

August 19, 1974

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# New York **Week**



## Special Issue



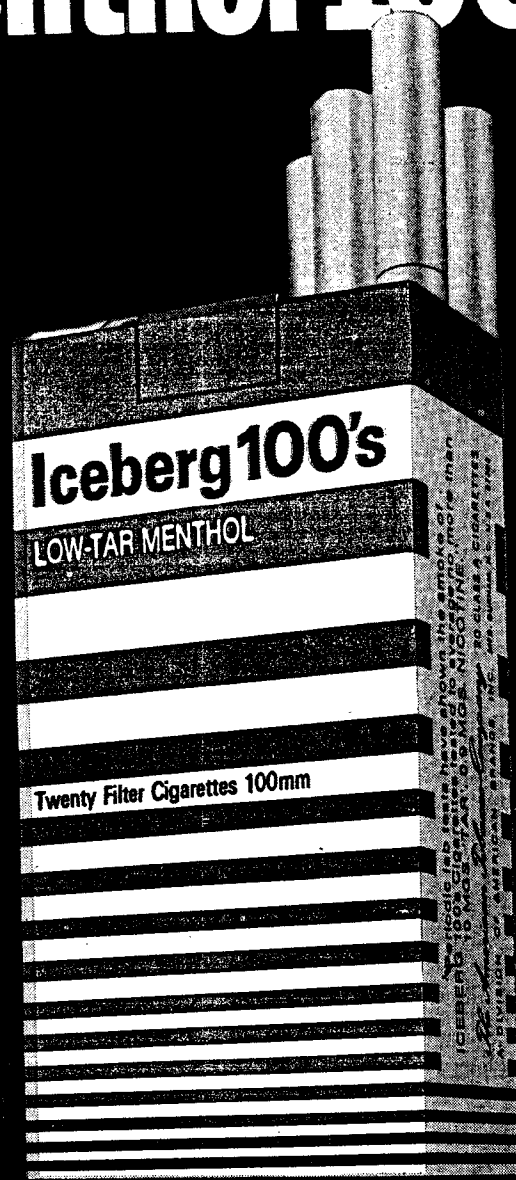
# Putting Watergate Behind Us . . .



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## LETTERS

### Nixon's Resignation

It was only fitting that Richard Nixon left public life the way he entered it—a pious hypocrite, a self-serving glory seeker clothing his ambition in selfless rhetoric. Nixon claimed till the end that his only aim was to unify a dispirited nation, but by refusing to admit his role in the Watergate scandal—by refusing to admit that *his* government, at *his* behest, had threatened the liberty of us all—he effectively encouraged an unthinking, highly divisive reaction from the right. Is it possible for anyone seriously to believe that Mr. Nixon simply lost, as he puts it, "political" support?

MARK KELMAN

Great Neck, N.Y.

■ Congratulations. You won't have Dick Nixon to kick around any more.

W. H. FULLERTON

Palos Heights, Ill.

■ I find it very appropriate that Aug. 8 not only goes down in history as the day Richard Nixon resigned but also as the day that Napoleon sailed for Saint Helena to spend the rest of his life in exile.

SCHUYLER BISHOP

New York, N.Y.

■ Until today I considered your journalistic efforts on Watergate to be pure trash. While written eloquently, your stories exacerbated my conviction that you refused to give Richard Nixon any semblance of a fair deal.

But when I heard of the three tape transcripts that Nixon withheld, and that some prove obstruction of justice on his part, I reread your articles of the past six months.

And they left me with one conclusion: you gave him *too* much of a fair deal!

MICHAEL COSTELLO

Starke, Fla.

### Bug Lust

Why should the sexual behavior of the bedbugs (*SCIENCE*, Aug. 5) be such a mystery? The guardians and preservers of our morals have been warning us for years that the witnessing of acts sexual will drive us all to violent crimes of passion. Surely the plight of the bedbug is but a preview of the fate of us all. Evolution indeed!

GREGORY M. SHUTSKE

Bloomington, Ind.

### Burned by Inflation

I can hardly wait to read the *LETTERS* column after Herbert Stein's "My Burn" (*MY TURN*, July 29).

Is \$154.71 per week maybe the great American dream? I wish Mr. Stein were

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## No Coups ... No Tanks ... No Mobs

As Richard Nixon was saying farewell, I remembered something in my briefcase, something I had put into a folder of miscellany over a month ago, before the House Judiciary Committee hearings, before the President's admission of guilt with the release of the last tapes. It was a long excerpt from a speech by Secretary of Commerce Frederick Dent. Some headline writer had fixed on the article this echo of the White House's own (at least then) line of defense: **THE WORLD CAN'T DO WITHOUT PRESIDENT NIXON.**

Now the world was preparing to do just that; on the screen he was already a ghost of a President. Suddenly he was gone, and all we saw was something he couldn't take with him: the seal of the office of the President of the United States. It stays. The power is in the office, and no one takes it with him.

I found the clipping in my briefcase and read it again. Mr. Dent's argument went like this: The four-year term assures continued leadership by giving Presidents "the luxury of becoming unpopular while in office" when they feel the need to pursue a course the public temporarily disagrees with. Congress should follow the course prescribed in the Constitution, but the President should not resign, for that would "open our generation to the charge of having damaged, perhaps permanently, the government of this great nation."

### ORDERLY SUCCESSION

Men delude themselves this way. President's men can be especially vulnerable, as if the whole history of this country were a blank to them. For nothing has proven so durable in our system as the orderly succession of the Presidency according to the constitutional process. In this century alone, it has persisted through Presidential assassination, incapacitation and incompetence; it has survived depression, wars and scandals, including now the revelation that an incumbent himself has been involved, by his own words, in obstructing justice.

All this, and no coups. No tanks surround the White House, no one gets arrested and spirited away overnight—neither the President's men nor their adversaries. No mobs take to the streets. Instead, at noon on a Friday, a man from Grand Rapids, Mich., a man rather like most of us, with no great pretensions, lifts his hand, repeats an oath now almost 200 years old and succeeds the man "the world can't do without."

Gerald Ford has never been elected

to national office, but no one will go to court to say he doesn't belong there, no political faction will connive to claim his power illegitimate. Even before his swearing-in—at some incalculable moment when the people realized Richard Nixon was finished—national consensus prepared to accept his authority.

### AUTOMATIC SHIFT

I remember the last time it happened. The circumstances were grimmer: John F. Kennedy had been murdered. I served in a junior position in his Administration, was in Texas when he was killed and hurried instinctively to the side of the man who would succeed him—a man for whom I had once worked: Lyndon Johnson. The new President had not been sworn in when I reached the plane, but as if by silent command the whole apparatus of government was already deferring to him. It was an automatic and mechanistic shift, as if an alternate generator had gone instantly into action when the main power source failed. "Where's Vice President Johnson?" I asked of a Secret Service agent at the ramp. "The President's in the middle compartment," he answered instinctively. There was no mystery to it. Oath or no oath, the agent accepted without challenge the mandate of an arrangement made two centuries earlier and contained in a document he probably hadn't read since high school.

So did the rest of the nation. Lyndon Johnson did, too, although he was shaken and uncertain about the protocol of the circumstances; when I walked into his quarters on Air Force One, he looked as Gerald Ford looked all through the day before Richard Nixon resigned. I started to greet him, "Mr. President—" only to be interrupted as he said quietly: "Not yet." But it was so, and he couldn't even wait for the oath to start making decisions.

"Kennedy is dead," he said, addressing his words to no one in particular. "The rest of the world will wonder if we're going to steer sharply off course. Those fellows in the Kremlin must be wondering. The Negroes at home, especially—they'll think a Southern President will just naturally be against 'em. And I'll bet Don Cook and his crowd are sitting up there wondering what the hell to expect now [Donald Cook, chief executive of American Electric Power Co., was a businessman whom the new President considered a good mirror of the enlightened business community].

I've got to show the whole bunch of 'em that a steady hand's on the wheel. And I don't know how to do that except to take up where Kennedy left off."

He did just that. "Let us continue," he said to a grieving people, and by just about everyone's account, the transition was among his finest hours.

All this comes back as I watch Gerald Ford on television. He is in front of his house in Alexandria, Va. Richard Nixon's speech is over. In my hand is Secretary Dent's speech, setting forth the argument that Richard Nixon's resignation would inspire efforts to repudiate the last election. It won't happen. I let the clipping fall into the waste basket. Ford is a man who voted against almost every piece of legislation I worked to enact in the '60s. We are poles apart politically and he will undoubtedly work to carry forward the policies Richard Nixon espoused in 1972, policies which were aborted not by liberal opposition but by the corruption of his own stewardship. But the Presidency is in Ford's hands now, legitimately, and that's the important thing. The long and unsettling process of watching one President destroy himself in public is over, and the foundations of the state, which seemed so often in jeopardy, have held. Somehow I think this man on the screen is a reminder that the guarantees of the founding covenant, when honored, do work.

It is late now. The screen is dark. I think of something George Washington wrote, when he warned against the disease of factionalism which gradually inclines the minds of men "to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty." To dampen the spirit of factionalism and its effects on the continuity of our traditions: there is the seed of a mandate. It sounds simple and quaint for these modern times. Yet I wonder; watching people milling around, not wanting to go home, although there is nothing more to say, I sense they yearn for a season of first things.

*A White House aide under LBJ, Moyers most recently ran a weekly program on public television.*





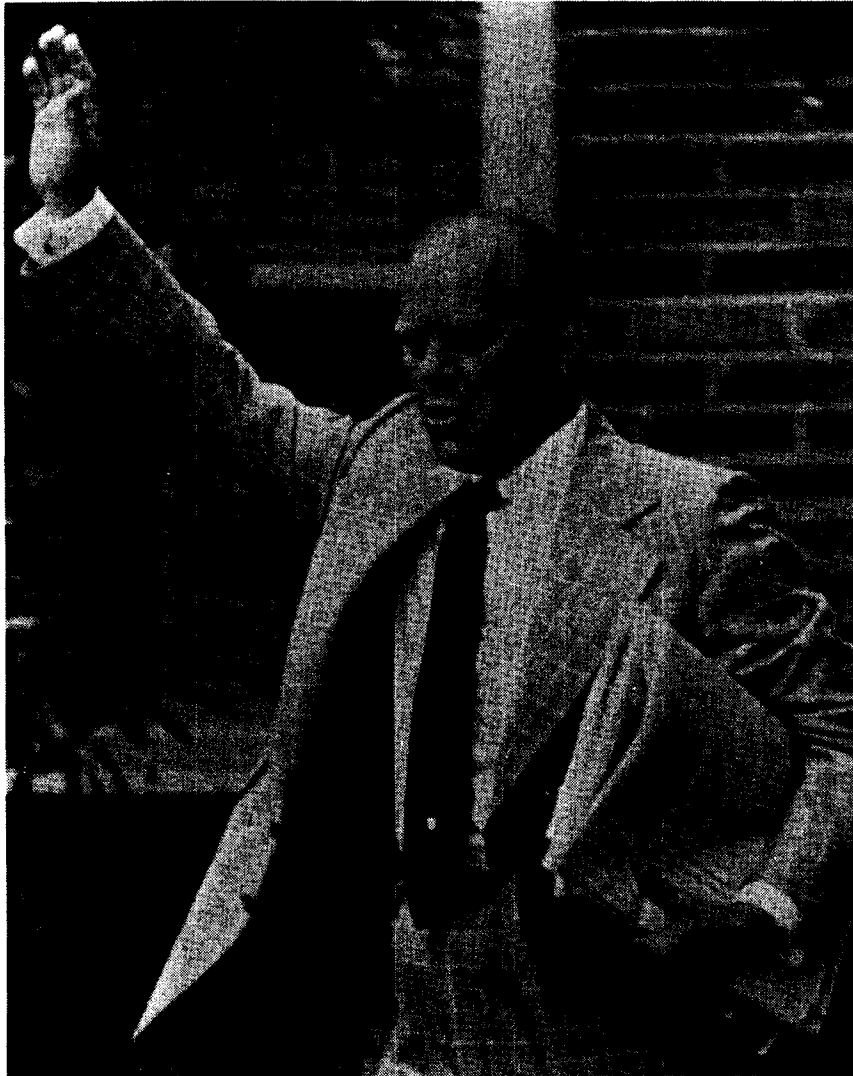
Frank Johnston—The Washington Post

# Seven Days In August

**A**nd suddenly it was over. ¶ Sitting for the last time behind his desk in the Oval Office, a taut smile flickering at his lips, Richard Milhous Nixon, 61, looked wanly into the television cameras and brought the long ordeal of Watergate to its end. ¶ He resigned his ruined Presidency in disgrace—the first man ever driven from the office in the 198 years of the American Republic—and passed the mantle to his hand-chosen successor, Gerald Ford. ¶ The transfer of power

played out in moments of the highest political drama—seven days in August in which Nixon was forced first to admit his complicity in the Watergate crimes, then to stand down and retire from public life after one last, teary farewell to his troops. His fall was achieved by a kind of constitutional coup d'état, in which his own topmost aides were the principal catalysts. But the passage from the Nixon to the Ford Presidency was swiftly and smoothly achieved, and the U.S. survived the gravest governmental crisis in its history. "Our long national nightmare is over," said Ford in a short, homiletic speech at his swearing-in. "Our Constitution works."

The new President, a stolid Main Street Republican of



Off to work: Binding up the wounds

61, had no ambition for the role history had thrust upon him, and scant time to prepare himself for it. But he plunged quickly into the first business of his Presidency—the reconciliation of a people divided by a shattering political scandal. His first official acts were acts of continuity; he kept Henry Kissinger in place, along with most of the Nixon Cabinet and staff, and signaled a steady-as-you-go course in foreign and domestic affairs. But he brought his own square-cut, straight-shooting political style with him, and it swept like a cornfield breeze through the Byzantine corridors of the Nixon White House. The change was evident from Ford's earliest words as the nation's 38th President—the pledge "to follow my instincts of openness and candor . . . in all my public and private acts."

His ascent was the end result of five years of government of quite another sort—a government in which secrecy

was the norm and lies became a legitimate instrument of power. The pattern in the end engulfed Nixon himself and was his downfall, in a denouement that was very nearly Shakespearean. The irony of his last days was that it was not his enemies who accomplished his removal but his most senior and most loyal courtiers: they forced his gunpoint confession, and they orchestrated the backstairs maneuvering that eased him from office for what they perceived to be his own good and the nation's.

The impulse of the nation, with Nixon's disgrace, was to rally behind the new President, and to share his faith that the system had brought an end to a national nightmare. The response of friend and foe alike to Nixon's resignation was overwhelmingly one of relief, both at his having ended the agony of Watergate and at the shreds of grace with which he made his sorry exit. And in the end, it was the Constitution that brought him low. He pushed its checks and balances to their limits and beyond, daring both the Congress and the Supreme Court to challenge him. That dare was his downfall: it was Congress that brought him to the brink of impeachment for the corruption of his Presidency, and the Court that forced out the evidence that would have guaranteed his removal had he not resigned.

## Grace but no contrition marked his surrender

And the legacy of Watergate did not end with the departure of Richard Nixon. There was grace but no contrition in his surrender—no mention at all of the scandals that had dishonored the Vice Presidency, the Cabinet, the White House staff, the FBI, the CIA, the Department of Justice, the courts and finally the Presidency itself. Nixon referred only twice to what he chose to call "the Watergate matter" and never once to the certainty of his impeachment no more than two weeks hence; instead, he assigned his ruin to the loss of his "political base" and to the resulting paralysis of his Presidency. Nor did he allude to the profound effect his fall is likely to have on America's constitutional order. He will be succeeded by a man of Congress in Ford and at least an interlude of Congressional ascendancy; the Imperial Presidency, for better or worse, may have fallen with him.

That Nixon's resignation was the overriding will of the people was no longer in question. A Gallup telephone poll of 550 households, conducted for NEWSWEEK in the days immediately following the President's departure, found a stunning 79-13 majority in agreement that he had taken the proper course. There was little stomach for prosecuting him for the Watergate crimes—a 55-37 majority favored leaving him alone—but neither was there great sympathy for the argument that he was hounded unfairly from office. Americans agreed by 65-22 that his actions were serious enough to warrant his quitting, and by 56-33 that he was not the victim of a case trumped up by his enemies.

