patrick] Gray doesn't exactly know how to control it and they have—their investigation is now leading into some productive areas—because they've been able to trace the money—not through the money itself—but through the bank sources—the banker. And, and it goes in some directions we don't want it to go. . . [Nixon Campaign Chairman John N.] Mitchell came up with yesterday, and [then White House Counsel] John Dean analyzed very carefully last night and concludes, concurs now with Mitchell's rec-

ommendation that the only way to solve this, and we're set up beautifully to do it, ah, in that . . . That the way to handle this now is for us to have [Deputy CIA Director Vernon] Walters call Pat Gray and just say "Stay to hell out of this—this is, ah, business here we don't want you to go any further on it." That's not an unusual development, and ah, that would take care of it.

PRESIDENT: What about Pat Gray—you mean Pat Gray doesn't want to?

H: Pat does want to. He doesn't know how to, and he doesn't have, he doesn't have any basis for doing it. Given this, he will then have the basis. He'll call [then Deputy Associate FBI Director] Mark Felt in, and the two of them—and Mark Felt wants to cooperate because he's ambitious—

P: Yeah.

H: He'll call him in and say, "We've got the signal from across the river [the CIA] to put the hold on this." And that will fit rather well because the FBI agents who are working the case, at this point, feel that's what it is.

P: This is CIA? They've traced the money? Who'd they trace it to?

H: Well, they've traced it to a name, but they haven't gotten to the guy yet.

P: Would it be somebody here?

H: [Republicans' Midwestern Finance Chairman] Ken Dahlberg.

P: Who the hell is Ken Dahlberg?

H: He gave \$25,000 in Minnesota and,

ah, the check went directly to this guy [Watergate Burglar Bernard] Barker.

P: It isn't from the committee, though, from [Nixon Campaign Finance Director Maurice H.] Stans?

H: Yeah. It is. It's directly traceable and there's some more through some Texas people that went to the Mexican bank, which can also be traced to the Mexican bank—they'll get their names today.

P: Well, I mean, there's no way—I'm just thinking if they don't cooperate, what do they say? That they were approached by the Cubans [the Watergate burglars]. That's what Dahlberg has to say, the Texans too, that they—

H: Well, if they will. But then we're relying on more and more people all the time. That's the problem, and they'll stop if we could take this other route.

P: All right.

H: And you seem to think the thing to do is get them to stop?

P: Right, fine.

H: They say the only way to do that is from White House instructions. And it's got to be to [CIA Director Richard] Helms and to—ah, what's his name . . . ? Walters.

P: Walters.

H: And the proposal would be that [then Domestic Adviser John] Ehrlichman and I call them in, and say. ah—

P: All right, fine. How do you call him in—I mean you just—well, we protected Helms from one hell of a lot of things.

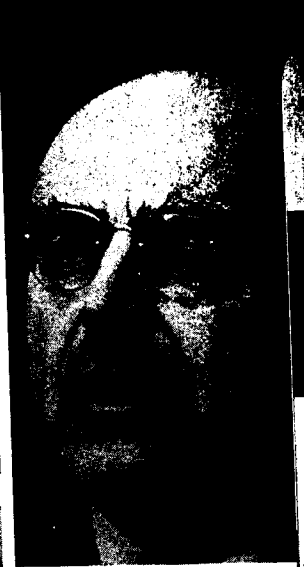
H: That's what Ehrlichman says.

P: Of course, this Hunt, that will un-

Committee and his own lawyer. This is direct evidence."

The burdened St. Clair pushed on to give the same shocking message to Senate leaders, assembled in Republican Leader Hugh Scott's office. "I have some very bad news," he repeated. After relating it, he added: "I was tempted to resign. I framed the issue that the President would either have to make this disclosure or he'd lose a lawyer." Perhaps wishfully, St. Clair insisted: "I think I can honorably continue to defend him. There are elements here on which I can continue to make a case." He could no longer argue that there was no evidence against the President, he seemed to say, but he could still claim that the President should not be convicted since the investigation had been only briefly delayed.

Then St. Clair revealed some of the same lack of political awareness that has marked the President's own flawed self-defense. "Before this," he told the Senate leaders, "we had the case won." "Where?" asked the incredulous Scott. "I mean as a lawyer," St. Clair replied. To a man, the Senate leaders—Scott, Griffin, Texas' John Tower, Utah's Wallace Bennett and New Hampshire's Norris Cotton—were stunned by the evidence of Nixon's deception. "We were



REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN EDWARD HUTCHINSON, TRENT LOTT & DAVID DENNIS
"Deceived . . . shocked and disappointed . . . led down the primrose path."

shaken," said one of them. "It's the worst thing we've had."

When the Nixon statement and the transcripts were finally released late in the afternoon in a mobbed White House pressroom, the words of the conversations were indeed damning. But the Nixon explanation glossed over the im-

port with patronizingly mild language. Nixon implied that he had forgotten all about those June 23 conversations with Haldeman until he had reviewed his tapes in May. Only then, he suggested, had he "recognized that these presented potential problems." But he did not tell his counsel or the Judiciary Committee

cover a lot of things. You open that scab, there's a hell of a lot of things, and we just feel that it would be very detrimental to have this thing go any further. This involves these Cubans, Hunt and a lot of hanky-panky that we have nothing to do with ourselves. Well, what the hell, did Mitchell know about this?

H: I think so. I don't think he knew the details, but I think he knew.

P: He didn't know how it was going to be handled, though—with Dahlberg and the Texans and so forth? Well, who was the asshole that did? Is it Liddy? Is that the fellow? He must be a little nuts.

H: He is.

P: I mean he just isn't well screwed on, is he? Is that the problem?

H: No, but he was under pressure, apparently, to get more information, and as he got more pressure, he pushed the people harder to move harder—

P: Pressure from Mitchell?

H: Apparently.

P: All right, fine, I understand it all. We won't second-guess Mitchell and the rest. Thank God it wasn't [Presidential Counsel Charles W.] Colson.

H: The FBI interviewed Colson yesterday. They determined that would be a good thing to do. To have him take an interrogation, which he did, and that—the FBI guys working the case concluded that there were one or two possibilities—one, that this is a White House—they don't think that there is anything at the election committee—they think it was either a White House operation and they had some obscure reasons for it—nonpo-

litical, or it was a—Cuban and the CIA. And after their interrogation of Colson yesterday, they concluded it was not the White House, but are now convinced it is a CIA thing, so the CIA turnover would—

P: Well, not sure of their analysis, I'm not going to get that involved. I'm (unintelligible).

H: No, sir, we don't want you to.

P: You call them in.

H: Good deal.

P: Play it tough. That's the way they play it, and that's the way we are going to play it.

H: O.K. . . .

P: When you get in . . . say, Look, the problem is that this will open the whole, the whole Bay of Pigs thing, and the President just feels that, ah, without going into the details—don't, don't lie to them to the extent to say no involvement, but just say this is a comedy of errors, without getting into it, the President believes that it is going to open the whole Bay of Pigs thing up again. And, ah, because these people are plugging for (unintelligible) and that they should call the FBI in and (unintelligible) don't go any further into this case period! . . . Well, can you get it done?

H: I think so.

SECOND MEETING (1:04-1:13 p.m.)

P: O.K. . . . just say (unintelligible) very bad to have this fellow Hunt, ah, he knows too damned much, if he was involved—you happen to know that? If it gets out that this is all involved, the Cuba thing, it would be a fiasco. It would make

the CIA look bad, it's going to make Hunt look bad, and it is likely to blow the whole Bay of Pigs thing, which we think would be very unfortunate—both for [the] CIA, and for the country, at this time, and for American foreign policy. Just tell him [presumably FBI Director Gray] to lay off. Don't you?

H: Yep. That's the basis to do it on. Just leave it at that.

THIRD MEETING (2:20-2:45 p.m.)

H: Well, it was kind of interest[ing]. Walters made the point and I didn't mention Hunt, I just said that the thing was leading into directions that were going to create potential problems because they were exploring leads that led back into areas that would be harmful to the CIA and harmful to the Government . . . Gray called and said, yesterday, and said that he thought—

P: Who did? Gray?

H: Gray called Helms and said I think we've run right into the middle of a CIA covert operation.

P: Gray said that?

H: Yeah . . . So at that point he [Helms or Walters] kind of got the picture. He said, he said we'll be very happy to be helpful (unintelligible) handle anything you want. I would like to know the reason for being helpful, and I made it clear to him he wasn't going to get explicit (unintelligible) generality, and he said fine. And Walters (unintelligible). Walters is going to make a call to Gray. That's the way we put it and that's the way it was left.

THE NATION

because, "I did not realize the extent of the implications which these conversations might now appear to have."

Both his forgetfulness and lack of appreciation of the implications were incredible. Nixon did admit, however, that "those arguing my case, as well as those passing judgment on the case, did so with information that was incomplete and in some respects erroneous. This was a serious act of omission for which I take full responsibility and which I deeply regret." The tapes, he also conceded, "are at variance with certain of my previous statements"—a euphemism for the fact that he had lied repeatedly.

Somewhat reluctantly, Nixon observed that "this additional material I am now furnishing may further damage my case"—clearly one of the gross-

and removal of a President." At a Washington press conference last March 6, Nixon had agreed that "the crime of obstruction of justice is a serious crime and would be an impeachable offense."

As his precarious support on Capitol Hill now crumbled under the revelations, Nixon remained unconvinced that his survival prospects had vanished. He set sail on the Potomac with his family and Rose Mary Woods. At dinner on a refreshingly breezy night, Pat and his daughters argued that there still was no reason for the President to consider resignation.

Julie Eisenhower, in particular, had not lost her expressed conviction that he would fight to stay in office even "if there were one Senator that believes in him."

first 24 hours would be crucial and that this period would be tough. After the cruise, Nixon sent word for the Cabinet to assemble next morning. He wanted to rally their continued support.

TUESDAY: DECISION

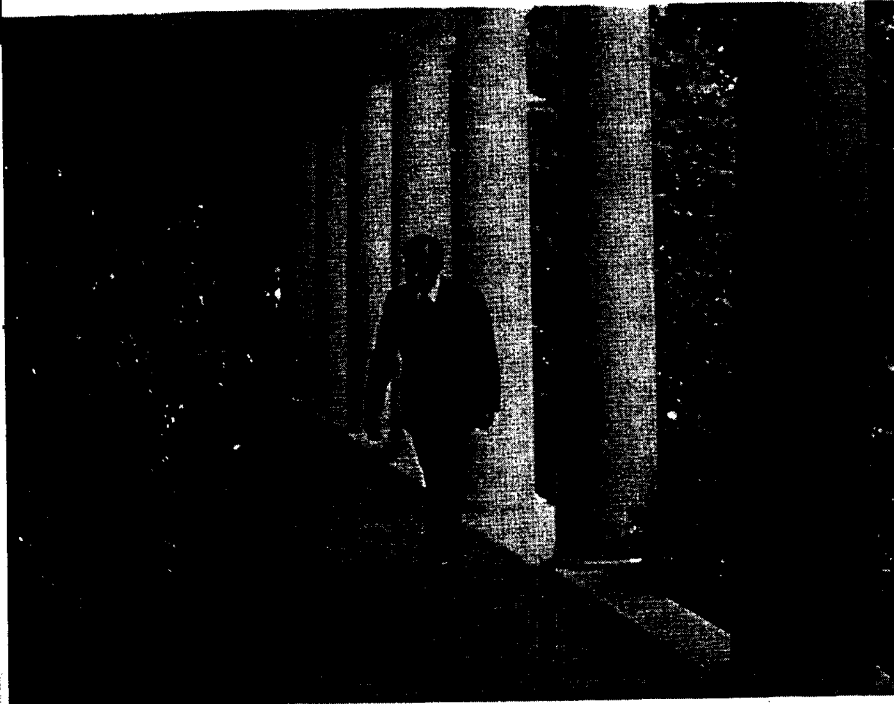
The Cabinet meeting was bizarre. For 40 minutes, the remarkably composed President engaged in a monologue about the new tapes disclosures. Re-counting the Viet Nam War, his diplomatic breakthroughs with China and the Soviet Union. Nixon sought to show how preoccupied he had been as his reelection campaign of 1972 approached. "One thing I have learned," he said, re-running an old refrain, "is never to allow anybody else to run your campaign." That was meant to explain how he could have forgotten those telltale cover-up talks with Haldeman in June of that seemingly distant year. "In my opinion and in the opinion of my counsel, I have not committed any impeachable offense," he said. Therefore, he insisted, "the constitutional process should be followed out to the end—wherever the end may be."

The Cabinet members said nothing. Nixon neither sought their advice nor paused for comment. Neither did any agree with his apparent decision to cling to office. Only Vice President Ford finally offered an observation, explaining that he felt that "the public interest is no longer served" by his making statements in defense of the President. "I understand," said Nixon. Then he abruptly shifted into a discussion of the economy. Vaguely, he suggested setting up a domestic "summit meeting" to grapple with inflation. He wanted it to be held immediately.

Finally, Attorney General William Saxbe broke the air of unreality. "Mr. President, wouldn't it be wise to wait on this until next week anyway—until we see what's going to happen?" Republican National Chairman George Bush joined in. "Shouldn't we wait until the dust settles? Such a meeting ought to wait." Glaring at Saxbe, Nixon replied stonily: "No. This is too important to wait." Without explaining the nature of the proposed anti-inflation conference, he then rose and left the room.

The Cabinet members came away with two strong convictions: Nixon wanted them to carry on with their jobs, and he was not about to quit. But if he seemed politically naive about his desperate situation, Nixon showed no signs of emotional instability. There were no "Captain Queeg" mannerisms, Saxbe recalled later. "We were all looking for something like that. He was calm, in control of himself, and not the least bit tense."

After the meeting, the President called Kissinger into his office. Despite Nixon's resolution against resignation



NIXON AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON LAST FULL DAY AS PRESIDENT

est understatements of his many Watergate pronouncements. Noting more realistically that "a House vote of impeachment is, as a practical matter, virtually a foregone conclusion," he said that he would voluntarily give the Senate every tape transferred to Special Prosecutor Jaworski by Judge Sirica. If he did *not*, of course, the Senate would readily have acquired them during its trial.

Still pursuing the cover-up to the end, Nixon blandly and unpersuasively asserted that "when all the facts were brought to my attention, I insisted on a full investigation and prosecution of those guilty. I am firmly convinced that the record, in its entirety, does not justify the extreme step of impeachment

Earlier in the day, Mrs. Nixon's press secretary, Helen Smith, vacationing in London, had telephoned Julie Eisenhower in the White House, asking whether she should return to Washington to assist the First Lady. "Do you know something I don't know?" asked Julie. No, she had only been reading newspaper reports. "Everything is going to be all right," Julie assured her—indicating how persuasively the President had convinced his family that he would ride out the crisis.

At this point Nixon was ready to concede the House, but he thought he could hold on to such Senators as John Stennis, James Eastland, Cotton and Nebraska's Carl Curtis to stem any tide of defection. He knew, however, that the

only moments before, the President's doubts began to surface. Kissinger did not reinforce Nixon's determination to stay on; it is not certain but he may have actually suggested that the President should resign. After the conversation, Kissinger told newsmen that despite the crisis, U.S. foreign policy remained stable.

The political realities were very much on the minds of the participants of another Washington meeting. The 15 members of the Senate Republican policy committee, joined by other Republican Senators, held their regular weekly luncheon on Capitol Hill. As they met on a day in which rumors of possible resignation were running wild, initially sending the Dow Jones industrial average up a startling 25 points by midday, the Senators were grim. Explained Tower later: "There was considerable concern that the President did not really understand the mood of the Senate, that he did not fully comprehend the peril he faced if he came to trial here."

One Too Many Lies

Vice President Ford, arriving for the luncheon, did not dispel that atmosphere. Ford reported on the Cabinet meeting and left the impression that Nixon was far more concerned about the economy than about his Watergate weakness and would not resign. As the angry Senators plunged into a free-wheeling discussion of Nixon's plight, Ford felt it was inappropriate to stay. Once Ford was gone, the talk turned tough. "There are only so many lies you can take, and now there has been one too many," complained Arizona's Conservative Barry Goldwater. "Nixon should get his ass out of the White House—today!"

During the G.O.P. meeting, Goldwater was called away to accept a telephone call from Haig. How many Senators would stand by the President? Haig wondered. No more than twelve or 15, Goldwater estimated. Returning to the meeting, the former presidential candidate was even more pessimistic. He said he doubted that Nixon could get more than nine votes, and if pressed, he could only name offhand two certainties: Curtis and South Carolina's Strom Thurmond. It became obvious at the meeting that Nixon had hopelessly lost the Republican leaders he needed for survival, including Goldwater and Tower. General agreement was reached that Nixon should be informed of his grave predicament in the Senate and that a majority of the Senators at the luncheon thought that the President must resign. But no decision was made on who should do it or just how it should be done.

That came in a smaller meeting later in the day of the official Republican Senate leadership—Scott, Tower and Griffin—and two invited Senators rep-

resenting opposite wings of the party: Goldwater and New York's Liberal Jacob Javits. The group selected Goldwater as the man who ought to seek a meeting with the President to warn him of the tremendous odds against his acquittal. Said Scott: "We agreed that Barry should be our emissary to the President." It was a role long ago foreseen for Goldwater in any ultimate resignation scenario.

A flurry of phone calls between Scott, Goldwater and three White House aides, Haig, Dean Burch and William Timmons, quickly followed. Goldwater's intention was unmistakably clear to Nixon's men: he wanted to let the President know that his Senate support had collapsed and that many Republican Senators favored his immediate

and declared that "cover-up of criminal activity and misuse of federal agencies can neither be condoned nor tolerated." "Was there anything Nixon could do to salvage his situation?" a reporter asked Rhodes. He replied: "I suppose there might be, but I couldn't tell you what it is."

Even the Judiciary Committee's Edward Hutchinson made his turnabout official. "I feel that I have been deceived," he said, declaring that he would vote for impeachment "with a heavy heart." Arriving in Washington from Mississippi, Lott also confirmed his reversal on impeachment. He had reacted to the new evidence, he said, with "disbelief at first, then extreme disappointment and a letdown feeling." He was "dumbfounded, and then it turned

LAFFORT—SYGMA



SCOTT, GOLDWATER & RHODES LEAVING CONFERENCE WITH NIXON

resignation. The aides carried the grim news to Nixon. Finally aware of the depth of his troubles, Nixon deferred such a meeting, but his last option, resignation, loomed larger.

Repeatedly throughout the afternoon, Timmons was asked by the President for soundings on the sentiment in the Senate. Each time, Timmons' telephoned report was distressing. At most, Timmons could count only 20 of the vital 34 votes Nixon would need to survive, and even that insufficient band kept dwindling.

Nixon was now under a continuous barrage of public declarations by other influential members of Congress. Rhodes, long a Nixon loyalist, described the new tapes as "a cataclysmic affair"

to anger." House leaders, including the Judiciary Committee's Democratic Chairman Peter Rodino, laid plans to cut the House debate on impeachment from two weeks to one week. The third-ranking Republican in the House, Illinois' John Anderson, asked: "Why should we need more than a day?"

Richard Nixon had received the message. When he held a private talk with one of his last-ditch supporters, Rabbi Baruch Korff, in the President's Executive Office Building hideaway at 3:30 p.m., he told Korff that he was seriously considering resignation.

In the evening, the troubled President telephoned Kissinger five times for wide-ranging talks about his predicament and how it might affect foreign



PRESIDENT NIXON INFORMS HIS SUCCESSOR THAT HE WILL RESIGN

OLLIE ATKINS

policy. As the conversation turned to what kind of legacy in that field Nixon would leave, his decision to resign seemed certain. Already, Speechwriter Price was working on a draft of the President's resignation address.

WEDNESDAY: RUMORS

By Wednesday morning, the decision was irrevocable. On instructions from Nixon, Gerald Ford was called to the White House to meet with General Haig. Ford got the summons in his limousine as he was heading for a meeting of the Chowder and Marching Society, a House Republican social club. Deputy Press Secretary Gerald Warren announced only that Ford had been invited to discuss "the current situation." In fact, Haig told Ford to prepare to assume the presidency.

Unaware of this development, Republican leaders in the Senate still were worried. Would Nixon really heed their advice and succumb to the mounting pressures? Maybe he is not entirely rational about this situation, one such leader observed. And if pressed too hard, there was no way of knowing what the President's reaction might be. One concerned Senator telephoned Haig. "If we tell him it is hopeless," this Republican stressed to Haig, "that might be a factor in making up his mind." The fears of these Senators were never stated publicly—and in retrospect they seemed unfounded. Yet one of them declared: "Well, I read this morning about the North Vietnamese getting close to Danang and I was concerned about what he might do."

Tricia's husband Edward Cox arrived at the White House from New York to join his wife, Mrs. Nixon, Julie and David Eisenhower in the family quarters. That gathering, too, signaled the fast-approaching end of the Nixon presidency. Rumors of resignation

caused banner headlines and dominated news broadcasts. The stock market rallied again, with the Dow Jones industrials rising almost 24 points. Crowds gathered along the fences surrounding the White House; mostly somber and curious, they had the quiet air of a death watch. In the House of Representatives, the gravelly voice of William ("Fish Bait") Miller startled the occupants of that chamber. "Mr. Speaker, a message from the President of the United States," he announced. In the stillness, a clerk read the anticlimactic title: a presidential report on "Government Services to Rural America."

In the Senate, the Republican Conference, chaired by Cotton, held its regular meeting. Massachusetts Republican Ed Brooke proposed that a delegation be sent to the White House. He was told that a meeting had already been arranged. In fact, Nixon had told Timmons that he would now see Goldwater, but wanted the regular Republican leaders, Rhodes and Scott, to attend as well. The time was set for late morning, then 12:30, then 2 p.m., 4 p.m. and finally 5 p.m. Rhodes was chauffeured to the White House in his limousine; Scott picked up Goldwater in his.

The President greeted the delegation cordially in the Oval Office, then sat at his large desk, with his visitors ranged in front of it. "He was anxious to put us at ease," said Scott later, "because I'm sure he knew we weren't." Nixon reminisced about the Eisenhower years, and all chatted as the trio waited for him to broach the momentous topic. "What I need to do," Nixon finally began, "is to get your appraisal of the floor. I have a decision to make. I've got maybe 15 in the Senate and ten in the House."

"There's not more than 15 Senators for you," Goldwater agreed. Nixon turned to Scott. "I think twelve to 15," declared Scott, who once had proclaimed Nixon's Watergate innocence

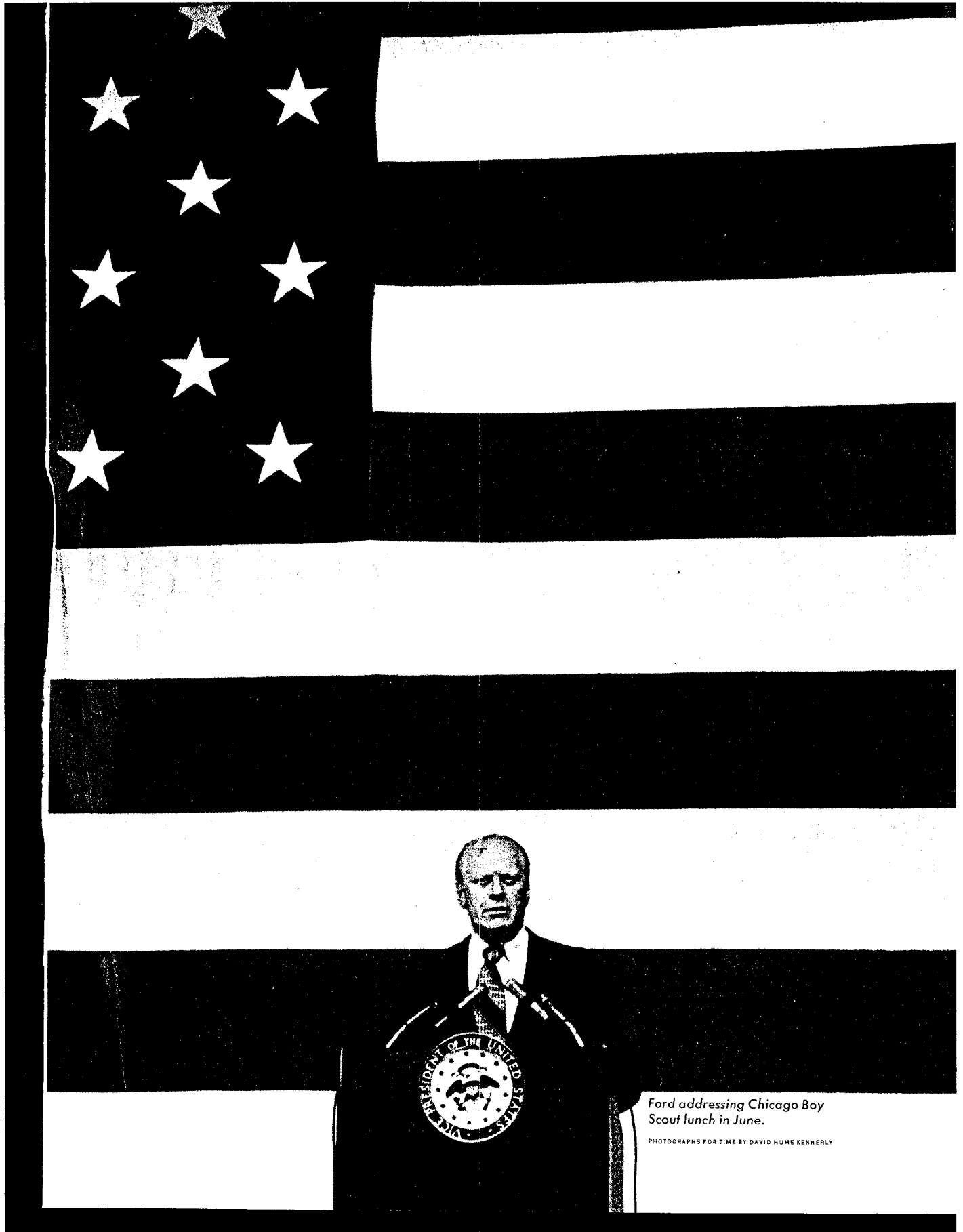
on the basis of an edited White House transcript privately shown him. Nixon next asked Rhodes about the House count. The reply: "I think the substance is about as you have portrayed it."

His feet propped on the desk, Nixon was surprisingly amiable. Could the severe assessment change? he wondered. "It's pretty gloomy," said Scott. "It's damn gloomy," agreed the President. "In the decision I've got to make," he added, "I have very few options." But he did not want to talk, he said, "about emoluments or benefits or anything that people think that I'd be concerned about. I'm only thinking about the national interest. Whatever decision I make, I'll make in the national interest. The decision has to be made in the best interest of the people."

The expression of public concern slipped only fleetingly. Near the end of the half-hour talk, Nixon said: "I campaigned for a lot of people. Some were turkeys, but I campaigned for all of them." Where were they now? he mused. Most of them were voting to impeach him. But he abruptly broke that bitter mood. "Thank you, gentlemen," he said in dismissal.

Nixon had not asked for advice on whether he should resign. His visitors did not offer it. But they knew that his mind was made up. The meeting was merely a formality, a final confirmation of Richard Nixon's worst fears. The three emerged to tell the waiting press and nation only that the President would put the national interest first.