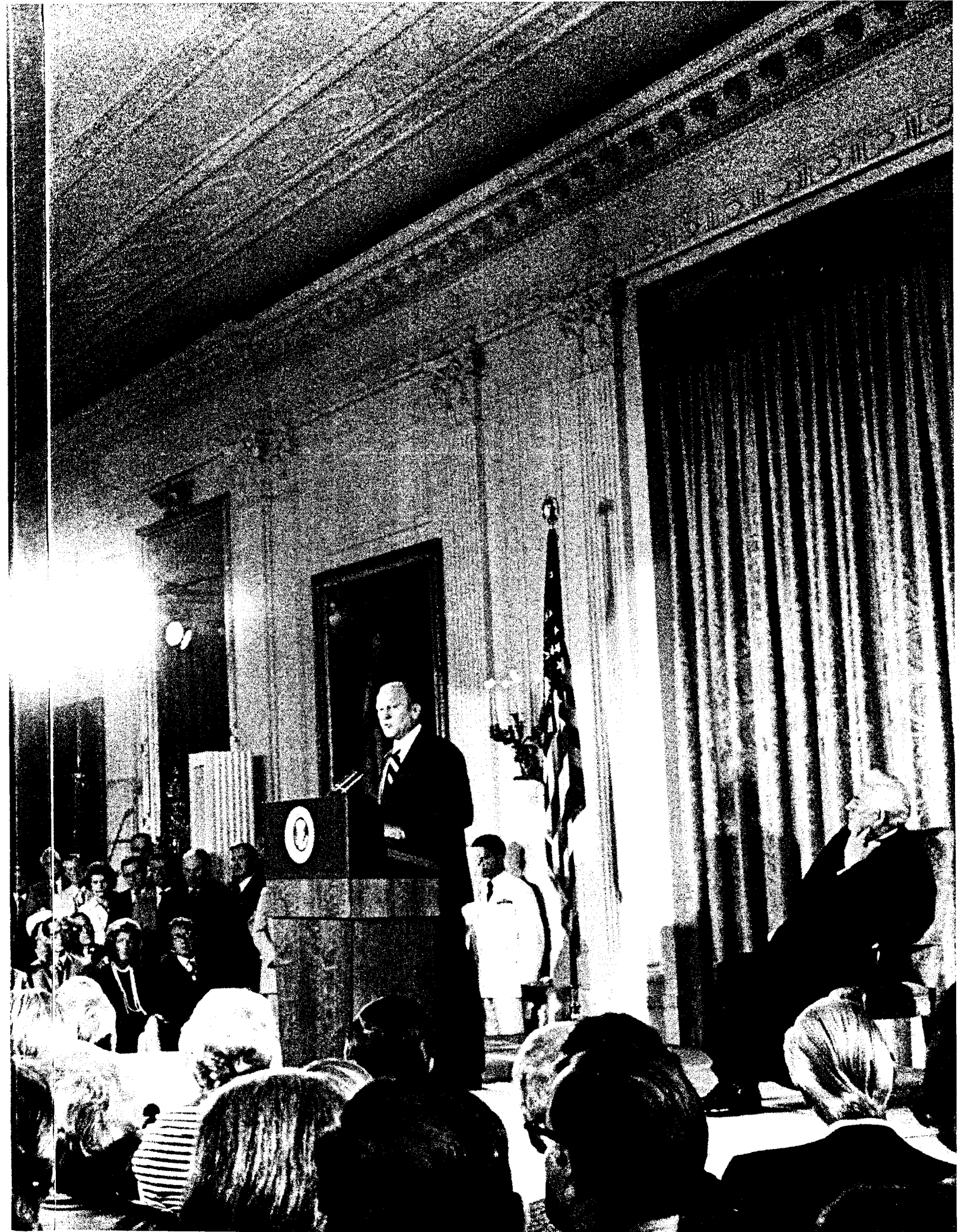
There was little open jubilation at Ford's arrival, or at Nixon's passing from the stage of history after 28 tempestuous

With a last wave, Nixon bids farewell to the White House. After taking the oath of office, President Ford (overleaf) addresses the nation in a 'talk among friends.'

Wally McNamee—Newsweek; Yoichi Okamoto (overleaf)  
Newsweek, August 19, 1974









In the final hours of his Presidency, Richard Nixon says 'au revoir' to his grieving staff. David and Julie Eisenhower and the Fords bid the Nixons good-by on the White House lawn as Rose Mary Woods fights back a tear. And a haggard, subdued Ron Ziegler meets newsmen for the last time as Presidential press secretary.



Fred J. Maroon—Louis Mercler



Yoichi Okamoto

Yoichi Okamoto





Photos by Wally McNamée—Newsweek





years. A mostly young and hirsute crowd of 1,000 danced in the night outside the White House gates, whooping "Jail to the Chief!" and "Executive deleted!" But what Americans more commonly experienced was less pleasure than surcease from pain. Stock prices jumped dizzily at the first rumors that Nixon might quit, then fell back after he did it. A mood of forgiveness stole over Capitol Hill; one Senate Republican who had wished for the resignation found only melancholy in it, and said: "He proved himself a man." Broadway theaters interrupted performances and fell still during the speech, and the posh Coq D'Or bar in Chicago's Drake Hotel stopped selling drinks. In Yorba Linda, Calif., a woman snapped a picture of Nixon's birthplace. "I was afraid," she said, "that they just might take down the sign tomorrow."

Nixon's humiliation was by then complete past celebration even by his enemies. He ended his 2,027 days in the White House bereft of support and caught in a lie of his own fabrication; it was the measure of his isolation at the last that his own men Alexander Haig and James St. Clair played leading roles in bringing him to his decision to stand down. They had only just discovered what Nixon had known for nearly three months and kept secret from everybody—that his White House tapes indeed contained the elusive "smoking weapon" implicating him directly and convincingly in the Watergate cover-up in its very earliest days. It was they who forced Mr. Nixon to lay the evidence on public view, with a covering confession that he had concealed it even from them; that it was "at variance" with two years' denials of his guilt, and that his last hope was that the Senate would judge impeachment too drastic a punishment for the crime.

## The princes of his own party gave him the word point-blank

The tapes and the confession brought the last of his support crashing down, and drove him to resignation in the span of 72 hours. The ten Republicans who had defended him in the televised House Judiciary committee hearings deserted him overnight. The princes of his own party told him point-blank that he could count on no more than ten votes against impeachment on the House floor, and fifteen against conviction in the Senate. Some of his most trusted retainers—Haig, St. Clair, Kissinger, even Ronald Ziegler—pressed him delicately to step down, to spare himself and the Republic the ordeal of a long and finally hopeless Senate trial. The political base he mourned in his resignation speech dwindled nearly to nothing; hardly anybody but his own family, his daughter Julie most ardent among them, urged him to prolong the struggle—and at last, after days in somber isolation, he surrendered.

The panoply of office fell away overnight. It was a lonely and suddenly vulnerable Nixon who bade a wet-eyed farewell to his assembled staff and Cabinet, then boarded Air Force One for the last time and headed westward with the sun to California. His flight there was something considerably less than an escape from his troubles; six-figure mortgage and tax bills await him, and at least the possibility of criminal prosecution as well. The appetite for the pursuit was slaked in great measure by his resignation. But special prosecutor Leon Jaworski was at pains to say that Nixon was leaving without a deal for shelter, and the grand jury that named him a co-conspirator in the cover-up would like at least to hear the new taped evidence that brought him down.

That evidence, as it developed, consisted of three recordings of talks between Nixon and his onetime chief of staff H.R. (Bob) Haldeman on June 23, 1972, just six days after

## A POPULAR DECISION

In a special survey for NEWSWEEK, The Gallup Organization questioned 550 Americans by telephone about their reactions to the Nixon resignation. The results:

1. Do you think Nixon did the best thing by resigning, or do you think it would have been better if he had stayed on in office?

Should have resigned	<b>79%</b>	Should have stayed	<b>13%</b>
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2. Do you think Nixon's actions regarding Watergate were, or were not, serious enough to warrant his resignation?

Were serious enough	<b>65%</b>	Were not	<b>22%</b>
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3. Do you think Nixon's political enemies unfairly exaggerated his actions in order to force him out of office?

Yes	<b>33%</b>	No	<b>56%</b>
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4. Do you think it should be agreed not to press an investigation of possible criminal charges against him?

Do not press investigation	<b>55%</b>	Press investigation	<b>37%</b>
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5. As the new President, Gerald Ford will nominate someone to assume the office of Vice President. Which one of these six men would you most like him to nominate as Vice President—Howard Baker, George Bush, Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan, Elliot Richardson or Nelson Rockefeller?

Baker	<b>11%</b>	Reagan	<b>12%</b>
Bush	<b>1%</b>	Richardson	<b>11%</b>
Goldwater	<b>23%</b>	Rockefeller	<b>18%</b>

Don't know omitted

the Watergate break-in. In the first and most damning, Haldeman told the President that John Mitchell might have been involved in the operation, and that the FBI was going off in "some directions we don't want it to go"—notably tracking the laundered cash that financed the burglary back to Mitchell's Committee for the Re-election of the President. The two men evolved a strategy for using the CIA to abort the FBI inquiry, on the trumped-up plea that it might compromise some covert agency operation. "Right, fine," said Nixon when Haldeman ventured the plan, and later he embraced it as his own—"They should call the FBI in and [unintelligible] don't go any further into this case period!"

The June tapes were among a lot of 64 subpoenaed by Jaworski last spring; Nixon listened to them along with a dozen or so others early in May, and quite clearly understood their devastating potential. His direct order to Haldeman to rein in the bureau was manifestly the "murder weapon" his defenders insisted was missing from the mass of circumstantial evidence against him. It shredded his prior claim that he had narrowed the FBI inquiry only out of genuine concern for national security, not to keep the lid on the Watergate

As White House guards roll up the red carpet, the Nixons' helicopter flies off to Andrews Air Force Base on the first leg of their long journey home to California.

Don Carl Steffen

Newsweek, August 19, 1974 □



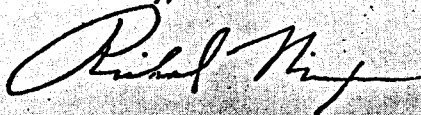
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 9, 1974

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I hereby resign the Office of President of the  
United States.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

### The resignation letter: Visa for a sorry exit

mess. And it laid waste to a year's public protestations that he didn't know a cover-up was on until John Dean told him about it in March 1973, nine months later.

The President's response to his discovery was what he euphemistically described last week as a "serious act of omission"—a polite phrase for concealing critical evidence from the impeachment inquiry, the courts, and even his own defenders. He told nobody of his discovery. He denied straight-out to St. Clair that the conversations were potentially incriminating. He broke off what seemed promising negotiations toward a compromise settlement with Jaworski. "I've got better things to do than listen to tapes," he said to General Haig. "Let's go to the [Supreme] Court."

## He debated for a day whether to obey the Supreme Court

He did, to disastrous effect for his cause. His lawyers warned him that his chances in the Court were dim, but he elected to credit other, rosier intelligence estimates, and was taken off-guard when his own Chief Justice, Warren Burger, brought in the 8-0 judgment against him on July 24. He and his counselors spent most of a day in San Clemente debating whether he ought to obey the highest court in the land; Nixon, who alone knew the secret of the tapes, was said to have been alone in arguing for resistance. He capitulated only when St. Clair threatened to quit as defense counsel—and thus locked himself into the downhill train of events that was to be his undoing.

The first of his own people to find him out was St. Clair's co-counsel J. Fred Buzhardt, who was assigned to check the tapes out of their maximum-security vault and begin screening them for delivery. In late July Buzhardt listened to the three from June 23 and immediately saw their import; that noonday, he broke the news to staffers Dean Burch and Leonard Garment over a glum luncheon in the White House mess, and they reached a single conclusion: Nixon had no choice but to resign. Buzhardt shortly put Haig in the picture, and Haig in turn told St. Clair. All of them arrived at a common judgment, that Nixon would be impeached and convicted if he did not quit. What they could

# SHOULD NIXON B

Should Richard Nixon, private citizen, be given immunity from criminal prosecution? In the shattered aftermath of his fall from power, with the tawdriness of Watergate finally receding, most Americans would surely prefer to conclude that enough is enough. "The nation has a pound of flesh," said Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott. "It doesn't need the blood that goes with it." But the question is deeply troubling, calling up the principle of equal justice that was at the heart of the scandal—"The whole thing has been about the rule of law," argued California's Democratic Sen. Alan Cranston—and the debate had already begun last week whether Nixon should be tried for the misdeeds that drove him from office.

In blunt fact, the House Judiciary Committee's three articles of impeachment had charged the ex-President with a series of crimes, including conspiracy and obstruction of justice, that could get an ordinary citizen as much as 30 years in jail and \$57,500 in fines. Nixon had already suffered an extraordinary punishment; the question was whether the nation somehow needed yet more catharsis to heal the wound of corrupted leadership.

The first judgments of the people were provocative: several major surveys of public opinion have shown clear majorities opposed to granting special immunity. But immediately after the resignation, NEWSWEEK's Gallup poll found a majority of 55 per cent opposing further investigation of Nixon, with 37 per cent favoring it. As President Ford told his first Cabinet meeting, the American people "don't want to kick a man when he is down"—and he predicted that any vindictive moves by "the vultures" would trigger a great outcry of sympathy. Significantly, after the resignation the House Judiciary Committee split over whether to pursue its efforts to obtain the disputed White House tapes—but chairman Peter Rodino, speaking for a majority, said flatly: "Our inquiry is at an end."

In theory, immunity could be granted in any of four ways. Since Presidents themselves have power to pardon



Conrad © 1974 Los Angeles Times

'Have I got a deal for you!'



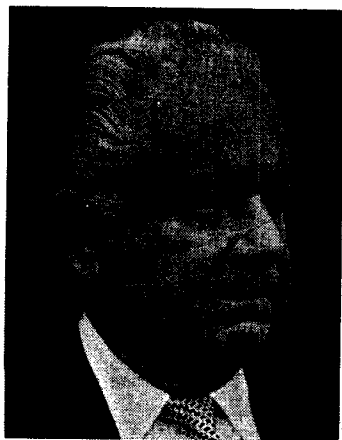
# GRANTED IMMUNITY?

Nixon might have granted his own absolution before leaving office, or asked his successor to clear him. Prosecutors have wide discretion whether to press charges, and special Watergate prosecutor Leon Jaworski might simply drop the case against Nixon. Finally, Congress could pass a resolution—non-binding on the prosecutors, but probably enough to deter action. GOP Sen. Edward Brooke introduced such a resolution last week, but withdrew his support for it when Nixon's resignation expressed no contrition.

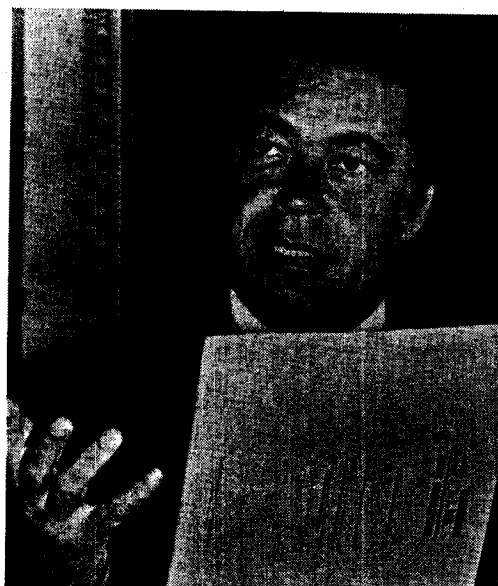
## DIFFICULTIES AND DRAWBACKS

As a practical matter, however, an airtight guarantee against prosecution would be very nearly impossible. If Nixon had pardoned himself, he would surely have touched off national outrage; a pardon by Ford would seem nearly as bad. And a Congressional resolution could not legally prevent criminal suits at the Federal, state or local level, or a series of civil actions against Nixon.

Jaworski, *NEWSWEEK* has learned, is already considering Nixon's case. A Congressional resolution could encourage him to drop it, but many staffers in the special prosecutor's office want to "reopen the investigation regarding Mr. Nixon's involvement," according to one top source. The



Jaworski, Brooke:  
'It won't go away'



AP

Watergate grand jury—which earlier had named President Nixon an unindicted co-conspirator in the Watergate cover-up—reportedly wants Jaworski at least to present the incriminating evidence contained in the White House tapes Nixon finally turned over as a result of last month's Supreme Court order.

But the special prosecutor was avoiding hasty decisions. Before Nixon's resignation, *NEWSWEEK* also learned, White House chief of staff Alexander Haig both called and met with Jaworski to delicately probe his intentions regarding the President. But Jaworski, at that point, made no firm deal. "There has been no agreement or understanding of any sort," he announced later.