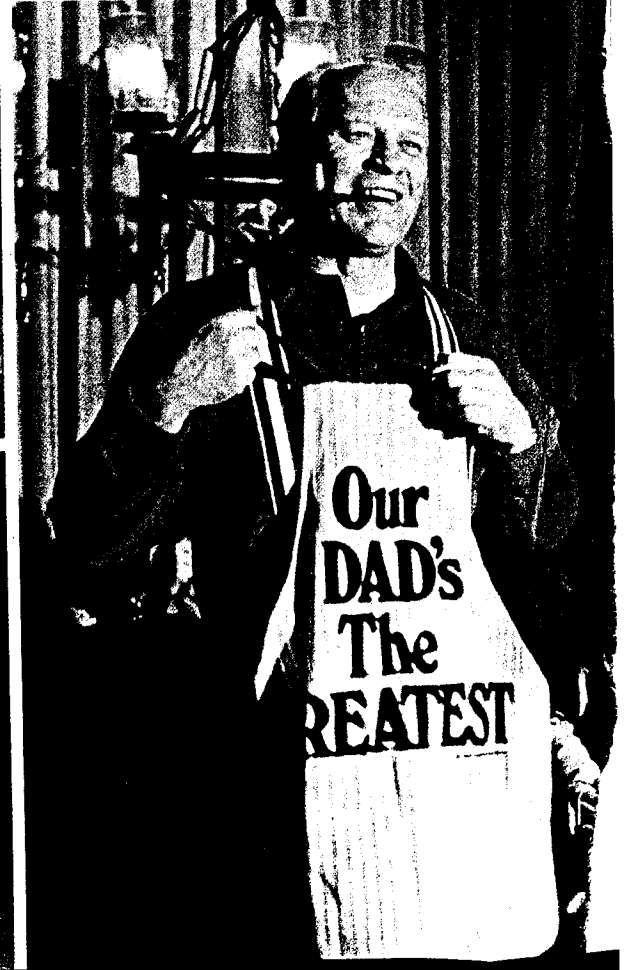
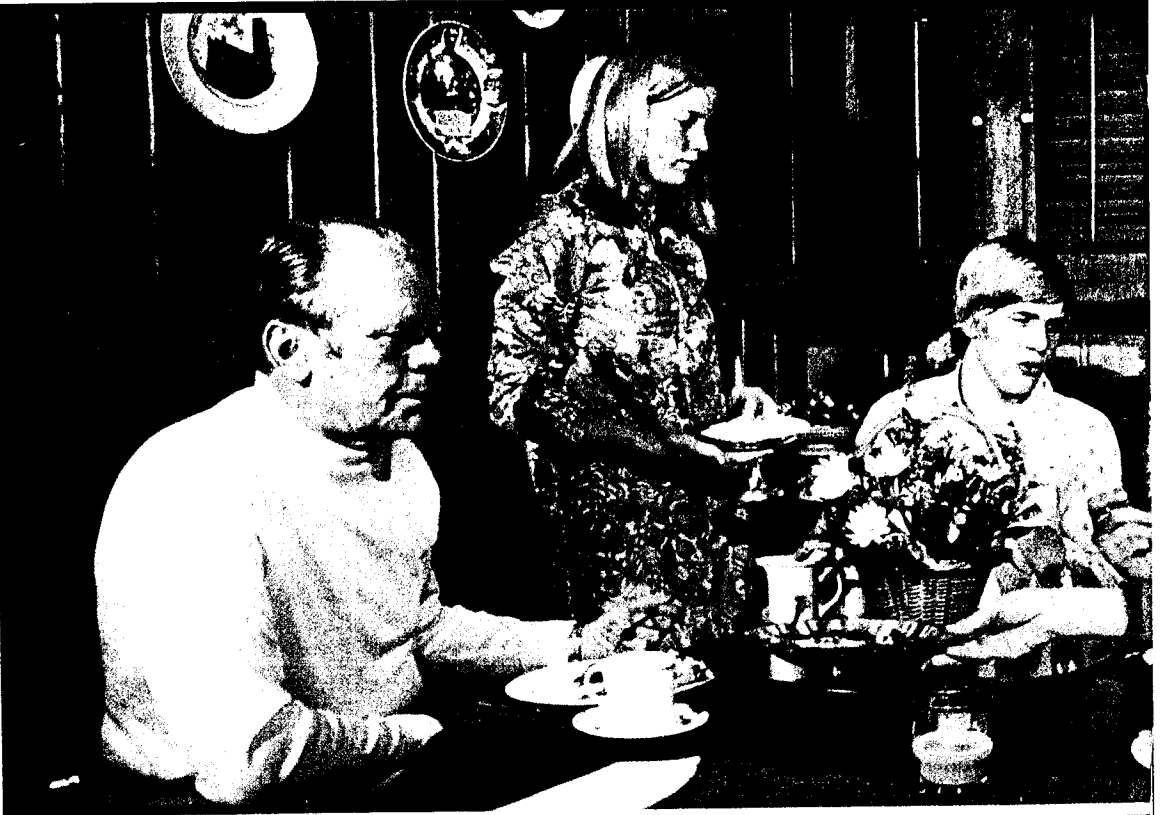
Next morning the President summoned Gerald Ford to notify him, officially and privately, that he was about to succeed to the national summit. For the country, the worst of Watergate was finally over. There would be more trials, perhaps even startling revelations, but they would no longer taint the Oval Office. The renewal had begun.



Ford addressing Chicago Boy Scout lunch in June.

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY DAVID HUME KENNERLY

ALFRED EISENSTADT





At home or away, the Ford family seems relaxed, busy, congenial. Clockwise from top left: the Fords at breakfast in their Alexandria, Va., home (Jerry, Susan, Steven, John, Betty); Betty posing affectionately with her husband; Betty and Son Steven in Alexandria living room; Son John hunting in Idaho; Ford displaying barbecue apron—a Christmas gift—in Vail, Colo.; Son Michael's July wedding in Maryland (bride's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edward W. Brumbaugh, Bride Gayle Ann, Michael and his parents); Susan with Roommate Lark Ledbetter in Holton-Arms School in Bethesda, Md.

The sporting Ford: swimming in his pool in Alexandria, skiing at Vail, golfing at Quail Hollow Country Club in Charlotte, N.C.



JAMES DRAKE—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED





FORD AT AGE TWO (ABOVE), AS A RANGER (RIGHT)



WITH BETTY AT THEIR WEDDING

THE NEW PRESIDENT

A MAN FOR THIS SEASON

"It's the quality of the ordinary, the straight, the square that accounts for the great stability and success of our nation. It's a quality to be proud of. But it's a quality that many people seem to have neglected."

—Gerald R. Ford, Jan. 28, 1974

The 38th President has not neglected that quality. To be called a square or a straight is not exactly a compliment in some circles, where the words imply a certain woodenness and an unadventurous approach to life. But they suggest something more as well: loyalty, honesty, diligence, patience, a fear of the Lord and what the ancient Romans used to call *pietas*. Gerald Rudolph Ford has all these qualities.

Another question, which remains to be answered, is whether Ford offers anything more for the most burdensome office in the world. In a cutting commentary on the new President's intelligence, Lyndon Johnson once suggested that Ford had played football too long without a helmet, and could not chew gum and walk at the same time. Ford's executive abilities have yet to be tested, but there is little reason to doubt his political and legislative acumen. For nearly a quarter of a century, he has dem-

onstrated his skills in one of the most complex parliamentary arenas on earth, winning the respect of adversaries and allies alike even as he played the role of a loyal partisan. In a sense, he was not Richard Nixon's choice for President. He was the selection of Congress and it has to be assumed that the House and Senate knew their man.

Congressional Ethic

Gerald Ford likes to call himself a child of Congress; he loves the place, and the affection is returned. He subscribes to what can be called the congressional ethic: a tolerance of differing views, a desire to accommodate, a sense that at the heart of government lies the right to disagree and to have that disagreement voiced and voted. Although he has been a major political figure for many years, Ford has a minor ego that does not get in the way of his politics. Like most men of action, he has a temper, but the bouts pass quickly. He does not indulge lasting grudges; an enemies list would be unthinkable to him. "I have had lots of adversaries," he says, "but no enemies that I can remember."

Ford reaches the presidency with a record somewhat right of center. His

views reflect his solidly conservative Michigan district, but he now represents a far broader, more diverse constituency. Can he make the shift—and how hard will he try? His supporters are convinced that his temperament will permit it. Says a close associate: "He may not be the man for all seasons, but he is the man for this season."

The new President has sometimes been compared to the furniture that used to be produced in such abundance in his Michigan home town, Grand Rapids: durable, dependable and easy to live with. Gerald Ford is Middle America. His roots reach deeply, tenaciously into the thrifty, hard-toiling community of Grand Rapids—though he was not in fact born there. His birthplace was Omaha, where his mother Dorothy lived with her first husband, Leslie King, a wool trader. Ford was christened Leslie King Jr. Two years later, the marriage broke up, and mother and child returned to Grand Rapids. In 1916, Dorothy married Gerald R. Ford, a paint salesman, who adopted young Leslie and gave the boy his name—as well as his penchant for hard work, athletics and community involvement. He also instructed his stepson in a certain humility. Remember, he told the boy, someone else can always do the job better than you. The elder Ford, who died in 1962, never prospered as a businessman but established a reputation for character and good works. Says Jerry's half brother Richard:* "Being his son meant a lot in Grand Rapids in those days."

During the Depression, life teetered on the edge of discomfort for the Fords. As a high school student, Jerry had to wait on tables to supplement the family

*Ford has three half brothers. Thomas, 56, is a staff analyst for the Michigan legislature. Richard, 50, manages the family paint store in Grand Rapids. James, 47, is an optometrist in that city.

The First Family's First Days

The day before the presidential inauguration last week, Betty Ford met with a fashion designer; nonetheless, she quickly dismissed the idea of buying a new dress for the occasion. The new First Lady decided instead that a sky-blue outfit already in her closet would serve just as well. When Ford's eldest sons Jack and Mike, accompanied by Mike's new wife Gayle, were about to enter the White House grounds to attend the swearing-in ceremony, a guard stopped them and demanded that they show him some identification. Taken aback, they simply looked at one another in dismay. Finally, the Fords' longtime family chauffeur, Richard Frazier, stepped up and told the guard, "These are the President's kids." They were immediately let in.

Both episodes provide something of a clue to the unassuming, uninsistent style of the Fords. They also help to explain why the First Lady says that the Fords are simply "a normal American family." They will shortly move into the White House, but their neighbors of 15 years marveled at their calm. At the height of last week's disruption of her household, Betty Ford, pointing to a prayer book she held in her hand, told a visitor, "This is what helps me to get through it all."

Close-knit and wise in the ways of the capital, they took last week's events in stride. Although Washington was swept by rumors that her husband might soon become President, Betty Ford relaxed over tea, answered letters, and played with a neighbor's child at their four-bedroom home in Alexandria, Va. Daughter Susan, 17, went off to a nearby secretarial school; she is taking a typing class there in preparation for the fall term at Holton-Arms School in Bethesda, Md., which she attended as a boarding student last year. Steve, 18, came home from the last day of his summer grass-cutting job to find reporters camped on the front steps. They were the first to tell him that Nixon's televised resignation announcement was imminent.

Meanwhile, Jack, 22, was working at his summer job as a forest ranger in Yellowstone National Park when he was quietly summoned home by his mother. Mike, 24, and Gayle, 23, who were married only last month, had just arrived at their home in Beverly, Mass., prior to his resuming his studies this fall at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in nearby South Hamilton. Mrs. Ford reached Mike by telephone to notify him of his father's impending succession, and the couple flew back to Washington.

Thus the new First Family assembled to take part in a ceremony that

marked the entrance of their modest, unaffected grace into the White House. At 56, Betty Ford is trim and auburn-haired, with a model's high cheekbones and blue-gray eyes. She has steadfastly borne the major child-rearing responsibilities throughout Ford's active political career, and still prefers an evening at home with her husband and children to a night out. She admits that she is not a good cook, and has an unsettling tendency to be late for appointments. Her lissome figure and smart eye for clothes should earn her plaudits in her role as official hostess. Mrs. Ford has encouraged her daughter to study modern dance and ballet as she herself did, and is an enthusiastic supporter of the performing arts, a love that she will doubtless continue to nurture as First Lady.

The strain of being a politician's wife has taken its toll. She has suffered from a pinched nerve in her neck in recent years caused, say her doctors, by emotional stress. After several years of various forms of physical therapy to relieve the pain, she began to see a psychiatrist and take tranquilizers to steady her nerves. "I tried to be everything," she admits, "and I completely lost my sense of self-worth." Now she declares that "I feel better than I have in years," and no longer relies on tranquilizers.

Aside from the expanded role that the Secret Service is bound to play in their lives, the Ford children are not likely to let their father's new responsibilities chill their ardent sense of independence. Blonde and graceful, Susan has already shown that she is in the tradition of perky presidential daughters; last week she brought along to the inaugural ceremonies Current Beau Gardner Britt, 17, who will enter Virginia Polytechnic Institute this fall. Steve was admitted not long ago to Duke University, but before settling down in college, he has opted to take a year off to work on a cattle ranch in Utah.

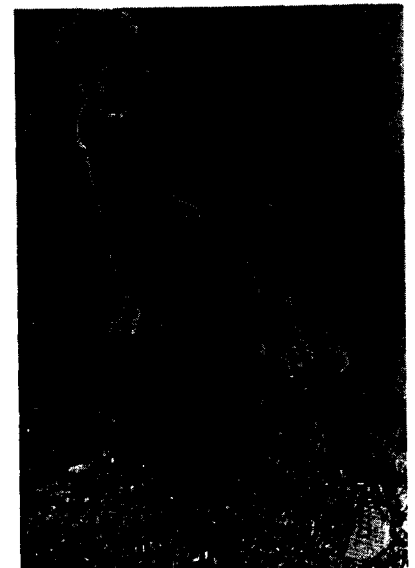
Tall, wryly humorous and, like all the Ford boys, a good athlete, Jack begins his senior year at Utah State this fall as a forestry major, then plans to enter graduate school to study watershed management. Mike, the most serious and introspective of the four, is working on his doctorate in theology but has yet to decide on his career plans.

Last week the reality of becoming the nation's new First Family had still not quite taken hold. After her father had taken the oath of office and her parents were busy greeting guests at a reception, Susan Ford roamed wide-eyed through the White House. "Would anybody mind if I looked around?" she politely asked a military aide in the Red Room. "Not at all," he replied with a smile. "This is where you live."

THE NATION

income. Nonetheless, he still had time to indulge the passion of his youth: football. A strapping youngster, he played center for South High School for reasons that probably had as much to do with temperament as physique. Ford always had his hand on the ball, but he snapped it to the quarterback who called the plays and scored the touchdowns. As Ford acknowledges, he never stopped playing center even when he gave up football: "I've tried to be a good blocker and tackler for the running back who carries the ball."

Ford went on to play football at the University of Michigan, where he was a solid B student. He spent summer vacations as a park ranger. In his senior year he was voted the football team's most valuable player. "You learn to accept discipline," he reminisced in later



FORD AS MICHIGAN FOOTBALL STAR
A center by temperament.

years. "My football experiences helped me many times to face a tough situation in World War II or, in the rough-and-tumble of politics, to take action and make every effort despite adverse odds."

After graduation in 1935, Ford turned down offers to play professional football. Instead, he decided to coach football and boxing at Yale. "I boxed the lightweights and coached the heavyweights," he recalls. While on the job, he took some courses at Yale Law School. He did well enough to be admitted to the law school and finished in the top third of his class in 1941. During his Yale days, he dated and almost married a Powers model named Phyllis Brown, who persuaded him to invest \$1,000 in a modeling agency. Ford even modeled sportswear with Phyllis on the ski slopes in New England. But he soon severed relations with both model and agency. Nothing quite so frivolous has

since intruded on his well-regulated life.

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Ford gave up a budding law practice in Grand Rapids and joined the Navy as an ensign. His first assignment—whipping raw recruits into physical shape at the University of North Carolina—was not Ford's idea of fighting a war. He kept requesting sea duty, and in a year he got his wish. He was assigned to the aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Monterey* in the South Pacific. Although he was under enemy fire in several major battles, his closest brush with death came during a typhoon that nearly washed him overboard; he was saved by landing on a catwalk beneath him. The *Monterey* was a "lucky" ship, said Ford.

Mustered out at 32 with the rank of lieutenant commander, he returned to Grand Rapids to practice law. He also joined almost every organization available: the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Masons, the Elks. He was especially proud of his status as an ex officio Boy Scout (later he would boast: "I am the first Eagle Scout Vice President"). He made no secret of the fact that he wanted to go to Congress. In 1948 he was given his chance. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, grand old man of the G.O.P., had made a dramatic switch from isolationism to internationalism and was annoyed that the Republican Congressman in the Fifth District, Bartel J. Jonkman, did not convert along with him. Vandenberg encouraged Ford to challenge Jonkman in the Republican primary.

Stolid but Engaging

Initially, Ford worried that he might not appeal to his largely Dutch constituency. But if his name was not Dutch, his behavior and appearance were: stolid, slightly ponderous but engagingly open. He won by a 2-to-1 margin, and in twelve subsequent elections he never carried the district with less than 60% of the vote. During the campaign, he received help from Elizabeth Bloomer Warren, a Grand Rapids fashion coordinator who had once studied dance with Martha Graham. Three weeks before the election and eleven months after her first marriage ended in divorce, she and Jerry were wed. They then picked up to go to Washington, where they have lived ever since.*

Freshmen Congressmen roughly divide into two types: those who go it alone and those who join the team. Ford was definitely a team player. While more restless freshmen like John F. Kennedy avoided the tedium of the House floor as much as possible, Ford attentively followed debate and parliamentary maneuvers. In his second term, he landed

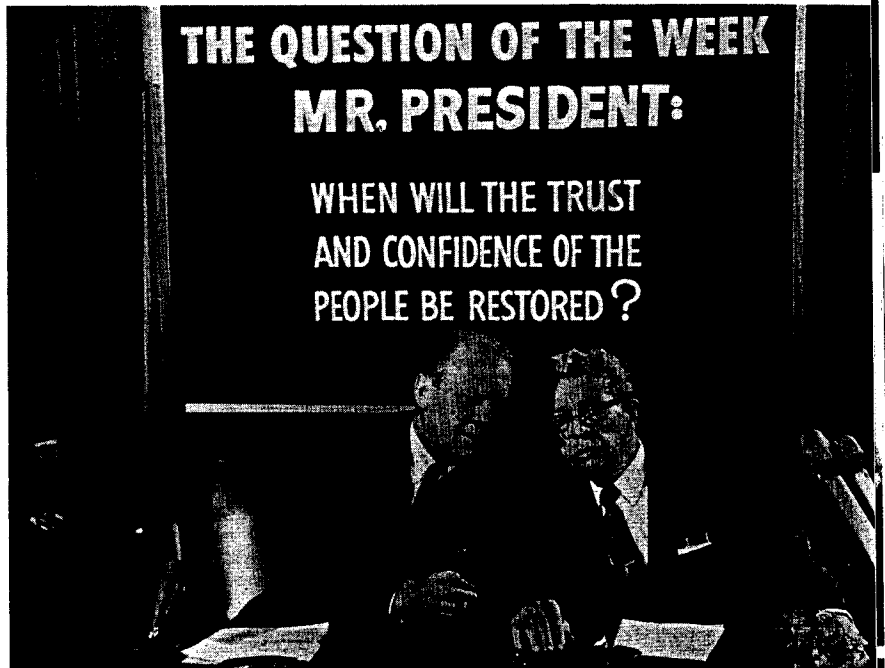
*Since 1955, the Fords have lived in a relatively modest four-bedroom home in Alexandria, Va. They also own two homes and a two-story apartment in Grand Rapids, as well as a condominium in Vail, Colo., where they regularly go for skiing vacations. In 1973, Ford's net worth was estimated to be \$256,378.

a seat on the Appropriations Committee and became an expert on the defense budget, an intimidating thicket of statistics that most Congressmen shunned. "He had a tremendous capacity for work," says his half brother Tom. "And let's face it, people who have a capacity for work normally succeed."

Ford was careful not to lose touch with Grand Rapids. He did not try to impress his constituents by loading his district with pork: using his influence to land lucrative defense contracts or military installations for Grand Rapids. He concentrated instead on personal service. European relatives of Grand Rapids citizens had little trouble migrating to America. Jerry Ford smoothed the way for them. In a biography of Ford that has just been published, Author Bud

Ford's career was progressing just the way he had planned—one careful step at a time—until it was given an upward jolt by some of his impatient colleagues. After the 1964 Democratic landslide thinned Republican ranks in the House, a group of Young Turks decided that a change of leadership was necessary to meet the challenge of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. They urged Ford to run for House minority leader against Incumbent Charles A. Halleck of Indiana. After a vigorous campaign, Ford eked out a narrow, six-vote victory in the Republican caucus.

His new post made Ford a national figure with a handy pulpit to express his views. He joined the late Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen in "The Ev and Jerry Show," a weekly televised



FORD WITH SENATE MINORITY LEADER EVERETT DIRKSEN AT A 1966 PRESS CONFERENCE
A patter and a hugger who made lasting friends in both parties.

Vestal quotes a remark that has made the rounds in Michigan: "Every Dutch immigrant since Ford went to Congress just happens to have been an underground Resistance hero during World War II. And every Latvian who wants to come to Grand Rapids was the leading physician in Riga before the Russians took over."

While he served in Congress, Ford managed to get back to Grand Rapids every week. He would hold open house in a trailer to greet all the voters who failed to come to Washington to see him. "He runs the best constituent service I have seen anywhere," says A. Robert Kleiner, Democratic co-chairman of Michigan's Fifth District. "After 25 years, there's almost nobody in the district he hasn't done a favor for."

press conference that was intended as a G.O.P. rebuttal to the Great Society. True to character, Ford was content to play straight man to Dirksen's grandiloquent grandstanding.

"No man's light will be hidden under a bushel," Ford assured his fellow Congressmen. "Every Republican will have a voice in decision making and a chance to make a name for himself." Ford gave credit where it was due, took less than his share and made friends in both parties. No arm twister, he was a patter and a hugger. "It's the damndest thing," mused Louisiana's Democratic Congressman Joe D. Waggoner Jr. "Jerry just puts an arm around a colleague or looks him in the eye, says, 'I don't need your vote,' and gets it." Adds Edward F. Derwinski, an Illinois Re-



FORD GREETING SCHOOLCHILDREN ON A VICE-PRESIDENTIAL TRIP TO ILLINOIS
Astounding stamina and too much talk on a cross-country odyssey.

publican. "Jerry is an open tactician. He doesn't look for clever ways to sneak in behind you. He does the obvious, which is usually common sense."

Ford was pre-eminently a loyal party workhorse and proud of it. He could be counted on to vote against most all Democratic legislation, worthy or not. He voted no on subsidized housing, aid to education, Medicare, the antipoverty program, minimum wage bills. In 1973, he was one of 70 Congressmen to vote to sustain all of Nixon's vetoes. On occasion, he has taken a more conservative stand than the White House. As a representative of an auto-manufacturing state, he voted against using any of the highway trust funds to pay for mass transit. "If Jerry saw a hungry child, he would give the kid his lunch," says Democrat Kleiner. "But he can't see that voting against the school lunch program is depriving millions of kids of food."

In Salacious Company

Only once did Ford's partisanship lead him into an uncharacteristically harsh attack on a fellow public servant. After the Nixon Administration was stung by Senate rebuffs of two nominees to the U.S. Supreme Court, Ford led an impeachment drive against Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. Ford charged that Douglas had received an annual retainer of \$12,000 from the Albert Parvin Foundation, which reportedly had underworld connections in Las Vegas. Ford also denounced the Justice for writing an article for *Evergreen Review* in which he seemed to sanction violent revolution in America. Waving a copy of the magazine, Ford pointed out that Douglas' article appeared in the salacious company of photos of nude women. In the course of his tirade, Ford made the brash statement that an impeachable offense is what a majority of the House says it is. Not long after, he admitted he had gone too far: "Impeach-

ment would have been too harsh, and perhaps what I did was too strong."

At the urging of his wife, Ford had seriously considered winding up his political career in 1974. He has often said his highest ambition was to become Speaker of the House, and it did not look as if the Republicans were going to control the House any time soon. But then Spiro Agnew was forced to resign as Vice President, and Ford was made an offer he could not refuse. Although former Treasury Secretary John Connally may have been the President's first choice, Ford had the right look to Nixon. He had never wavered in his loyalty to the President; ever since they had both been junior members of Congress, they had got along. Some cynics felt that the appointment was more Machiavelian than met the eye. With no experience in foreign affairs and no proven capacity for administration, Ford might make people think twice about dumping even a tainted Nixon. Very soon, though, Ford's candor loomed larger than Nixon's experience.

This openness made his confirmation hearings before the House Judiciary Committee—which lasted a grueling six days and went into every aspect of his life—a cakewalk. At least 350 FBI agents, 70 in Grand Rapids alone, fanned out to investigate his background, but Ford instructed anybody who asked: "Tell them the truth—give them everything." Everything did not amount to very much. He had been careless about disclosing the names of campaign contributors in his last election. A discredited Washington lobbyist had accused him of accepting money for favors. By the end of the televised hearings, Ford emerged with his reputation intact and even enhanced.

Once he was sworn in as Vice President, Ford hit the road as a traveling salesman for the presidency and the Republican Party. In his first eight months in office, he flew more than 100,000

miles and made over 500 appearances before groups ranging from a large G.O.P. rally in Chicago to the Boy Scouts. The aim of this energetic odyssey was to rally the party faithful in a time of troubles and give them a glimpse of a new and accessible party leader.

It was also a convenient escape for Ford from the Washington snake pit. But he was rarely allowed to forget Watergate for long. As he put it, he had "to walk a very fine line." Occasionally, he stepped over it. At first, he was almost an unabashed apologist for the President's defense strategy and once even used language supplied by White House speechwriters for a shrill attack on "groups like the AFL-CIO, the Americans for Democratic Action and other powerful pressure organizations." He accused them of "waging a massive propaganda campaign against the President of the United States." In subsequent speeches, he called for more openness on the part of the President and greater cooperation with the special prosecutor. Yet as the tensions built and the evidence against Richard Nixon accumulated, some of Ford's best friends began to worry that Jerry was frittering away political credits by making too many speeches. They bluntly advised him: "Shut up, Jerry." Finally, in the last week, before Nixon fell, he did shut up.

Perils of Candor

Physically, at least, Ford seems able to handle the arduous demands of the presidency. At 61, he weighs 203, only four pounds over his football-playing weight; he stays in shape by two daily 20-minute swims and occasional rounds of golf (scoring in the 90s). He limits lunch to a salad or cottage cheese with ketchup, though he occasionally succumbs to ice cream. No teetotaler, he likes to polish off a hard day's politicking with two or three dry martinis with a pair of olives in each. Ford's colleagues are as-

tounded by his stamina. He has been known to fly to Denver after a day's work in the House, deliver a speech, fly back to Washington, take a swim at 3 a.m., sleep for four hours and then start the next day's activities with no hint of fatigue. "I don't get much sleep," he admits, and to date it does not seem to matter. However tight his schedule, he has always found time to attend an Episcopal church on Sundays and a weekly prayer session in the House.

How well equipped is Ford mental-

ly and emotionally for the presidency? He has few qualms. Insisting he did not wish or expect to be President, he said last spring: "I see no reason why I shouldn't be a good President. It doesn't frighten me at all. I feel prepared, and I know the policies I believe in would be sound." Nonetheless, some people worry that Ford's plodding, amiable ways and his eagerness for consensus may render him less than decisive in a national crisis. His openness could prove to be a liability in the White House.

where nations hang on a President's every word. Candor could cause the same kind of trouble for Ford that it did for Harry Truman—though it must be said that Truman survived his faults with honor. As Ford recently confided to a friend: "It's pretty hard to change your life-style totally," and no one really wants him to. It is his plain-spokenness that makes him such a welcome contrast to his predecessor; for the moment, he is living proof that nice guys sometimes finish first.

Views of a Cautious Conservative

The style of Gerald Ford's presidency will certainly differ from that of Richard Nixon, but the policies, at least initially, will be much the same. In major areas of Government concern, Ford's substantive views can scarcely be differentiated from those of his predecessor. As the new President once put it, "I'm a conservative in fiscal affairs, a moderate in domestic affairs, and a liberal in foreign policy." Ford's record shows that with certain qualifications, his judgment on himself is substantially accurate. Items:

THE ECONOMY. A consistent defender of free enterprise and balanced budgets, Ford may well be slightly to the right of Richard Nixon on economic matters. He has labeled inflation "world public enemy No. 1" and declared that it should be fought "the hard way." By that he means sharp cutbacks in Government spending to produce a budgetary surplus next fiscal year, and avoidance of any personal tax cuts to head off recession. He has also advocated "a restrictive monetary policy that means, among other things, the discipline of high interest rates." Shortly before his inauguration last week, Ford endorsed a recent proposal by a number of commentators for an "economic summit" of leading economists, bankers, businessmen and labor officials to hash out some unified approach to the problem of inflation.

Last January, he indicated that, given a choice between high inflation and high unemployment, he "would prefer to keep unemployment down and take our chance on the cost of living increase." He has probably hardened that humane view now that the inflation rate has soared beyond 12%. Ford is steadfastly opposed to the reimposition of economic controls and thinks that Government trustbusters and regulatory agencies should go easier on big business. He "would feel happier with virtually no tariffs" on goods imported into the U.S., provided that America's major trading partners are willing to tear down non-tariff barriers to the free exchange of goods.

FOREIGN POLICY. The new President was a steadfast cold warrior in the 1950s and a particularly hard-beaked hawk during the Viet Nam War. Yet when Richard Nixon began winding down U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia and moving toward détente with the Soviet Union, Ford staunchly defended those policies on the floor of the House. He also approved Nixon's overtures to Peking, but concedes that he would not have made them had he been President then. "Not with my record of 23 years' opposition [to Communism]," he told a reporter. "But I approve of the policy, and I would hope when the time came, I would have been flexible enough to listen to reasons advanced by a person such as Kissinger."

Ford is likely to carry on with the broad outlines of the Nixon-Kissinger foreign policy. Not that Ford lacks opinions of his own. In the past, he has strongly favored U.S. support of Israel, a stance that worries some Arab leaders, notably Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. Ford also believes in maintaining a large U.S. troop presence in Western Europe, at least until the Soviet Union agrees to some kind of mutual force reduction. As a longtime member of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, he consistently endorsed big defense budgets. Says Ford: "The way to win peace is to build up a military establishment strong enough to win a war."

In general, the new President retains the same internationalist outlook he acquired from his original mentor, the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan. As Ford said during his confirmation hearings last November, "I think the United States, because of our influence, our assets, our principles, must be a force on a worldwide basis to try to maintain peace, to try to help disadvantaged nations. It makes a better world, and that helps us in the United States."

SOCIAL PROBLEMS. In Congress, Ford was a vigorous and persistent foe of the health, education and housing programs advocated by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. He has railed against welfare as destructive of the work ethic

and endorsed the Nixon Administration's later abandoned family assistance plan, which contained work incentives, as a way out of the welfare mess. Ford was initially leary of federal revenue sharing but later became an enthusiastic supporter; he saw it as a way to help reduce the role of federal agencies in state and local affairs. "We need a national government that is the servant and not the master of the people," he has said. "We must strengthen our state and local units of government." When Ford goes hunting for ways to balance his first budget by cutting federal spending, domestic social programs are likely to be prime targets.

Ford's record on civil rights legislation is mixed; he has supported most major reform bills on the floor but only after first voting to emasculate them. He has long opposed the busing of schoolchildren to attain racial balance, a move that sits well with his Grand Rapids constituents but has earned him the hostility of most major civil rights leaders.

On certain other social issues, Ford's views seem inconsistent. For instance, he has favored broader use of wiretaps against citizens suspected of serious crimes, and was an early supporter of the federal "no-knock" law; yet he has also spoken out for the protection of individual privacy and expressed alarm about the creation of a comprehensive federal data bank. Ford voted for all the important pieces of environmental legislation, but holds that many federal environmental standards for industry should be eased.

In some cases, Ford's past voting record—which in 1972 was rated 68% by the Americans for Constitutional Action but only 6% by the Americans for Democratic Action—may reflect his desire as House minority leader to back a presidential program more than his personal legislative views. Although that record is consistently right of center, Ford is not inflexible; he candidly admits to having made mistakes. To a visitor who noted Ford's somewhat negative civil rights record, he said: "Forget the voting record. The voting record reflects Grand Rapids." Now that his constituency has grown from 470,000 citizens to 211 million, Gerald Ford's mind may well undergo a similar expansion.

THE NEW TEAM

THE TALENT SEARCH

Gerald Ford wanted to have an orderly transition of power. He achieved it by the simplest and most logical means — by asking all the members of Richard Nixon's Cabinet, as well as several top White House advisers, to stay on, at least temporarily. That left Ford free to concentrate on his first difficult manpower decision: choosing a new Vice President.

Who for Veep?

Early last week, Ford associates speculated that there were about a dozen possibilities for the job. In addition, since taking office, Ford has accepted the views of Republican leaders across the country. Ford plans to make his final decision by this week or next. The man he chooses must be confirmed by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress, as was the case when Nixon nominated Ford to succeed Spiro Agnew as Vice President last fall.

In deciding on his nominee, President Ford will be guided by a number of national and, inevitably, partisan considerations. He doubtless wants someone who will provide a measure of geographical and ideological balance, to help give the Administration a unifying effect on the nation. At the same time, however, associates say that Ford wants someone who will be acceptable to both the conservative and progressive wings of the Republican Party and who does not harbor presidential ambitions. Ford apparently does not want to give anyone a leg up on the party's nomination for President in 1976. Despite his many previous statements that he would not run for the nation's highest office in the next election, Ford will undoubtedly be under strong pressure to carry on as the G.O.P.'s nominee.

To many in Washington, the most likely candidate is former New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott called him "my No. 1 choice," and Rockefeller also appears to have the public backing of one of Ford's closest political confidants, former Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, who told one reporter last week: "Ford and Rockefeller will form a winning combination for the Republican Party." There were some who suspected that Laird floated Rockefeller's name in order to have it quickly shot down to enhance Laird's own chances for the nomination. That suspicion seems ill-founded, however.

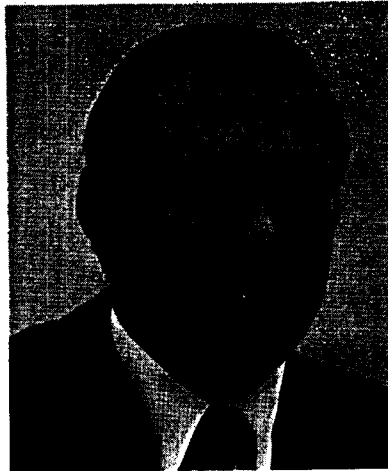
Rockefeller has several advantages over the other possible nominees. His 15 years as Governor have given him extensive experience with Government

management. His personal political resources might help draw new talent to the Administration. As a former Assistant Secretary of State (1944-45) and chairman of Truman's Point Four Advisory Board (1950-51), he has a sound knowledge of foreign affairs, and might prove to be an additional source of advice for Ford in an area where the new President lacks expertise. In addition, Rockefeller's nomination would help bring moderate Republicans back into the party's mainstream. Some Republicans speculate that if Ford were to run in 1976, Rockefeller, who is now 66, might be willing to drop off the ticket

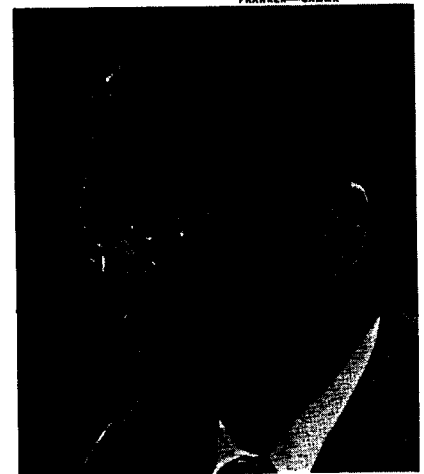
coup against Charles A. Halleck that installed Ford as Republican leader in the House. But Laird's nomination might be viewed as cronyism. Moreover, both Laird and Ford are much alike ideologically. Nonetheless, the betting is that Laird will play a key role in the Ford Administration, either in some formal White House role or as the President's foremost political adviser.

Another old friend of Ford's on the list of potential Vice Presidents is Representative Albert Quie (pronounced Kwee) of Minnesota. He shares most of Laird's disadvantages. A quiet but effective House member for 16 years who was a major force in shaping education bills over the past decade, Quie has had no significant administrative experience. He also is little known outside Minnesota or the capital.

Ford's apparent determination to select a moderate who could help heal the



DONALD RUMSFELD



ELLIOT RICHARDSON

in exchange for a key Cabinet post, perhaps Secretary of State.

But Rockefeller has drawbacks as well. Chief among them is the fact that some members of the Republican right wing have never forgiven him for his apostasy in 1964, when he refused to endorse the party's presidential nominee, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. Indeed, a dozen conservative Republican Senators have already urged Ford to reject Rockefeller and nominate Goldwater instead. Still, Rockefeller has taken increasingly conservative positions on public issues. He left the governorship in 1973 to launch his Commission on Critical Choices for Americans, one of whose members is Gerald Ford. The founding of that group was regarded as a convenient way for Rockefeller to keep himself politically alive and active.

Of all the prospects, Melvin Laird is probably Ford's sentimental favorite for Vice President. Not only have the two been close friends for 20 years but they also teamed up in 1965 in the intraparty

nation's and party's wounds reduces the chances of several Republicans who may be too closely identified with the G.O.P.'s conservative or liberal wings. The conservatives would include Governor Ronald Reagan of California and Senator William Brock of Tennessee. Among the liberals: Senators Charles H. Percy of Illinois and Mark Hatfield of Oregon, and, surprisingly, former Senator Charles E. Goodell of New York. While a member of the House, Goodell helped his close friend Ford become minority leader in 1965. Goodell has been a Republican outcast since 1969, after he became *persona non grata* to the Nixon Administration largely because of his opposition to the war in Viet Nam.

A better-known liberal on the list is Elliot Richardson of Massachusetts, who resigned as Attorney General last year rather than carry out Nixon's order to fire Archibald Cox as Watergate prosecutor. In the past, Ford has spoken favorably of Richardson's abilities; he would give the Administration solid

ties with liberal and moderate Republicans and add to Ford's image of moral integrity. But many Republican leaders, particularly in the South and Midwest, regard him as too liberal.

Another close friend of Ford's—and an extremely dark horse among the vice-presidential possibilities—is Interior Secretary Rogers Morton. A former Representative from Maryland and Republican national committee chairman from 1969 to 1971, Morton is a conservative but has few enemies among either Republicans or Democrats. He probably would easily win acceptance from party leaders and confirmation by

of the term are Earl Butz of Agriculture and James Schlesinger of Defense. Last spring Ford considered, if he became President, firing Schlesinger because he seemed ineffective in dealing with Congress. That proved not to be the case, and the two men have long since patched up their differences.

Ford associates think it likely that he will eventually ask for the resignation of William Simon as Treasury Secretary. Simon is considered dispensable because of his recent identification with the Nixon Administration's faltering economic policies. Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Caspar Weinberger reportedly would like to return to California, though Ford probably will permit him to stay if he wishes. If Weinberger leaves, among his likely successors are Laird or NATO Ambassador

for Ford to reappoint Richardson to the job, thus putting the Justice Department back into the hands of a man who early insisted that Watergate be fully investigated and that those involved be prosecuted. Chances are, though, that if Richardson is brought back into the Cabinet, it will be in a less prestigious post.

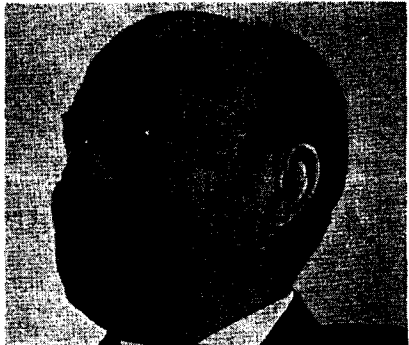
The White House Staff

At the White House, Ford insisted on some changes from the start. He had never disguised his distaste for Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler, who left the White House with Nixon, and as his first non-Cabinet appointment, the new President named Detroit *News* Washington Bureau Chief J.F. terHorst as White House spokesman. He was Ford's press secretary during his first campaign for Congress in 1948, and became head of the *News*'s Washington staff in 1961. To help him restructure his staff, Ford last week appointed a four-man team of advisers: former Virginia Representative John O. Marsh Jr., Morton, Rumsfeld and Scranton. They will have plenty of jobs to offer people who would like to sign on with the Ford team.

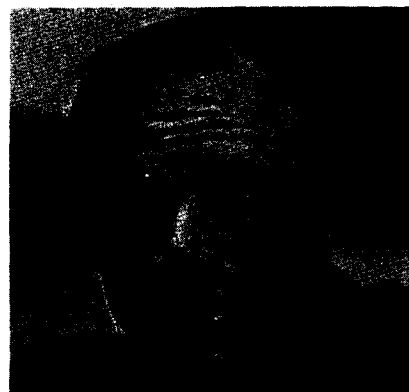
Early departures are forecast for Budget Director Roy Ash and his deputy Fred Malek, who has recently accepted an executive position with secretive Shipping Tycoon Daniel K. Ludwig. Nixon Speechwriters Ray Price, Pat Buchanan and the Rev. John McLaughlin are certain to go, as are Nixon Lawyer J. Fred Buzhardt and Presidential Adviser Leonard Garment. The President has asked General Alexander M. Haig Jr. to stay on as chief of staff during the transition. As House Republican leader, Ford grew to respect William Timmons; it seems likely that he will want to keep him as the White House liaison with Congress.

Two longtime members of the Ford staff seem headed for highly responsible jobs in the White House: L. William Seidman, a wealthy and able accountant from Grand Rapids who recently became Ford's management and budget adviser, and Philip W. Buchen, who was Ford's law partner in 1941 and lately has served as a key adviser. Ford has decided to appoint his former chief of staff and frequent speechwriter, ex-Newspaper Reporter Robert T. Hartmann, as a White House counselor.

Before taking office, Ford said that he would be looking for advice from other old colleagues and friends as well, among them Bryce Harlow, a former aide to both Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon, and William G. Whyte, a vice president of United States Steel Corp., who has worked in Washington for many years. Ford gave no indication of whether he will ask these men to join his staff. Harlow, though, is considered by some as a prime candidate for the job of White House chief of staff.



MELVIN LAIRD

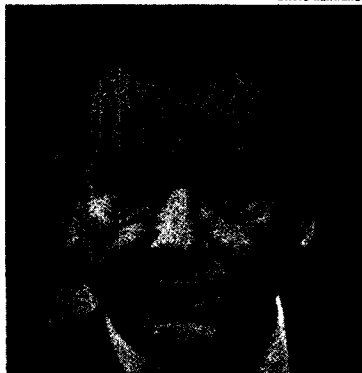


ALBERT QUIE

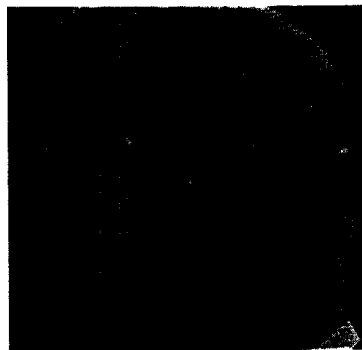
Congress. Other potential candidates for Veep—all moderates—include Republican National Chairman George Bush, Washington Governor Daniel Evans, Tennessee Senator Howard Baker and former Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton.

The Cabinet

Sooner or later, Ford will undoubtedly remake his Cabinet and the top White House staff. In Washington the betting is that at least one major job will be offered to a Democrat. Almost certainly Henry Kissinger will stay on as Secretary of State until January 1977. Other Cabinet members who will probably be asked to carry on until the end



ROBERT T. HARTMANN



NELSON ROCKEFELLER

Donald Rumsfeld, a former Congressman from Illinois and onetime director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. At Interior, Rogers Morton undoubtedly will be asked to stay on as Secretary, unless by chance Ford taps him for the vice presidency.

Ford appears undecided on whether he will retain Secretaries Claude Brinegar of Transportation, Peter Brennan of Labor, Frederick Dent of Commerce, James Lynn of Housing and Urban Development, and foot-in-mouth Attorney General William Saxbe. If Saxbe is asked to resign, a good stroke might be

THE NIXON FAMILY

FACING THE ORDEAL

The Nixons have always been intensely private people, keeping their own counsel and concealing their innermost feelings behind the masks they present to the public. Last week, as the pressures on the President mounted, each member of this tightly knit family withdrew briefly even from the others, as if only in isolation could the strength be summoned to face the approaching ordeal.

Normally, the two Nixon girls lunched with their mother when they were in the White House, providing her with the only real companionship she had; in recent months Julie and Tricia saw to it that at least one of them was around to keep Mrs. Nixon company. But last Wednesday was no normal day. Joined by her husband Edward, who had hastily flown down from New York City, Tricia Nixon Cox dined in the pink and white suite that was hers before her marriage. Julie Nixon Eisenhower lunched with her husband David in the third-floor solarium, overlooking the Mall and Washington's great monuments. Pat Nixon ate alone one floor below in her sitting room, where in recent weeks she has spent entire days in solitude reading the supportive letters that arrive at the White House at the rate of about 500 a day. Across the way, her husband lunched alone in the Executive Office Building.

In the past Richard Nixon's family, apparently ignorant of the contents of the fateful tapes, had been outspoken in his defense. Julie faced reporters on the White House lawn and insisted on her father's honesty. The quieter Tricia told newsmen in California that "innocence is innocence and my father is innocent!" Pat, whose composure rarely cracks, twice flashed anger at reporters for persisting in questions about Watergate. Last week all were silent. Their silence bothered some of Nixon's supporters. "What sort of man would hide things from his daughters and let them go out and defend him?" asked Franklin Hallock, a Shelter Island, N.Y., real estate dealer.

There was a strange, almost ritualistic quality to the family's activities as they faced Nixon's final crisis. Monday evening the family, joined by Rose Mary Woods, who has been Nixon's personal secretary since 1951,

boarded the presidential yacht for a dinner cruise down the Potomac. "I felt a stab when I saw them leaving for the *Sequoia*," said a member of Mrs. Nixon's personal staff. "If I felt as bad as I did, how must they feel? Yet they were smiling and seemed really cheerful." The scene was reminiscent of the Czar's family going into exile.

On the evening of the cruise, Nixon was still assuring his family that although the House was lost, he hoped for acquittal in the Senate. By Wednesday that was no longer true. That afternoon

Julie walked from the White House to the Executive Office Building for a brief meeting with her father. Later, Tricia and Edward Cox and David Eisenhower called on Nixon. It was a strange performance since, after their separate lunches, the family would be together for dinner, along with Rose Mary Woods. It is possible that during those oddly formal meetings, Nixon first told the family that he was considering resignation, the option he had always rejected.

The dinner was an emotional affair. His wife and daughters were united against his quitting. Nixon had always said that he would "go down to the wire constitutionally." Julie and Tricia continued to argue that he should. Usually, after such a family dinner, the

Nixons would watch a movie together. Last week there was only somber discussion, then tears and embraces.

Finally, there was only acceptance of what had to be done. On Thursday, David Eisenhower and Edward Cox bade occasionally damp-eyed goodbyes to members of the White House staff they had come to know over the past several years. Friday morning was even more difficult. As Nixon took a long, emotional farewell of the White House staff, the girls had to struggle to keep their composure; even Mrs. Nixon seemed on the verge of losing her almost uncanny air of calm. Later, when the rest of the family boarded a helicopter for the hop to Andrews Air Force Base and the last official flight to California aboard Air Force 1, Julie and David remained behind to take charge of the family's personal belongings. As the helicopter lifted off the White House lawn, Julie gave her father the thumbs-up signal.

For the Nixon girls, the trauma of Watergate is likely to diminish with time. Both have lives of their own to lead, Tricia as the wife of a young attorney, Julie as an editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* and wife of the bearer of a legendary name. But for their mother, the shock of re-entry may well persist. Though her husband's career denied her the more private life she would have preferred, his triumphs should have assured her of honors and deference. Now she has been deprived of even this satisfaction. Pat has lost both ways, and very soon she is bound to learn how Lady Bird Johnson felt after she and her husband returned from the White House to private life. "Suddenly," said Mrs. Johnson wistfully, "all the coaches turn to pumpkins again."



NIXON HUGS DAUGHTER JULIE JUST BEFORE RESIGNING
Now the coaches turn to pumpkins.

THE LEGAL AFTERMATH

CITIZEN NIXON AND THE LAW

For Richard Nixon, the sacrifice of his office very likely will not bring even a week of surcease. Within minutes of the resignation speech, Leon Jaworski pointedly announced that so far as Nixon's immunity from criminal prosecution was concerned, "the special prosecutor's office was not asked for any agreement . . . and offered none." The next day, when reporters asked about the possibility of a future pardon should Nixon need one, new Press Secretary J.F. terHorst reiterated Gerald Ford's response at his vice-presidential confirmation hearing: "I do not think the public would stand for it." That judgment was made in other circumstances, and is surely subject to change as public attitudes toward Nixon become clearer in the days ahead. But there is no gainsaying that Nixon's new status as a private citizen puts him in grave peril.

Strong Case

On the facts, the possibility of his indictment and prosecution is serious. Technically speaking, "the decision is Mr. Jaworski's," said Attorney General William Saxbe. For so momentous a matter, Jaworski is sure to seek guidance from Congress and President Ford, though a Jaworski spokesman indicated that the need for a decision was "not immediate." The case for prosecution is clear, however.

Says Stanford Criminal Law Professor John Kaplan, a former prosecutor: "I have a strong feeling that it isn't right to behave like a banana republic and hound the ex-leader. But I regret to say I would go ahead and prosecute. It's a very strong case of obstruction of justice." In fact, even before the latest tape disclosure, the Watergate grand jury had vigorously wanted to indict Nixon while he was President, but was persuaded by Jaworski only to name him an unindicted co-conspirator on the argument that he could only be prosecuted after leaving office. Now the grand jury, which is still sitting, might insist on returning that indictment.

There are other possible criminal charges, including subornation of perjury, tax fraud, misprision of a felony, misuse of Government funds for his private home, violating the civil rights of Daniel Ellsberg and his former psychiatrist, Lewis Fielding. It is not impossible that still further charges will emerge; 12,500 cu. ft. of tapes, records and other Nixon documents remain in the White House. They would normally belong to a former President, but be-

cause they may contain evidence of crimes, there will probably be some effort to comb through them before they are handed over to Nixon.

Federal prosecution is far from his only worry. State or local prosecutors could bring charges in either California or Florida. Civil suits could also be filed. There is the added certainty that Private Citizen Nixon will face the annoyance of frequent appearances as a witness—in the cover-up trial and the Connally milk bribe case among others.

Before last Monday, it had seemed that if he wished, Nixon would be able to avoid at least his federal criminal liabilities by trading his office for immunity from prosecution. But with the revelation of hard evidence of his early knowledge of and involvement in the cover-up, he no longer had "a hole card" to bargain with, as one New York City lawyer put it. Indeed he seems specifically to have rejected immunity, telling congressional leaders as he readied his decision, "I don't want to talk" about personal considerations.

TIME did learn, however, that all last week negotiations went on between lawyers of some cover-up defendants and the White House in hopes of arranging a pardon. Then at the last minute, said a source close to one defendant, "Nixon screwed us," and, properly and wisely, nothing was done for his former aides and agents. There was also speculation that Nixon could have pardoned himself, but Press Secretary terHorst reported that Nixon had taken no such inglorious, secret action before leaving office. Doubtless he had probably not even considered it.

New Lawyer

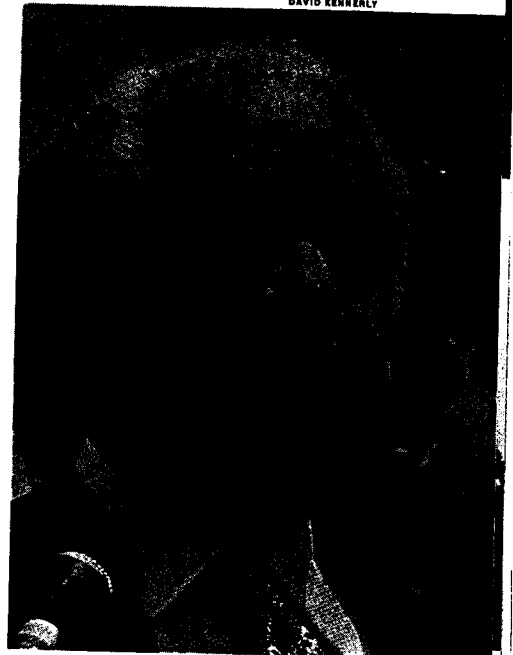
Without immunity or a pardon—and now without access to Government-paid attorneys—Nixon's legal fees could easily hit six figures. By resigning, the former President saved his annual retirement pay of \$60,000, plus \$96,000 a year for staff and expenses. Even without his retirement pay, though, the ex-President would by no means face penury. Literary Agent Scott Meredith (among his clients: Spiro Agnew, Norman Mailer) announced that he had already told an inquiring Nixon aide last month that the Nixon memoirs would probably be worth \$2 million, which would more than comfortably cover any legal costs. There are also the papers from the presidential years and earlier that could be sold. Finally, more than one major financial backer of the ex-President said last week privately that he would willingly contribute to a Nixon legal defense fund.

The former President will have to

get a new lawyer. Even before the resignation was formally filed, James St. Clair announced that he no longer represented Nixon, though at Ford's behest he will stay on at the White House temporarily to supervise the indexing of papers and tapes still under subpoena. The new Nixon attorney will be needed immediately. The cover-up trial of John Mitchell, H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman *et al.* is due to start in three weeks, and should the former President be a witness, he ought to have the advice of a fully informed lawyer before giving any testimony.

Whether or not the ex-President also becomes a defendant in that case remains a haunting problem for the nation as well as Nixon. Democratic Senator Lloyd Bentsen put the Hobson's choice well. "The possibility of a President—a former President—behind bars

DAVID KENNEDY



SPECIAL PROSECUTOR LEON JAWORSKI
No agreement asked or offered.

is personally repugnant to me," he said. "But I'm also caught with the proposition that no man should be above the law." Furthermore, letting the former President go free while his top aides went to jail would seem unjust.

Nonetheless, the University of Chicago's constitutional expert, Philip Kurland, comes down against trying Nixon. "Under our system of criminal justice there is never absolute equality of treatment, and the trial of Nixon would be extremely divisive for the country." His Chicago colleague, Law Professor Gerhard Casper, thinks a Ford pardon would be an "act of grace." It remains to be seen whether that view will accurately distill into the mood of the nation in the months ahead.



RICHARD NIXON AT AGE 14



AS A COLLEGE FOOTBALL PLAYER



HIS BIRTHPLACE IN YORBA LINDA, CALIF.

THE NIXON YEARS

DOWN FROM THE HIGHEST MOUNTAINTOP

There is one thing solid and fundamental in politics . . . the law of change. What's up today is down tomorrow.
—Richard M. Nixon

Few men could make that statement with more authority than the 37th President of the United States. Richard Nixon's career in American politics was a drama marked by breathtaking climbs to what he often called the "mountaintop," followed by precipitous plunges to the depths. Not many of his fellow citizens loved him. Many respected and admired him. Perhaps just as many hated him. He labored under the handicap of being mysterious without being fascinating. His supporters saw him as shrewd enough to win elections and capable enough to run an efficient centrist-conservative Administration that would save the country from radical or liberal excess. To his enemies, he was devious and dangerous, a man without principle, a hungry Cassius who sought power at any cost. However one felt about him, he became a seemingly permanent fixture in American politics, yet always somehow an outsider.

Though Nixon did not register to vote until he was 25, he was a Congressman at 33, a Senator at 37, Vice President at 39—and an apparent has-been at 47. In a spectacular comeback, he fought his way to the presidency eight years later. He won re-election with the greatest number of popular votes in the

nation's history. Then, barely a year later began an inexorable process that devastated his presidency. At the age of 61 he came down from the mountaintop for the last time.

Nixon moved into the White House at an extraordinary moment in American history, toward the end of a decade when the nation had been more troubled and divided than at any time perhaps since the Civil War, certainly since the Great Depression. The Viet Nam War had severely shaken the country's sense of being a morally superior power as well as its belief in its invincibility. The '60s brought deeply troubling questions about the meaning of a good life centering on economic growth and prosperity, about traditional morals, rules and values.

A Fighting World

At such a time many hoped that the new President would bring reconciliation and unity, that he would radiate a kind of healing quality. Nixon saw the opportunity—"Bring Us Together" became his slogan. But he was never capable of the vision and magnanimity to make good on it.

Others hoped that he would simply put the troublemakers, the radicals, the hippies, the blacks, in their places. But even the haters realized, however dimly, that this would not be enough.

So the best hope for Richard Nixon

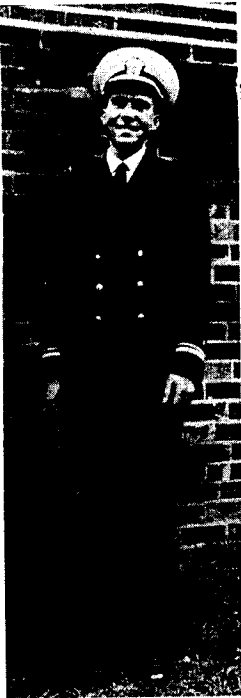
as President was that he might heal through competence; that a pragmatic, efficient leader with access to the best brains—so one imagined at the time—would give the U.S. a new start.

In many respects, Nixon came close. Indeed, he achieved some things that will outlast his disaster. But ultimately he destroyed himself through the tragic flaws in his personality—most notably, perhaps, a frequent inability to face or tell the truth.

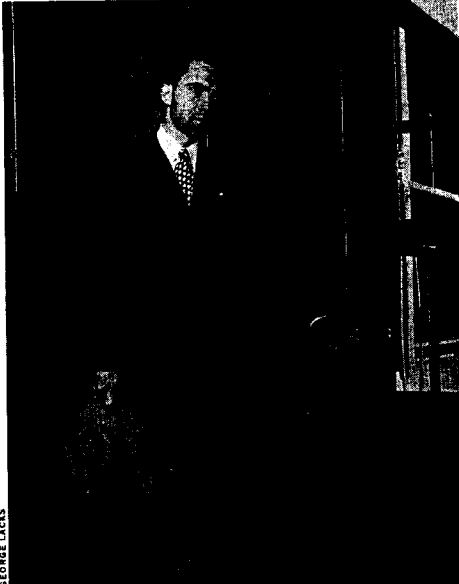
Nixon's public life began 28 years ago, and since then, legions of political commentators, barroom sages, Freudian analysts and psychohistorians have attempted to fathom his inner workings.

He was ill at ease with most people, even politicians; his closest friends were taciturn, self-made men who shunned the spotlight. These were principally those two rich entrepreneurs, Bebe Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp. "I'm an introvert in an extravert profession," Nixon said—a formula that itself may have been a stratagem of concealment. When confronted with a crisis, he became more secretive than ever, withdrawing into seclusion and arriving at a decision with relatively little outside advice. Sternly self-controlled ("I have a fetish about disciplining myself"), he was stiff in public and rarely relaxed in private. As Author Garry Wills maintained in *Nixon Agonistes*, Nixon erected this "wall of decorum in dress and manner" so that he could "fend off the world, avoid participation in it."

Perhaps Nixon did so because he saw the world as a fundamentally hostile place and life as an almost uninterrupted series of crises. In the words of James David Barber, chairman of



AS A NAVY LIEUTENANT



A YOUNG LAWYER IN WHITTIER, CALIF.