A broadly supported sense-of-Congress resolution could also give President Ford a basis for pardoning his predecessor. But that course also had problems. It would still smack too much of a deal between the two men and Ford would have to go back on an implicit pledge he made earlier in his Senate confirmation hearings. That pledge was underscored last week by Ford's new press secretary, J.F. (Jerry) terHorst. Appearing before the Senate

Committee on Rules and Administration, terHorst recalled, Ford said: "I do not think the public would stand for it . . ."

The major drawback of any grant-in-advance of immunity or Presidential pardon is that it would become a "blind bounty," in the words of one constitutional expert, letting Nixon off the hook not only for the Watergate scandal, but for any other charges that might arise in the future. These might include common criminal charges such as tax fraud (the Vice Presidential papers gift), illegal use of campaign funds (the Hughes-Rebozo money), destruction of evidence (the eighteen-minute gap) and illegal use of government property (at San Clemente and Key Biscayne), all of which are still under investigation.

Another drawback, from Nixon's own point of view, is that court-approved immunity would make it impossible for the former President to plead the Fifth Amendment as a witness at any of the upcoming Watergate trials. And while lawyers for John Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman and John Mitchell may not really want Nixon's testimony (groaned a source close to one of them: "He's killing them"), smaller fry and Jaworski's men very well might.

But the basic issue involved in the immunity dilemma was fairness—to all the other men involved in Watergate, to Congress and to the American system of justice itself. Disturbing as the thought of an ex-President behind bars may be to many Americans, it is also upsetting to see Nixon's men standing trial and serving time for their part of a conspiracy while he remains unprosecuted—free to enjoy his government pension at San Clemente. And there was something equally absurd about the House Judiciary Committee and the Supreme Court painfully concluding that President Nixon was not above the law, only to have citizen Nixon placed somehow beyond it.

## 'A MARTYR WILL BE DIVISIVE'

For the moment, Congress was content to wait and see, giving public sentiment time to settle and new evidence against Nixon a chance to emerge. In the meantime, too, a number of options were being considered. Republican Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois suggested there might be some justice in shaving the President's pension and "perks." Michigan's Democratic Sen. Phil Hart wondered if something might be gained by linking immunity for Nixon with amnesty for Vietnam draft evaders. There was also the notion that a Presidential pardon for Nixon might come after he was tried—thus resolving the charges without necessarily putting the former President of the United States behind bars. And something similar could be accomplished by permitting Nixon to plead *nolo contendere*—as Spiro Agnew had done—to charges drawn up by Jaworski or, in effect, to the articles of impeachment.

The most important thing, as many of the debaters saw it, was to settle the issue of Nixon's guilt once and for all to the country's satisfaction. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, for one, urged continuation of the impeachment process, but that seemed unlikely. Senator Brooke and others would be satisfied with a voluntary confession by the former President himself, and a final forswearing of martyrdom. "I want to see him make a full disclosure," Brooke said last week. "National reconciliation is paramount, and as a martyr he will be divisive. This is an issue that just won't go away."

not immediately settle on was a way to bring the desperation of his situation home to him.

Some of his senior people were in fact worried whether Nixon was fully in touch with reality, and their anxiety mounted as reality turned nastier—the Court decision, the forced surrender of the tapes, the bipartisan Judiciary votes to impeach even without a smoking gun. The President seemed to some of them to lose heart for the daily conduct of government; the locus of power in the White House shifted to Haig, and Kissinger was said to be fretful at Nixon's growing inattention to the daily diplomatic cable traffic. To one old and loyal hand, the President seemed "a very bewildered man," moving hollow-eyed and distracted through his days; this aide, knowing the boss's secret, wondered privately whether there wasn't something self-destructive in his behavior in the last weeks of his Presidency—whether he might not even have wished for death by phlebitis on his recent travels abroad. "Somewhere along the way, he lost touch," this staffer confided in the thick of Nixon's gathering troubles. "He just doesn't know. He just doesn't know."

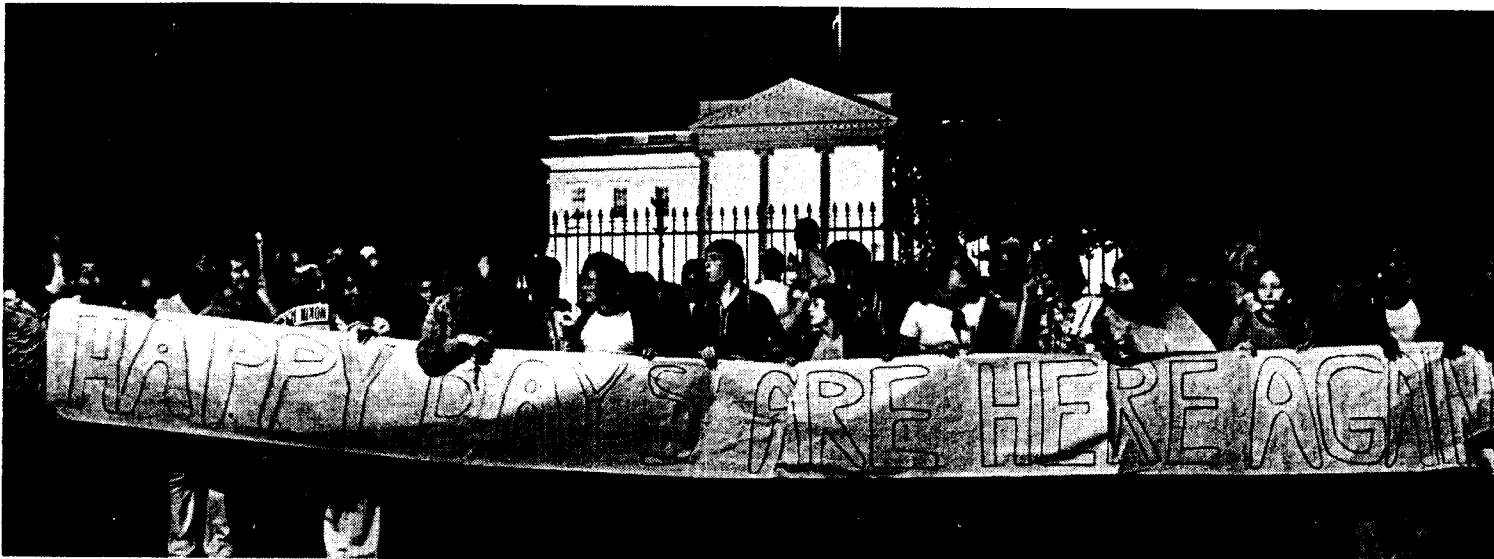
The problem for Nixon's people was to force his attention to the dangers crowding in around him. The device they chose was to go outside their own circle and leak the secret of the telltale tapes to Rep. Charles Wiggins, the silvery-

dent is talking about," he said. Haig nodded, and St. Clair un- happily agreed: "Yes, it is clear."

What followed was a gloomy forecast of the consequences of divulging what was in the recordings. Wiggins guessed that they would set off a fire storm unmatched since the Saturday Night Massacre, and that the President had better consider resigning before he was impeached and removed. Haig and St. Clair said they understood, but that it was difficult for a staff man or a lawyer to tell him so. Neither had they settled when or how to go public. "Does he have another Checkers speech in him?" Wiggins asked acidly; nevertheless, he agreed to sit on the story over the weekend.

## The teary Wiggins told nobody about what he had learned

Wiggins walked out to his car and headed back to his office, his eyes suddenly rimming with tears. He found his desk littered with papers outlining the President's defense in the coming House floor fight; he stared at them for a moment then started balling them up and pitching them into a waste-



A show of jubilation at the White House gates: On the whole, less pleasure than surcease from pain

Alan Green—Gamma

haired Californian who had led the Nixon defense in the Judiciary Committee debates; their ostensible purpose was to gauge how the committee and the Congress might react, but the collateral benefit lay in what they knew would be Wiggins's reaction—the threat to go public unless the President did first.

St. Clair and Haig accordingly summoned the congressman to the White House, and met him over a coffee table in the general's office. Haig offered some pleasantries about how much he and the President had appreciated Wiggins's gallantry in a lost cause; then St. Clair broke the news that they had come across some new and possibly significant evidence and shoved five or six typescript pages across the table to Wiggins—transcripts of the June 23 tapes.

Wiggins read them through once, then again, his heart sinking; only gradually did it occur to him that Haig and St. Clair too shared his first reaction—a sense of betrayal and dismay. He stared icily at them, asked what they planned to do and posed two equally bleak alternatives: surrender the material to the committee—or plead the Fifth Amendment. St. Clair answered that they had already crossed that Rubicon—that the tapes had been delivered to Judge John J. Sirica under the Jaworski subpoena, and would be yielded to the committee as well. Wiggins scanned the pages one more time. "There is just no misunderstanding of what the Presi-

dent is talking about," he said. Haig nodded, and St. Clair un- happily agreed: "Yes, it is clear."

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were narrow in the extreme: publish the June 23 material, then ask for an early trial in the Senate—or resign.

The President, well-placed sources told NEWSWEEK, was taken aback; he showed no keen sense of how swiftly the tide was running against him. He begged for more time—just a month more, to arrange an orderly exit or to devise some new strategy for his trial. But Haig pressed for an immediate decision. The June tapes had to be published, he said. Wiggins, for one thing, knew about them and would talk if the White House did not; St. Clair, for another, would be forced to quit if they were kept secret, and while he would not go public with his reasons, his defection alone would be read as damning to the defense. Haig even enlisted Kissinger in the cause, getting him on the line and bearing his arguments to the chief.

Nixon finally agreed to the publication of the tapes next day—a decision that, as his people surely knew, was to seal his fate. Haig put in a call to House Minority Leader John Rhodes, who had been agonizing toward a decision against impeachment and had scheduled a press conference to announce it next day; the general alerted him that a “major development” was in the works, and Rhodes promptly came down with a politic sore throat that forced him to cancel out. St. Clair, Price and Buchanan fell to work drafting the statement, and word went out to the legal-staff steno pool to rush the transcripts together.

The President himself remained anesthetized to his danger; he thought, said one adviser, “that things would calm down in a couple of weeks and he’d be able to hang on to his support once the dust settled.” But his people understood that they had entered him upon the end-game, and they began preparing Washington for it. Haig broke the news to Ford, just back from a weekend trip to Mississippi and Louisiana; the Vice President was miffed at having been left out till then, but that night his people began preparing for a transition he had doubted ever would come. Afterward, Haig assembled 100 topside staffers and, looking haggard and mournful, alerted them that “material damaging to us” was about to come out. He asked them only to stay at their desks through the storm, out of loyalty to the nation and the office. The general exited to a standing ovation. “Al,” said one staffer, “is now the lame-duck President.”

## Arends turned pale and said, ‘I feel sick’; Wiggins cried anew

At the same time, St. Clair, Buzhardt and White House lobbyist William Timmons began their unhappy rounds of the Hill. They went first to the offices of House Minority Whip Leslie Arends, who had assembled all but one of the ten Judiciary Republicans who had stood with the President against impeachment. St. Clair did a quick précis of the Nixon confessional and confirmed that he would have quit if the President hadn’t assented to issuing it. Arends, a spry 78 and a stubborn Nixon loyalist, turned pale and said, “I feel sick.” Wiggins, his eyes welling over again, said the President had to quit; if not, he would have to vote for impeachment. One by one, the others agreed; there was not a single dissent in the room.

The White House party moved dolefully on to a meeting of the Senate GOP hierarchy in Minority Leader Hugh Scott’s richly brocaded offices. St. Clair quickly outlined the new evidence and confessed his own “surprise and chagrin” at having been kept in the dark so long. For a long moment, the room fell dead silent; the only sound in the stillness was Scott drawing gently on his pipe. Somebody asked why St. Clair had not in fact quit on the spot. “I suppose human nature is human nature,” he said, forcing a smile. “The President isn’t the first client who ever withheld information from his attorney.” Somebody else asked whether Nixon might not now at last step down. St. Clair said it was not his prerogative even to ask, but he was convinced that the President meant

to hang on till the end—and that his trial might drag out for six months. “Jesus Christ, do you really mean that?” roared one of the leaders. St. Clair answered softly, “Yes.”

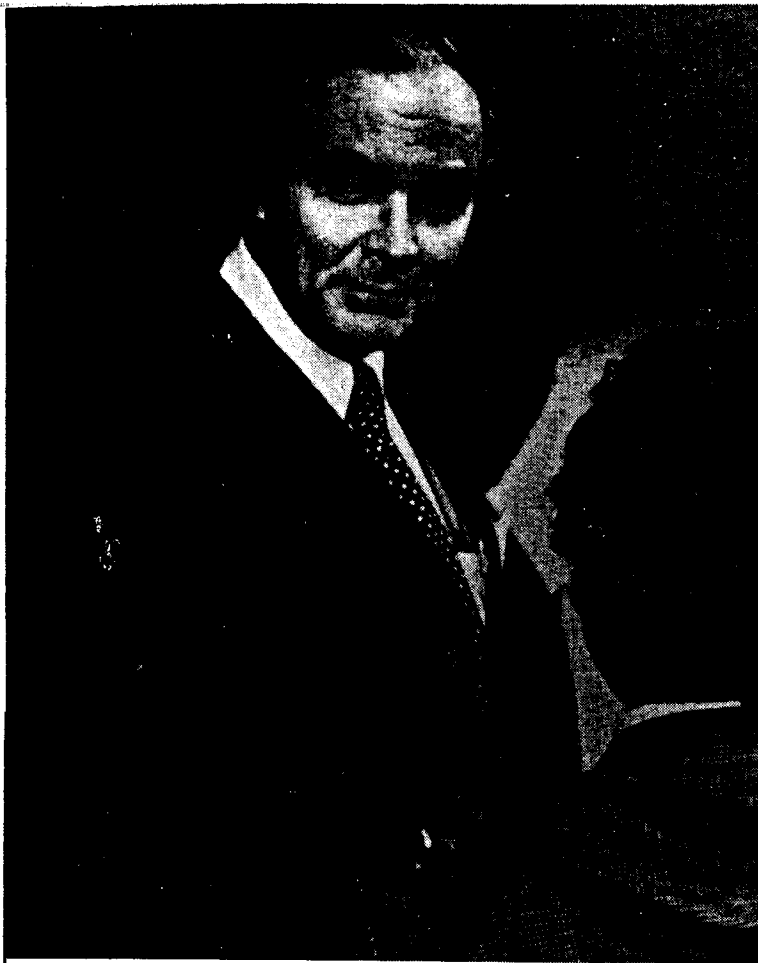
They were still in the room when the White House press office delivered the smoking weapon and the spare covering apologia to the world. Nixon conceded in it that he had pronounced his massive April 30 book of transcripts the whole story of Watergate and had sat on his subsequent discovery of the three June recordings. “As a result,” he admitted, “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.” He did not contest what the tapes clearly showed—that his motive in throwing the FBI off the scent had been “limiting possible public exposure” of what his people had done—and he conceded that his impeachment was now a foregone conclusion in the House. What the President begged of the Senate was not so much absolution



In the Oval Office: ‘Our national nightmare is over’

as mercy—the judgment “that the record, in its entirety, does not justify the extreme step of impeachment and removal of a President.”

The response was swift and furious: in the space of 24 hours, Nixon’s last, decimated support collapsed, and his conviction at trial became a certainty. Wiggins led the mass defections, choking down sobs as he read his call for the President’s resignation. The others of Judiciary’s Nixon Ten quickly followed; one of them, Michigan’s Edward Hutchinson, said he felt “deceived.” Leaders in both houses convened to speed and foreshorten the impeachment process and get the nasty business of removing a President over by Election Day. Barry Goldwater stormed through his office thundering, “This man must go!” Kansas’s Robert Dole waved a copy of the statement at a cluster of colleagues in the Senate GOP cloakroom and asked tartly, “Why doesn’t he just say, ‘I quit’? It would save a lot of paper.” John Rhodes magically recovered his voice, rescheduled his news confer-

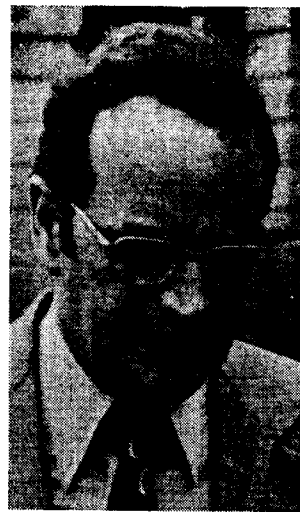


ence—and announced for impeachment in the cover-up case.