A CONGRESSMAN, EXAMINING CHAMBERS' "PUMPKIN FILM"

Duke University's political science department and author of *The Presidential Character*: "Nixon lives in a fighting world; his writing and speaking are full of the imagery of combat. He sees himself as forever engaged in battles, hit by 'terrible attacks,' in virtual hand-to-hand combat."

By seeing himself under permanent siege, he conjured up even more enemies than he actually had. In the face of criticism, he was inclined to retaliate savagely, living under constant temptation to show up his enemies, to "get them" before they got him. After his 1972 triumph, when *New York Times* Columnist James Reston asked whether Nixon's smashing re-election would lead to reconciliation with his enemies, a White House aide replied: "The President does not want to make peace with his critics. He wants them to admit publicly that they were wrong."

In Barber's view, Nixon's greatest fear was "public exposure of personal inadequacy." While he often proclaimed his relish for combat, he seemed to dread it at the same time; it was as if defeat would mean, as it did for the King of the Wood in Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, a sentence of death. It was his efforts to prevent the exposure of his Administration's failings that ultimately undid him.

In one of the press conferences in his last year, Nixon said: "I have a quality which I guess I must have inherited from my Midwestern mother and father, which is that the tougher it gets, the cooler I get." Many who knew him well doubted that claim. They saw, or thought they saw, rage and consuming bitterness beneath the façade. But he did display amazing endurance and (with a

few lapses) a remarkable public calm during more than a year of savage attacks and adversity.

He often invoked his Midwestern heritage. His mother, Hannah Milhous, was an Indiana Quaker whose family, celebrated in Jessamyn West's novel *The Friendly Persuasion*, moved to Whittier, Calif., at the turn of the century. His father, Francis Anthony Nixon, was an Ohio Methodist with only six years of formal education who left his job as a trolley-car operator in Columbus and drifted to Southern California in search of warmer weather. After Frank married Hannah in 1908, he was barely able to scrape by as a citrus-fruit farmer, grocer and gas-station owner. A neighbor described Frank Nixon as "brusque, loud, dogmatic, strong-willed, emotional and impatient." Some who were troubled by Richard Nixon's apparent rootlessness, that strange plastic quality of speech, thought and behavior that somehow failed to suggest the traces of a home town or a home region, blamed this phenomenon on California, often seen as a state of uprooted migrants and shallow or phony culture. That analysis was unfair to California. Whatever it was that made Nixon seem so oddly awkward and synthetic must be looked for in himself.

Hardscrabble Atmosphere

Richard, one of five sons (two died at early ages), grew up in a hardscrabble, contentious atmosphere. He was a gifted student who finished second in his class at the Quaker Whittier College and a less gifted football player who regularly warmed the bench. In later years, he was to recall his coach's advice: "You

must get angry, terribly angry about losing. But the mark of the good loser is that he takes his anger out on himself and not on his victorious opponent or his teammates." Nixon learned only half the lesson, and all his life took his anger out on his opponents as well as himself.

At Duke Law School, where he earned the nickname "Gloomy Gus" for his cautious, pessimistic, Depression-bred outlook, Nixon finished third in his class. Unable to land work with a major New York law firm (he also tried the FBI), he returned to practice in Whittier, where he met Thelma Catherine ("Pat") Ryan, who taught shorthand and typing at the local high school. They were married after a two-year courtship and set up housekeeping in an apartment over a garage.

After Pearl Harbor, Nixon served in Washington with the tire-rationing unit of the Office of Price Administration, a job that gave him a lasting distaste for economic controls. Entering the Navy as a lieutenant (j.g.), he left as a lieutenant commander. He served as a supply officer in the South Pacific, learned poker well enough to win regularly, and developed a colorful vocabulary. He gave up the poker, but his swearing became something of a legend.

Nixon was thrust into politics in 1946 when a group of Southern California Republicans urged him to challenge five-term Democratic Congressman Jerry Voorhis. His prospective sponsors first wanted to know whether Nixon was in fact a Republican. "I guess so," he replied. "I voted for Dewey." Voorhis was an earnest liberal, but Nixon managed to suggest that he was a dangerous left-winger by linking him to



WEEPING DURING 1952 CAMPAIGN



PLAYING WITH DOG CHECKERS



CAMPAIGNING WITH FAMILY IN 1958

the radical California Political Action Committee (PAC).

Voorhis was indeed supported by PAC, but by the more moderate National Citizens PAC and not, as Nixon implied, the California group. Nonetheless, that deliberate confusion plus Nixon's undeniably vigorous campaign gave him a 16,000-vote victory. He was on his way. Before his first term was out, he had become a national figure for his role in the investigation of the attractive, patrician Alger Hiss as a former Communist courier. The House Un-American Activities Committee was ready to abandon its probe, but Nixon persevered until a plainly damaging case had been made against Hiss, largely on the witness of Whittaker Chambers, a brilliant and enigmatic writer and editor who, before he joined TIME in 1939, had been a Communist for 15 years.

Investigative Doggedness

The affair stunned the nation and earned Nixon the enduring enmity of large segments of the U.S. intelligentsia. Emotional revisionists now argue that if Nixon lied in the Watergate affair, his role in the Hiss case was suspect as well. There is no evidence to support that logic. While the country undoubtedly overreacted to the Communist threat, Nixon cannot be faulted for his persistence in the Hiss case, which he pursued with the same investigative doggedness that his own accusers were to demonstrate in Watergate. Later, Nixon wrote in his autobiographical *Six Crises* that what had hurt Hiss most was not what he had done but that he had lied about it. It is a judgment that may well apply to Nixon himself.

Unchallenged for re-election in 1948, Nixon raised his sights in 1950 and ran for the Senate against Congress-



DEFENDING HIMSELF IN 1952 TV SPEECH

woman Helen Gahagan Douglas, a former actress. It would be, he said, a "rocking, socking campaign." That was putting it mildly. Nixon issued a "pink sheet" showing that Douglas and Vito Marcantonio, a Communist-lining Congressman from New York's East Harlem, had cast 354 identical votes in the House. A lot of others had voted with Marcantonio on many issues, including Nixon, who sided with him 112 times out of roughly 200 votes. Still, the tactic earned Douglas a label that stuck: "The Pink Lady."

Two years later, at the age of 39, Nixon was nominated to be Dwight Eisenhower's running mate on the G.O.P. ticket. In *The Making of the President 1960*, Theodore White quoted a Republican strategist as explaining: "We took Dick Nixon not because he was right-wing or left-wing but because we were tired, and he came from California."

In the midst of the campaign, Nixon came very close to political oblivion. News stories disclosed that California businessmen had raised an \$18,000 fund to ease Nixon's financial burden. With Ike on the verge of dropping him, Nixon proved equal to his first real crisis. On radio and television, he insisted that the fund was used for political and not personal expenses, that he was a man of modest means whose wife did not wear mink but "a respectable Repub-

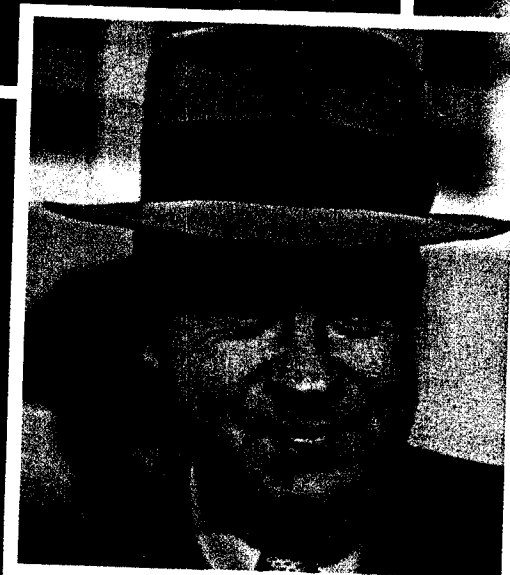
lican cloth coat," and that, yes, there was one gift he was going to keep—a black and white cocker spaniel named Checkers. Though many found "the Checkers speech" full of cant and treacly sentimentality, the flood of favorable telegrams persuaded Eisenhower to execute a smart about-face. "You're my boy," he told Nixon.

On the campaign trail, Nixon gave the whole U.S. a good look at the sometimes ugly cut-and-thrust style he had developed in California, freely tossing about phrases like "Adlai the Appeaser" and "Dean Acheson's College of Cowardly Communist Containment." Nobody was to rise to such alliterative heights again for 17 years, when Nixon's own Vice President ("Nixon's Nixon," as Eugene McCarthy called Agnew) started talking about "nattering nabobs of negativism" and the like.

A Near Thing

As second-in-command, Nixon often served as Ike's emissary at home and abroad, tending to G.O.P. matters and visiting nearly threescore foreign countries; on one such trip, Nixon was in real danger when a Communist-led mob in Caracas besieged his car, smashed its windows and covered him with spittle. When Ike was felled by a heart attack in 1955, Nixon handled himself with dignity and caution. He conducted Cabinet meetings from his own chair, not Ike's, during the President's illness.

Though Eisenhower called Nixon "the most valuable member of my team," it was a poorly kept secret that he considered his Vice President "too political," too unimaginative, too much a man without real roots, to fill the top job. He even made a stab at keeping Nixon off the ticket for a second term. But Nixon rallied grass-roots Republi-



Some moments to remember, clockwise from top left: Nixon sharing a victory wave with Ike after 1956 election; Pat at a tea in her honor in San Francisco, 1956; Julie listening to her voice on father's Dictaphone, 1958; with Pat and daughters Julie and Tricia at the 1960 G.O.P. Convention in Chicago; playing the piano at his Key Biscayne retreat in 1968. Center: Vice President Nixon, in 1955, sporting a rare hat

HANK WALKER—LIFE, LEONARD MCCOMB—LIFE, WALKER, WALKER, ARTHUR SCHATZ—LIFE, CENTER: WALKER





Nixon in happier times, clockwise from top left: with Julie at her 1968 wedding in New York; with Tricia at her 1971 wedding in the White House Rose Garden; talking to Khrushchev in Moscow, 1959; at Pakistan embassy with Pat, 1955; with Bebe Rebozo on Rebozo's houseboat, 1970; welcoming Churchill to Washington, 1954

BOB PETERSON; CO NENTMEESTER—LIFE; HOWARD SOCHUREK—LIFE; GEORGE SKADDING—LIFE; ARTHUR SCHATZ—LIFE; GEORGE SKADDING—LIFE



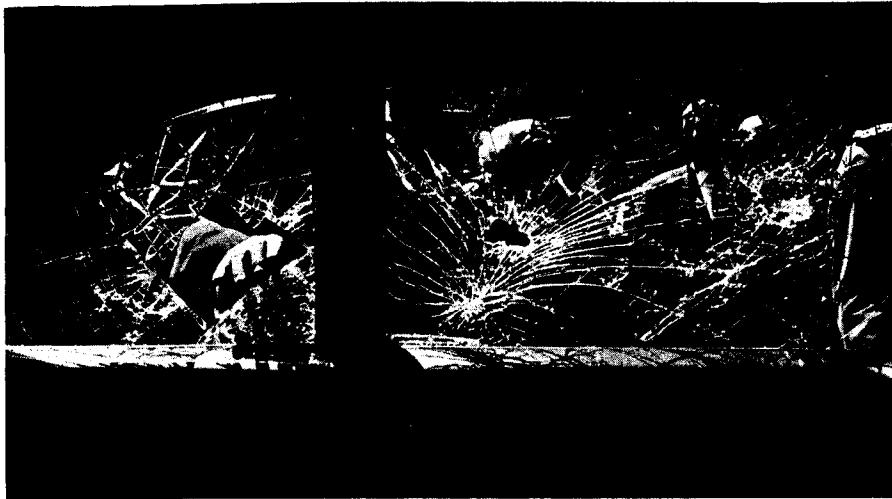
Days of triumph, clockwise from top left: Nixon acknowledging cheers with Agnew at 1972 G.O.P. Convention; toasting Chou En-lai in Peking, 1972; with Sammy Davis at 1972 convention; campaigning in 1968; huddling with Brezhnev in Moscow, 1972

KEN RESAY—CAMERA 5; JOHN DOMINIS—LIFE, KEN HEYMAN; MICHAEL MAUNEY, HARRY BENSON



Clockwise from top left: Nixon strolling with John Mitchell at Washington National Airport during 1968 campaign; with G.I.'s in Viet Nam in 1969; exhorting supporters at Huntsville, Ala., in February 1974; with Pat on Great Wall of China, 1972.

ARTHUR SCHATZ — LIFF, SCHATZ, DICK HALSTEAD, JOHN DOMINIS — LIFE



SMASHED WINDOWS ON NIXON'S CAR AFTER ATTACK BY CARACAS MOB IN 1958



AT WHITE HOUSE AFTER IKE'S 1957 STROKE

can support and Ike abruptly caved in.

He did, however, hurt Nixon—inadvertently or otherwise—just as the 1960 presidential campaign was about to get under way. Asked whether any major Nixonian ideas or policies had been adopted during the past eight years, Ike said: "If you give me a week, I might think of one. I don't remember."

The four televised debates with Kennedy damaged Nixon more. Particularly in the first confrontation, Nixon appeared tired, edgy and stiff; his makeup was a disaster. Overall, the debates did much to project the image of Kennedy as a smooth, graceful aristocrat with the easy manners of wealth and good schooling. In contrast, Nixon suggested a sweaty sense of social inferiority. Nixon had much in his favor—eight years of national, highly visible experience; Kennedy was a Catholic, very young, a rich man's son. The election was a near thing. Kennedy won by only 113,000 votes out of 68.8 million.

Seeking a new political start, Nixon challenged the popular Edmund ("Pat") Brown for the governorship of California in 1962, but was beaten by 300,000 votes (out of 5,850,000). Fatigued and haggard, Nixon mounted a podium at Los Angeles' Beverly Hilton Hotel the following morning and, to the astonishment of the assembled newsmen, lashed out angrily at them. "Just think how much you're going to be missing. You won't have Nixon to kick around any more because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference."

The 37th President

In the wake of that embarrassing demonstration, almost every commentator wrote that Nixon was politically washed up. He moved to Manhattan, which seemed to strip him of a power base but actually propelled him into the heady world of big law and big money. Said Nixon: "Any person tends to vege-

tate unless he is moving on a fast track."

As a \$200,000-a-year law partner and the seigneur of a posh Fifth Avenue apartment, Nixon was soon jetting all over the world, touching base with statesmen and politicians. Most important, speech-making and fund-raising favors for G.O.P. candidates and committeemen from Florida to California won him liens on votes to be cast at future nominating conventions.

In 1964 Nixon gave full support and substantial time to Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign. He knew Goldwater had no chance, but his efforts in a lost cause won Nixon the gratitude of G.O.P. conservatives and helped to convince all of the party's factions that it would take a centrist—not a man at either extreme—to win the next presidential election. In 1966 Nixon barnstormed so energetically for Republican Congressmen and Governors that an irritated Lyndon Johnson labeled him a "chronic campaigner."

In 1968, to refute those who said that he was a born loser, Nixon entered six presidential primaries, won them all and sailed into Miami Beach with the nomination virtually wrapped up. His selection of "Spiro Who?" seemed a spur-of-the-moment thing, but Nixon had already rejected big-name possibilities like Nelson Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan and had said of Agnew: "You can look him in the eye and know he's got it." More important, Agnew was acceptable to South Carolina Senator J. Strom Thurmond, and Nixon owed Thurmond a favor for keeping the Dixie delegations in line during the balloting for the presidential nomination.

Nixon was mightily assisted by the disarray of the Democrats and their ghastly Chicago convention. With much of the nation grown weary of constant turmoil and incessant criticism from within, Nixon vowed that he would listen to "the voice of the great majority of Americans, the forgotten Americans,

the non-shouters, the non-demonstrators, that are not racists or sick, that are not guilty of the crime that plagues the land." It was a clear call to the great "Silent Majority."

For all its timeliness, it almost failed. Despite a deficit in the polls of nearly 15% at the outset of the campaign, despite the defection of blue-collar Democratic votes to George Wallace, Hubert Humphrey nearly closed the gap. Some analysts contend that he would have won if Lyndon Johnson, who was anything but helpful to his Vice President, had halted the bombing of North Viet Nam a few weeks, instead of a few days, before the campaign ended. As it was, Nixon became the 37th President of the United States by a bare seven-tenths of 1% of the popular vote. It was only slightly larger than the margin by which he had lost the presidency in 1960.

The Cause of Peace

From the first he was an almost exclusive President. He surrounded himself with a zealous, jealous palace guard and made himself virtually inaccessible to all but a handful of advisers. He had no fewer than nine separate offices to work—or hide—in. His contacts with Congress were infrequent and before long the White House and the Hill were at sword's point.

It quickly became clear that what Nixon most enjoyed was the plot and play of diplomacy. In his first Inaugural Address he said: "I shall consecrate my office, my energies and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations. After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation."

His foreign policy accomplishments were remarkable, beginning with the stroke of good judgment in appointing Henry Kissinger his chief international adviser. Despite occasional flare-ups of imperial rhetoric, he and Kissinger in ef-



WITH FAMILY & FRIENDS AT 1958 BARBECUE



DEBATING WITH JOHN F. KENNEDY IN 1960

fect redefined America's role in the world. They saw that the U.S. no longer was able, as it had been in the essentially abnormal period of World War II and its aftermath, to solve problems singlehanded, to carry the globe on its shoulders. They considered the U.S. still the world's most powerful country, but one that would have to negotiate, operate and maneuver from more modest and more realistic assumptions.

The rapprochement with Peking was a bold reversal of a longstanding and ultimately unrealistic U.S. policy that recognized the isolated Chiang Kai-shek regime on Taiwan as the legitimate regime of China and treated the Chinese Communists, who had ruled the country since 1949, as a regime of outlaw usurpers. By the late '60s anyone who was President might well have wished to make the change, but perhaps only a Republican President with impeccable anti-Communist credentials could have carried it off.

Doubts About Détente

Détente with Moscow was less dramatic, but given the nuclear realities, more important. It was in part, of course, a consequence of the China initiative, though Nixon and Kissinger were never crude in playing off the Chinese and Soviets. Another factor that on the surface, at least, made the Russians more tractable was their need for Western trade and technology, and the long deferred demands inside the Soviet Union for a better life.

Some second thoughts about détente set in on both sides. In the U.S. there was much concern about Soviet backing of the Arab states against Israel and the limitations on emigration of Soviet Jews. There was anxiety about the apparent Soviet determination to press ahead with vast armament programs so that a SALT agreement with regard to of-

fensive weapons remained in serious doubt. The 1974 summit produced only limited gains on that front.

On the other hand, détente finally paid off in the Middle East. The Russians had seemed ready to exploit every anti-U.S. opportunity in the area and, in particular, massively armed Syria. But after the Yom Kippur War, they played second fiddle to Kissinger's spectacular effort for peace and saw their own influence decline. The changed U.S. attitude toward the Arabs, from blind backing of Israel to what Nixon had described as a more evenhanded policy, was among the most important of all of Nixon's foreign policy accomplishments.

Throughout all of this there occurred a weakening in the alliance between the U.S. and Western Europe, caused partly by U.S. diplomatic failures, but mostly by new power relationships in the world and by the Europeans' own disarray and weakness. Eventually the Nixon Administration and the new governments in Western Europe seemed to be working out a sounder relationship.

From the U.S. point of view, one reason détente with Peking and Moscow was so important was that it was indispensable to ending the Viet Nam War. Though the Soviet Union and China kept supplying the North Vietnamese, they sat still for the notorious Christmas 1972 bombing of Hanoi and the mining of Haiphong. In the end they backed a negotiated settlement. Nixon and Kissinger managed to pull out U.S. forces and retrieve the American prisoners. Perhaps it was not "peace with honor" (certainly not peace for Viet Nam), but they achieved something that had seemed impossible for years: a U.S. departure that could not be called a sell-out of the non-Communist regime in Saigon.

Was it worth the price—and did the price really have to be paid? Debate will continue for years over whether the

American role in the war could not have been ended considerably sooner on much the same terms as finally resulted. During the four years that the negotiations were under way, 15,000 American servicemen died in Indochina (of a total of 46,000 since the war began in 1961) and 100,000 were wounded (of 300,000).

As the Viet Nam War wound down, the campuses and ghettos cooled; the riots after the Cambodian invasion and the killings at Kent State were the last major eruption. Quiet set in partly from sheer exhaustion and also because violence promised to bring ever diminishing returns under the Nixon Administration. This must be counted as one of his major accomplishments, even if some of the methods used were deplorable.

In its determined effort to discourage dissent, the Administration often ignored civil rights and tried dubious legal tactics. It arrested 12,000 demonstrators during the 1971 May Day protest in Washington, then released most of them without charges (only 79 were convicted). It staged several costly, time-consuming conspiracy trials. Most were ultimately thrown out of court.

Record at Home

The key to Nixon's domestic program was his remark, "Simply throwing money at problems does not solve anything." It could have been the start of a truly innovative and intelligent reform movement—and it may yet prove to be so. Nixon's own accomplishments were mixed.

To decentralize the functions that had begun flowing to Washington from the cities and states 40 years earlier, Nixon proposed the creation of a "New Federalism." He recommended that it be brought about by means of a six-point program which he overbilled as "the



ATTACKING PRESS IN 1962

New American Revolution." The only part of the plan to be enacted in full, however, was a five-year, \$30 billion revenue-sharing scheme to funnel federal tax money back to cities and states, thereby giving them greater discretion in spending on local needs.

Tinkering with Controls

Nixon's most promising domestic proposal was shaped by Daniel P. Moynihan—before he, like so many others in the Administration, drifted away (Moynihan went off to an ambassadorship in New Delhi after his pet programs were gutted; Housing Boss George Romney quit in discouragement; Interior Secretary Walter Hickel was sacked for, among other things, criticizing the U.S. invasion of Cambodia; and, of course, Attorney General Elliot Richardson and his deputy William Ruckelshaus became victims of the "Saturday night massacre"). It would have replaced the present chaotic welfare system with a new family-assistance program. Many liberals criticized that scheme as providing insufficient money, but it was a major step in the right direction. Nixon unfortunately abandoned it, along with several other proposals, only partly because of a hostile Democratic Congress. Because he did not sufficiently back some of his own schemes, he became the leading counter-revolutionary of his own revolution. Only recently, however, he advanced a new Health Care Insurance scheme—short of what the Democrats proposed, but widely acclaimed as a breakthrough toward sensible national health care.

TIME, AUGUST 19, 1974



MOURNING 1962 LOSS IN CALIFORNIA

Nixon's greatest policy failure was the domestic economy—something nobody would have expected from a President with strong links to the business community. He dramatically abandoned his strongly proclaimed orthodox principles, went in for deficit financing, and in 1971 imposed wage and price controls. These did help restrain inflation for a while, but there followed a period of indecisive tinkering with controls, decontrols and semi-controls before returning to no controls and declarations of faith in the free market. The situation was aggravated by the pumping up of the money supply in the election year 1972, and then in 1973 by the energy crisis, for which the Administration had been woefully unprepared. The country faced a truly alarming inflation rate, higher than anything the U.S. had known in peacetime; while much of it had to do with international factors beyond U.S. control, it represented, aside from Watergate itself, the Nixon Administration's worst failure. By midsummer 1974, the Administration's only policy was to suggest that slower growth and budgetary restraint, even at the cost of some rise in unemployment, would eventually reduce inflation. To be sure, not many businessmen or economists, liberal or conservative, had much else to suggest.

On the crucial issue of race, Nixon's record was unpleasant. The best that can be said for him in the social area is that he lowered the unrealistically high expectations that had been stirred up by Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. This was an act of realism that was needed in the U.S. Nixon proba-



RELAXING WITH PETS IN NEW YORK APARTMENT IN 1964

bly expressed an overwhelming majority feeling in his firm opposition to busing: eventually his Supreme Court, presided over by Warren Burger, dealt busing a severe blow by ruling Detroit's cross-district busing unconstitutional.

But Nixon consistently failed to appeal to the better natures of American citizens; he gave undue aid and comfort to the narrow and mean-spirited. Acutely conscious that middle- and low-income whites alike were resentful of the special efforts that were being made to ease the plight of America's 20 million blacks, Nixon adopted a hands-off approach. His textual justification, wrenched out of its context, was Moynihan's statement that "the time may have come when the issue of race could benefit from a period of benign neglect." Moynihan was saying not only that the issue had been "too much talked about" but also that other minorities (Indians, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans) were not getting enough attention. In any case, to many blacks, "benign neglect" seemed distinctly malign.

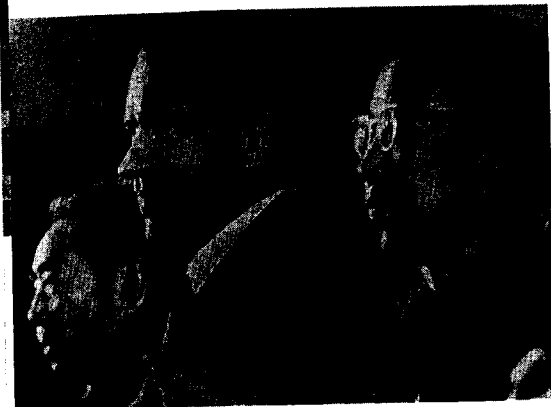
Ideological Flexibility

By the time of the 1972 election the radical "threat" to American society, always exaggerated, had largely spent itself. But Nixon chose to run against the 1960s—against radicalism, excess, permissiveness—a strategy in which he was greatly aided by McGovern's ill-considered and irresponsible economic schemes, and by the vaguely "revolutionary" slogans put about by some of his wilder and woollier supporters.

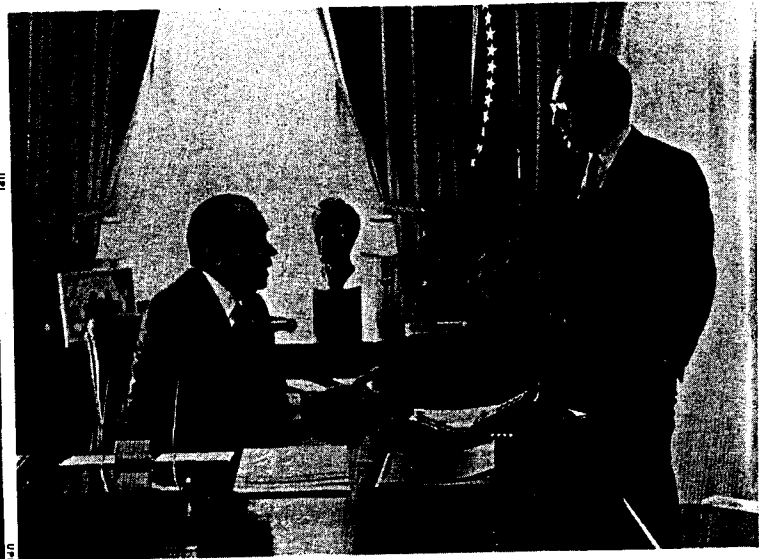
To the very end, Nixon defied anal-



CONFERRING WITH MAO TSE-TUNG IN PEKING



WITH CHOU EN-LAI AND MAO'S WIFE, MME. CHIANG CHING



AT HIS DESK IN THE OVAL OFFICE WITH HENRY KISSINGER

ysis. The reason columnists, like auto manufacturers, almost annually proclaimed the emergence of "a new Nixon" lay partly in his remarkable opportunism. Few politicians have ever preached the verities of work ethic, law and order, anti-Communism and the rest with such fervor while so thoroughly readjusting their private dogmas to deal with events. Like an Elmer Gantry intransigent in the pulpit, Nixon knew all about sin and situational ethics in the political streets. The ideological flexibility that allowed him to embrace China and Russia, a guaranteed annual income, and wage and price controls, always troubled conservatives.

Until Watergate, on the other hand, liberals half believed that Nixon's new incarnations meant a pattern of growth. They disliked him, but they also tried to perceive over the years a man successively shucking off his earlier gut-fighting instinct, his narrow anti-Communism, becoming more tolerant, more statesmanlike, more "presidential." Then Watergate descended, and it seemed to embody all of the worst tendencies of his career—a conniving secretiveness and manipulation, suspicion and vindictiveness, a harsh instinct for guerrilla politics. The Nixon of Watergate behaved, in the memorable phrase of the late Stewart Alsop, as if he were waging war, not politics. Some of Nixon's defenders excused this as an over-reaction to the radical threat of the '60s. But the record shows that this kind of paranoia was present in Nixon long before. His Watergate record suggested a serious failure to understand the boundaries of the democratic process.

Nixon was occasionally capable of eloquence; he could be graceful and witty in some informal settings. Yet too often his rhetoric had a fatally inauthentic sound. As Garry Wills wrote, "There is a genius of deflation that follows Nixon about"—a talent for bathos. Too often he confused moral leadership with attitudinizing, with public relations gambits. He was preoccupied with technique—above all, the technique of winning elections—and possessed too little interest in the larger questions of what an election is all about.

Two Levels

John Mitchell said in 1969: "Watch what we do, not what we say." More than most politicians, Nixon tended to operate on two distinct levels: 1) the psychologically necessary level of rhetoric and 2) the frequently contradictory level of action—the place where "real life" and "hardball" politics occur. It is no wonder that Nixon's public words often fell with the thump of oversimplification and overstatement. He relied on the event itself, "what we do," as a corrective to the falsifications of his own language, or else he found his freedom in the ideological blur between the two. He would give some constituents the rhetoric and some the policy.

Such discrepancies reinforced a sense of Nixon as a man not so much engaged in sophisticated *Realpolitik* as somehow divorced from the real world outside his own crisis-ridden mind. The gap between public and private man was startling. Any leadership implies a certain amount of theater, but anyone who

has read through the White House transcripts now and then feels himself in the presence of the unfrocked Wizard of Oz. The decisive, articulate, superbly managerial Nixon seems stuttering, vague, lost and occasionally almost bullied by his subordinates—unless one accepts Rutgers Professor Richard Poirier's thesis that in those conversations the President was shrewdly trying to feel out his lieutenants about how much they knew. Britain's conservative *Daily Telegraph* had another theory: "The sordid clique which he brought into the White House and with which he talked in a sleazy and obscenely vulgar style entirely absent from his talks and contacts with others seems to have corroded part of his character."

One of the enduring mysteries of Watergate, of course, will be why Nixon did not simply destroy the White House tapes the instant their existence became known, later pleading national security considerations. From the beginning, Nixon's handling of Watergate has been marked by a clumsiness, sometimes an outright incompetence, that has been startling in a man with a previous reputation for shrewdness and intelligence. He consistently misjudged or underestimated the impact of the scandals—as if they were a malevolent illusion summoned up by his enemies. In an extraordinary interview last May with one of his last-ditch supporters, Rabbi Baruch Korff, Nixon indicated that he still had not comprehended his own desperate condition—or even that he had done anything very wrong. "If I were basically a liberal by [the press's] standards, if I had bugged out on Viet Nam, which



SHAKING HANDS WITH EGYPT'S PRESIDENT SADAT IN CAIRO THIS YEAR



WITH FORMER ISRAELI PREMIER GOLDA MEIR

they wanted," he said, "Watergate would have been a blip."

Nixon's critics, like Nixon, have tended toward overstatement. Poirier sees Nixon as Moby Dick—"a kind of frightening and tantalizing blank (though elemental force) in the political sea." Some think of Hannah Arendt's formula of the banality of evil—which, since it is an echo of her Adolf Eichmann thesis, is an ugly comparison. On the other extreme, Nixon likened himself to Abraham Lincoln. All of that, again, is propaganda—politics as P.R.

History will be forced to "watch what Nixon did." History, of course, has often reversed the verdict of contemporaries. The present verdict, unripened by perspective, is very sharply split. On one side Nixon as a visionary of foreign policy (with Kissinger's indispensable assistance). On the other, Nixon as a strange and solipsistic figure who confused self and office, aggrandizing both to the point that both were ultimately demeaned.

The American dream encouraged Richard Nixon to seize what he could, and what he sought was political power. A difficult and intensely private public man, he performed important services for the U.S. He was a patriot by his own lights but also something of a subversive, for he overstepped the limits of the U.S. Constitution in ways that no President had done before. The Constitution, no more, no less, eventually had the slow, reflexive power to punish him for it.

PAT NIXON: STEEL AND SORROW

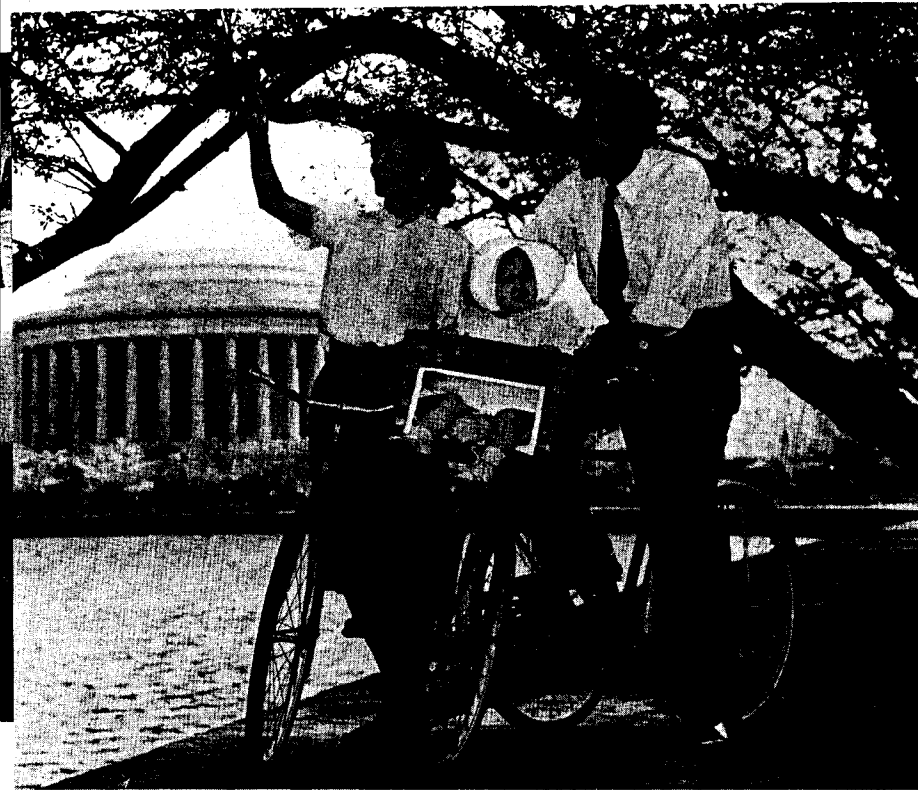
She was followed and photographed everywhere, from the top of the Great Wall of China to the high plains of Peru, but in many ways Pat Nixon as First Lady was even more of an enigma than her husband. She was a profoundly private woman whose true feelings were known only to herself. To the world, she was the perfect presidential wife, tireless, modestly chic, coolly regal. To her family, she was the ultimate support, so accustomed to smiling through adversity that it became routine. When she was a girl, she once said, "life was sort of sad, so I tried to cheer everybody up. I learned to be that kind of person."

When Nixon was considering resigning from the Republican ticket in 1952 over a campaign-funding scandal, Pat helped persuade him to stay on. "If you do not fight back but simply crawl away, you will destroy yourself," he later quoted her as having told him. Three minutes before he went on the air with his famous Checkers speech, he faltered again, telling her that he did not think he could do it. "Of course you can," she replied. "Pat is not a quitter," he told a nationwide TV audience minutes later. "After all, her name was Patricia Ryan and she was born on St. Patrick's Day—and you know the Irish never quit."

Much of her life was indeed a hard, often grim schooling in simply overcoming. She was born in Ely, Nev., in 1912, and was moved to California before she was two. By the time she reached adolescence, she was nursing her mother, who was dying of cancer, and doing chores on the family's ten-acre truck farm in Artesia, about 16 miles southeast of Los Angeles. Shortly after her mother died, she was nurse again to her father, who had contracted silicosis as a copper miner. On her own at 17, just as the Depression was beginning, she took on a series of jobs—everything from telephone-switchboard operator to \$7-a-day movie extra—to put herself through the University of Southern California.

Pat was working in Whittier, Calif., when she met Nixon, who sought a role in an amateur play just to meet the pretty new teacher. He proposed the first night he saw her, but she kept him waiting for two years before finally consenting, at the age of 28, to become Mrs. Richard Nixon. Once the vows were taken, she totally subordinated herself to his life and his ambitions, serving as wife, mother and uncomplaining companion on political platforms round the globe. "The only thing I could do was help him," she later said, "but it was not a life I would have chosen."

Away from her husband, she could be warm and outgoing. But many people saw her as Plastic Woman, with a smiling mask and a bland word for ev-



THE YOUNG CONGRESSMAN & HIS WIFE WITH 13-MONTH-OLD TRICIA (1947)



STIFLING SOBS AFTER 1960 DEFEAT
"It was not a life I would have chosen."

every occasion. Asked if she was ever bored by the same tedious campaign rally day after day, she would answer: "I'm always interested in the rallies, they're so different. Some are outside; some are inside. Some have old people; some have young people." All places she visited were fine and interesting, none ever finer or more interesting than another. She deflected questions with a wave of the hand and the words "You'll have to ask Dick about that."

Unlike Jacqueline Kennedy, who redecorated the White House, or Lady Bird Johnson, who promoted a national beautification program, Pat never deliberately carved out any special province as First Lady (though she added as many antiques to the White House

as Jackie did). She was nonetheless a highly useful political helpmeet to her husband. Her attractive Middle American image, well-groomed but never so conspicuously fashionable to cause envy, could scarcely have been better for a conservative President. She had a talent for small talk and mixing with people that always eluded Nixon. He quickly discovered as well that she was an ideal ambassador, and she has probably traveled more miles abroad than any other First Lady. Through some legerdemain, she always managed on those trips, no matter how long and tiring the day, to look perfectly turned

out and to be gracious to all. On occasion there was a hint that there might be another Pat Nixon. Appearing on television when her husband conceded to John Kennedy in 1960, she struggled to stifle deep sobs. Her friends saw her cry during that period for the first and last time. Having seen her husband defeated in 1960 and again, in a bid for the governorship of California, in 1962, she made it quietly clear six years later that she did not want him to run for President. But she did not oppose his running for a second term.

As it had been for so many of her predecessors, the role of First Lady was far more of a burden for her than a glory. When asked what she had given up when she moved into the White House,



U.S.C. GRADUATION PICTURE (1937)

she replied simply but eloquently: "Privacy." What did she miss most? She repeated: "My privacy."

If the years made Pat stronger than most people—she is, in fact, more so than plastic—they also left her, like her husband, with a deep resentment toward those who escaped the same harsh struggles. "I never had time to dream about being anyone else," she once told a woman reporter in a rare unguarded moment. "I had to work. I haven't just backed and thought of myself or my idea or what I wanted to do. I've kept working. I don't have time to worry about who I admire or who I identify with. I've never had it easy. I'm not like you... all those people who had it easy."

Throughout the ordeal of Watergate Pat was the firm standard around which the rest of the family rallied. "I do know how she does it," said one member of her staff. "There are times when it must be unbearable. But she does not let down. She is the most self-disciplined woman I have ever seen." Said her son-in-law, David Eisenhower: "Mrs. Nixon is always there with a shoulder to lean on. But whose shoulder does she have to lean on?" It is a perhaps unanswerable question. The only reply may well be: no one's.

Looking from the outside, no one can say what any marriage is really like but even during their private hours the Nixons were often apart. No one could overlook the many weekends they were off to Camp David or to the Bahama island of Robert Abplanalp with Charles ("Bebe") Rebozo, leaving Pat alone. Her own staff bristled at the way he ignored her in public appearances, and there were few of the usual affectionate gestures between husband and wife.

Whenever she was asked if she was happy, Pat usually said something like "Yes, I am. I've got the greatest guy in the world." Once, when a reporter suggested that she had had a good life, she raised her eyebrows and retorted: "I just don't tell all." Those five words may tell everything.

THE DECLINE AND FALL

The inadequate term Watergate has come to encompass all the wrongdoing of which Richard Nixon and other members of his Administration stand accused—and in many cases convicted—including the politicization of federal agencies, misuse of federal funds for private purposes, attempted bribery by milk producers, misprision of felony, subornation of perjury, obstruction of justice. This catalogue of crimes and misdeeds did not begin with the break-in at the Democratic National Committee headquarters, but were it not for that bungled burglary and the subsequent cover-up, most or all of the offenses might have gone unnoticed and unpunished. Why the President allowed himself to become entrapped in the web of events that followed the crime is a puzzle. Indeed, there is a great deal about Watergate that will only be sorted out after much time has passed. But much is already known. Here is a recapitulation of the critical events that destroyed Nixon's presidency.

I The Break-in

Planning for the Watergate operation begins in January 1972. In his office, Attorney General John Mitchell, along with Presidential Counsel John Dean and Acting Director of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President (C.R.P.) Jeb Stuart Magruder, listens as G. Gordon Liddy, general counsel to C.R.P., spells out a \$1 million intelligence plan: electronic surveillance, abduction of radical leaders, muggings, the use of call girls to obtain information from leading Democrats. According to Magruder, Mitchell tells Liddy to come up with something more "realistic." On March 30, Mitchell, now director of C.R.P., meets with Magruder to discuss a \$250,000 proposal. Magruder later says that Mitchell approved the plan; Fred LaRue, a special assistant to Mitchell who was present at the meeting, says it was tabled for future discussion; Mitchell denies ever giving his approval. Two crucial questions remain: Who gave final O.K. for the burglary? What were they seeking that would justify so bizarre a crime?

An intelligence-gathering operation is set into motion. Checks worth \$89,000, illegal corporate contributions, are laundered through a Mexican bank and transmitted to Bernard Barker, who deposits them in his Miami bank. He also

deposits a \$25,000 check given to C.R.P. by Kenneth Dahlberg, Republican finance chairman in the Midwest. This money will help uncover the C.R.P. involvement in Watergate.

Liddy takes charge of the operation, aided by former CIA Agent E. Howard Hunt and C.R.P. Security Coordinator James McCord. Several Cuban refugees are recruited: Barker, Eugenio Martinez, Virgilio Gonzalez and Frank Sturgis. The stage is set.

After two botched attempts, the burglars on May 27 get into the D.N.C. offices. McCord places wiretaps on the phones of Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien and Executive Director of Democratic State Chairmen R. Spencer Oliver Jr. Soon transcripts of Oliver's conversations are being passed to Magruder and through him to Mitchell. As Magruder later testifies, Mitchell orders Liddy to get better information.

Another break-in is arranged for June 17. But shortly after 1 a.m., Private Security Guard Frank Wills spots a door in the Watergate with its lock taped open. He summons the police, who catch McCord, Barker, Sturgis, Gonzalez and Martinez in the D.N.C. The police confiscate surveillance equipment and find 32 sequentially numbered \$100 bills, which Barker has withdrawn from the \$89,000 in Miami.

II The Cover-Up Begins

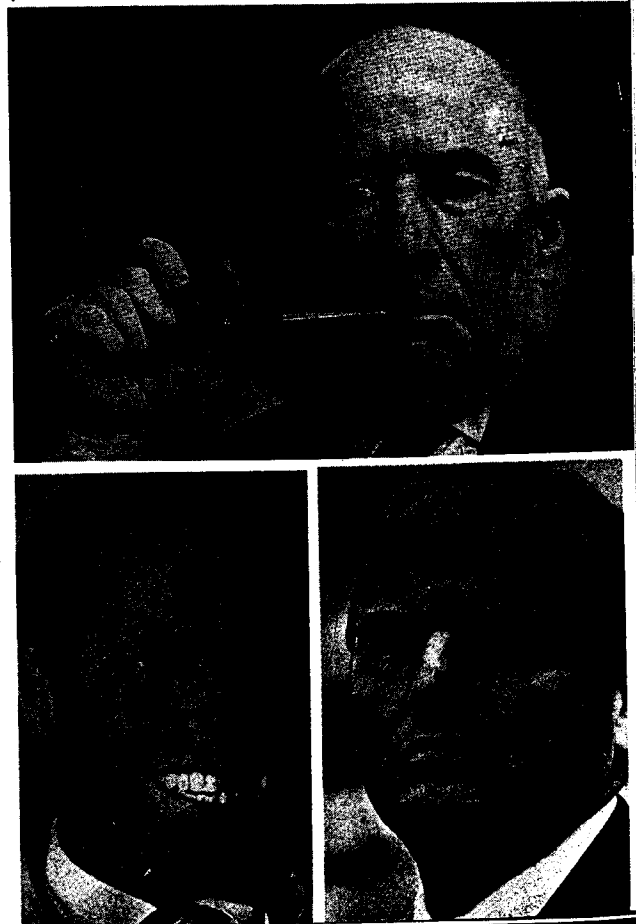
Two days after the arrest, White House Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler dismisses the affair as "a third-rate burglary attempt," adding that "certain elements may try to stretch this beyond what it is." But others are less blasé. Within hours of the break-in, FBI agents find Hunt's name in the address books of Barker and Martinez. Administration officials are also worried because Hunt and Liddy were involved in another secret operation, the White House plumbers, set up in mid-1971 to stop security leaks and investigate other sensitive security matters.

The cover-up begins. On June 20, Dean cleans out Hunt's safe, discovering files on the Pentagon papers case and a forged diplomatic ca-

ble that implicates the Kennedy Administration in the assassination in 1963 of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem. Dean later testifies that Nixon's chief domestic adviser John Ehrlichman subsequently tells him to "deep six" a briefcase full of surveillance equipment and other evidence.

On June 23, Nixon orders Haldeman to have the CIA block the FBI's investigation into the source of Watergate funding. That day Haldeman and Ehrlichman meet with CIA Director Richard Helms and Deputy Director Vernon Walters. Helms says that no CIA operations will be endangered by the FBI probe. Haldeman insists that it is the "President's wish" that Walters ask the FBI not to pursue the investigation into Mexico. A tape transcript of a conversation with Haldeman (released last week in the move that finally forces Nixon's resignation) shows that Nixon hopes to hide White House and C.R.P. involvement in the break-in by getting the CIA to limit the FBI's activities. Nixon's personal attorney Herbert Kalmbach gets \$75,000 from Maurice Stans, chairman of the Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President—the first of more than \$400,000 distributed to the Watergate defendants and their lawyers.

JOHN MITCHELL (TOP), H.R. HALDEMAN (BOTTOM LEFT) & JOHN EHRLICHMAN



THE NATION

The cover-up holds through the summer. On Aug. 29, Nixon tells a news conference that Dean has conducted a thorough investigation and "I can say categorically that . . . no one in the White House staff, no one in this Administration, presently employed, was involved in this very bizarre incident." Dean never made such an investigation, according to his testimony months later. On Sept. 15, in a recorded Oval Office conversation, Nixon congratulates Dean: "The way you, you've handled it, it seems to me, has been very skillful, because you—putting your fingers in the dikes every time that leaks have sprung here and sprung there."

On Nov. 7, Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew are re-elected by a landslide. Watergate is all but forgotten. Early the next year, as the Watergate trial of the five burglars plus Liddy and Hunt gets under way with Judge John

J. Sirica presiding, there is no hint that anybody else will be implicated. On Jan. 11, Hunt pleads guilty to all counts against him, and four days later the four Cuban Americans follow suit. Despite pressure from Sirica to get the burglars to tell the whole story, Hunt tells reporters that no "higher-ups" are involved.

III Cracks in the Stonewall

Still, there have already been some damaging disclosures. The Washington *Post*, relying partly on a still secret source known to outsiders as "Deep Throat," reports that Dahlberg's \$25,000 check found its way into Barker's bank account, and that Watergate was part of a massive program of political sabotage. *TIME* discloses that Donald Segretti had been hired by White House Aides Dwight Chapin and Gordon Strachan and paid out of C.R.P. funds by Kalmbach to sabotage the Democratic presidential campaign.

Sirica, meanwhile, continues to push aggressively for the truth. On Feb. 2 he says he is "not satisfied" that the trial disclosed the full story. On Feb. 7, the Senate votes 77-0 to establish a select committee to investigate Watergate. Sam Ervin is named its chairman the next day.

Within a few weeks, the engineers of the cover-up begin to lose control. On Feb. 28, the Senate Judiciary Committee begins hearings on L. Patrick Gray's confirmation as FBI director. Gray discloses that he gave Dean FBI reports on the Watergate and that Chapin and Kalmbach have been involved in Republican espionage activities. These revelations precipitate a frantic scramble in the White House.

March 13: Nixon learns that Gordon Strachan has reportedly lied to federal investigators. The President explicitly rejects "the hang-out road," the White House term for full disclosure. March 17: Nixon later tells Ziegler that on this day, he has ordered Dean "to cut off any disclosures that might implicate him in Watergate." Worried that Magruder could implicate Haldeman in the affair, Nixon says: "We've got to cut that back. That ought to be cut out." March 21: Talking about Hunt's demands for money, the President says: "For Christ's sake, get it!"

At this point, Sirica's efforts pay off. On March 23 he reads the court a letter

from McCord charging that perjury has been committed in the Watergate trial and that defendants have been pressured to remain silent. Pouring on the pressure, Sirica gives Hunt and the Cubans harsh provisional sentences of up to 40 years in an effort to make them talk.

IV The Gathering Storm

Maintaining a "stonewall" policy on Nixon's instructions, Ehrlichman on March 28 informs Attorney General Richard Kleindienst that nobody in the White House had prior knowledge of the burglary. Two days later he has Ziegler tell the press that "no one in the White House had any involvement or prior knowledge of the Watergate event."

But on April 13, Magruder tells U.S. attorneys that he perjured himself during the burglars' trial. He implicates Dean and Mitchell in Watergate crimes. On April 15, according to his testimony, Dean tells Nixon that he has been cooperating with the U.S. attorneys.

On April 15, prosecutors tell Nixon that Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Dean and other White House officials are implicated in the cover-up. Faced with the evidence against his top aides, knowing that Dean and Magruder are talking and concerned that the upcoming Senate hearings will cast even more suspicion on the White House, Nixon makes the first of a series of strategic retreats.

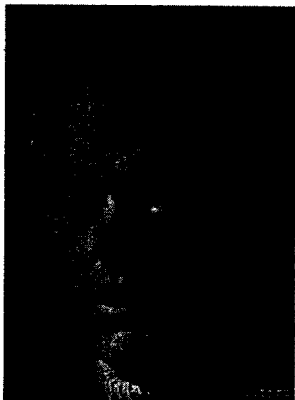
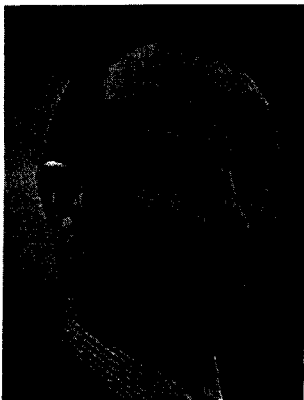
April 30: He announces the resignations of Haldeman and Ehrlichman, calling them "two of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know," and of Dean and Kleindienst. Nixon grants the new Attorney General the authority to appoint a special prosecutor.

May 18: Attorney General-Designate Elliot Richardson names Archibald Cox to the promised new position. In the days following, McCord tells his story to the nationally televised Senate Watergate committee hearings, which open May 17. Faced with a flood of revelations, Nixon issues a statement admitting that there was a cover-up within the White House, though he denies participating in it. Nixon says that after the break-in he had restricted certain aspects of the investigation on the grounds of "national security."

Nixon's speech is designed to end suspicions of his own involvement, but the televised Senate hearings provide a flood of incriminating new revelations. From June 25 to 29, Dean tells the committee that Nixon knew about aspects of the cover-up as early as Sept. 15, 1972. Equally embarrassing: Dean discloses White House efforts to hound political "enemies."

The White House retaliates on June 27 by calling Dean the "mastermind" of the cover-up and Mitchell his "patron." But the President's position is weakened by the release the same day of the "enemies lists" by the Senate committee.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: MARTINEZ & BARKER, GONZALEZ & STURGIS, HUNT, LIDDY, MCCORD



V The Telltale Tapes

A far more devastating blow comes on July 16. Former White House Aide Alexander Butterfield tells the Watergate committee that Nixon secretly taped his own conversations.

Why Nixon allowed his participation in the cover-up to be recorded is one of the affair's greatest mysteries. Cox and Ervin request that Nixon turn over key tapes. On July 23, he rejects the requests on the ground of Executive privilege. Ervin and Cox issue subpoenas.

On Aug. 15, the President maintains: "Not only was I unaware of any cover-up. I was unaware there was anything to cover up." Earlier, Ehrlichman and Haldeman tell the Senate committee that Dean was responsible for the cover-up, and that they and the President are innocent. Aug. 22: Nixon terms Watergate "water under the bridge." But on Aug. 29, Sirica orders that he turn over tapes of the nine conversations subpoenaed by Cox.

Meanwhile other developments further tarnish the image of the White House. In early September, a Los Angeles grand jury indicts Ehrlichman, Liddy and Plumbers Co-Directors Egil Krogh and David Young in connection with the break-in at the office of the psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg, the man who claimed to have given the Pentagon papers to the press. Oct. 12: Nixon nominates Gerald Ford as the new Vice President. On the same day, the U.S. court of appeals rules that Nixon must turn the subpoenaed tapes over to Judge Sirica. A week later the President publicly offers a compromise: he will issue summaries of the tapes that will be checked by Senator John Stennis for accuracy. Cox rejects this. Cox is already probing other embarrassing situations, including the mysterious disposition of a \$100,000 contribution from Howard Hughes to Nixon Pal Charles ("Bebe") Rebozo. The following evening, in the "Saturday Night Massacre," Nixon fires Cox, Richardson and his deputy, William Ruckelshaus, resign. There follows what White House Chief of Staff Alexander Haig calls "a fire storm" of protest, leading to calls from TIME (in its first editorial in 50 years), the New York Times, the Detroit News and National Review for the President's resignation.

Angered by Cox's dismissal, Democratic House leaders agree to have the Judiciary Committee begin an investigation into impeaching the President. On Oct. 23, Nixon agrees to hand over the subpoenaed tapes. Three days later he promises that there will be a new special prosecutor with "total cooperation from the Executive Branch."

Texas Lawyer Leon Jaworski is appointed to the post on Nov. 1, in the midst of new disclosures. The day before, Presidential Lawyer J. Fred Buzhardt revealed that two of the subpoenaed conversations did not exist on tape. Three weeks later, the White House discloses

that there is an 18½-minute buzz obliterating a crucial taped discussion between Haldeman and the President on June 20, 1972. Jan. 15: electronics experts report that the gap was the result of at least five separate erasures.

March 1: the Watergate grand jury indicts seven former Nixon aides or re-election officials—Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Strachan, former Special Counsel to the President Charles Colson, former Political Coordinator for Nixon's Re-Election Committee Robert C. Mardian, Washington Attorney Kenneth W. Parkinson—for conspiring to obstruct justice. In a secret report to Sirica, Nixon is named an unindicted co-conspirator in the case. Jaworski on April 18 subpoenas 64 more taped conversations for use in the Watergate prosecution. April 11: the Judiciary Committee subpoenas 42 conversations.

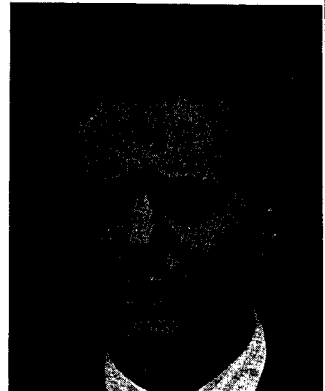
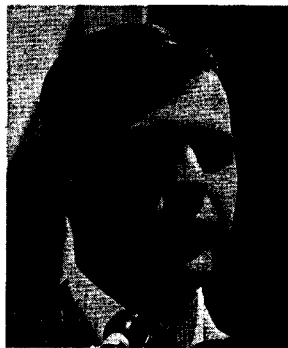
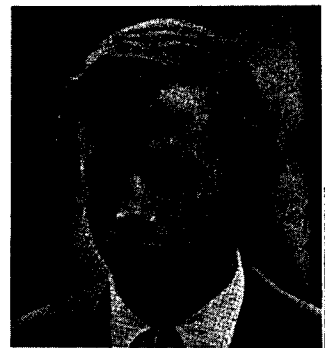
On April 30, one year after the departure of his top aides and his announcement that he would appoint a special Watergate prosecutor, the President says he is making public edited transcripts of certain subpoenaed conversations. Republican Senator Hugh Scott declares that they reveal "deplorable, disgusting, shabby and immoral performances." Worse for the President, the 1,254 pages of conversation seem to corroborate some of Dean's allegations: that Nixon was aware of aspects of the cover-up before March 21; that he seems to have wanted to pay hush money to Hunt.

VI The Final Debacle

On May 9, the Judiciary Committee begins its inquiry into Nixon's conduct in office. Over the next two months, 19 volumes of evidence are accumulated. During that time, several top Nixon aides either plead guilty or are convicted of crimes: Kleindienst on May 16, Colson June 3, Ehrlichman July 12.

July 24: the Supreme Court rules 8-0 that Nixon must turn over the tapes subpoenaed by Jaworski, rejecting Nixon's claim of absolute Executive privilege. On the 27th, the Judiciary Committee votes 27-11 to recommend the impeachment of Nixon for obstruction of justice. Two more articles are passed in the next three days.

On Aug. 5, in the most sensational revelation of the entire two years of Watergate, Nixon admits that by June 23, 1972, six days after the break-in, he did



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: DEAN, STRACHAN, MAGRUDER, CHAPIN, KROGH

indeed know of the involvement of C.R.P. and White House officials and tried to cover it up. The apparent reason for his admission: pressure from Presidential Counsel James St. Clair, who is stunned by the contents of the July 23 tape and strongly suggests that he will resign unless the President makes his statement. Whether Nixon had prior knowledge of the break-in or the intelligence-gathering plan is still unanswered, but the Aug. 5 revelation gives the lie to all his past assertions that he was not involved in the cover-up. In the wake of Nixon's disclosures, all the Republicans on the Judiciary Committee who voted against impeachment say they will change their votes when the issue comes before the full House. Republican Senators say that Nixon has almost no chance of acquittal.