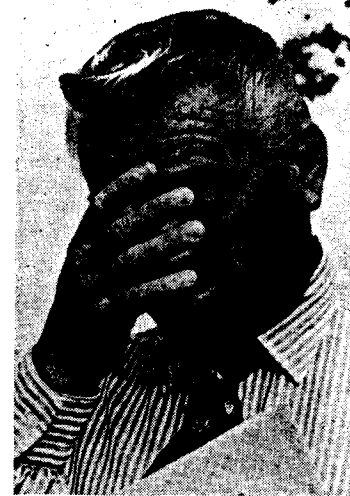
None of this seemed to register on the President, to the dismay of the men around him. He went out for an evening's cruise with his wife and daughters aboard the yacht Sequoia, and came back buoyed by them; next day, in a city awash with rumors that he was about to quit, he called his Cabinet scrambling together in urgent session and announced mildly that he wanted to talk about the No. 1 problem before America—inflation. He did digress for 25 rambling minutes on his own problems but only to get across the message that he had no intention whatever of standing down. To quit was a luxury for ordinary citizens, not for Presidents, one participant remembered him saying; the word "resignation" wasn't even mentioned in the Constitution, and he was therefore obliged to follow out the constitutional process to its end.

Washington had been braced for the President's resignation then and there; crowds began forming three and four deep outside the White House gates, the beginning of a death watch that lasted through the week, and members of Congress clustered around the wire-service tickers waiting for the news they felt sure would come. It didn't; instead, Ford went from the Cabinet meeting to a closed-door luncheon of the Senate Republican Policy Committee and reported the President's decision to hang on. The senators were stunned. "Is that *all* the President had to say?" asked Maryland's J. Glenn Beall, and Barry Goldwater was suddenly on his feet, flushed and shouting: "I'm not yelling at you, Mr. Vice President, but I'm just getting something off my chest—the President should resign!"

Ford gently excused himself, to a round of applause, and the luncheon dissolved into the first of what was to be a series of inconclusive meetings about how to get the sense of the Senate Republicans through the *cordon sanitaire* around the Oval Office. Goldwater volunteered at one of these sessions; a call was put through to Timmons, and the senator asked whether they might send one or more of their number to the President with their pained consensus—that his only choice was to resign. "Oh, not today," said Timmons. "The President is in no frame of mind to listen to anything like that."



Buzhardt: First to know



Wiggins: Pain and sorrow

### Haig: After pleasantries, dropping the bomb

The President, as it happened, had reached the last high-water mark of his resistance to the inevitable. He departed the Cabinet session looking serene and closeted himself through a long afternoon, locked away from practically everybody but his family and, for a half hour, his indomitably loyal cheerleader Rabbi Baruch Korff. "Everyone but the President was in the real world by then," said one source. His people accordingly agonized belowstairs at how to get him in it, too—and in the end they abandoned their deference and accelerated the coup they had already set in motion.

Later that day, Haig and Timmons broke into the President's solitude with a blunt briefing as to just how hopeless his position had become. "It was a devastating session," one official told NEWSWEEK. "They told him it was all over." The President listened in deepening despond, and for once seemed to his people to hear. He made no final decision, but the delegation came away all but certain that he would be gone within 48 hours—that he wanted only another day in which to contact old friends and supporters and to brace his family for the end. That evening, the order went out from Haig to Ray Price: start writing the draft of a resignation statement.

### 'The President,' Haig told Scott, 'needs a triggering mechanism'

The choreography continued and accelerated the next day, the President's men behaving as though the decision were locked in—and taking appropriate precautions against its getting unlocked. Haig caught Ford en route to Capitol Hill for breakfast and asked over the Veep's limousine phone if he would come around to the White House right away. Ford asked plaintively if it couldn't wait. Haig said no; Ford turned back down Pennsylvania Avenue—and was advised for the first time that the Presidency might shortly pass to him. Next, Haig telephoned Hugh Scott to hold himself ready to lead a small delegation down from the Hill to advise Nixon of the soaring odds against his survival. "The President," said the general, "is leaning strongly to the conclusion that his only available option is resignation . . . [but he] needs a triggering mechanism. He wants to hear from the leaders just how bleak the situation really is."

The summons came, and in the gray late afternoon the limousines nosed onto the White House grounds, depositing



Lawrence McIntosh

Scott, Goldwater, Rhodes: The gloom delegation



AP

St. Clair: 'Human nature is human nature'

Scott, Rhodes and Goldwater inside the southwest gate. Haig intercepted them on their way into the Oval Office; he told them frankly that the staff had concluded that resignation was Nixon's last best course but warned them against saying so flat-out—a course that might only spark his instinct for combat. "The President is up and down on this thing," said the general. "Please give him a straight story—if his situation is hopeless, say so. I just hope you won't confront him with your own demands."

They didn't. The President welcomed them in with handshakes and small talk all around; then he sat back, propped his feet on his desk, and, while his visitors sat tensely waiting for their opening, reminisced for some minutes about how kind President Eisenhower had been to him. Now, he noted, there are no living former Presidents left. "If I were to become an ex-President," he said, with a grim little parody of a smile, "I'd have no ex-Presidents to pal around with."

It was the first faint signal of his intentions, and when he threw the discussion open to his guests—"Well, what do you want to say?"—it was plain he realized what the answers would be.

"Mr. President," Goldwater began, "if it comes to a trial in the Senate, I don't think you can count on more than fifteen votes."

"And not more than ten in the House, John?" Nixon asked Rhodes.

"Maybe more, Mr. President," Rhodes answered, "but not much more."

"And I really campaigned for a lot of them," Nixon mused. "But that's all right—that's politics. Hugh, what's *your* assessment of the Senate?"

"I'd say twelve or fifteen, Mr. President," said Scott, and Goldwater cut in to amend his own desolate count—"I can only vouch for four or five who would stay with you right to the end."

Nixon turned once again to Scott for his summation.

"Gloomy," Scott answered.

The small, sour grin played once again on the President's lips. "I'd say *damned* gloomy," he amended.

The mission was achieved, the trigger set for firing. The President asked no advice, and the three Republicans offered none; he only assured them that his decision, when he took it, would be in the national interest. "These are sad times, Mr. President," Scott said in the melancholy dusk as they parted. "Don't you bother about that, Hugh," the President answered sadly. "Do your duty and God bless you."

His decision, as nearly as his people could reconstruct it,

was sealed in that hour; what he sought thereafter was only reinforcement. Henry Kissinger came to see him twice, once for 40 minutes after the Republican delegation left, again at 10 p.m. for a session that ran into the small hours of the morning. The Secretary's errand officially was a run-through of pressing international problems, notably the fighting on Cyprus and the smoldering tensions in the Middle East; he was dismayed, one source said, at how little Nixon seemed to know or care about them. What the President really wanted was counsel of quite another sort—what effect a prolonged Senate trial would have on foreign policy and his place in history. "Devastating," Kissinger answered without hesitation; he, too, gently counseled resignation—and Nixon, visibly distraught, confirmed that he had chosen that course.

Through the day he sought sustenance, talking to old supporters by telephone, gathering the family around him for what the gallows humorists in the corridors immediately dubbed "the last supper." A house photographer was called in improbably to record the event; the family posed together for him, arms linked and smiles frozen in defiant good cheer. But only the President seemed sheltered from the pain; the women all wept, and fell into his arms to be comforted.

## Haig slipped away for a discreet rendezvous with Jaworski

The day of the fall broke drizzly and pewter-gray over the Capital, and the White House fell to the dismal labor of preparing for the transfer of power. The President called in Ford to confirm his intention; then he repaired to his Executive Office Building hideaway with his yellow pads and began penciling Price's fifth and last speech draft into his own language. Kissinger called his own staff together, broke the news and put them to work drafting letters to governments abroad assuring them that U.S. foreign policy would not be affected by the crisis of the regime in Washington. And Haig slipped away from the White House unnoticed for a discreet rendezvous with Jaworski; the official word later was that the general simply advised the prosecutor of the President's decision, nothing more, but there were indications that he took some oblique soundings as to whether Jaworski meant to move against the President.

In the hours just before air-time that evening, Nixon called in two groups from the Hill—the first a formal deputation of





Comforting Julie: The long good-bys

its leaders, the second a reunion class of 46 of his oldest friends in the Congress. He held his calm through the first session, offering drinks if anybody wanted them; in the circumstances, nobody did. He rehearsed his speech briefly, then prayed their support for his successor: "Jerry Ford will make a good President—he'll heal the wounds of Watergate and give the country a chance to go forward again." Nobody interrupted his soliloquy; when it was finished, Mississippi's Sen. James Eastland snuffed out a well-chewed cigar and told him, "You've been a damn good President."

He left EOB 175 with his emotions still in tight control and walked across to the White House for the last nostalgic assembly with his cronies. But there his composure deserted him at the end of an emotional farewell. "I just hope you don't feel that I let you down," he told the gathering. His eyes welled over with tears; without another word, he rose and walked out through the choked stillness.

And then he was alone in the Oval Office with a single Secret Service agent, a camera crew and the most difficult speech of his quarter century in politics. The ironists of history noted that it was six years almost to the hour since he had accepted his party's nomination for President and had cried into the cavernous reaches of the Miami Coliseum that America was in trouble "because her leaders have failed." Confessing his own failure now did not come easily to him, nor did his place in history as the first man ever forced from the Presidency in disgrace. "I have never been a quitter," he said. "To leave office before my term is completed is opposed to every instinct in my body."

But leave it he did, and this time with none of the self-pity or recrimination that spoiled his "last press conference"

in California a dozen years ago. If he was not contrite, neither did he rail against his enemies for having hounded him to bay; he regretted any "injuries" he had caused; he accepted that some of his judgments had been wrong and he had steeled himself to leave "with no bitterness toward those who have opposed me." He spent more than half his sixteen minutes celebrating his own genuine achievements, memorably in foreign affairs; he promised to continue to work toward the goal of world peace. But not any longer as President—he had been forced to conclude that he had lost the consent of the governed, and that he could now best serve "the interests of America" by stepping down.

The formal instrument of his departure was a spare, one-sentence letter addressed, by constitutional requirement, to Kissinger—"Dear Mr. Secretary: I hereby resign the Office of President of the United States. Sincerely, Richard M. Nixon." But he delayed its delivery till midday Friday and spent one last insomniac night in the White House telephoning old associates for solace; he woke one of them, New Hampshire's Sen. Norris Cotton, at 2 a.m. to say good-by.

## The President's last morning was given to teary sentiment

In the end, he did not stay to witness Ford's accession to the most powerful job on earth. His last morning in the White House was given over to teary sentiment, first with a few intimate retainers in the family quarters, then the full assembled staff and Cabinet in the East Room. Nixon stood before them blurry-eyed with his family, his rigorous self-control dissolving into bathos. He fumbled at length over the virtues of government service, and said no one in his Administration had ever profited at the public expense—a charge to which he himself was vulnerable. He memorialized his father ("They would have called him sort of a little man . . . but he was a great man") and his mother ("She will have no books written about her, but she was a saint"). He spoke with thickening voice of his past and his future—"Only if you have been in the deepest valley can you ever know how magnificent it is to be on the highest mountain."

And then he was gone, walking down a red carpet on the south lawn to his helicopter Army One, taking the salutes of a 21-man cordon in the dress uniforms of four services. There were handshakes, embraces, kisses and epidemic tears; then finally, the President clambered aboard the copter, pausing at the head of the ramp and flinging both hands aloft in his familiar double V-for-victory. Julie, on the grass below, flashed a thumbs-up sign as her father disappeared inside. And in a moment, Army One lifted slowly from the lawn, banking to starboard over the austere gray marble of the Jefferson Memorial.

The Nixons, the Coxes and a last few trusted aides were airborne for California on Air Force One at the moment when the Presidency changed hands; Nixon landed at El Toro Marine Air Force Base a private citizen and disappeared quickly into the seclusion of his villa. A good deal of civic San Clemente met him there, and somebody pressed a spray of yellow roses into Pat's arms. But one doleful admirer said morosely: "People don't think he's a great man now."

Greatness in the end eluded Richard Nixon. It was left to history to judge whether his prodigies of peacemaking would finally outweigh the moral ruin of his Presidency. But his page in the record would forever be blotted by the crimes committed in his name and, as his own tape recordings now clearly show, at his direction. His Presidency ended in the narrow compass of seven days in August, but it died of what John Dean aptly called a cancer that grew and metastasized over two of the most dolorous years in the life of the American Republic. There were moments of high achievement for Richard Nixon in his 2,000 days; the real tragedy of his passing last week was that nothing so honored his Presidency as his leaving of it.



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

A relaxed first session with the old Nixon Cabinet: 'Come in and see me with your problems'

# The Once and Future Ford

As he does most mornings, Jerry Ford woke up at sunrise last Thursday, stepped outdoors in his blue bathrobe to pick up his Washington Post, then cooked breakfast for himself and his son Steve. A little later, laden with papers and briefcase, he headed out of his modest Alexandria, Va., home to get some work done at the Executive Office Building. But there the deceptive ordinariness of the day ended. The newspaper's headline had read NIXON RESIGNS, and Gerald R. Ford was to be sworn in at noon as the 38th President of the United States.\*

It was to be a long day. His wife, Betty, joined him at 10 o'clock on the White House lawn to say a final good-bye to the Nixon family; they soon returned together to the building they would occupy for at least 896 days. The White House staff had already begun the transition to Ford, stripping the Oval Office of Nixon's bric-a-brac and replacing the photographs of Nixon in the adjacent hallway with some of the incoming President. The change-over was completed in the East Room at noon, when Chief Justice Warren Burger led Ford through the historic oath.

Less than an hour later, the President appeared in the White House press room to introduce his new spokesman and jokingly warn reporters that he was

thinking about restoring the covered-over swimming pool under their feet. He met with his economic advisers to discuss curbing inflation and, throughout the day, popped into meetings arranged by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger with diplomats from 57 countries. For a relative tyro in foreign affairs, Ford was surprisingly at ease. "I don't go to embassies for dinner," he joked with the Chinese liaison officer, "but that doesn't apply to the liaison office." To the Soviet chargé d'affaires, he marveled over the twelve-year ambassadorship of Anatoly Dobrynin in Washington. "He seems to go on and on," Ford remarked.

## CHAMPAGNE AND COTTAGE CHEESE

The day finally ended back in Alexandria, with a champagne party for a few close friends and a talk with Betty lasting into the early morning. Ford, in blue pajamas, was up again at 6:30 to pick up the newspaper—but the delivery girl was late, and he had to wait for his own headline: FORD BECOMES 38TH PRESIDENT, PROMISES OPENNESS AND CANDOR. His first meeting with the Nixon Cabinet was a relaxed session, the new President coming in and shaking hands all round, urging the officers to "come in and see me with your problems." But by noon, the inevitable isolation of the Presidency was beginning to settle on Ford; he lunched alone—on cottage cheese with ketchup—at the desk in the Oval Office.

In his first days as President, Ford showed a style that was open, relaxed

and impressively self-confident. Of recent Presidents, it was most strongly reminiscent of Dwight Eisenhower—and it is no accident that Ike was Ford's favorite President. Like Eisenhower, Ford is a genuine conservative who has been appalled by what he considers to be the excesses of the last two Administrations, and he is expected to yield considerable power back to the legislative branch. But Ford's Presidency is otherwise a matter of speculation, even among old friends. Although he has held public office for 25 years, from first to last he has toed the Republican Party line and, as House Minority Leader, urged others to do the same. His other guideline has been his conservative Grand Rapids, Mich., constituency.

President Ford will be free of those strictures that bound Congressman Ford—but his politics will probably undergo little change. For one thing, Ford is believed to be at least as right-minded as Nixon in most policy areas; for another, while he is not an ideologue, he lacks the taste for political expediency that allowed Nixon his sudden reverses in economic policy or détente. Although Ford is decidedly more intelligent than reputed—LBJ's stock joke was that "Ford played football too long without his helmet"—he is not an idea man and has scant grounding in economics or foreign affairs. And for the duration of the Nixon term, Ford may well perceive himself as a caretaker without the mandate of popular election. Thus the major

\*The modest way Ford began his Inaugural day echoed Thomas Jefferson's, who walked from his boardinghouse to the Capitol to be sworn in for his first term in 1801, then walked back and joined his fellow boarders for lunch.



The boy from Grand Rapids: An all-American grid star, Ford served in the Navy and even tried modeling, posing with a girlfriend in a 1940 *Look*



Hans Knopf—Pix

change in the White House may be as atmospheric as substantive; as the new President put it last week, "I expect to follow my instincts of openness and candor."

For a man whose Presidential model harks back two decades, however, Ford will have to grapple with some peculiarly thorny issues of the 1970s. He recognizes that Watergate has created a "domestic impasse which has this nation spinning on its wheels," and he will have to get the machinery moving again. He will have to work with a Congress whose already sizable Democratic majority may balloon in the next election. He will have to balance the popular Nixon policy of détente against his own bias for a strong

national defense policy. And inflation, which he terms "Public Enemy No. 1" (page 64), could well prove his biggest problem. In trying to bring prices under control through stringent fiscal and monetary policies, he could boost unemployment, trigger a full-scale recession or worse—and put a sudden, unhappy end to his Presidential honeymoon.

It was only a few days ago that Ford first realized he would become President. "Until this week," a close friend said, "he really didn't believe it was going to happen." He was jolted into reality last Wednesday by a telephone call from White House chief of staff Alexander Haig—a call to Ford's limousine as he was heading to a breakfast of

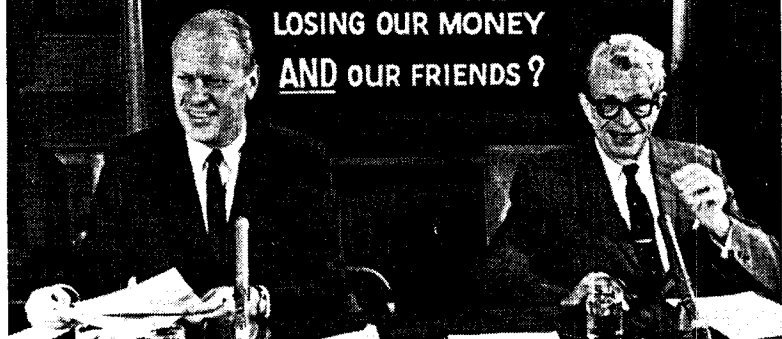
the Chowder and Marching Club, a good-time Republican fellowship to which Nixon once belonged. In the hour-long meeting that followed, Haig told Ford that Nixon was seriously considering resigning—and Nixon himself confirmed it to Ford next morning in the Oval Office. Ford was "surprisingly calm" afterward, an aide said. "I don't even think he lit up his pipe," he said. With the rest of the nation, Ford watched Nixon give his resignation speech on television that evening. Sad and a bit nervous, he stepped outside to address newsmen briefly, then returned to draft the Inaugural Address that he delivered at noon Friday.

**'A LITTLE STRAIGHT TALK'**

Coming from a man who is notoriously inarticulate, Ford's seven-minute speech—"just a little straight talk among friends," he called it—had a simple, gripping eloquence. "Our long national nightmare is over," he said. "Our Constitution works. Our great republic is a government of laws and not of men. Here, the people rule." He urged a return to the Golden Rule in politics, as "we bind up the internal wounds of Watergate." It was a cautious, feeling-the-way speech for a new President who was acutely aware that he was the first ever to fill

## THE QUESTION OF THE WEEK MR. PRESIDENT:

WHY ARE WE  
LOSING OUR MONEY  
AND OUR FRIENDS?



On the 'Ev and Jerry Show':  
Teaming up with Dirksen to  
slam LBJ's 'shocking misman-  
agement' of the Viet war

On the road: Among stops  
this year in 40 states, a  
lively St. Patrick's Day cele-  
bration in Charleston, S.C.



AP Photos

Being sworn in as Veep: On  
the Watergate mess, veer-  
ing between private dis-  
may and loyalty to Nixon



Fred Ward—Black Star

the office by appointment. The promises were accordingly modest, the tone positively deferential as he asked for "the privilege of appearing before the Congress" to exchange views this week. And there was a refreshing humility in his conclusion that "God helping me, I will not let you down."

### 'LISTEN TO HENRY'

While his speech was clearly targeted to a nation wracked by Watergate, Ford had already moved to insure stability in foreign affairs by keeping the same cornerstone Nixon had relied on: Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. "All Jerry's got to know about foreign affairs is to listen to Henry," says one Congressman. But Ford, as a fourteen-year member of the Appropriations subcommittee that passes on the Pentagon budget, has his own theories on national defense. Although he believes in détente and trade, he is nervous about the continuing Russian buildup of nuclear strategic weapons. As Vice President, he was amused by rumors last spring that the Soviets wanted to postpone SALT II talks until Nixon left office. "If the Russians think I'm a soft-liner," he remarked, "maybe somebody should send them a few of my speeches." He would like Congress to appropriate immediately another \$2 bil-

lion to \$3 billion in military expenditures. "If you vote to cut it, you vote for war," Ford said recently. "If you vote to keep it, you vote for peace. It's as simple as that."

Ford nonetheless hopes to hold the total budget down to \$301 billion—well below current Congressional estimates—while simultaneously tightening the money supply and thus fighting inflation with what many economists would call unwanted overkill. "Ford is really woolly-headed when he gets into economics," says a congressman, but he is expected to rely heavily on two other Nixon men: Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur Burns and conservative economist Alan Greenspan, nominated by Nixon three weeks ago to head the Council of Economic Advisers. To supplement their economic policy, Ford will probably take advantage of his political honeymoon to "jawbone" industry and labor at "economic summits"—a Burns idea. But if the policy does produce a recession, Ford has indicated, "I'm not going to change my basically conservative fiscal and economic views." Rather, he has suggested vaguely that groups hardest hit by an economic slowdown might require "special help within budgetary limitations"—possibly meaning the creation of public-service jobs.

It is in the legislative arena that Ford's succession to the Presidency may make the most difference, ending the Nixon era of confrontation that produced 41 vetoes and freeing Congress from the time-consuming process of impeachment and trial. It was with that in mind that Democrat Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, last week predicted "an excellent chance of passing long-overdue legislation." And Ford, who has countless Congressional friends, boasted on the eve of his swearing-in that "tomorrow I can start out working with Democrats and with Republicans" in both houses.

### RESISTING REFORM?

Still, many of the liberal bills under consideration—health insurance, consumer protection, tax reform—may be resisted by Ford, and his reaction to a batch of Watergate-reform measures—that include campaign financing and the creation of a permanent special prosecutor—is uncertain. Unlike Nixon, however, Ford may be able to draw on legislative talents and friends to produce some important compromise measures.

Ford's weak voting record on civil rights and his strong stance against bus- ing have already drawn Congressional fire—and on that front, warns one Demo-

crat, "We are going to be in for some rough battles with the White House." But as Vice President, Ford privately advised, "Forget the voting record. The voting record reflects Grand Rapids." During his brief tenure he met with several black groups—a practice generally shunned by Nixon and Agnew—and did his best to reassure them of his basic goodwill. But Ford's basic approach will nonetheless be conservative, and he is expected to resist any new and costly social programs. "He believes strongly in the decentralization of the Federal government . . . things like revenue sharing," said Sen. Robert Griffin of Michigan. "He probably would push programs like work incentive harder than Nixon."



Mark Godfrey—Magnum

Whatever his policies, however, Ford is almost surely safe in promising an open Administration. He has befriended Republicans of all degrees of regularity, campaigning willingly for anti-Vietnam Rep. Paul McCloskey of California and vainly trying to prevent anti-Nixon Rep. Donald Riegle of Michigan from leaving the GOP. To staff his White House, Ford is accordingly putting together a mixed bag of Nixon holdovers, veteran congressmen and old Michigan friends with administrative experience, while keeping open his lines to Congressional elders in both parties (page 28). In fact, says

Charles Goodell, the liberal former New York Senator who is expected to be offered a high post in the Administration, Ford may be entirely too accessible. "He has a tendency to listen to everybody," Goodell explained. "That will be curbed of necessity."

FAMILIAR FACES

Ford said last week he would name his Vice President within ten days, and speculation has centered on former New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Melvin Laird, the veteran former congressman and Defense Secretary who helped promote Ford to the House leadership nine years ago, with a dozen lesser lights also on the list (page 32). In addition to Kissinger, the Nixon Cabinet members likely to stay on include Interior Secretary Rogers Morton, an old Ford friend and political confidant, Treasury Secretary William Simon and, despite early re-

problem is that he's just not a 'no comment' person." He befriended the journalists who regularly covered him, asking them as guests to his formal dinner last spring for Jordan's King Hussein and to his son Mike's wedding reception last month. And within an hour of his swearing-in, the President visited the White House press room to introduce his press secretary, J.F. (Jerry) terHorst, and once again promise an "open, candid Administration." Ford's fondness for journalists, he explained recently, also stems from a fundamental belief that the media are "helpful in trying to preserve some of the great liberties that we have in this country."

There are as few pretensions about the personal Ford as there are about the official. Up close, Ford is a happy extrovert who likes people enormously and is enormously well liked in return. As Vice President, for example, he tried to mem-



Dennis Brack—Black Star

'Your next-door neighbor': Still an active sportsman, Ford enjoys an occasional round of golf and a daily, predawn swim

ports to the contrary, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger. Ford's friends are urging him to jettison Labor Secretary Peter Brennan to make peace with AFL-CIO chief George Meany, and appease consumers by dropping outspoken Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz. Ford may ask former Treasury Secretary George Shultz to return in another capacity. And to give his Cabinet a bipartisan flavor, Ford is reportedly considering naming a Democrat—if he can find a non-controversial figure for the right job.

Ford's open-door policy clearly extends to the press. As a Vice President on a killing travel schedule, his contacts with reporters were friendly, frequent—52 press conferences, 85 formal interviews and at least 100 more rap sessions in midair—and sometimes indiscreet. "When he says he should not talk about something, then damn it, he should not talk about it," one aide griped. "The

orize the first names of all 60 Secret Service men assigned to him. He can spend hours zestfully trading banalities on a reception line, then shrug off a bad speech with an infectious laugh and an aside to the press: "Wasn't worth a damn, was it?" He is an Eagle Scout who can repeat the code verbatim and an unabashed lowbrow who turns to the sports pages first, rarely cracks a book and once told the Harvard Young Republican Club: "I've never read anything Solzhenitsyn has written, but I understand he's quite superb." His tastes run to double-knit suits, Edgeworth pipe tobacco and bourbon and water.

Ford's resemblance to Nixon ends with his taste for cottage cheese laced with ketchup. As President, Griffin said recently, Ford's style "would be a lot like that of Dwight Eisenhower. Like Ike, Ford is warm and friendly and people feel they can trust him." Ford can



rival Eisenhower at muddling the language—"The trouble with Schlesinger," he mused once, "is that he's one of those acamedician types"—and before the simple eloquence of his Inaugural last week, his rehearsed addresses were scarcely better. In personal conversation, however, Ford can be surprisingly expressive. "Gerald Ford is just Jerry," a friend from Grand Rapids sums up. "He's nothing any different from your next-door neighbor."

Until the Fords move to the White House this week, they will still be the family next door—living for the last nineteen years in a modest Colonial-style brick and frame house in Alexandria, Va. Its greatest luxury is a heated, outdoor pool where Ford swam several laps early each morning before breakfast. He is devoted to his wife and their four children (page 30); as Vice-President, he broke into a crowded campaign tour to fly home virtually every Sunday and interrupted anything short of a Presidential conference to take a family call. Like a growing number of Washington figures, Ford is an evangelical Christian. But as his former hometown pastor puts it, Ford "didn't wear his religion on his sleeve."

#### A MODELING STINT

In a sense, Ford has never stopped being the boy from Grand Rapids who starred on the high school gridiron and played center at the University of Michigan. He put himself through Yale Law School by coaching football—and a brief stint of photographic modeling with a girlfriend—then served in the Navy in World War II. Back home in Grand Rapids, he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1948, two years after a Californian named Richard Nixon arrived in Washington. Ford served quietly for fifteen years, learning the ropes, doing his homework and establishing a solid, conservative reputation that attracted the younger House Republicans who wanted to shake up the party leadership in the mid-'60s. Boosted by Griffin and Goodell, Ford rose to the chairmanship of the House Republican Conference, then in 1965 was pushed by Goodell and Laird into the Minority Leader's post.

Vietnam was Ford's primary focus for the next few years—and in televised tandem with Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen as "Ev and Jerry," he attacked LBJ for failing to wage an all-out war. He also campaigned hard for Republicans everywhere, contributing in 1966 to a GOP gain of 47 House seats. And when Nixon was elected President in 1968, Ford became his loyal servant in Congress, faithfully advocating his bills. When the Senate rejected two conservative Nixon nominees for the Su-

preme Court, Ford—in what was probably the nadir of his Congressional career—launched a vindictive and short-lived effort to impeach liberal Justice William O. Douglas. What Ford himself wanted was to be Speaker of the House. But as a Republican majority became increasingly improbable, he promised Betty that he would quit politics in 1976, possibly going into private law practice in Grand Rapids. Those plans went awry on Oct. 12, 1973, when Nixon chose him as Vice President.

As Veep, Ford walked a shaky tight-rope, balancing his private dismay over Watergate against his determination not to contribute to Nixon's fall. "When the pages of history are written," he told

Ford found himself in the Oval Office.

He also found himself in logical position for the GOP Presidential nomination in 1976. In recent months Ford has widened his lead over other contenders, winning in his last weeks as Veep fully 27 per cent of the Republicans polled by Gallup (the runners-up: Sen. Barry Goldwater and Gov. Ronald Reagan, each with 16 per cent). For going through the public motions of loyalty to the President at a time when few other Republicans could afford to, Ford has earned the goodwill of party nabobs. And he has amassed countless IOU's by speaking and fund-raising for GOP candidates across the country. Thus the consensus is that, given a modicum of luck, Ford can have the nomination if he wants it. "We think he's a smart politician, a loyal party man and a President who will run a relaxed but taut ship," said one state Republican chairman. "He'll be our President in 1976 and there's no one who can stop him from getting that nomination, if he doesn't make any mistakes."

#### A BLOOD OATH FOR BETTY

Ford has consistently denied that personal ambitions lay behind his campaign stumping or his glad-handing. "I just don't have that terrible drive to be President," he has said. "And besides, I've taken the blood oath for Betty." Before last week, he maintained that the only condition under which he would accept the 1976 nomination would be a convention deadlock so serious that it threatened to fragment the party he has been trying to salvage. "Right now I would say that Jerry really is not interested in 1976," insisted one close Capitol friend. "But there is no way of telling what will happen once he tastes the White House."

The real test of Ford's viability in 1976; however, is the next 896 days. A crisis in the economy or foreign affairs could destroy any Presidential aspirations—or guaran-

tee them. In the end, one of the GOP's oldest hands philosophized, events will make the man. "Ford has many of the good qualities of Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower," he said. "He will do as well as some, not as well as others. The Presidency is a chimera, for it is not really a question of the pressures of the job bringing out the best or worst qualities of the man. Essentially it is the attempt to influence events, most of them unforeseen. One looks mainly for judgment, wisdom and character. And the prudent man then goes home and lights a candle or sells his stock, for the President—whoever he is—is almost certain to lack one of these qualities. We can only hope events are kind to him, for then they will be kind to us."



Haynie—Louisville Courier Journal

"Hi, guys! I'm Jerry Ford, the new substitute ... Geewhiz, how'd you fellas manage t'get so muddy?"

NEWSWEEK last May, "nobody can say I contributed to it." He traveled 130,000 miles in his eight-month tenure, bearing to 40 states not only the banner of the Republican Party but a message of stubborn faith in the nation as well. His balancing act became more difficult with each new Watergate disclosure, and in the last few months Ford was veering between an affirmation of Nixon's innocence and an insistence that the President turn over any evidence to the impeachment inquiry. When impeachment appeared inevitable a fortnight ago, Ford maintained that if he had his "druthers," he would prefer a vote of censure. But before that alternative could be explored by Congress, Nixon exploded his last bombshell—and Jerry

# INSIDE THE PRESIDENT'S INNER CIRCLE

There are old friends from Michigan, former colleagues from Capitol Hill, longtime aides and a sprinkling of carryovers from the last days of the Nixon Administration. But like any new team moving into power in Washington, the men around the new President tend to reflect his own personality and style: middle-aged, Midwestern, low-keyed, slightly rumpled and invariably decent whatever their political stripe. And as in past Presidential transitions, one of the biggest questions about the Ford Administration is whether they are up to the job.