Faced with impeachment and conviction, Nixon goes before a nationwide TV audience and announces that he is resigning.

U.S. REACTION

THE PEOPLE TAKE IT IN STRIDE

Outside the White House on Thursday evening, an exuberant crowd of about 3,000 collected along Pennsylvania Avenue and in Lafayette Square. Some waved sparklers, some carried vindictive placards (EXECUTIVE DELETED, IMPEACH THE SYSTEM), and one planted on the White House fence a slightly spaced-out message of cheer: DING DONG, THE WITCH IS DEAD. There were also some tearful admirers (GOD LOVES NIXON) who prayed for their fallen leader.

There were scattered scenes of rejoicing and scenes of sorrow across the nation last week. In Cambridge and Berkeley, throngs of students celebrated in the streets. At a World Football League game in Jacksonville, cheerleaders burst into tears when the news was announced. For most Americans, however, the reaction to Richard Nixon's resignation was curiously muted. At the Houston Astrodome, a crowd of 12,000 baseball fans reacted to the news with a long pause followed by scattered applause. In Lawrence, Kans., the phone company put extra long-distance operators on duty in anticipation of a flood of post-speech calls, but the additional help had nothing to do.

For nearly two years, Watergate had divided and confused the American people. Now there was a unifying mood: re-

lief that the doubt and turmoil were over. But the actual announcement came as an emotional anticlimax to many people. As one anti-Nixon man in Wilmington, Del., put it, "This just doesn't feel as good as I thought it would." On the other hand, many Nixon supporters quickly became resigned to abdication. "It's sort of like an inoculation," declared New Hampshire Forester Robert Breck, who had voted for tickets carrying Nixon's name in eleven elections. "You hate to get it because you know it's going to hurt. But when it's over, you're glad you got it."

In the first 48 hours after the speech, a consensus seemed to be growing among ordinary citizens, among public officials and community leaders, and among editorialists and commentators: Nixon had taken the only course open to him. There was less agreement as to the manner of his departure and what further penalty he should suffer.

VOICES ON MAIN STREET

"I feel the speech showed that he is a very strong man, physically and mentally," said retired Baltimore Real Estate Man Ted Ziegeld, "to have gone through what he has, and to speak as he did." To Harvard University Senior Michael Messerschmidt, 21, Nixon's

statement was "ridiculous," the words of "a jilted lover saying, 'You've hurt me but I still love you.'"

Joe Marty's El Chico Bar in Sacramento was packed. When the speech was over there was loud applause. "Not once," complained one woman, "did he say he had done anything wrong. He was Tricky Dick right to the end." Boston Criminal Lawyer Nelson Baker was also disappointed: "It was another refusal to admit any guilt or responsibility. It was a charade, a grave mistake. 'Errors of judgment, errors of judgment!' Anyone else calls it a felony and he calls it 'errors of judgment.'" Equally unimpressed was Minnesota Republican Rudy Boschwitz. "A great weight has been lifted," said Boschwitz. "Dick Nixon doesn't have us to kick around any more. I'd like to say something kind about Nixon at this time, but after two years of national agony and the damage done to my party, the completely innocent victim of this mischief—well, I'm afraid that will have to wait."

But Richard Nixon still had his defenders. "Everybody is too quick to judge," said Richard Watts, a Boston utility worker. "The only man fit to run for President now will be the Pope. The rest of the politicians will be too dirty."

Anna Clinkscales of Baltimore, who last December took to Washington petitions containing 8,000 signatures urging Nixon to fight on, was enraged. "If a President who has done so much for peace can be driven out of office in this unjust manner," she said, "then this country will be at war in six months." Consulting Engineer Raughley Porter

COUPLES DANCING IN SAN FRANCISCO AFTER HEARING NEWS OF RESIGNATION



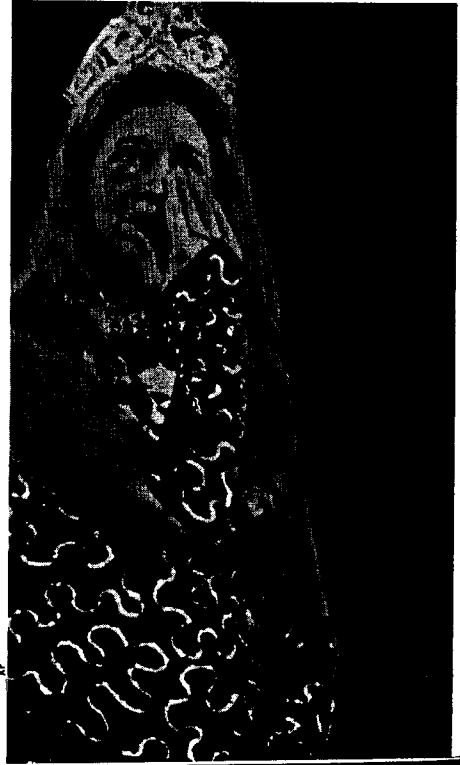
STEPHEN FRISCH

NEW YORKERS CELEBRATING FOLLOWING PRESIDENT NIXON'S TELEVISION ADDRESS



REEDOT-CAMERA 8

JACKSONVILLE CHEERLEADER IN TEARS





GEORGIA G.O.P. CHAIRMAN BOB SHAW
It was like an inoculation.

was saddened on behalf of posterity: "The schoolchildren of the future will read about Richard Nixon not for the good that he has done but because he lied and cheated."

In Shaker Heights, Ohio, Librarian Margaret Campbell was more optimistic: "I'm looking forward to another and a better day. I feel a very sad saga is over, and I just hope that we can all work together to make a better and a stronger United States." Mrs. Patricia Plotkin, a law student, described herself as "more than pleased, I'm ecstatic." In the beginning, she "wanted to see him go through the impeachment process, but I think it would have been a very painful, divisive business. So I feel better about his resignation, in spite of the \$60,000 pension."

"I Feel Better"

Automobile Mechanic Ken Masshart watched the resignation speech with his wife and two young sons. Originally, he was cynical about the Watergate investigation because he believed "all politicians did it." Later he changed his mind somewhat: "I still think there's a lot of dishonesty, but I was surprised that they did anything about it. I never thought anything like this would ever happen. It makes a big difference to me now; I feel better about it, now that they've done something about it."

Carl Withers, president of the Shaker Heights Republican Club, is one of the remaining loyalists: "I consider Watergate in the category almost of a fraternity prank, where the victim got his hand caught in a barrel of chestnuts. The hiding of the break-in by underlings was not the type of crime that merits such severe punishment—considering the good

deeds President Nixon has accomplished." People who agree with Withers—and even many who take a less charitable view—believe that Nixon has suffered enough. But many others are not prepared to forgive or forget. According to a California Poll survey released last week, 54% of the people of Nixon's home state believe that it would be wrong to grant the former President immunity from prosecution (31% disagree).

Many Americans would be deeply troubled, however, to see any former President in legal jeopardy. Arthur Newman, an Ohio pediatrician who has never supported Nixon, says flatly, "I think if Mr. Nixon would make a full and complete revelation—if one can assume he is capable of doing so—of all that happened, I would be willing to say he has been sufficiently punished by losing his post." Adds Mrs. Julie Martin of Lexington, Va., "No one wants to see a former President in jail. But it's hard to reach the comfort of that decision when you consider the reality and balance it against your belief in equal justice."

In Grand Rapids, Mich., many citizens were jubilant—some because they disliked Nixon and many more because they were pleased that a home-town boy had made it to the White House. But when a Grand Rapids television station showed a scene of joy at a local bar, the flood of angry calls was so great that the station's newsroom stopped answering its phones. Throughout the nation, people were generally approving but restrained in their reaction to Ford: many just did not yet know enough about him. "He has an openness that appeals to me and, I would imagine, everyone," said a Virginia housewife. At the very least, many probably shared the expectation

of Democratic Congresswoman Julia B. Hansen of Washington State: "Jerry Ford won't light any fires under the nation, but the nation doesn't need any more fires lit for a while."

In San Clemente, Calif., townspeople were beginning to realize that their days of fame were about over. A motel clerk, giving directions to a man who had just reserved a room by telephone, said carelessly, "We're easy to find, we're right across the freeway from the Western White House." After a pause he added, "Let me correct that: the former Western White House."

VOICES OF THE FAMOUS

Watergate and related scandals created a number of instant celebrities and brought notoriety, despair or both to some who were already prominent. A few of the best-known casualties maintained strict silence last week. Former Vice President Spiro Agnew and former Treasury Secretary John Connally would say nothing; at the Federal Prison Camp in Allenwood, Pa., Jeb Stuart Magruder watched the speech with other inmates. When an official asked what he thought, Magruder replied: "No comment." In Beverly Hills, John Dean told the federal marshals who are guarding him that he would say nothing about the resignation "today, tomorrow or in the near future." One notable exception was—predictably—Martha Mitchell, who said of Nixon: "He has his family intact, he has his homes, he has money. He can go out and sit in California and be oblivious. I have nothing left."

Relatively fortunate veterans of the Watergate wars could afford to be more philosophical. Archibald Cox, whom

continued on page 63

Regret and Tears in Beaver Falls

The people of Beaver Falls, Pa. (pop. 14,000), a steel-fabricating town north of Pittsburgh, slowly retreated from their support of Richard Nixon with each Watergate shock (TIME, Nov. 12). Now they are glad that the long ordeal is over, but they bear him no ill will.

As he watched the resignation speech, Eugene Jannuzi, 58, head of the Moltrup Steel Products Co., took some comfort in the fact that Nixon's hands were steady, his eyes clear and his voice strong. "As he spoke," said Jannuzi, "I felt that I could forgive him much." Edward Sahli, 70, a General Motors dealer, also felt that Nixon "did the right thing" by resigning, but only because "the man could not have had a fair trial in the Senate." Jannuzi still believes, as he has from the beginning, that Nixon was destroyed by his enemies. "What I would like to know," said Sahli, "is where the impeachment thing started. I have the feeling that somebody put

some money behind it." The Rev. George Carson, 52, pastor of the Trinity United Presbyterian Church, said that some of his parishioners were "greatly sorrowed." The minister himself is ambivalent: "In many ways the man has been misjudged, but he did make some errors."

Karen Phillips, 24, director of Christian education at Trinity United and originally a Nixon fan, had felt betrayed by the Administration when Spiro Agnew fell in disgrace last October. But the President's farewell address shook her. "My heart went out to him," she said. "I really felt he was in the same room talking to me, apologizing to me." She was alone, and she wept before the TV set. Earlier, she had thought that Nixon should be subject to prosecution like any other citizen. After the speech she decided: "I think resigning is enough. I'm willing to forgive and forget."

More Blunt Talk in the Oval Office

The transcripts of Nixon's June 23, 1972, talks with H.R. Haldeman contained the "smoking howitzer" of evidence that was the decisive factor in ending the Nixon presidency. But they also offered fresh insights into Nixon's attitudes toward people and issues. Among them:

ON MONETARY MATTERS

When Haldeman advised the President that Britain had decided to let the pound float, and that the Italian lira was also in serious trouble, Nixon displayed remarkable casualness:

H: Did you get the report that the British floated the pound?

P: No, I don't think so.

H: They did.

P: That's devaluation?

H: Yeah. [Presidential Assistant Peter] Flanigan's got a report on it here.

DAVID KENNERLY



NIXON & HERBERT KLEIN (1973)

P: I don't care about it. Nothing we can do about it.

H: You want a rundown?

P: No, I don't.

H: He argues it shows the wisdom of our refusal to consider convertibility until we get a new monetary system.

P: Good. I think he's right. It's too complicated for me to get into.

H: [Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur F.] Burns expects a 5% devaluation against the dollar.

P: Yeah, O.K. Fine.

H: Burns is concerned about speculation about the lira.

P: Well, I don't give a (expletive deleted) about the lira.

ON HERBERT KLEIN

A close personal friend of Nixon's and a longtime political adviser, Herbert Klein, 56, was for years editor of the

San Diego *Union*, and is now a vice president of the Metromedia broadcasting group in Los Angeles. He served as White House Director of Communications from 1969 to June 1973. Nixon bluntly declared himself unimpressed with Klein's abilities in that job:

P: And look, you've just not got to let Klein ever set up a meeting again. He just doesn't have his head screwed on. You know what I mean. He just opens it up and sits there with eggs on his face. He's just not our guy at all, is he?

H: No.

P: Absolutely, totally unorganized.

H: He's a very nice guy.

P: People love him, but damn, is he unorganized.

P: ... that's why you can't have Klein (unintelligible). He just doesn't really have his head screwed on, Bob ...

H: That's right.

P: He just doesn't know. He just sort of blubbers around. I don't know how he does TV so well.

ON HIS BOOK "SIX CRISES"

The President made repeated reference to his book throughout the day, lauding it and urging its lessons on his campaign aides:

P: I want you to reread it, and I want Colson to read it, and anybody else.

H: O.K.

P: And anybody else in the campaign. Get copies of the book and give it to each of them. Say I want them to read it and have it in mind. Give it to whoever you can, O.K.?

H: Sure will.

P: Actually, the book reads awfully well.

P: ... that *Six Crises* is a damned good book, and the (unintelligible) story reads like a novel—the Hiss case—Caracas was fascinating. The [book's treatment of the 1960] campaign, of course, for anybody in politics should be a must because it had a lot in there of how politicians are like.

ON THE ARTS

In planning a campaign role for his daughters, Nixon grew wary:

P: For example—now the worse thing (unintelligible) is to go to anything that has to do with the arts.

H: Ya, see that—it was (unintelligible). Julie giving that time to the museum in Jacksonville.

P: The arts, you know—they're Jews, they're left wing—in other words, stay away.

P: Make a point.

H: Sure.

P: Middle America—put that word out—Middle America—type of people (unintelligible), auxiliary (unintelligible). Why the hell doesn't [Special Assistant David M.] Parker get that kind of thing going? Most of his things are elite groups except, I mean, do the cancer thing—maybe nice for Tricia to go up—ride

a bus for two hours—do some of the park in Oklahoma—but my view is, Bob, relate it to Middle America and not the elitist (unintelligible). Do you agree?

ON THE RIGORS OF CAMPAIGNING

P: Ah—Pat raised the point last night that probably she and the girls ought to stay [at the Republican National Convention] in a hotel on Miami Beach. First she says the moment they get the helicopter and get off and so forth, it destroys their hair and so forth. And of course, that is true ...

ON MATTERS OF TIMING

H: You know, whether Pat—one thought that was raised was that the girls and their husbands go down on Sunday and Pat wait and come down with you on Tuesday. I think Pat should go down and should be there 'cause they'll have the salute—

P: (inaudible)

H: She should arrive separately. I think



RUFFLING PAT'S HAIRDO

she should arrive with the girls. Another thought was to have the girls arrive Sunday, Pat arrive Monday and you arrive Tuesday. I think you're overdoing your arrivals.

P: No, no, no. She arrives with the girls and they—they should go. I agree.

H: But I don't think you have to be there until Tuesday.

P: I don't want to go near the damned place until Tuesday. I don't want to be near it. I've got the arrival planned (unintelligible) my arrival of—ah—

H: Now we're going to do, unless you have some objection, we should do your arrival at Miami International, not at Homestead.

P: Yes, I agree.

H: Ah—we can crank up a hell of an arrival thing.

P: All right.

THE NATION

Nixon fired as special prosecutor last fall, said that "the destruction of any man is a very, very sad occasion," but added that he believed the resignation was "an important and sound and desirable outcome." In Honolulu, Elliot Richardson, who resigned as Attorney General over the dismissal of Cox, said he approved of the Nixon resignation. "The circumstances are indescribably tragic in the most literal sense of the word. All of this is a culmination of events that are traceable to the President's own character. But I also think the way the matter has been handled does credit to the American people and our constitutional institutions."

Nixon's intimates, of course, were grieving. His industrialist friend Robert Abplanalp wired him: "Even at this hour, I remain firmly convinced that there is no evidence proving that any of your actions were inconsistent with your official responsibility." Rabbi Baruch Korff admitted that Nixon's last admission of complicity in the Watergate affair left him "distressed" but quickly added: "Yes, the President has weaknesses. He's a human being. So he waited three months before disclosing the information. So what?"

The Rev. Billy Graham, who used to appear at the White House frequently, admitted that he had been "disappointed" by the latest transcripts but urged mercy: "The President and his family have undergone two years of suffering that were worse than prison." The Rev. John Huffman Jr., former pastor of the Key Biscayne Presbyterian Church, was stunned. Last year, Huffman recalled, he and Nixon had talked about Watergate, and the President had given "his absolute, total assurance that he was not involved in the cover-up and that he was doing everything he could to expose the situation." Now, continued Huffman, "I feel he lied to me. I feel compassion for him, but God's grace is tempered with God's justice."

A Moment of Distress

To the leadership of the Republican Party at large, the fall of Richard Nixon was a moment of genuine distress. Barry Goldwater called it "the saddest days of my life." Many, like Georgia Party Chairman Robert J. Shaw, wept. John J. McCloy, an elder among New York Republicans, called the Nixon speech "a dignified statement, a dignified exit," adding: "We shouldn't expect any more than what it contained; we shouldn't cavil at it now." After watching the Nixon speech in California, Governor Ronald Reagan, who had continued to support the President until only a day earlier, said that he felt Nixon had made "the right decision for the country."

For many Republicans, the sadness of the occasion was softened by the knowledge that the party's prospects in the November elections—as well as

1976—had been vastly improved. "We're getting off to a fresh start," said former G.O.P. National Chairman Ray Bliss. "I believe this will be a morale booster." In Massachusetts, Republican Governor Francis W. Sargent was quick to take advantage of the change in the political climate. Since only 19% of his state's voters are Republican, Sargent must maintain an almost nonpartisan position to win re-election, yet in the meantime he faces a tough fight in the primaries with Conservative Candidate Carroll Sheehan. Last week Sargent began to attack "blind, deaf and dumb" partisanship, rejecting for himself "the law that says loyalty to the party is the highest loyalty in government." For Sargent this may prove to be a highly serviceable ploy.

Opposition to Immunity

Among Democratic leaders, none gloated over their old adversary. Hubert Humphrey described the Nixon address as "possibly the best speech the President has ever made." George McGovern expressed sympathy "for the trials [the Nixons] have suffered and for the ordeal still ahead." Edward Kennedy rejoiced that "the night of Watergate is over, the Constitution is safe, and America can become whole again."

A few prominent Democrats, however, quickly expressed their opposition to efforts to grant Nixon immunity from prosecution. Such proposals, said former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who is running for the Senate in New York, are "shockingly contemptuous of the integrity of the law." Georgia State Representative Julian Bond agreed. "Why should he be granted anything that he wouldn't grant somebody else, like the boys in Canada?" Bond asked. "The prisons of Georgia are full of people who stole \$5 or \$10, and this man tried to steal the Constitution of the United States."

But most political leaders and observers, Democratic as well as Republican, seemed disinclined to press the matter last week. Elliot Richardson suggested that an informal agreement between the leadership of Congress, the Attorney General and Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski could be the basis of an understanding on which "the President could rely, even though it wouldn't have the force of law."

Almost nobody had a harsh word to say about Gerald Ford. Senator Charles Percy of Illinois spoke of Ford's ability to work smoothly with Congress; Senator Alan Cranston, the California Democrat, noted Ford's ability "to reach out, to consult and to conciliate." From the Colorado Rockies where he was vacationing, former Kansas Governor Alf Landon, the Republican presidential candidate of 1936, watched Ford's performance and was impressed "with the promptness with which he is making his decisions; he's going about



NIXON SUPPORTER OUTSIDE WHITE HOUSE
Others waved sparklers.

his job without hesitation or delay."

Many Americans paid tribute to Ford as a man who possesses the common touch, a man of openness and candor. San Francisco Longshoreman-Philosopher Eric Hoffer agreed, but he added a gentle word of caution: "Don't forget that any common man who becomes President lives in enemy country in Washington."

VOICES IN THE PRESS

For many weeks, the newspapers that had remained sympathetic to Richard Nixon—or at least open-minded about his guilt or innocence—were under growing pressure to change their positions. Last Wednesday morning the dam broke. In the aftermath of Nixon's latest disclosures about his involvement in the Watergate cover-up, a number of major newspapers that had been on the fence called for Nixon's resignation or impeachment.

The *Wall Street Journal* declared that ample evidence existed at last for the President's impeachment, conviction and removal from office and that the nation could now "take this momentous step in a spirit approaching unity." Resignation, it added, would be an "entirely fitting" alternative. The *Journal* praised its "perceptive colleagues who long ago concluded that it was foolish to doubt that Mr. Nixon was deeply involved in the cover-up," but added that "the present unity could never have been reached if in the impatience of our era he had been impeached the moment they perceived his guilt."

Among the other papers that came out against Nixon at midweek were the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Portland Oregonian*, the *New Orleans Times-Pic-*

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ayune and the Dallas *Times-Herald*. The Dallas *Morning News* also deserted him, but not until the very last day of Nixon's presidency. Its confidence in the former President, said the *Morning News* at week's end, had been "misplaced."

A very few papers stayed with the President to the end. One of these was the Burlington (Vt.) *Free Press*, whose editorial-page editor, Franklin B. Smith, recalled that Nixon had "served far beyond the call of duty to make this a better land, but the American people—horribly misled by a national press which mouthed freedom but practiced license—rejected greatness through means which disgraced everything for which this nation used to stand."

After the resignation, the predominant themes were relief that the ordeal was over and reflection on the trauma. "Maybe too much has already been written," said the *Washington Post*, "about the marvels of the system and how it 'worked.' But it did. And it is important to be precise about *how* it worked . . . in the end and most importantly, it was the conscience and pride and responsibility of innumerable people and numerous institutions that combined to as-

sert that 1) there was (and is) a norm of official behavior that is recognized and respected by all Americans and 2) the President's departure from this norm was sufficiently gross and calculated to require an extraordinary and unprecedented remedy."

New York *Times* Columnist James Reston commented: "Perhaps the greatest irony of all is that the nation has come out of this nightmare reasonably united. By his tragic blunders and lonely conspiracies, Mr. Nixon has finally kept his promise to the little girl with the sign in Ohio. He has 'brought us together,' not for his leadership and his tactics but against them . . . The essence of the tragedy is that he was not faithful to his better instincts, or even to his friends."

"Truly Presidential"

Much of the commentary was restrained, perhaps because of a desire not to kick a man already mortally wounded. But journalists could hardly ignore the circumstances of Nixon's departure. The Los Angeles *Times* proposed that Nixon be denied a federal pension; oth-

erwise he would receive a "reward for malfeasance."

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* lamented: "There was no humility, no admission of the real abuse of power spread on the record these past weeks." Columnist Garry Wills agreed. During the speech, he reflected, "I thought of all the flunkies who have gone to jail, who have had their careers ruined—never a mention of them. He's a guy who sent all his troops out to be shot before he finally dragged out himself."

Almost unanimously, the press welcomed the succession of President Ford. The Miami *Herald* said of his Inaugural Address: "It bespoke courage, humility, openhandedness, conscientiousness, peace and love of fellow man. Its theme was 'Truth is the glue that holds government together.' It was truly presidential." In the Chicago *Daily News*, Peter Lisagor observed: "Mr. Ford has a great deal going for him. An era of good will has been ushered in almost overnight, and the relief is enormous. It is more than the usual political honeymoon; it is the hope that follows catharsis, and the former Michigan football center seems to understand it intuitively."

WHERE AMERICA GOES NOW

Watergate and its climax last week may have been America's most traumatic political experience of this century. Such a shock to the political system can affect the nation for years—perhaps adversely, perhaps beneficially. To measure the probable impact of those events, TIME asked leading scholars and observers of the national scene to analyze the legacy of Watergate. Historian Henry Steele Commager's essay on the lessons of crisis appears at the end of this issue. Other assessments follow.

"Hour and Man May Have Met"

HENRY GRAFF
Professor of history at
Columbia University

The most significant events in history are not always immediately recognized for what they are. In school, we learned that the linchpin of the 1920s was the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Today we realize that Robert Goddard's experiments in rocket propulsion during that period were much more important for the distant future. When you look at the Nixon resignation from the perspective of drama, there are few parallels. But as to its cataclysmic properties

—well, let's wait and see.

I do see a clearing of the air. We will have a honeymoon period with the new President. Even the press

will lay off, and that will be good for America. It will be good for our critical faculties; we must rest them. We need to rest our nay-saying instincts and the belief that we can all put ourselves in the positions of the high and mighty and tell them how to run things.

We will quickly discover that Gerald Ford's limitations, which seem pretty clear, are not going to seem so horrendous. To be sure, it is a handicap that Ford was not elected to the presidency. He is unprepared for the office with respect to administrative experience; that certainly is a handicap. But he will triumph because he has not lusted after the office of President. Ford is an honest man. He gets on well with the people. He is an open man, and what our society needs now is openness. Artfulness got Lyndon Johnson in trouble abroad; artfulness got Nixon in trouble at home. Thus the new President may surprise us. The need of the hour and the man may have met.

Having a less regal type in the White House, the American public will perhaps become less dependent on the ukase of the President, not through cynicism but through the recognition of the reality that was always there. This would be a glorious thing. The new Administration's promised partnership with

Congress, sorely needed and long overdue, could be an exalting experience for all Americans.

As a starting approach to one of the major problems he faces, Ford could call a world economic conference to deal with the interlocked issues of raw materials, food supplies, the banking structure and currency. It would demonstrate to the world that there is a man in charge in America.

"A Yearning for Simple Symbols"

GEORGE E. REEDY JR.
Former press secretary to
President Lyndon Johnson,
author and now dean of the
College of Journalism at
Marquette University

The damage is considerable, and it's not just Watergate. A feeling has been growing for a long time—even before Viet Nam—that the presidency was somehow out of hand. The White House has been building up to some kind of smash. When it turns out to be a second-story school for pickpockets, the disillusionment is fierce. Yet there is a bright side. If it hadn't been Watergate, it would have been something else. If it hadn't been the Nixon Administration, it would have been the next.

People personalize the country in terms of the presidency. This is why Mr. Ford's immediate conduct and person-

ality can help so tremendously if he can convey an image of honesty and integrity. He is one of the very few men in public life whose absolute honesty I do not question.

For the time being, he will be heading the closest approximation of a government of national unity since George Washington. Everybody wants him to succeed. But he can't be a caretaker President. Unfortunately, he has a number of problems that require action, such as inflation and the Middle East. I still think we have problems in Southeast Asia. But action on an issue always divides people. I hope that this man has tremendous skill, because he's going to have to conduct himself as if he were a combination of Jim Farley, Aristotle and St. Francis of Assisi.

His worst problem is the aftermath of Watergate. The unfortunate part about the resignation is that it did not pull down a curtain. A final Senate vote would have really drawn a curtain, and a lot of people are under the illusion that the resignation did, simply because Nixon is out and Ford is in. But we have all these prosecutions under way. There will probably be more indictments. Those cases are going to have to be tried, and and it is quite likely that Nixon will be called to testify. His name is bound to be dragged into every one of these trials. This is going to revive a lot of bitterness. Every time the issue is raised as to whether the past President did or did not do something, there will be heat on Ford to say something. No matter what he says, he's in trouble.

Still, I doubt if ever before in history so many people wanted a politician to make it. [In his first speech] Ford did something that few politicians can do well, and that was to evoke some basic symbols. He called for prayer and he called for God's help. Most politicians doing that would sound like the choirmaster who had just finished a tumble in the hay with one of the choir-girls. Ford is believable when he says such things. There is in this country today a yearning for simple, natural symbols that people can turn to. That is one of the main reasons why Ford could be so very good.

"God Is the Supreme Ironist"

WILLIAM A. RUSHER
Publisher of the National Review, columnist and board member of the American Conservative Union

We may now go through a spell of euphoria, we are so glad to have this Nixon business behind us. But bear in mind that no amount of mood can change problems, particularly economic problems. It may be that Gerald Ford will have such an enormous reserve of popular confidence upon which to draw that he can do things unpopular and un-

bearable if done by anyone else. After all, what people want at the moment is good, straightforward, simple, believable government. They think they are going to get it, and they are happy about it.

Congress has reasserted itself to some extent. The entire impeachment process had that effect. Thus Congress has an opportunity to institutionalize its rediscovered power. There have been some proposals for requiring Cabinet members and other members of the Executive to answer questions before congressional committees. There are proposals to create congressional staffs parallel to the operations of certain Executive departments. Now, I merely say that we should look into these ideas. There are dangers in all directions. If presidential tyranny is possible, legislative tyranny has also been known to history—and there is a subtle type of judicial tyranny. I think a little more responsiveness, required responsiveness, on the part of the Executive to questions by Congress would be a very healthy thing.

Although the prestige of the Government as a whole has declined, I do not think that this is by any means exclusively or even primarily due to Watergate. We had Viet Nam as a prior problem, and we had the general—and very wise—distrust by the American people of a lot of things that were happening in Government.

God is the supreme ironist. For him to have the power of the presidency reduced, at last, by a liberal drive to overturn the Administration of a hated Republican President merely shows what life's possibilities are. Having Nixon replaced by Ford may turn out to be the maraschino cherry on the sundae in terms of irony. Ford may become far more conservative and far more popular than Nixon.

"A Guy Who Knows Who He Is"

RICHARDE E. NEUSTADT
Political scientist, author of Presidential Power, associate dean of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government

Nixon and L.B.J. each in his own way tried to push his autonomy in office beyond the bounds of tolerance, and each was destroyed by that event. I can only hope that future Presidents and their staffs will have been sufficiently sobered to avoid abuses of their own.

As far as healing goes, I expect a rather widespread movement to put Nixon out of mind about as quickly as Agnew was relegated to the obscurity in which he now finds himself. Nixon has spoken publicly as if he intends to resume a public role. If he is serious, it will interfere with the so-called healing process, but if he just disappears, large numbers of people will be glad.

We will soon be back to normal relations between a Republican President and a Democratic Congress. It does not appear that Nixon's psychological difficulties are to be found in Ford's character. He may be conservative, but he appears to be the kind of guy who knows who he is and is not worried about it. We have had recent experiences with two men who were enormously worried about their own insecurities. [Those wounds] should be healed somewhat by the Ford presidency.

But it should not be assumed that conduct of government will now be easy. Since 1963, we have suffered from too many presidential transitions too quickly. The first year or so of an Administration is terribly difficult. The President is feeling his way, his staff is feeling its way. Now we have a new central character again, and he and his staff will have to start learning. Ford is going to be pressed in the economic sphere; we should not underestimate the difficulties thrust upon the man. There is a very real chance that new troubles will be upon us.

One is never certain if a man will perform in the presidency as he has in other roles, but it does not seem likely that Ford will pursue policies that will divide the country along sharp ideological lines. Most sitting Presidents with an eye to re-election tend to lean toward the middle, the sort of thing that Nixon attempted in his first term. I see no reason why Ford would do otherwise.

"The Nightmare Should Not End"

ROBERT JAY LIFTON
Yale University professor of psychiatry and "psychohistorian" who writes on public affairs in psychological terms

I have been interested for some time in the removal of the President from office, whether by impeachment or resignation, as part of a national cleansing ritual—a ritual of atonement. But I am not sure we have achieved it with last week's events.

When you survive some kind of atrocity or death immersion, you can try to cover over the experience, feel as little as possible, and undergo no genuine ritual of mourning followed by renewal. We did this in Viet Nam when we subscribed to the illusion of "peace with honor," and there is a tremendous tendency to do this with Watergate. The more desirable alternative is to confront the symbolic death image or atrocity and confront one's own involvement in it as a way of gaining some sort of insight or illumination about it.

What offended me about Nixon's speech was that there was not the slightest sign of confronting what really happened, nor was there anything like genuine atonement. Thus it contained nothing to suggest renewal. The mes-

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sage it carried was that "America is great. Nothing of importance has really happened. I've just lost my political base." Therefore, the message also seemed to be that we do not have to do anything. Everything is fine. Nixon did not connect his person with the events. Nor can we be sure the American people have been able to confront Watergate and what is behind it.

To my sorrow, although Gerald Ford emphasized honor and truth in his talk, he too shied away from examining the atrocity we have experienced. What I fear is that in announcing that our "national nightmare" is behind us, Ford was encouraging the tremendous desire we all have to take a deep breath and say "Thank God that's over!" However, the nightmare should not be over. This should be the beginning, not the end of the insight derived from the experience. The people who have some influence must speak out and express some of the principles involved and some of the possibilities for renewal rather than let it be covered over. It means extensive education as well as exercise of the political process.

If we gloss over Watergate and the resignation, we will learn nothing from it. There are all kinds of possible repercussions from this in terms of international events: more Viet Nams or other atrocities that stem from that same combination of numbing and unlearned lessons. In terms of domestic policy, we will have conveyed the message that if we go too far, the Constitution will catch up with us, but that we can do almost anything up to that point.

"The Healing Will Be Strong"

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER JR.
Professor of humanities at City University of New York, author of The Imperial Presidency and former aide to John F. Kennedy

If Congress and the courts complete the documentation of Watergate so that no one can ever doubt Nixon's guilt, the former President, I believe, will disappear from public consciousness. The healing process will be spontaneous and strong. The republic, with its basic institutions tested and strengthened, will rarely have been in better shape to deal with pressing issues.

This experience has certainly not injured the presidency. It has saved that invaluable institution from the man who did more to discredit and endanger it than any other President in our history. Gerald Ford has a great opportunity to restore confidence. We will all be surprised how easy it will be and how far a little openness, candor and decency in the White House will go. The danger will be not disbelief in Presidents after Nixon, but too headlong a return to the bad old habits of awe and reverence. Let

us never forget that the President is no closer to divinity than anyone else. Gerald Ford will help here. The press can help too by abandoning such pernicious and quasi-monarchical phrases as "First Family," the "First Lady" and the like.

This experience has also saved our politics. How bitter the cynicism of the young, the poor and the minorities would have been if Congress had decided that Nixon had done nothing to warrant impeachment. I hope we do not take undue comfort, however. The system took a damned long time to work, and it is all too easy to see how, if they had avoided a few dangerous corners, Nixon, Haldeman, Ehrlichman and all the rest would still be riding high.

Doubtless the Nixon experience will dissuade future Presidents from placing themselves above the Constitution for a long time to come. I hope it will also persuade future Congresses that they have both a right and a duty to insist on full partnership in the American Government. For the delusions of the imperial presidency, which prompted Nixon to think that he could get away with everything, were historically as much the product of congressional abdication as of presidential usurpation.

"The Plausible Dream of Zealots"

EMMET JOHN HUGHES
White House aide under Dwight Eisenhower, author of The Living Presidency and now professor of politics at Rutgers

In the life of the presidency, the awful spell of political smut has ended. Has the grand office survived? Of course. But will it go on to revive lost luster and past power? This seems not so sure, for there are two threats.

The first is the plausible dream of zealots who would remake the office because Richard Nixon came so close to ruining it. The second is the possible illusion on Gerald Ford's part that his highest duty might be a sustained atonement for his predecessor's sins—atonement by abdicating his own powers. Either of these fantasies could turn the late nightmare into lasting history.

As for the first threat, I find both reckless and ironic the zest of so many scholars and so many liberals suddenly to shackle the same presidential powers that they have sought to unleash for the past generation. What sense does it make for the most passionate critics of Richard Nixon to strive to reshape the presidential office to fit his image or conform to his menace?

As for the second question—the mind and mood of the 38th President—there seem two obvious ways in which he might honestly but gravely blunder. By both temper and experience, he might choose to focus almost wholly on national rather than world affairs. This

would leave him as little more than half a President. And all his background could also conspire to encourage a careless belief that ours is essentially a congressional rather than a presidential system of Government.

We have just watched our balance of federal powers work with almost wondrous rectitude and effect. We have seen the Judiciary act with impressive art and force. We have observed the Congress perform with patience and poise. It remains only for us now to glimpse again a presidency not punished but cleansed, not cowed but renewed, and not diminished but inspired.

"We Must Have Information"

JAMES MacGREGOR BURNS
Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College

The changing of the White House guard could be one of the most significant points in the political history of America in the past few decades. The thing to watch is Gerald Ford's choice of a Vice President, for that will be more crucial than his emerging policies. That selection will not only set the tone for the future but could determine what will happen to both political parties. If Ford chooses a conservative, it could establish a dynasty of conservative party leadership over the next two or three G.O.P. presidential conventions. If the Republicans become a confirmed conservative party during the next decade, it would be easier for the Democrats to again emerge as a clearly liberal party. For now, we have a man as President who may be an honest conservative giving conservative leadership in the best sense. This is what the country voted for in 1972, after all.

In assessing recent events, I find it hard to say that the presidency has been weakened. So much now depends on whether there is an overreaction and a subsequent crippling of the office in an effort to block presidential control of Executive agencies. That is dangerous, because the President is the only elected national Executive, and his strength is needed to keep bureaucrats from abusing power. If the presidency does emerge weakened over the long run, it would be one of the great ironies of Nixon, for he thought that he was strengthening the office.

We have got to have a much simpler procedure for impeachment and removal from office—a more expeditious way that does not, for example, have to depend on tapes. Obviously, they will not be made any more. We need a system that would operate when only one or two or three charges have been made against the President. The sheer range of misbehavior, the totality of it, simply overwhelmed everybody this time. What if there had been only one clear-cut im-

peachable offense? Perhaps what we need is a permanent independent prosecutor, related in some way to or appointed by Congress.

Another good step would be increasing the availability of information from the Government. When Ford talks about an open Administration I hope he has this in mind. If we are ever to learn from our mistakes, we have got to have information.

"The Watergate in Us All"

ANDREW HACKER

Professor of political science at Queens College, City University of New York, author of The End of the American Era

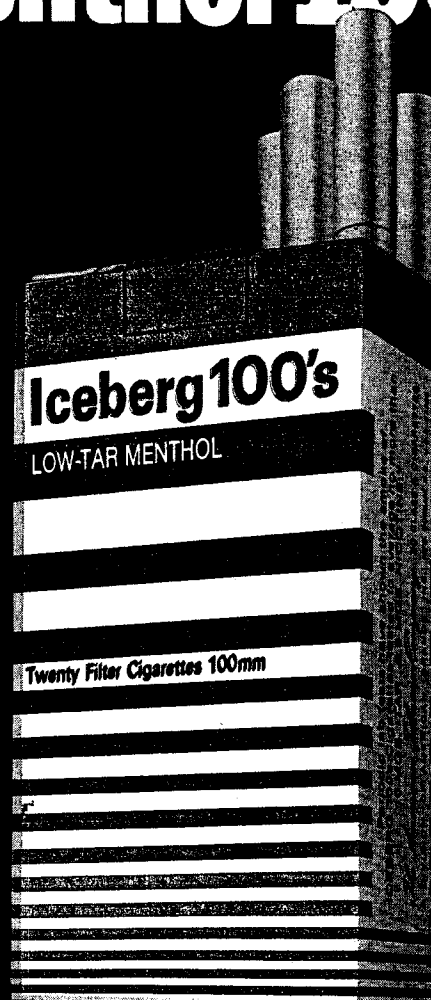
Let us not create a drama or tragedy where one does not really exist. This was the experience when Franklin Roosevelt died, and people said it was the end of the presidency. In fact it was not. Truman created his own presidency, his own methods, his own policies very quickly.

As far as the nation as a whole is concerned, I am rather worried. In all the talk that there has been about Watergate, I do not think people have thought very seriously about what really happened. Richard Nixon, in his farewell address, certainly showed that he had no notion of what he had done. I am really persuaded that Democrats who have had a habit of attacking Nixon for a generation have not really asked themselves what mode of behavior, what approach to government was really flawed here. Take, for example, these very same Democrats who do not seem anxious to look into the Chappaquiddick experience of Senator Edward Kennedy. I think that the only people who reflected seriously on the Watergate affair were those few Republicans on the Judiciary Committee who first shifted and voted against Nixon. They were beginning to see a pattern of lawlessness that bothered them down to their moral marrow. I am not sure that message got across to most Americans.

There will be a large spurt of self-congratulation: how we came out of the crisis, how resilient our system proved itself to be, how Congress rose to the challenge, how the transition was carried out so orderly. We are going to be engaging in a good deal of ego boosting about what fine people we are. At the same time, beneath the surface, there is a bit of Watergate in all of us. Postwar America has been an era of "get where you can as fast as you can." While it is not corruption in the financial sense, it is an excessive personal ambition. Thus I think that the whole Watergate experience has been good in that we are troubled, especially if it means that we will not be cocky and self-confident. Yet there remains the question: Are we willing to think through to the source of our troubles? I am not sure.

TIME, AUGUST 19, 1974

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Nixon's Emotional Farewell

... As I pointed out last night, I'm sure we've done some things wrong in this Administration. And the top man always takes the responsibility and I've never ducked it. But I want to say one thing: We can be proud of you. In five and a half years, no man or no woman came into this Administration and left it with more of this world's goods than he came in. No man or no woman ever profited at the public expense, or the public till. That tells something about you. Mistakes, yes. But for personal gain, never. You did what you believed in, sometimes right, sometimes wrong, and I only wish that I were a wealthy man —ha! At the present time I've got to find a way to pay my taxes. And if I were, I'd like to recompense you for the sacrifices that all of you have made to serve in government...

You know, people often come in and say, what'll I tell my kids. You know, they look at government. It's sort of a rugged life and they see the mistakes that are made. They get the impression that everybody is here for the purpose of feathering his nest. That's why I made this earlier point. Not in this Administration. Not one single man or woman.

And I say to them there are many fine careers. This country needs good

farmers, good businessmen, good plumbers, good carpenters. I remember my old man. I think that they would have called him sort of a little man, common man. He didn't consider himself that way. Know what he was? He was a streetcar motorman first. And then a farmer. And then he had a lemon ranch. It was the poorest lemon ranch in California, I can assure you. He sold it before they found oil on it [laughter]. And then he was a grocer. But he was a great man, because he did his job and every job counts up to the hilt regardless of what happens.

Nobody'll ever write a book, probably, about my mother. Well, I guess all of you would say this about your mother —my mother was a saint... Yes, she will have no books written about her. But she was a saint. Now, however, we look to the future.

I had a little quote in the speech last night from T.R. [Theodore Roosevelt]. As you know, I like to read books. I'm not educated, but I do read books [laughter]... There's another [quote] I found as I was reading my last night in the White House... He'd married a beautiful girl and they had a lovely daughter. And then suddenly she [Roosevelt's wife] died. This is what he wrote...

"And when my heart's dearest died, the light went from my life forever."

That was T.R. in his 20s. He thought the light had gone from his life forever, but he went on. And he not only became President, but as an ex-President he served his country, always in the arena, tempestuous, strong, sometimes right. But he was a man. And as I leave, let me say that's an example I think all of us should remember...

We think that when someone dear to us dies, we think that when we lose an election, we think that when we suffer a defeat, that all is ended. We think, as T.R. said, that the light had left his life forever. Not true. It's only a beginning always... Because the greatness comes not when things go always good for you, but the greatness comes when you're really tested, when you take some knocks and some disappointments, when sadness comes. Because only if you've been in the deepest valley can you ever know how magnificent it is to be on the highest mountain...

Always give your best. Never get discouraged. Never be petty. Always remember, others may hate you, but those who hate you don't win unless you hate them. And then, you destroy yourself. And so we leave, with high hopes, in good spirit and with deep humility and with very much gratefulness in our hearts...



TEDDY ROOSEVELT WITH WIFE ALICE (LEFT), CA. 1882; NIXON'S FATHER FRANK, 1952; MOTHER HANNAH, 1956

INTERNATIONAL VIEW

A COOL REACTION FROM ABROAD

Richard Nixon often suggested that he was personally essential to world peace and prosperity, and it was a notion that played even longer and louder outside the U.S. than it did in Peoria. For many months there was general agreement in a number of foreign capitals that the relentless pursuit of Nixon through Watergate amounted to a kind of dangerously irresponsible "lynch law," as a strident London *Times* editorial put it a year ago. But by last week overseas perceptions of the nature of America's often puzzling struggle over Watergate had changed almost completely. As a comment on the Nixon doctrine of presidential indispensability, the muted world reaction to his abdication was devastating.

Nowhere was that more apparent than in the money markets in London, Frankfurt and Zurich, where Nixon's departure was viewed as a boon to the U.S. economy. As the inevitability of his resignation became obvious, foreign investors bid the once wallowing American dollar up to new highs. Millions went to purchase stock in American corporations, adding fuel to Wall Street's exuberant "resignation rally."

Deliverance. At the same time, there was little emotional reaction to Nixon's abdication. The general feeling in European capitals was mainly one of surprise at the unexpectedly smooth resolution of America's long, arcane agony over Watergate (one BBC commentator noted that Nixon's farewell "was more of an inaugural address than anything else") and astonishment at the resilience of American institutions. Nixon's departure, said *Vorwärts*, the weekly journal of West Germany's Social Democratic Party, was "a deliverance." Headlined Turin's daily *La Stampa*: AMERICA HAS WON, NIXON RESIGNS.

In the Middle East the resignation created ripples of uncertainty. Arab governments were unhappy to see Nixon go; they credit him with the "even-handed" policy that the U.S. has followed so successfully since the October war. The Arabs have their doubts about President Ford, who has been a vocal supporter of Israel. In Egypt, where President Anwar Sadat has staked his hopes for an acceptable settlement on the personal assurances he received from Nixon only

two months ago, the resignation news was played down.

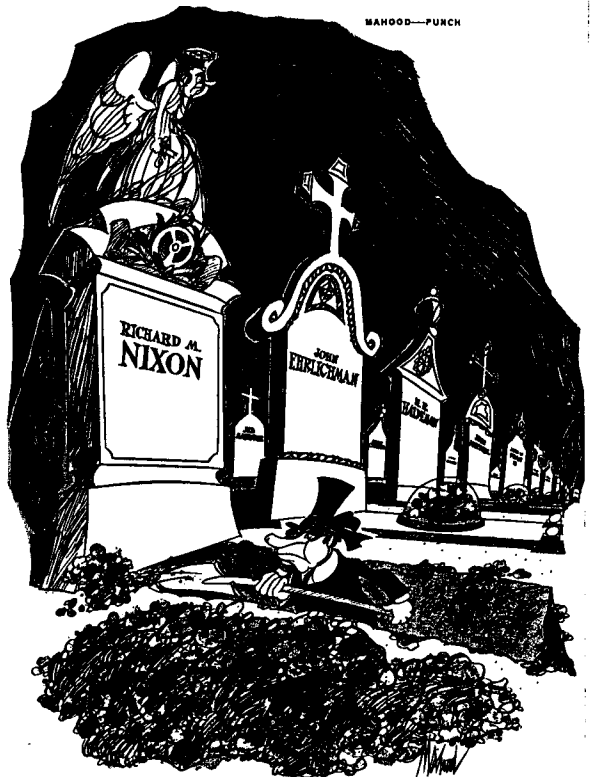
The Israelis had worries of their own about Ford. Whatever the new President's inclinations, which Israelis see as pro-Israel, one aide to Premier Yitzhak Rabin fretted that "the Russians will want to test the new man, and the test could come in the Middle East." Possibly in Syria: the Soviet Union has poured in \$2 billion worth of armaments in the past several months, making Syria today perhaps a greater military threat to Israel than Egypt.

The Soviets treated the presidential changeover with deliberate understatement. Undoubtedly, that reflected Party Chairman Leonid Brezhnev's big stake in détente, and his concern that the fall of his U.S. negotiating partner not be seen as a blow to his own prestige. Until last week, in fact, the Kremlin had told the Soviet people virtually nothing of Nixon's domestic political difficulties. When Moscow radio finally announced Nixon's imminent resignation on Thursday, it took care to quote U.S. congressional leaders as saying that American foreign policy would remain unchanged, "especially in regard to the Soviet Union."

Actually, Moscow has been striving to depersonalize détente for some time. During a banquet at the June summit, for example, Nixon exuberantly toasted his "personal relationship" with Brezhnev; in the Russian translation that came out later the word personal was deleted. By early last week, said a Western diplomat in Moscow, "the Soviet view was that it is regrettable, but not the end of the world, if Nixon goes." The Soviets were relieved when Gerald Ford announced that he would keep Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The Russians also hope that a political honeymoon for Ford might mean postponement of se-

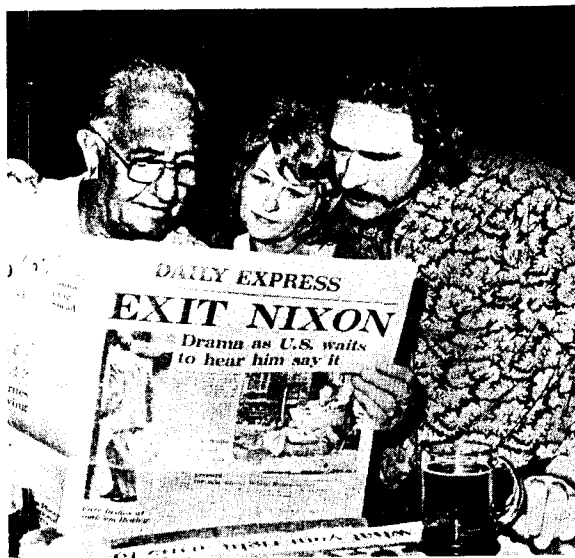
rious internal U.S. debate on détente. As one diplomat stationed in Moscow said, "as long as détente continues, Brezhnev will be in good shape."

The Soviets are not alone in their sanguine view of a U.S. foreign policy without Nixon. Even before his resignation, there was a spreading conviction abroad that Nixon's role in American foreign policy, creative though it was, had largely been played out. Said *La Stampa*: "He pulled America out of Viet Nam, reestablished normal relations with the Soviet Union and China, and saved the devalued dollar . . . But to carry out the new international *Realpolitik*, Nixon is no longer necessary. He has done his part." Although they credit Nixon with having made the breakthroughs, Europeans would just as soon have the difficult follow-up left to Henry Kissinger. As one Whitehall official



put it, Nixon's détente achievements are all "past tense."

In some places, to be sure, Nixon's exit was received with regret and even foreboding. Chiang Kai-shek's regime on Taiwan was upset over the demise of the man who had been one of its strongest political allies in the U.S. since the 1950s, even if he did initiate Washington's rapprochement with Peking.



LONDONERS READING RESIGNATION STORIES

Not a totally tidy foreign policy situation, but widespread relief and optimism over the prospect of continuity.



SAIGON NEWSBOYS WITH PAPERS RIGHT OFF PRESSES

The Thieu regime in Saigon was privately fretful. Drawing a lugubrious analogy, one former South Vietnamese Cabinet officer noted that "even after Nixon married off Viet Nam, his daughter, in the Paris agreement, he still very carefully looked after her interests. A new President would only be a stepfather and would not love her as much." Indeed, Viet Nam is not well loved in the U.S. Congress. The House of Representatives last week cut \$300 million off an Administration request for \$1 billion in aid to Saigon next year.

Flash Points. Nonetheless, the U.S.'s negotiating partners, allies and clients are pleased that Kissinger will continue to manage U.S. foreign policy. Less predictably, many governments are also pleased that Kissinger will be answering to a new President. The Japanese and some European leaders have long felt that the Nixon-Kissinger duo was too fond of close-to-the-vest diplomacy and the rawest sort of balance of power politics. Ford is perceived as more open, more willing to consult with America's allies, and therefore a beneficent influence on Kissinger.

In general, says Karl Kaiser, one of West Germany's leading foreign policy scholars, "the prospects are not bad at all. The major element of continuity is the Secretary of State. The foreign policy of Ford will be about the same as Nixon's—moderate, prudent internationalism. On balance, it is encouraging to see the American system cleanse and correct itself."

That is not to say that Ford inherits a totally tidy foreign policy situation. Flash points and long-term concerns are all over Henry Kissinger's State Department maps. Real peace remains a long way off in the Middle East and Cyprus, while Viet Nam threatens to rear its troubled head again. Pentagon analysts are anxiously studying threatening military movements by North Viet Nam that included the alerting of at least one

infantry division just above the Demilitarized Zone.

Less urgent but nonetheless important for the U.S. are diplomatic issues pending on all corners of the pentagonal world into which Nixon and Kissinger divided their "era of negotiation."

THE SOVIET UNION. For all the ritual pledges of allegiance to détente in both Moscow and Washington, the Nixon Administration's dealings with Russia face tests in several tricky areas. In Europe there are the plodding negotiations on East-West political relations in Geneva and the talks on NATO-Warsaw Pact force reductions in Vienna. The promised expansion of U.S.-Soviet trade is hung up principally on Senator Henry M. Jackson's opposition to a bill granting the Soviets most-favored-nation trading status. Jackson demands a Kremlin commitment to further increases in emigration of Soviet Jews.

Finally, there is the Nixon-Kissinger failure to reach the "conceptual breakthrough" at the Moscow summit that was to produce a second-phase agreement on SALT (strategic arms limitation talks). Kissinger faces a tough grilling at upcoming Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on the state of détente especially in the sensitive area of nuclear arms.

WESTERN EUROPE. Relations between the U.S. and its European allies have improved considerably since the rivalry over Middle East diplomacy following the October war. But some old U.S.-European difficulties are re-emerging. The Europeans are upset at the apparent lack of U.S. interest at the conference in Geneva in getting the Soviet bloc countries to open up their borders to a freer flow of people and ideas.

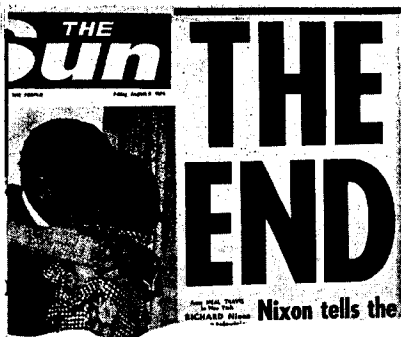
CHINA. Kissinger's decision to stay at State was particularly reassuring to Peking; the Chinese had been concerned about the effects of Watergate on the relationship that is one of their safeguards against aggression by the Soviet Union.

But the Ford Administration now must wait out a mini-Cultural Revolution and the uncertain fate of Premier Chou En-lai before it can tell what to negotiate next—and with whom.

JAPAN. The country that Nixon described as the linchpin for peace in the Pacific, and then slugged with successive economic and diplomatic *shokku*, is not at all sorry to see Nixon's removal from the White House. The Japanese felt slighted by the Nixon-Kissinger brand of surprise diplomacy, and they will be anxious to establish close relations with the new leader of their No. 1 trading partner. To do that, however, they will have to cooperate on economic matters more fully than they have in the past.

The Ford Administration has an opportunity to gain some ground in the Third World. India was singed by Nixon's pro-Pakistani "tilt" during the 1971 Bangladesh war, but New Delhi dealt sympathetically with his departure nevertheless. Indian Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh went out of his way to say that Nixon's "action in resigning is in the best tradition of democracy." In Latin America, still sore about what it regards as a Nixon policy of neglect, President Ford would do well to continue the renewal of U.S. attention haltingly begun by Kissinger in the past six months. Additionally, Ford will soon have to make a decision that Nixon avoided: whether to take a leading role in bringing an increasingly prosperous Cuba back into the American community, or stand by while Latin American states re-establish diplomatic relations with Havana one by one on their own. Nixon had shied away from recognition of Cuba after Southern Senators, his main support in the Senate, strongly opposed rapprochement with the Communist island.

Many nations had feared that the Watergate scandal posed a fundamental threat to the power of the American presidency, but even before Nixon's res-



THE DAY AFTER THE ABDICATION: HEADLINES IN THE LONDON SUN, MUNICH'S ABENDZEITUNG, PARIS' LE FIGARO
 "It can't be true," said a Beirut taxi driver. "You need a tank to remove a President."

ignation that concern had been largely dispelled. In Europe and other areas it became obvious that the President—and not the presidency—was under attack. The turning point came last spring, with the release of the first batch of the Watergate tapes. Said a leading member of Britain's Conservative Party: "When we began to hear those tapes, [Nixon's] authority disappeared, and we knew his position would crumble anyway." The final fading of Nixon's presidential magic came with the release of last week's tapes, particularly the one in which Nixon said, "I don't give a (expletive deleted) about the lira." That, said the London Times, told all about "Mr. Nixon's attitude and order of priorities."

As Nixon went down, Watergate began to take on a kind of mystical quality. Europeans found profound meanings in the American experience. London's Daily Telegraph saw the resignation as "an unconscious act of cleansing and renewal, with Richard Nixon as the ritual sacrifice, embodying all the less reputable aspects of [Amer-

ica's] rumbustious democracy. Even the festering remains of the Viet Nam hangover are included in the general exorcism, despite the fact that in this case it was Mr. Nixon who was the doctor who brought about the cure."

Never Greater. TIME's chief European correspondent William Radermaekers found the exorcist theory especially popular in Europe. There the extravagances of the past decade of America's tortured history—the political assassinations, the war in Viet Nam and the callous domestic politics of the Nixon years—are considered parts of a whole. The catharsis of Nixon's fall may allow the U.S. to return to a state of domestic tranquility that would be reflected in a stable foreign policy. Europeans believe that now the American Congress will play a more important role in matters of foreign policy, and that this may not be a bad thing.

The immediate effect of the Watergate denouement was to prompt an almost global wave of admiration for America's institutions. "It can't be true,"

said Simon Haj, 31, a Beirut taxi driver. "You need a tank to remove a President in the Arab world." Said Brazil's leading political pundit, Carlos Castello Branco, just before the resignation: "Nixon was never morally smaller than now, but the U.S. was never morally greater. If the U.S. had no other justification for world leadership, this alone would entitle it to present itself as a leader and inspirer in a world where the notion of government with honor and liberty has largely been lost."

In Italy, Author Luigi Barzini marveled at the way the U.S. has "survived bad Presidents, dim-witted Presidents, and Presidents who would have brought the country to ruin if they had had their way. It has survived the murders of a few good Presidents. It can survive the resignation of a dishonest one. In fact, the demonstration that 18th century laws could come to life and punish crimes committed at the highest levels of power has improved the opinion the world has of the United States." There too Richard Nixon played his part.