Ford himself has clearly asked the same question. In the past, his staffers have mainly been men he was comfortable with—and they were probably adequate to the demands made on Ford as a congressman, House leader and even Vice President. But they were clearly not sufficient, either in numbers or abilities, to run a White House bureaucracy. Even before he took the oath of office last week, President Ford was expanding his circle of close aides and advisers to include some of the most sophisticated politicians in recent Washington history.

In addition to retaining the services of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and—for the time being, at least—White House chief of staff Alexander Haig, Ford was signing up men like former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, ex-Sen. Charles Goodell and veteran lobbyist Bryce Harlow to play influential roles in his new Administration.

And in his most significant staff move thus far, he recruited four former congressmen as a transition team to “form a bridge” between his own staff and the sprawling executive branch: former Pennsylvania Gov. William W. Scranton, NATO Ambassador Donald M. Rumsfeld, Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton and Ford's own staffer John O. Marsh, once a Democratic congressman from Virginia.

## AT HOME ON THE HILL

In one sense, the President's early personnel problems may be something of a blessing. His predecessor had entered the White House with an inner circle tuned and tempered in a hard-fought national campaign and, as it turned out, they were often unable to shake the campaign mentality that places politics over policy and regards all critics as “enemies” to be undercut or overcome. Ford's loose, low-key operation, on the other hand, has for years been geared to the compromises and concessions of Congressional politicking. The ability to understand and work effectively with the powers on the Hill may be the critical factor in the men

gathering around the new President.

The biggest jobs in the Ford Administration, either in a Kitchen Cabinet or official titles, seem likely to go to three of the President's closest associates from congressional days—the three, in fact, who helped set him on the path of leadership that ultimately led to the Oval Office. They are Laird, Goodell and Senate Minority Whip Robert Griffin, the architects of a Republican revolution in the House eleven years ago that first made Ford chairman of the House Republican Conference Committee and then Minority Leader, replac-

east Asia, but in favor of continued military strength as a prerequisite to any real détente with the Soviet Union.

Goodell's influence will probably be felt most in the tone and philosophic outlook of the new Administration—and perhaps in the areas of labor relations and judicial procedures. Also a conservative in the House, Goodell, 48, swung sharply left after New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller named him to fill out the term of assassinated Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. As a result, he was denounced as a “radiclib” by Vice President Spiro Agnew and defeated in his

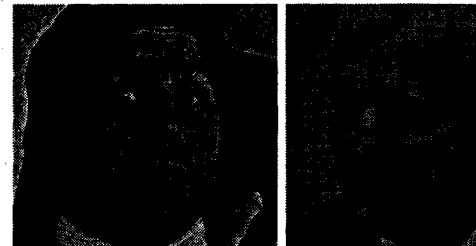


A new President's men: Laird ...



Wally McNamara—Newsweek

... Interior Secretary Morton ...



Bruce Buurama—Grand Rapids Press

AP

... Rev. Zeoli, law partner Buchen ...

ing mossback Charles Halleck of Indiana. All three moved on from the House to careers of their own, but all have stayed in touch with Ford as well and are thought to have the greatest influence on his thinking.

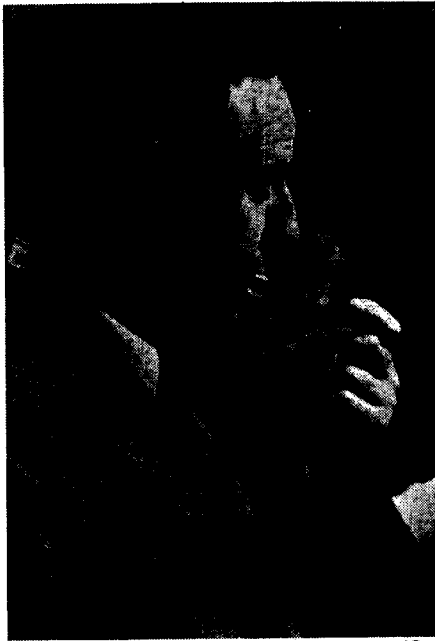
Mel Laird, 51, has already been pegged as Ford's *eminence grise*, a baldish Wisconsin Machiavelli whose return to public service would nevertheless be applauded on both sides of the aisle. Despite his conservative record during nearly twenty years in the House, Laird is known as a moderate with a bright and open mind. And he assumed an almost dovish role as Secretary of Defense under President Nixon, urging a swifter reduction of U.S. troop commitments in South Vietnam and an earlier shifting of responsibility to the Vietnamese themselves. As a prime counselor to the President, he might be expected to argue against any further military involvement in South-

1970 race for re-election by then Conservative candidate James Buckley, who enjoyed unmistakable White House support. In the aftermath, Goodell returned to private law practice and for a time was even part of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg's defense team. That he should now stand closer to the pinnacle of power than if he had remained in the Senate is only one of the minor ironies of the Watergate tragedy. Early this year, Goodell and Ford walked arm in arm through a party in honor of the former senator. “Although we've had our differences,” Goodell said later, “he's very open to different viewpoints.”

Griffin, 50, whose grim letter to Nixon a week and a half ago signaled the final crumbling of his support in Congress, is an even closer associate of Ford. In fact, if he were not from the new President's home state, Griffin would probably be among his first choices for Vice President. As it is, he

might be in line for a Cabinet post; but as a likable moderate whose relations with his Senate peers are excellent, Griffin can probably be far more helpful to the President where he is—working from the inside to get Ford's legislative program through Congress.

Yet another alumnus of the 1963 GOP revolt who might end up on the Ford team is Rep. Albert Quie, 49, of Minnesota, a deeply religious man who played a large part in the Christian conversion of former Nixon aide Charles Colson. And the President is also expected to have the advice and expertise of lobbyist Harlow, 58, who served as a Capitol Hill liaison man for Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon before taking on a policy role in the Nixon White House.



... ex-Senator Goodell ...

... chief of staff Hartmann

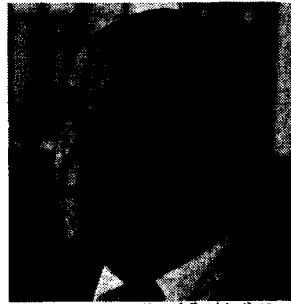
Harlow is not looking forward to leaving his high-paying job as legislative representative for Procter & Gamble. But like so many others who have come to know and respect Ford over the years, friends say, if Harlow is asked directly by the President he will be available.

#### REVAMPING THE 'MICHIGAN MAFIA'

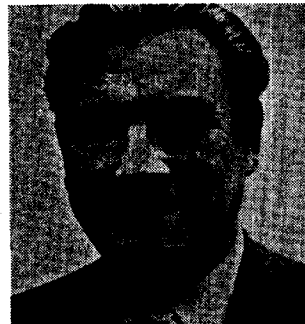
Characteristically, Ford also turned to some former House colleagues to staff his transitional panel. But in each case they were men who had solid administrative experience as well. Rumsfeld, who headed up the Office of Economic Opportunity, was assigned as over-all coordinator of the transition. Morton, who previously headed up the Republican National Committee, was to focus on the Cabinet and the executive agencies. And Scranton, who served with Ford in the House before becoming Michigan governor, was asked to concentrate

on reorganizing the White House staff. President Ford himself moved to ease the shifting of gears by sending out letters to staffers in the Federal agencies, the White House and the Vice President's office. All were asked to keep on working.

Jerry Ford's "Michigan Mafia" will stay on the scene, but in lesser roles, with realistic limits on their authority and responsibility. For example, Robert Hartmann, 57, Ford's Vice Presidential chief of staff, is valued for his knowledge of politics and his knack for timing, both garnered during a long career as reporter and Washington bureau chief for The Los Angeles Times. But the ruddy-faced Hartmann, a man who enjoys his bourbon, lacks



... millionaire Seidman ...



UPI

style and sensitivity in dealing with people. "The fact is he's just plain, damned offensive," said one Ford crony last week. And Hartmann is now expected to shift his focus from administrative duties to political advice and analysis as a counselor to the President.

Another former newsman in the Ford retinue, Paul Miltich, 54, Ford's press secretary, has also been replaced—by Detroit News Washington bureau chief Jerry terHorst (page 78). A low-key, likable man, Miltich frequently failed to brief himself on such basics as his boss's schedule or the kind of suit he was wearing ("The boss would kill me if I asked him something like that," he once explained). He will function henceforth as terHorst's deputy.

Two solid starters on the current Ford team are L. William Seidman and Philip W. Buchen, both old Grand Rapids friends. Seidman, 53, is the millionaire head of an international ac-

counting firm who was called in last February to sort out and shape up administration of the Vice President's office (to Hartmann's partially disguised dismay). Bald, dapper, "a kind of health nut" much like the President, according to one old acquaintance, Seidman has also worked closely with Michigan Governors George Romney and William Milliken and is credited with devising a milestone program for equitable tax reform in the state. His accounting firm also seems to have survived its association with Equity Funding Corp. of America, the financial empire that was the center of a major Wall Street scandal last year.

Buchen, 58, is the President's original law partner and probably his closest friend and confidant. Like Ford, he is a pipe puffer, but a boyhood bout with polio cut short his athletic career; he walks with a cane. Buchen was recruited earlier this year by Ford to run a White House committee on the right of privacy, but he will undoubtedly take on a more substantive role in the near future. "Phil," said one admirer, "is one of a very few people who can call Ford and say, 'Jerry, what in the hell are you doing?'" He has already made some canny suggestions. It was Buchen who advised Ford not to take an advance peek at the "edited" White House transcripts before mounting his zigzag defense of President Nixon at the height of the Watergate controversy.

#### 'GOD HAS A BETTER IDEA'

Ford's own man on the new transitional panel, John Marsh, 47, has been a Pentagon lobbyist and is now the resident expert on military and foreign affairs. Marsh could well become a White House watchdog over President Ford's Secretary of Defense, whoever he may be. Another former congressman, 61-year-old John Byrnes of Wisconsin, once a ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee and a longtime crony of the President, is expected to play a major role in the transition and later policy planning, with an emphasis on economics. Milton Friedman, 50, and no relation to the noted economist, may remain Ford's principal speechwriter. But Friedman, a 21-year veteran of the Jewish Telegraph Agency, will undoubtedly need a large stable of other writers to handle the expanded and specialized chores on a Presidential level.

The nation may also get to know the Rev. Billy Zeoli, a Grand Rapids evangelist who has for months catered to Ford's spiritual needs with a Monday-morning prayer memo ("To: Jerry/ From: Billy/ Subject: God has a better Idea"). "I've never been one to be ostentatious about my religious views," Ford has said. "But I don't hesitate to say that Billy has had an impact on my perspective."

# Betty: The New First Lady

It was not long after the White House called to offer Gerald Ford the Vice Presidency when the telephone rang again: the Fords' eldest son, Michael, wanted to talk to his father. "Mother has been awfully good to us through the years," he said solemnly. "Are you sure you want to put her through this?"

As the Ford family well knows, 25 years of being both housewife and House wife has left its scars on Betty Ford—and she is quick to admit it. For the last nine years, while her husband held the hectic, day-and-night job of House Minority Leader, she was left almost singlehanded to cope with their then adolescent children. She developed psychosomatic pains, turned to psychiatry and tranquilizers (which she still uses daily) and

is more than the plain country girl she calls herself. She started taking dance lessons as a child of 8 in Grand Rapids and went on to study dance in New York at 20; she earned a living as a John Robert Powers model, danced with the Martha Graham company and was on the point of becoming a professional dancer when her parents asked her to come home and consider the decision. There she took a job as a fashion coordinator, started an amateur dance group and got married—but not to Gerald Ford. The marriage ended in divorce after five years, and at 30 she married Ford, just before his first election to Congress.

Betty Ford's divorce had been no secret in Grand Rapids, but the word didn't get to Washington until early this year,

She is no less the playmaker with her kids, who call her "Ma'am" to her face and "the Disciplinarian" out of hearing range. With Ford averaging 200 out-of-town speeches a year throughout his career, she says, "I never told the children they'd have to wait until Daddy came home [when they misbehaved] . . . He was always soft and lenient." But their youngest child, 17-year-old Susan, who attends the Holton-Arms School in Bethesda, Md., calls him "the perfect father."

None of the Ford offspring is exactly a straight-arrow conformist. Their 22-year-old son John, who majored in forestry at Utah State and shaved off his beard last year when his father became the Vice President, says appreciatively: "He never tried to mold us or direct us. He allowed us room to explore by ourselves." Michael, 24, who last month married a pretty schoolmate named Gayle Brumbaugh, attends a Massachusetts theological school, though he is not sure he wants to be a minister. And 18-year-old Steven is currently pondering whether to spend a year working out West before enrolling in Duke University.

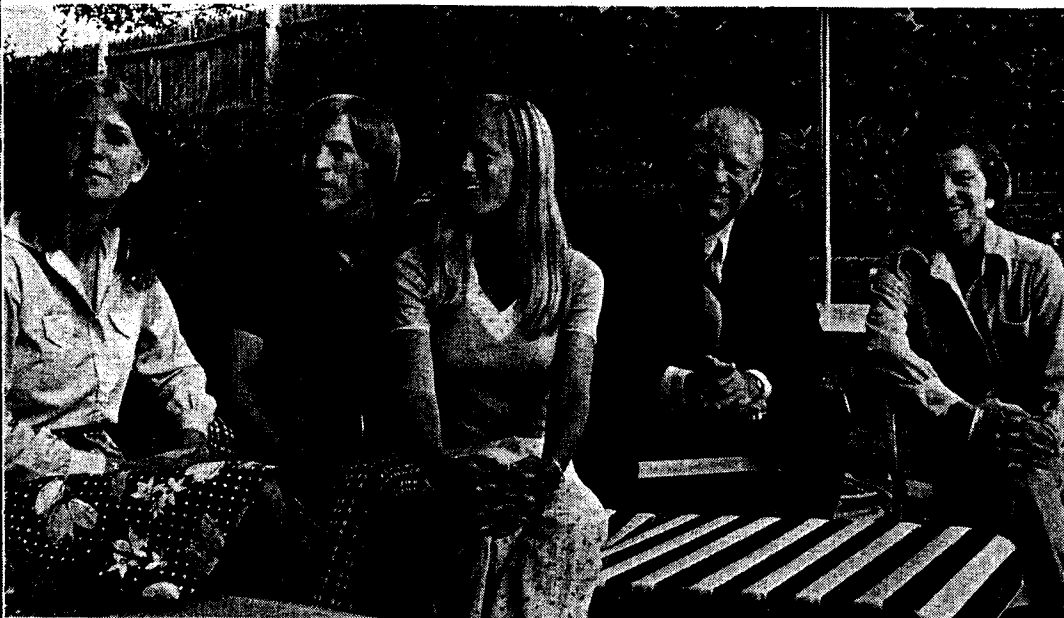
## 'BILLS AND CRITICISMS'

Nor does Betty Ford fit easily into a mold—political or otherwise. She favors day care and abortion, both anathema to the Nixon Administration. She considers herself something of a champion of women's rights as well. "Jerry always felt . . . I was the one to stay home and raise the family," she says. "But I firmly believe in equal opportunity." And it's fairly certain her views will not be lost on the new President; she leaves "bills and criticisms" on his bedroom bureau regularly.

What will the White House be like with Betty Ford as First Lady?

"I hope we can make it a happy and fun place," she told NEWSWEEK last weekend. "After all, if the son of Teddy Roosevelt could take his pony, we can bring our Siamese cat." But she takes her new role seriously. She held the Bible for her husband's swearing-in and says, "I really felt like I was taking that oath, too."

The phone in the Ford household has been ringing constantly since that event: what to do about all the flowers or the midweek arrival of the King of Jordan. Under such pressures, refreshing candor can quickly turn undiplomatic. "I'm just afraid the State Department is going to have to do something about the King of Jordan," she said, adding: "We'll just have to put on an official dinner for him if it's an official visit . . . I hope it's not." But she understands that all the confusion is the result of an unprecedented historical situation. "We didn't have an election and three months before going into office," she says with a sigh. "We had 24 hours."



Harry Naltchayan—The Washington Post

## The First Family: Susan, Mike, Gayle, 'perfect father' and 'Disciplinarian'

even made her husband promise to quit politics after the next election. But now, barely reconciled to her Second Ladyship, she is moving to the White House—and into a role she never wanted.

Almost surely, those who know her say, she will do it well, with a forthright flair matching the candor of her husband. Despite her misgivings over his Vice Presidency, she has played her part with quiet grace—enduring his incessant travels, deciding on her own that she should represent the Administration at the funeral of Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr., and submitting to more than 200 interviews. "I've been asked everything except how often I go to bed with my husband," she told a friend not long ago. "If they had asked me, I would have told them."