CINEMA

Mug Shooting

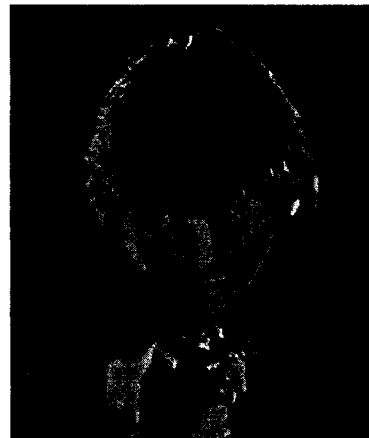
DEATH WISH
 Directed by MICHAEL WINNER
 Screenplay by WENDELL MAYES

Death Wish starts out as if it were going to make extraordinary demands on the audience's ability to accept and sustain a fantasy. Right off, one is asked to believe that Charles Bronson, who usually acts as if he has trouble writing his own name, is an engineer of such skill and imagination that he can one-two-three redesign a housing development so that its aesthetic merits can be retained even as a soaring cost factor is brought into line. Soon enough, however, the film settles down to real business. This is not to make any demands on fantasies but to cater to what may currently be the most vicious of them, namely that the problem of crime in the streets is so far out of control that vigilantism is the only way to bring about a final solution.

Bronson takes the law into his own hands mainly as occupational therapy

after three freaks invade his New York apartment, murder his wife and sexually abuse his grown daughter, rendering her hopelessly insane. A weapon of revenge—a Western-style revolver—is provided by the grateful realtor whose development Bronson saved. A pressing, almost daily need to use it is supplied by British Director Winner and West

BRONSON IN DEATH WISH



Coast Writer Mayes, who offer a vision of New York City existence based less on firsthand experience than on old Johnny Carson-Dick Cavett monologues about getting home from the studio. Everywhere Bronson turns in a trash- and graffiti-glutted environment, he sees an old man mugged, a car being burglarized—and his gun is quick. Pretty soon he is stalking the gloomiest streets, the dimmest parks, the grimmest subways, inviting attack and expertly dispatching his assailants with his peacemaker.

Personal revenge is still an acceptable motivation in an action movie. But Bronson is not looking for his wife's murderers, though they are so manifestly weird that any reader of Dick Tracy would have a fair chance of finding them. No, he has become an abstract symbol of quick justice in a setting where every bit player is careful to complain that the courts are too slow, the cops too dumb. Moreover, he quickly becomes a pop-cult hero, photographed against magazine posters acclaiming the salutary effect his work is having on the

THE COVERAGE: CALM AND MASSIVE

As the Nixon Administration sped to its end, Washington correspondents—packed into muggy briefing rooms, scrambling to salvage facts from an avalanche of rumors—might have succumbed to some very human emotions. They might have been gleeful over the final agony of their longtime antagonist, or at least exhilarated to report one of the biggest stories of their time. In fact, exuberance was rare. Said Chicago *Daily News* Washington Bureau Chief Peter Lisagor: "There was an inexorability to it all, and it turned into a death watch." CBS Correspondent Dan Rather echoed that mood when he described TV coverage of resignation night as "perhaps a little too funereal."

Somber Mood. Indeed, the solemnity of a presidential abdication masked the hostility that many felt on both sides. Newsmen studiously avoided gloating, and neither Nixon nor his aides renewed their old attacks on the press. Within two hours of the resignation speech, Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler went to the podium of the White House briefing room for the last time to praise the "energy" and "intelligence" of the startled reporters before him. Ziegler had become the unhappy symbol of White House deception, and his paean to the press drew a few titters. But there was none of the rancorous repartee that had marked so many White House briefings during the previous two years.

Some of the reporters could not quite understand their own somber mood. Chicago *Tribune* Correspondent Jim Squires phoned an editor at his home office and said, "I've been fighting the guy for 18 months, but suddenly I can't get excited about his quitting." At the Washington *Post*, Executive Editor Ben Bradlee ordered his staff not to talk to outside journalists. The *Post*, pre-eminent leader in Watergate coverage, had made enough news. The conflict was over and now Bradlee wanted simply to report events. When a *Women's Wear Daily* reporter penetrated Bradlee's office, the executive editor personally ejected her with the admonition: "This is not the place to be writing about." In Boston, *Globe* Editor Tom Winship, another longtime Nixon foe, impassively watched the speech with his newsroom staff, then remarked quietly: "He went out with dignity."

Whatever the personal feelings of reporters and editors, their output last week was enormous. Coverage, both in

print and on the air, virtually enveloped the nation, reaching a high point on Thursday night and Friday.

Other watershed events—John Kennedy's assassination and Lyndon Johnson's renunciation of a second full term, for instance—could not have been predicted. This time there was ample opportunity to prepare.

At major newspapers, the wire services and TV networks, executives had been thinking about the possibility of a sudden vacancy in the White House since the first batch of tape transcripts was released April 30. ABC News President Elmer Lower began looking ahead even earlier: in June 1973 he recommended that outlines of coverage of a Nixon departure be drawn up; by Jan. 14 of this year, the network's SEEP (Special Events Emergency Plan) was fleshed out on paper. Prepared over several months, the *New York Times*'s "quit package" grew to seven ready-to-print pages on the Nixon presidency.

Last Monday's disclosure of new transcripts accelerated such precautions from a walk to a gallop. Said *Newsday* Editor David Laventhol as the fire storm raged: "We've been working on it a month, slowly. This week, we're working fast." The Associated Press sent out a 1,400-word political obituary of Nixon on Monday night, then began a steady flow of resignation-pegged stories. United Press International on Tuesday also began feeding its clients a

RON ZIEGLER BOWING OUT



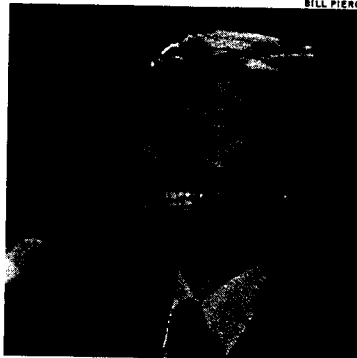
DICKE HALSTEAD

background package including profiles of Judge John Sirica and John Dean.

By Wednesday, coverage of the crisis perceptibly shifted from Nixon's immediate dilemma to a future without him. Two front-page headlines in that morning's *Washington Post* captured the change: one suggested that Gerald Ford would choose Nelson Rockefeller as his Vice President, and the other read simply: VIEW BEYOND WATERGATE. By noon the Providence *Journal-Bulletin* was out with a blockbuster: a bannered story citing Nixon's "irrevocable" decision to resign. Telephoned in by the paper's Washington correspondent Douglas Wilson only 1½ hours earlier, the account cited a self-described "undaunted devotee of the President" as source (widely assumed to be Rabbi Baruch Korff, a Providence resident and leader of a pro-Nixon citizens' group).

Within hours, the Phoenix *Gazette* climbed even farther out on the same limb. After talking to Publisher Eugene C. Pulliam, a Nixon loyalist, Managing Editor Alan Moyer wrote a lead declaring that Nixon would resign the same day. When the paper's "unimpeachable

BILL PIERCE



NEW PRESS SECRETARY TERHORST
Writing the last byline.

source" proved incorrect as to timing. Moyer said: "I'm a bit disappointed that the resignation didn't come when we said it would. But there was no question in our minds that there would be a resignation within a day or two."

Such certainty was all but universal among newsmen Thursday morning. Papers prepared banner headlines. The *New York Times* photographically blew up its largest type face to what it calls "moon type," which is one inch high as it appears in print. It was used only once before, when Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin took their lunar walk. Miami *News* editors discovered that their largest type had been used to herald Dolphin Quarterback Bob Griese's defection from the N.F.L. strikers; the paper quickly created an even larger type face, measuring 3½ in. high.

Thus all was in readiness—except

THE PRESS

hard facts about what the President would say. The 9 p.m. E.D.T. scheduling of the speech posed problems for afternoon dailies. The Boston evening *Globe* gambled, ripped out four pages of features to begin its advance resignation coverage. The New York *Post* announced Nixon's resignation hours before he did. So did the morning Los Angeles *Times*, whose late Thursday edition appeared prior to the speech. But the New York *Daily News* hedged. For its earliest copies, which appear around 7 p.m., the morning daily had planned a NIXON QUILTS headline; sometime Thursday afternoon, the head was changed to the less firm NIXON DECIDES TO RESIGN.

The three major TV networks swept away their regular evening shows and waited for the President's appearance. Walter Cronkite broke off a vacation to lead his CBS's coverage. Before the speech, anchormen and correspondents discussed what was about to happen, interviewed members of Congress and reconstructed the events leading up to the climax then imminent. The speech itself drew a TV audience estimated at 110 million (normal audience on a mid-summer Thursday: about 50 million, divided among many programs).

Clear Minority. The TV newsmen, cast so long in the role of Nixon persecutors, occasionally appeared to be straining for evenhandedness. Howard K. Smith, the only network commentator to call for Nixon's removal last year, devoted his commentary Thursday evening to the flaws of the 25th Amendment—a valid but hardly urgent subject at such an emotional moment. CBS's Dan Rather had surprisingly warm praise for Nixon's speech, later insisted that he, like the President, harbored no personal bitterness. Rather's colleague Roger Mudd sharply criticized Nixon for attributing his exit to Congress rather than his own misdeeds. Though

Mudd's view is shared by other newsmen, who feel that Nixon should have candidly discussed his role in the cover-up, it was in a clear minority during the Thursday night broadcasts.

As public servants, law professors, historians and assorted figures from Nixon's past were brought before the cameras, the discussions sometimes became repetitious. Some of the "talking heads," however, were intriguing: Helen Gahagan Douglas, who lost a Senate race to Nixon in 1950 and now said she was sad that impeachment had not run its course; ex-Teamster Boss Jimmy Hoffa, who knows something about falls from power. Both CBS, which signed off at midnight, and NBC, which quit an hour later, relied heavily on off-the-cuff reactions. ABC, normally less comprehensive than its competitors in news coverage, remained on until 2 a.m. and ran well-produced segments on Nixon's career and Ford's biography. All three networks gave full live coverage to Nixon's departure and Ford's succession on Friday.

By then the special headlines on morning papers were emblazoned everywhere, and the plans launched well before resignation gave many papers the girth of historical documents. The New York *Times*, which takes justifiable pride in being the nation's newspaper of record, devoted its first 14 pages—and 40 separate stories—to the Nixon-Ford drama. But the *Times* was outspaced by the Washington *Post*, which carried eleven pages of news and pictures plus a 24-page special supplement on "The Nixon Years." Prepared by such knowledgeable *Post* reporters as David Broder, Jules Witcover, Lou Cannon, Haynes Johnson, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, the supplement offered an astonishingly comprehensive narrative of Nixon's private and public life.

Noteworthy special supplements were also produced by *Newsday* (which

distributed an extra 100,000 copies free), the Boston *Globe*, the Chicago *Sun-Times* and the Milwaukee *Journal*. The Portland *Oregonian* ran 52 stories on the changeover, 27 of them written locally. The Detroit *News* pulled off an unexpected coup: the last bylined story by Washington Bureau Chief Jerald terHorst, who became Ford's press secretary shortly after Nixon's speech.

Folk Heroes. There was the certain sense of a honeymoon, perhaps of long duration, beginning between the press and President Ford. Offering a Friday assessment of Ford's likely handling of the office, *Wall Street Journal* Reporter Norman C. Miller wrote: "Where Mr. Nixon often was devious and secretive, Mr. Ford is direct and open. He always has enjoyed easy relations with the press—in sharp contrast to Mr. Nixon—and he can be expected to hold frequent news conferences as President." A *Daily News* headline the same morning reflected the same press euphoria: FORD IS MR. CLEAN OF MIDDLE CLASS.

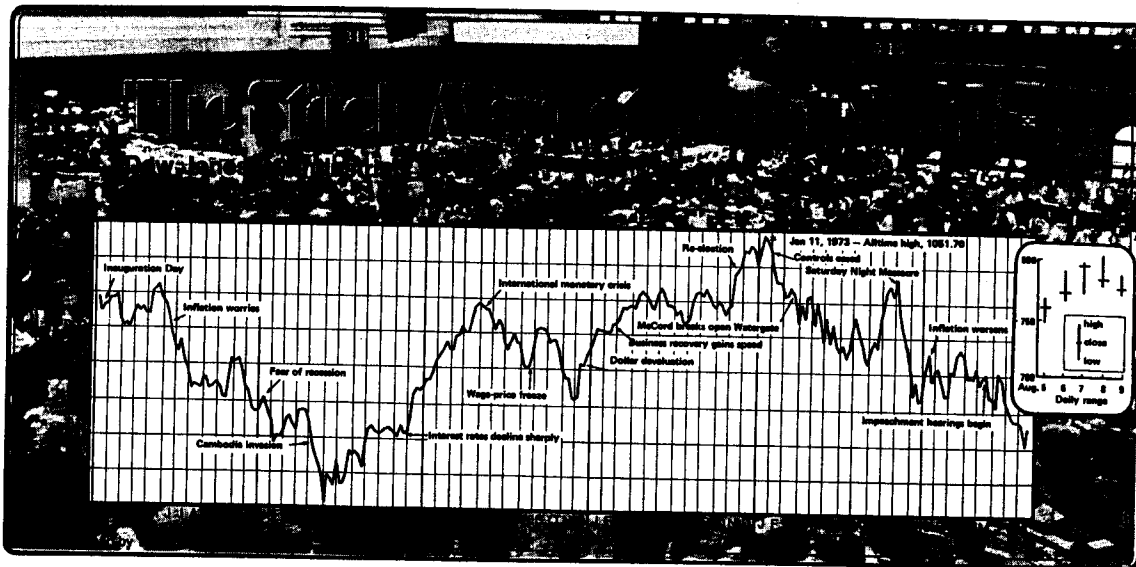
This reaction is understandable. New Presidents traditionally receive an admiring or, at worst, neutral press, and after years of hostility from the Nixon Administration, many reporters long for a period of comparative serenity. But serenity has its price, and life with Gerald Ford may be far less exciting for newsmen than their long pitched battle with Nixon. In the preface to an enlarged paperback reprint of the Washington *Post* supplement, out this week, Bradlee and Managing Editor Howard Simon discuss the paradox: they point out that while Nixon and the press afflicted each other, Nixon also "did more for the press than any President in recent history. He made folk heroes out of reporters. He made some newspapers household words. And he provided more copy, more headlines, more magazine covers, and more television footage than any man since World War II."

ABC NEWS CONTROL ROOM DURING RESIGNATION SPEECH



REPORTERS WATCH AT WHITE HOUSE





ECONOMY & BUSINESS

AFTER NIXON

BLOWING AWAY THE UNCERTAINTY

When Richard Nixon turned over the reins of Government to Gerald Ford last week, the U.S. business community—long filled with fervent Nixon supporters—burst into a prolonged round of applause. It was a reaction of relief rather than celebration. A long-threatening cloud of uncertainty had been suddenly and dramatically blown away. Executives were infused with hope that public faith in White House leadership, and thus Government management of a sorely troubled economy, now stood at least a chance of being rekindled. "This is the best thing that could happen at the present time," says George Strichman, chairman of Colt Industries, a huge conglomerate. "There will be a mood of release, a feeling of 'Thank God, let's get going.'" Charles W. Moore, research director of William C. Roney & Co., a Michigan brokerage house, adds, "Any change has to be an improvement over the present."

Persistent Problems. But the relief was tempered by a realization that the transfer of power by itself would do little to solve the economy's persistent problems of rampant inflation, sky-high interest rates and declining output. Both sides of the mood were successively illustrated on Wall Street, where the Nixon years have been mostly bearish;

though the Dow Jones industrial average hit its all-time high of 1052 in January 1973, at the beginning of last week it stood 180 points below its level on Nixon's Inauguration Day in 1969. In the first three days of last week, the Dow shot up 45 points in anticipation of Nixon's resignation. Then it dropped 20 points Thursday and Friday, to close the week at 777. One reason: an explosive rise in wholesale prices (see box next page) that gave fresh evidence of how difficult inflation will be to defeat. But brokers widely feel that the long-over-sold stock market is about to enjoy at least a short-term psychological rise that might push the Dow to 830 or 850 before heavy profit taking pulls it back.

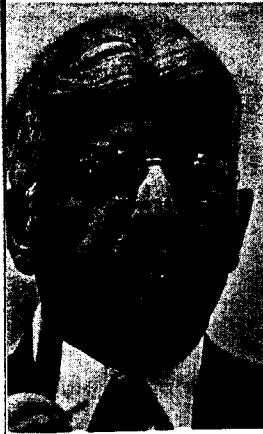
Outside Wall Street, the lifting of uncertainty could spur some new spending by both consumers and businessmen. Ford Motor Chairman Henry Ford II wryly wondered what the President's problems "have to do with selling cars," but added that "generally speaking, there is a lack of confidence on the part of the consumers in this country, and we believe that it has affected car sales in 1974. We would hope this confidence could be rebuilt." Chairman Henry Walker Jr., of the Honolulu-based Amfac, Inc., says that, "with Nixon safely out of the way," his company plans to

move ahead on delayed plans to expand food-processing plants in Alaska and on the West Coast.

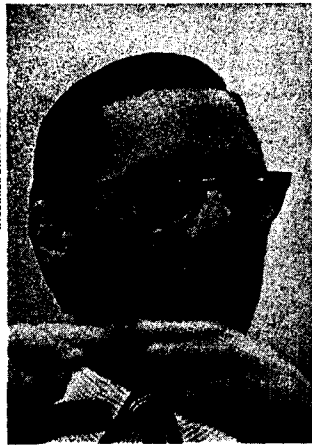
European government officials hope that another quick result of Nixon's resignation will be Senate passage of a bill giving the White House new authority to negotiate a lowering of trade barriers. That would enable a round of world trade talks to get under way. An impeachment trial in the Senate could well have killed all chances for passage of the trade bill this year, and the global negotiations then probably would have been scrapped.

Honeymoon Atmosphere. Any lift to the U.S. economy out of relief over Nixon's resignation, however, will be both minor and temporary. In the longer run, everything will depend on the economic policies adopted by the new Ford Administration (see THE NATION). Businessmen and economists agree, though, that Ford's high public credibility and the certainty of a presidential honeymoon with Congress give him the chance to wage a far more vigorous attack on the nation's economic ills than could be made by Nixon operating in an atmosphere poisoned by Watergate.

Almost to a man, businessmen expect the new President to continue the basic anti-inflationary policies advocated in recent months by Administration officials, and outlined by Nixon last month in a speech to Los Angeles businessmen. They include trimming federal spending by at least \$5 billion in fiscal 1975 and aiming for a balanced budget in fiscal '76, encouraging the Federal Reserve to keep a tight rein on credit and stimulating consumer saving in order to reduce demand. Ford also has announced that he will keep Wil-



ARTHUR BURNS



WILLIAM SIMON



ALAN GREENSPAN

A promising chance to breathe new life into old policies.

William Simon as Secretary of the Treasury and reaffirmed the appointment of Alan Greenspan, who is on his way to speedy Senate confirmation as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. Office of Management and Budget Director Roy Ash and Nixon Economic Counselor Kenneth Rush, however, are not expected to stay on.

At minimum, Ford is in a position to breathe new life into the old policies. For example, presidential advisers have been wrangling inconclusively for three months over just where to cut the budget, and have received little guidance from Nixon, who was preoccupied with his defense against impeachment. Ford could quickly cut through the debate and, if he wished, start some new policies. Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, pleading just before Nixon's resignation for "more energetic action" by the White House against inflation, called once more for a budget cut of \$10 billion rather than \$5 billion. He also advocated starting a new \$4 billion program to put 800,000 of the unemployed to work in public-service jobs if the jobless rate hits 6%; it would have to be financed by some selective tax increases. Ford's vice-presidential staff favored the

idea in principle, and Ford himself is believed to be more inclined than Nixon was to back more help for people thrown out of work by anti-inflationary budget cuts and credit restraint.

Some members of TIME's Board of Economists voice especially high hope that Ford, coming into office on a wave of intense public desire that he succeed, will be able to conciliate warring economic interests. Arthur Okun, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Lyndon Johnson, says: "Ford displays a willingness to engage in dialogue. He could approach labor and business successfully and raise the issues of inflation and self-restraint." Harvard's Otto Eckstein thinks that Ford could negotiate quietly and successfully with businessmen to hold price increases over the next twelve months to perhaps 5% and use his cordial relationship with AFL-CIO President George Meany to get labor to moderate wage demands too. Says Eckstein: "He is a new man with a reservoir of leadership."

Economists and businessmen also point out that Ford takes office unfettered by economic campaign promises. For example, he need pay no attention to Nixon's 1972 campaign pledge not

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

to raise taxes throughout his term in the White House. Nor will he be under the pressure that Nixon was to court popularity at the expense of an anti-inflationary program. While talking about the need for budget restraint, Nixon signed into law such measures as a \$700 million extension of veterans' benefits and a \$2 billion loan guarantee for financially distressed cattlemen.

There are some pessimistic voices about the economic prospects of a Ford Administration. Daniel Fitz-Gerald, chairman of San Diego-based Wickes Corp., a big retailer of furniture and building supplies, predicts that Congress will not long remain pliant if Ford starts whacking away at the budget in earnest: "He will discover that once he starts tampering with everyone's favorite pork barrel, you can lose some friends fast." Milwaukee Banker Neil Johnston predicts that double-digit inflation will continue for some years, no matter who is President. But Ford has at least a chance to make a fresh start, and will benefit for a while from business and congressional eagerness to forgive any economic mistakes. In economics as well as in politics, the nation needs a spirit of healing and cooperation, and Ford has a unique chance to promote it.

AVIATION

Israel's Secret Success

Long before the October war exposed the vulnerability of Israel's vaunted defense machine, the state-owned, supersecret Israel Aircraft Industries Ltd., which builds and services planes for peace and war, was showing signs of strain. Its first two tries at building executive jets seemed to have flopped expensively, and its attempts to refurbish and resell old planes appeared to be sputtering. Shortly before the war, Moshe Dayan, then head of the Defense

Wholesale Price Explosion

As if to emphasize the gravity of the economic troubles awaiting the attention of the new Ford Administration, the Bureau of Labor Statistics on the very day of Richard Nixon's resignation released a set of statistics that showed inflation to be accelerating at an even more explosive pace than had been supposed. The wholesale price index rose a seasonally adjusted 3.7% in July alone, amounting to a compound annual rate of 54.6%. The jump was the biggest for one month since August 1973, when prices leaped 6.2% after the lifting of the Nixon Administration's second price freeze.

The most ominous trend was a turn-around in farm prices. They had declined steadily from March through June, but July wholesale food and feed prices soared 6.4%, or 110.9% at an annual compound rate. The rise will surely push up supermarket prices in another month or two, particularly for red meat and poultry. Future prospects depend largely on the weather; the July jump reflected the early effects of the searing Midwestern drought (TIME, Aug. 12), which will reduce food supplies.

But bad news was not confined to the farm. Wholesale prices of industrial commodities rose 2.7% last month, the ninth straight month in which they have increased at a double-digit pace. The index for fuels climbed 5.3% in July alone. Almost all types of machinery became more expensive. Factory prices of automobiles went up 2%—and are continuing to climb: one day after the index was released, General Motors raised the factory prices of 1975 model cars and trucks by an average of \$480 or 9.5%, nearly duplicating in a single stroke the \$500 in price hikes that automakers posted in five stages on their 1974 models. Indeed of 15 major commodity groups included in the wholesale price index, only one, lumber and wood products, declined, and that dip was not reassuring; it reflected the sharp drop in housing construction. All told, the wholesale price index in July was 20.4% higher than in the same month last year.

The magnitude of the rise came as a shock to Government officials. John Stark, executive director of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, said that it "has dire implications for the consumer price index." He fears that it will "accentuate future wage demands" by workers who can see the buying power of their paychecks going down.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

LEARNING FROM THE TRAGEDY

Watergate was a tragedy, but not an unmitigated one. Already it is clear that we have learned much from it; we can almost say that we have profited from it. Right now we look back at it with astonishment: How did we ever allow it to happen? In a few years we will look back on it with a certain pride because we did not in fact succumb to what happened, or allow ourselves to be overwhelmed or subverted by it. On the contrary, before the situation got hopelessly out of hand, we rallied our resources, rejected it and reversed it.

Watergate was—I use the term as a symbol—an attempt to subvert the Constitution, but the Constitution survived. It was an attempt by the President to put himself above the law, but in the end it was the law that imposed its magisterial authority upon the President. It was an attempt to nullify important guarantees in the Bill of Rights, but the guarantees survived and helped to keep alive those freedoms that in the end brought down the President. It was an attempt to break down the separation of powers, reduce the Congress to impotence and paralyze the machinery of justice, but the Congress discovered its sense of responsibility, and the courts maintained their independence. It was an attempt to cripple the political processes of our democracy and of our party system, but these recovered and proved themselves resilient and tenacious. It was an attempt to deceive the people through secrecy and fraud, but in the end Lincoln's aphorism about fooling all the people all the time was vindicated.

Thus, once again, as three times in our past when we faced great crises—the attempt by Aaron Burr to steal the election of 1800, the Civil War and the Great Depression—the Constitution and the political processes that it nourished proved themselves tough and enduring. Without disorder, confusion or even excessive bitterness, we have quietly forced Mr. Nixon out of office and quietly installed Mr. Ford. This is a revolution. In most countries of the globe it would be a violent revolution, but in the U.S. it is peaceful and legal. It is indeed constitutional revolution, for just as the founding fathers invented the constitutional convention as a legal method of altering or abolishing government and instituting a new one, they also devised the complex process of impeachment, resignation and succession as a constitutional method of removing a head of state and installing his successor.

Thus at every stage of Watergate and the "Grand Inquest" that followed, we have a vindication of the Constitution and of the political habits that have grown up under it. And this has brought with it a large measure of popular education in constitutionalism, in the meaning of separation of powers, in the central importance of the Bill of Rights and in the validity and resourcefulness of the democratic process. The purpose of impeachment is not only to remove from office a man who has betrayed the public trust. It is also to explore the nature of that public trust, and to make clear what it means to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the U.S.

Some questions that should have been settled remain, to be sure, unsettled: the question of presidential warmaking, for example, or of the reach of presidential privileges and immunities, or of the balance (if any) between the claims of national security and the guarantees of the Bill of Rights. It is by no means clear, however, that impeachment would have

settled these questions, but it is highly probable that for all practical purposes they have been answered by public opinion. It is wildly improbable that President Ford or his successors in the foreseeable future will wage war on a neutral country, impound congressional appropriations, interfere with the processes of justice, openly flout the guarantees of freedom of speech and of the press or seek to establish a police state—all of which Mr. Nixon did. Impeachment by an informed public opinion has provided guidelines for the future as effective as those that might have emerged from the trauma of an impeachment trial.

The expulsion of Richard Nixon and the repudiation of his impudent claims to privilege, prerogatives and power will have a restorative effect on the whole body politic. It will go far to re-establish that equality and balance of the three departments of Government so central to the thinking of the founding fathers. The process has indeed already begun: the Congress declared its independence in its conduct of the abortive impeachment proceedings; the Court affirmed its independence with a unanimous vote on the validity of presidential subpoenas. We should add that the fourth estate—the press—proudly maintained its independence in the face of almost intolerable pressures, seductions and intimidations.

The removal of Mr. Nixon will go far to restore the integrity of the American political system. Though his whole adult life had been devoted to politics, he seemed to have no appreciation of the delicate and peculiar nature of the system or of the historic role of political parties in maintaining and working it. Instead, he was prepared to corrupt parties, corrupt the CIA, the FBI and the IRS, corrupt his own associates, corrupt the press, deceive the public and buy elections. But it was, in the long run, public outrage at the prostitution of politics for private and partisan purposes that destroyed Mr. Nixon's credibility and forced his resignation. If, in the future, ambitious politicians take this lesson to heart, democracy will function better because of Watergate.

Now that Watergate and Mr. Nixon are behind us, President Ford has set himself to bind up the wounds that they inflicted. With malice toward none, with charity for all, we must cooperate in this honorable task. Then we can return to a consideration of those great issues of domestic and world politics that we have sorely neglected, or allowed to go by default. Not only have the issues been neglected, but Watergate and all that it involved has tended greatly to magnify the importance of domestic as contrasted with global problems. It has, too, magnified purely political issues. These are issues that were in their very nature fortuitous, issues that should never have come up and were in themselves unworthy of the attention of a mature people: corruption, chicanery, mendacity, duplicity, ward politics and private spite.

That Americans tolerated these things for so long is a tribute to their good nature and their laxity; that in the end they saw the larger principles involved in and threatened by these petty issues is a tribute to their sophistication and maturity.

Now, under new leadership, we can turn our attention to those global problems that glare upon us so implacably: the exhaustion of natural resources of energy and of food; the imminent doubling of the world's population in the next half-century; the use and misuse of atomic power, and similar problems. At least we now have a better chance to consider these problems in an atmosphere of non-partisanship than we did while engaged in the elementary though essential task of saving our political and constitutional system. For too long, now, our center of gravity has been Washington. Now we must all realize that our center of gravity is the globe.

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