They have lived for nineteen years in an unpretentious suburban house in Alexandria, Va., bringing up their four children in a middle-American idyll of knotty pine, celebrity photos, skiing vacations and Bible study. But Betty Ford

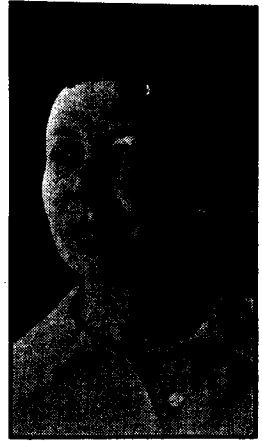
and it was a small sensation; she will be only the second divorcee in the White House.\* But she shrugs it off as a marriage "I could have easily skipped" except that it helped her appreciate a good husband when she found one.

## RELUCTANT TANGO

For whatever reason, she has also found the toughness to be a successful Washington wife. She tolerates Ford's public griping about her chronic lateness and shoulders her own burdensome schedule of speeches and appearances. But she demands her share of his attention. Once, coming home after a hard day as the Veep, he said he was heading straight to bed. "Oh no you're not," she announced, and promptly put on a record so they could practice their tango for a party. "Jerry was good but reluctant," she says with a giggle.

\*The first was Florence Kling Harding. Mrs. Andrew Jackson was divorced but died before her husband took office.

## FORD: THE CABINET CONNECTION



In The Week That Was in Washington, one familiar speculation came into play even before it was certain that Richard Nixon would turn over his office to Gerald Ford. If Ford were to become President, the speculation ran, one distinct change you could count on was that he would gradually restore the Cabinet as an institution and his Cabinet members themselves to positions of pre-eminence and clout: no more overblown, over-reaching and unaccountable White House staffs.

It is not, I think, excessively cynical to observe that every President in recent memory has made precisely the same pledge at his accession to office, or has had it made in his behalf by friends and journalists in the know. Richard Nixon, in his euphoric days as President-elect, repeatedly made the assertion from his headquarters at New York's Hotel Pierre, and he made it as a reproach to what he regarded as Lyndon Johnson's unhealthy concentration of power in the White House. Lyndon Johnson himself, of course, had previously let it be known that he intended to do the same thing—as a reproach to the fabled, strong-arming "Irish Mafia" of the Kennedy years.

Usually we of the press go heavy on the story, through the suspense-filled days of Cabinet selection right up to the grand finale when the newly "powerful" group is in place. I say "finale" because after that you hardly hear of most of them, except as shocked or snickering stories go the rounds about how this Cabinet member or that was dressed down by a White House aide. Through the Kennedy and Johnson years and well into Richard Nixon's first term, the late Dean Acheson—former Secretary of State and something of an expert on these matters—used to marvel, without admiration, at the way Cabinet members in modern times were letting themselves be shoved around by a bunch of obscure "pip-squeaks" on Pennsylvania Avenue.

### IT DOES MATTER

When the eventual changes in personnel have been made, will President Ford's Administration be any different? And does it really matter if it is—or is this just some esoteric concern of Washington government watchers? I think the answer to the first question is that the new Administration should *try* to be different. As in so many other matters, the Nixon White House has demonstrated what is

at the end of the line when certain unhappy tendencies of the contemporary Presidency are indulged. And the manner in which self-important White House aides were finally transformed into conspirators should at the very least suggest to President Ford the wisdom of spreading the wealth a little. To say as much is also to answer the second question: it *does* matter. The challenge—and it is one that has grown with the swollen power and size of the executive branch—is to find a way to resolve competing claims among the interests represented by individual Cabinet members without resorting to a super-directorate lodged in the offices adjoining the President's.

The constancy of the desire of newly installed Presidents to restore Cabinet members to positions of authority proceeds, I think, from the same set of facts that makes it very hard for them to do so. George Romney, Melvin Laird, Walter Hickel, William Rogers—traditionally Cabinet officers are figures of some accomplishment, stature and prestige in their own right. You don't fool around with them—you reward them and set them up in the most important principalities of your empire. They are also generally people whose advice is valuable and whose constituencies are taken seriously. So a government in which such figures are given the greatest possible degree of independence and respect seems desirable.

### PART OF THE PROBLEM

That is the drawing-board part. In reality, what quickly happens is that a majority of Cabinet members become identified in the minds of the President and his staff as part of the problem, not part of the solution. Individually each becomes just a spokesman for one more pressure group beating on the door, fighting his peers for budget funds and jurisdiction, raising issues somebody else has to settle. It is instructive, I think, to note that Cabinet members who have fallen from White House grace over the past several years have almost invariably been charged with the same failures: incompetence, treachery and going native (as they say of ambassadors who come to think of themselves as representing the host country's interests in Washington, and not the other way around). All three charges, in turn, rest on a single basic complaint: it is that the Secretary, who is a political ap-

pointee, has not re-directed or gained control of the despised bureaucracy of his department—either because he is inept or because he has joined up.

When such discontents come into play, it turns out that the Cabinet member is in the weakest of all positions to fight back. That is the reverse side of the fame and importance he brings to office. The bureaucracy has the strength of tenure: it knows its way around and can't be fired, or not easily anyway. The White House aide may not have tenure, but he has the strength that derives from proximity to the President. A call from a White House aide, as the story of John Ehrlichman and the CIA reveals—or John Ehrlichman and Richard Kleindienst or John Ehrlichman and practically anyone else—is generally regarded as having the force of a Presidential command. And usually, even if the aide is much farther down the line, the Cabinet member does as he is told.

### THE UNIQUE LAIRD

Melvin Laird is known to have been almost unique among Cabinet members in the first Nixon Administration for his disinclination, if not outright refusal, to tap-dance at the order of Presidential assistants. And the fact that he is so closely associated with President Ford may bode well for the prospect of a minidecentralization of power. That and the awful example of what can happen when the foot-stamping master sergeants of the White House run amok should go a certain way to insuring that the new President will give the idea a better try than his predecessors did.

To be sure, owing to the excesses of White House power-gathering over the last two decades that culminated in Watergate, legislation is pending to cut the Oval Office down to size. But I set less store by the statutory possibilities than by the dictates of good sense and the instinct for self-preservation. President Ford, I expect, will seek some mechanism for maintaining an overview of his Administration that does not close out the advice and influence of the most responsible and accomplished people at his disposal.

God knows Richard Nixon has given him plenty of reason to do so.



# Who'll Be the Ex-VeeP's VeeP?

There was a time when the Vice Presidency was mostly a dead-end job—a place where such luminaries as Elbridge Gerry, Hannibal Hamlin and Garret A. Hobart finally flickered out. No more. Last week, after serving only eight months in the office, Gerald Ford confronted a critical—and politically complex—task in finding his own successor. His personal favorite for the post was Melvin Laird, an old friend, former Secretary of Defense and colleague in the House of Representatives. But his shopping list also included Nelson Rockefeller, GOP National Chairman George Bush and more than a dozen other talented candidates. And as an unelected President, no one knew better than Ford that the person he picks as the 41st Vice President of the United States might well himself become the next man to occupy the Oval Office.

In keeping with his conciliatory vows,

Ford would not rule out other Republicans who had been touted as possible GOP Presidential candidates in 1976—a mixed bag that took in Gov. Ronald Reagan, 63, of California, former Attorney General Elliot Richardson, 54, and Sen. Charles Percy, 54, of Illinois.

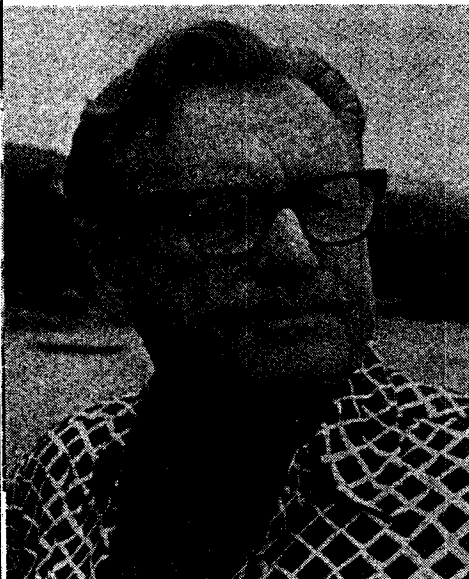
Oddly enough, Ford's favorite seemed to be foot-dragging. "I am not going to go back to government after 30 years on the payroll," Laird, 51, declared last week. "I want a little rest and I'm going to stay where I am right now." As senior counselor on international and domestic affairs for Reader's Digest, Laird is currently making a comfortable six-figure income, and he has said that he would prefer to act as a free-lance troubleshooter and adviser to the President rather than join the staff full-time.

Laird still has powerful friends on the GOP right, and his dovish image in the Pentagon earned him good marks

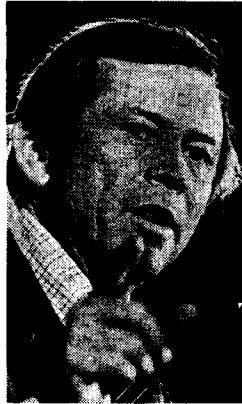
Presidents—was not lost on Ford's advisers. "My own personal view," one of them observed, "is that Ford would get a more enthusiastic response by making David Rockefeller Secretary of the Treasury than by making Nelson Vice President—particularly among members of the right wing."

Ford's clear sympathy for the fallen ex-President—and the reluctance of most Republicans to suffer I-told-you-so Veeps—was one of the strongest points in favor of GOP chief Bush. A lanky Texan transplanted from Connecticut, Bush, 50, has spent the last year trying to protect the GOP from Watergate without dumping Nixon. Bush still suffers from the loser's image he picked up in two unsuccessful bids for the Senate in Texas, but he is admired for his integrity. "Bush," said one of Ford's friends last week, "has character."

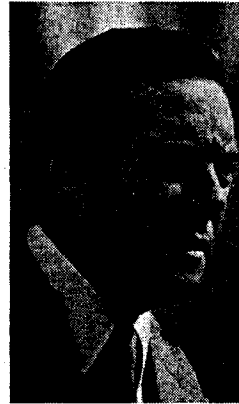
So does Elliot Richardson, but it may take more than that to get Ford's nod. Richardson's performance in the days leading up to the Saturday Night Massa-



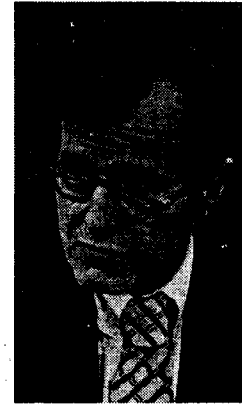
Burt Berinsky



UPI



Wally McNamee—Newsweek



Bernard Gotfryd—Newsweek



AP

Veeps-in-waiting Rockefeller, Baker, Brock, Bush, Taft: For the new President, a critical and politically complex choice

Ford said he would take about ten days to consider all serious contenders. He asked the Cabinet, Congressional leaders, Bush and a handful of aides to send him the names of up to three candidates, listed in order of preference and delivered in a sealed envelope. In weighing the letters, Ford hopes to find someone youngish and mediagenic, politically moderate enough to balance his own brand of Midwest conservatism, yet acceptable to the right wing of the GOP and the Southern Democrats who make up his basic constituency in Congress.

Senators Robert Taft, 57, of Ohio and William Brock, 43, and Howard Baker, 48, of Tennessee were all strong contenders last week. But to span the whole GOP spectrum, Ford was planning courtesy calls to men ranging from Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater, 65, on the right to Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke, 54, at the other end. Ford's intimates also noted diplomatically that

with liberal Republicans and Democrats alike. Bipartisan drawing power is precisely what Ford is looking for as he sets up his post-Watergate Administration of national reconciliation, and he now commands the formidable persuasive power of the Presidency. "If Ford wants Melvin Laird to be his Vice President," shrugged one Ford confidant last week, "Melvin Laird is going to be Ford's Vice President."

## A BOOMLET FOR ROCKEFELLER

For the moment, however, Laird was pushing his own candidate: Nelson Rockefeller, 66. "He would add a great deal to the Administration in international affairs and in the domestic and economic areas," Laird said. "And he comes from the right part of the country." Over the past few years Rockefeller has tried effectively to mend his fences with the conservatives who booed him at the Cow Palace in San Francisco a decade ago, but his currency is still not high in Congress. And his talent for drawing headlines away from anyone—including

cre has made him as many enemies as friends in Congress. "He deserted the ship after he brought in that damned Kennedy Democrat Archie Cox to tuck it to the President," snorted one House Republican.

Since the House and the Senate must still approve Ford's choice, a controversial nominee is the last thing the new President is looking for. "Whoever Ford wants he will likely get," said one Ford topsider last week. "But he will more likely want a man he can get without a divisive fight." Gov. Robert Ray, 45, of Iowa and Senators Robert Stafford, 61, of Vermont, Charles Mathias, 52, of Maryland and Richard Schweiker, 48, of Pennsylvania all figured as long-odds compromise candidates last week. And in the end a low profile—and modest ambitions—may yet prove to be the most important qualifications for the job. "Whoever it is will be lucky to be asked back on the ticket in 1976," shrugged one Ford brain-truster. "No factor will be stronger than good political behavior between now and then."



'I didn't know it was loaded!'

Oliphant © 1974 Denver Post

## The Tapes That Sealed His Doom

It was only a slim volume in the encyclopedia of White House documents made public since April, but the 46 pages of Presidential transcripts released last week struck with epochal force. Buried in the text of three rambling conversations between Richard Nixon and H.R. (Bob) Haldeman on June 23, 1972, was the "smoking gun" that had eluded investigators during the 28 long months of the Watergate inquiry—proof positive, in the President's own words, that Nixon had personally ordered the Watergate cover-up only six days after the break-in at Democratic National Committee headquarters.

In direct, unequivocal language, the transcripts revealed that Nixon had told Haldeman to try to head off an FBI investigation that was getting perilously close to tracing the break-in to the Committee for the Re-election of the President. The new evidence shattered Nixon's repeated public declarations that he knew nothing of the cover-up until nearly a year after the break-in, and seemed to make a clear-cut case of Presidential obstruction of justice. It also brought to light new and damning details about the roles of Haldeman and CRP director John Mitchell in the cover-up. And in a Presidential statement accompanying the transcripts, Nixon was forced to admit that he had not only lied to the nation about the whole affair but had kept the truth from his own lawyers as well.

Quite apart from the evidence related to Nixon's legal culpability, the text of the June 23 conversations painted another brutally unflattering portrait of the

Presidential character. Even more than in the 1,254 pages of transcripts released by the White House three months ago, he spoke unself-consciously in his one-on-one talks with Haldeman. Over the pages his train of thought meandered from his selection of all-time baseball greats (Babe Ruth, Jackie Robinson and Sandy Koufax) to ugly generalizations about Jews and left-wingers in "the arts." He displayed a remarkable preoccupation with his past. And his words gave the lie to his oft-proclaimed non-involvement in politics during the summer of '72—depicting instead a man immersed in political minutiae ranging from TV camera angles to the problem of helicopter prop wash mussing his wife's hair.

### 'STAY TO HELL OUT OF THIS'

Clearly the biggest shocker in the transcripts was the disclosure of Mr. Nixon's key role in orchestrating the cover-up. From the beginning, he had publicly insisted that his only aim was to get the full Watergate story out. In October of 1972, he said he had not interfered with the FBI probe, declaring: "I wanted every lead carried out to the end because I wanted to be sure that no member of the White House staff and no man or woman in a position of major responsibility in the Committee for Re-election had anything to do with this kind of reprehensible activity."

The June 23 tape bluntly proved the President had lied. According to the transcript, Haldeman told Nixon that the FBI was on the verge of tracing Presidential campaign funds through a Mexi-

can bank to the Watergate burglars. And he suggested calling on the CIA to throw a national-security blanket on the Watergate investigation. "You know the Democratic break-in thing," he told Nixon, "we're back in the problem area because the FBI is not under control... the way to handle this now is to have [deputy CIA director Vernon] Walters call [acting FBI director L. Patrick] 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.'"

"What about Pat Gray?" the President responded. "You mean Pat Gray doesn't want to?"

"Pat does want to," said Haldeman. "He doesn't know how to, and he doesn't have any basis for doing it..."

Later, Haldeman asked Nixon about the FBI probe: "And you seem to think the thing to do is get them to stop?"

"Right, fine," the President replied.

The President's acquiescence seemed off-hand, almost uninterested. But moments later, he was counseling Haldeman to "play it tough. That's the way they play it and that's the way we are going to play it," and giving him specific instructions on how to get the CIA to cooperate with them. "When you get in [to the CIA] people," Nixon told his aide, "say, 'Look, the problem is that this will open 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 there is no involvement, but just say this is a comedy of errors... they should call the FBI in and (unintelligible) don't

go any further into this case period!"\*

In making public the June 23 transcripts, Nixon insisted that his earlier statements had been based on faulty "recollection." Yet the record shows that he continued the coverup for thirteen weeks after he reviewed the Haldeman tapes in early May of this year, and that he permitted his chief defense lawyer, James St. Clair, and GOP defenders on the House Judiciary Committee to continue to push the story that the President hadn't learned of the cover-up until his March 21, 1973, meeting with White House counsel John W. Dean III. "Although I recognized that these [tapes] presented potential problems," Nixon conceded in his statement last week, "I did not inform my staff or my counsel of it, or those arguing my case,

to cover up any aspects of the probe, the transcripts were damning. For Mitchell and Ehrlichman, the disclosures were almost as bad. At one point, Haldeman told the President that Mitchell was probably aware of the Watergate operation in advance. At another, the transcript suggested that Ehrlichman had a hand in planning the strategy for dealing with the CIA.

**'NEGATIVE INFERENCES'**

Much of the evidence against Ehrlichman and Mitchell was hearsay, but lawyers for all six defendants gloomily predicted that the release of the transcripts and the President's resignation would be strong "negative inferences" against their clients. As one put it: "Any juror with this fresh in his mind would think, by

in there of how politicians are like."

Of all the foibles displayed on the tapes, however, perhaps the most devastating was Nixon's apparent shrugging off of the real affairs of state. He preferred the shadow to the substance. When Haldeman tried to bring up the floating of the British pound, Nixon dismissed him abruptly: "It's too complicated for me to get into." And when Haldeman noted that Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur Burns was concerned about the stability of the Italian lira, Nixon declared: "Well I don't give a (expletive deleted) about the lira . . . There ain't a vote in it." Even when foreign policy, the President's strong suit, came up, Nixon seemed concerned only with its appeal to the voters, urging Haldeman: "I just think you've got to hit that over and over again. We gotta win."

No political deal was too small for Nixon to worry about. When his wife complained that prop wash from the Presidential helicopter left her hair in disarray, the President discussed billeting Mrs. Nixon and daughters Tricia and Julie in Miami Beach for the Republican convention instead of at Key Biscayne—a short helicopter hop away. The Nixon wrath evident in earlier transcripts showed up again, too. This time the target was Herb Klein, Nixon communications director and long-time ally. Unhappy over Klein's handling of a meeting, in which the President was peppered with tough questions, Mr. Nixon said: "You've just not got to let Klein ever set up a meeting again. He just doesn't have his head screwed on."\*

**DIRECTING THE CAMPAIGN**

The President coldly discussed the use of his family as political tools—but at the same time seemed hesitant to expose them to too much of the rough and tumble of campaigning. Recalling that Tricia had been troubled by some hostile demonstrators, he asked Haldeman: "What's your off-hand reaction on that Bob? I do not want them, though, to go in and get the hell kicked (unintelligible)." Throughout, he was in control of their schedules—and, although he later denied it, the entire campaign. Hearing that Julie had appeared at a Jacksonville, Fla., art museum, Nixon fumed: "Now the worst thing (unintelligible) is to go to anything that has to do with the arts . . . the arts, you know—they're Jews, they're left-wing—in other words, stay away . . . Middle America—put that word out . . ."

It was against that backdrop of banal rambling, of almost idle chitchat, that the fatal words were spoken. Casually, with eyes only for what was politically expedient, the President set in motion the Watergate cover-up—and unleashed the forces that would in time bring down his Administration.

\*Klein's response: "I was surprised and hurt, but the fact is, our friendship goes back a long time. With most friends, there is a time when they make a comment which has no permanent meaning."

H. You know the Democratic break-in thing, we're back in the problem area because the FBI is not under control . . . the way to handle this now is for us to have 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."

P. 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.

\* \* \*

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

P. Right, fine.

nor did I amend my submission to the Judiciary Committee . . . As a result, 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."

The President was not the only one burned by the tapes. The new evidence seemed likely to prove equally damaging to the six men (Haldeman, Mitchell, White House aides John Ehrlichman and Gordon Strachan, and CRP staffers Kenneth W. Parkinson and Robert C. Mardian) already facing trial for the cover-up conspiracy. For Haldeman, who has insisted under oath that he never intended

logical inference: "The President resigns and concedes guilt, therefore anyone who worked for him is guilty."

Like the earlier transcripts, though, some of the most fascinating revelations were not about Watergate but about Richard Nixon the man. Throughout the conversations, he seemed to want to relive his past, focusing again and again on "Six Crises," the autobiographical account of his political career. He told Haldeman to reread the book and ordered it distributed to campaign staffers. "Actually, the book reads awfully well," he told his aide, later reminding him: "... that 'Six Crises' is a damned good book . . . reads like a novel—the Hiss case—Caracas was fascinating. The campaign of course for anybody in politics should be a must because it had a lot

\*In the end, the CIA combed its records for evidence of covert operations that might have been jeopardized by the FBI investigation and, finding none, informed the White House there was nothing it could do to halt the probe.

# A Long Road To Nixon's Last Crisis

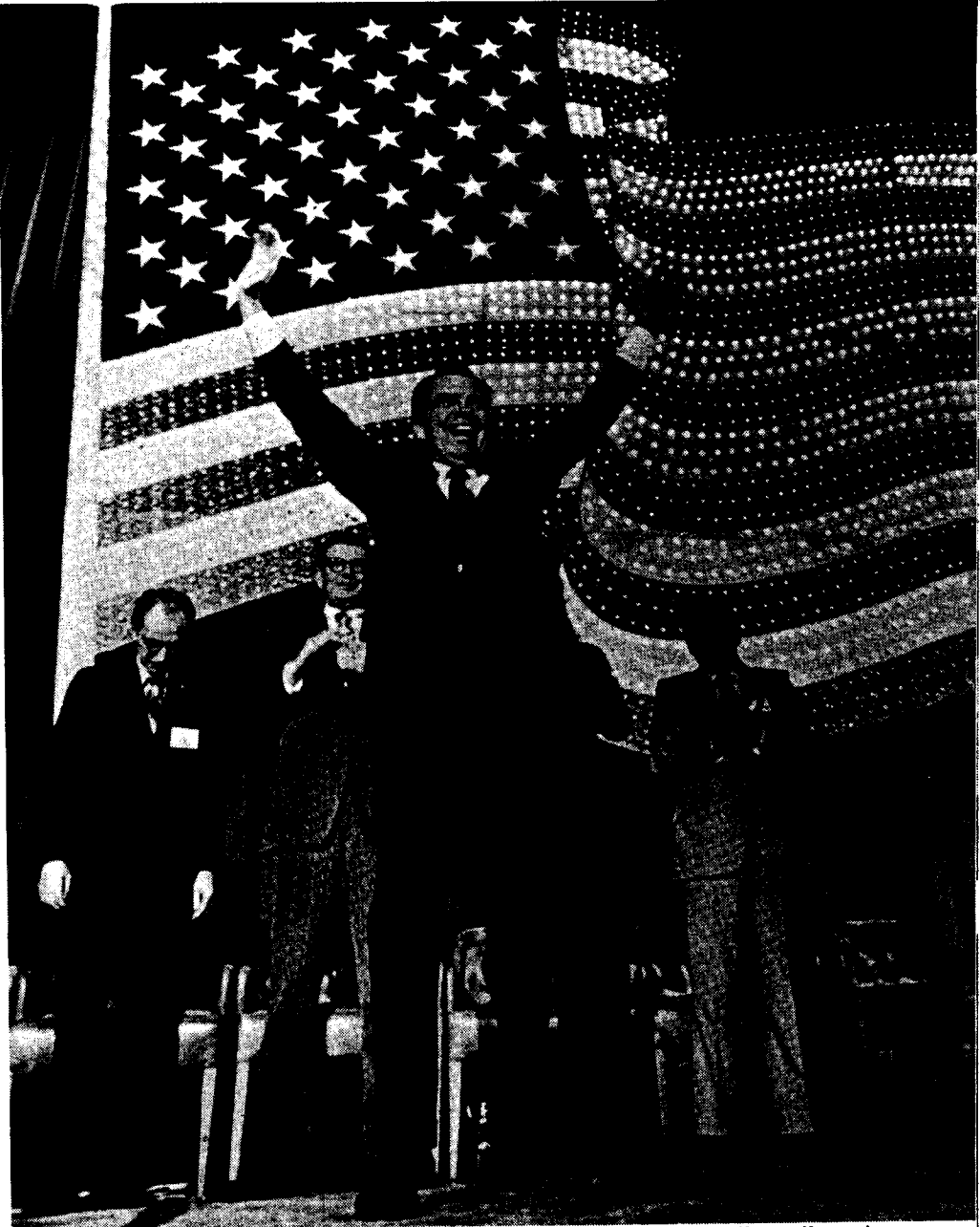
*I had recognized from the time I became a member of the Committee on Un-American Activities, and particularly after my participation in the Hiss case, that it was essential for me to maintain a standard of conduct which would not give my political opponents any solid grounds for attack . . . "Even when you are right they will give you a rough time," I have said. "When you happen to be wrong they will kill you."*

—"Six Crises"

He always knew what to say, but the question was how closely he listened to himself. During his quarter-century in politics, Richard Nixon's actions often stood in jarring contradiction to his high-blown rhetoric. Reading "Six Crises," his ghost-written autobiography, in the light of Watergate and his resignation points up the immense gulf between his endless pieties and the harsh reality of his tragically flawed career.

In all apparent sincerity, Nixon could preach law and order even as he and his aides were breaking the law. He could boast that his Cabinet was free of yes-men and then reduce the Cabinet to unprecedented impotence. In the midst of the Watergate cover-up, he could righteously declare: "What really hurts in matters of this sort is not the fact that they occur . . . What really hurts is if you try to cover it up." In a moment of unintended irony, Nixon's first Attorney General, John Mitchell, once advised: "Don't watch what we say; watch what we do." The President would have been safer the other way around, for when Congress and the American people finally learned what Richard Nixon had done, his Presidency came to an abrupt and squalid end.

Nixon's detractors called him amoral; his friends explained that he was "problem oriented," not "ideology oriented." Whatever the explanation, his record was the most paradoxical in U.S. political history. He was a seasoned Red-baiter who in the crowning achievement of his life opened a historic door to the Communist world. He was a *laissez-faire* free-enterpriser who suddenly announced "I am now a Keynesian," and espoused wage and price controls in an effort to lick inflation. There was much to applaud in Nixon's remorseless abandonment of outdated positions. But at its worst his pragmatism degenerated to the philosophy, expounded by Jeb Stuart



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

A last hurrah, 1973: Mistrustful even of his own success

Magruder at the Ervin committee hearings, that the end, whether national security or re-election, justified the means—including repeated violations of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

## ALWAYS THE OUTSIDER

Historians and psychologists will debate for decades the causes of Richard Nixon's downfall, and the full answer may never be known. But there are hints in several well-documented Nixon traits: an opportunism that sometimes overwhelmed common decency, a penchant for solitude that gave his subordinates a shockingly free hand, an unrestrained aggressiveness in fighting a legion of real and imagined "enemies." Above all, perhaps, Nixon was a born outsider, despite his cultivation of rich and influential men. When he had climbed to the very pinnacle of American society, he remained, in his own view of himself, an outsider still—distrusted, unloved and

misunderstood. Only months after his landslide victory in 1972, he complained to White House counsel John Dean: "Nobody is a friend of ours. Let's face it."

The judgments on Nixon's policies will likely be as mixed as the views of his personality. At home, the Nixon Administration took a largely revisionist stance, trying to dismantle Lyndon Johnson's flawed Great Society and replacing it with such lower-key devices as revenue sharing, which returned some Federal money and power to the states. Solicitous of his "Silent Majority," Nixon opposed such controversial activities as busing to achieve racial integration in the schools. He also cut back on health and education programs, and offered the black minority little more than what one adviser called "benign neglect." And although Nixon presided over the landing of men on the moon, he ultimately failed to solve—indeed, aggravated—a more



Crowning achievement: On his epochal visit to China in 1972, Nixon meets with Chairman Mao Tse-tung

UPI

down-to-earth problem: the surging inflation that threatened to undermine U.S. prosperity.

Foreign policy, however, was always Nixon's strong suit, and there, with the brilliant help of Henry Kissinger, he wrote himself a distinguished page in history. In Vietnam, he ended America's longest war (although his critics said he was too slow about it). He achieved real détente with the Soviet Union and lifted Washington's twenty-year quarantine of mainland China. Even as Watergate intruded on his time and authority, he and Kissinger arranged a truce in the Middle East and started Israelis and Arabs on the path to accommodation. A price was paid for these gains. Key allies—Japan and the NATO countries—were ignored and affronted during Washington's fixation on Russia, China and the Middle East. And the White House showed a woeful lack of interest in international economic and monetary affairs, contributing to a worldwide financial malaise that is now approaching the crisis point.

Nonetheless, Nixon's diplomatic triumphs were real. But equally real were Watergate and all the other scandals. Judging by the public record, Nixon ran, quite simply, the most corrupt Administration in U.S. history.

When he himself was finally chased from office, more than a dozen of his former associates had already been convicted of or had pleaded guilty to a vast array of crimes. Among them was a former Attorney General, Richard Kleindienst, and Nixon's handpicked original Vice President, Spiro Agnew, who had pleaded no contest to tax evasion. More Nixon aides, including two former Cabinet officers, were under indictment.

The Watergate burglary itself was only a petty chapter in the saga of corruption. The subsequent cover-up had warped America's system of justice and tinged some of the country's most important institutions, including the FBI and the CIA. The President's purveyors of "dirty tricks" had tarnished the political process. His "plumbers" had violated personal freedoms—in many cases for no valid reason, despite the claims of "national security." In the pursuit of political "enemies," the White House also attempted to subvert the Internal Revenue Service.

#### THE EDUCATION OF A POLITICIAN

In addition, the Administration was remarkably helpful to some giant corporations run by the President's friends and campaign contributors. And there were even hints of personal speculation—money and jewels that may have stuck to the President's fingers, houses that were in fact embellished at taxpayers' expense and income taxes that were drastically underpaid until an uproar arose. In his farewell address last week, the only specific reason Nixon gave for his resignation was a loss of political support, but once again his rhetoric was out of touch with reality.

*An attack always makes more news than defense . . . You cannot win a battle in any arena of life merely by defending yourself.*

Nixon's political style was set during his first campaign, in 1946, by Los Angeles lawyer Murray Chotiner, a hard-nosed political tactician. In essence, Chotiner's technique was to isolate a real or contrived weakness in an opponent's

record and attack it relentlessly. The Communist menace was not yet the consuming issue it was to become, but Chotiner thought it would do. Thus Nixon charged that his respected opponent, Rep. Jerry Voorhis, was a dupe of the U.S. Communists. There was no foundation for the charge, but Voorhis never recovered from this onslaught, and Nixon was elected to Congress.

The same tactics were employed in his 1950 race for the Senate against Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas. Terming her "the Pink Lady," Nixon and Chotiner distributed 550,000 pamphlets, printed on pink paper, linking Mrs. Douglas's voting record with that of New York Rep. Vito Marcantonio, an outspoken Communist sympathizer. What the Nixon camp did not mention was that he himself had sided with Marcantonio on many issues and that Mrs. Douglas had opposed Marcantonio by supporting anti-Communist legislation. Nixon won nearly 60 per cent of the vote, and a small California newspaper tagged him with the enduring nickname, "Tricky Dick."

*The Hiss case brought me national fame. But it also left a residue of hatred and hostility toward me—not only among the Communists but also among substantial segments of the press and the intellectual community.*

Nixon's attacks were not confined to opponents in political campaigns. A lucky assignment to the House Un-American Activities Committee during his freshman term brought him his first chance for national prominence. He was sitting in a HUAC hearing one day in 1948 when a Time magazine senior editor (Continued on Page 46)



# A Nixon Album

As a boy in tiny Yorba Linda, Calif., Richard Nixon listened to the whistles of the locomotives that passed through town once a day and dreamed of faraway places. The dream was typical of American boyhoods, but the determined Nixon made it all come true. His restless ambition lifted him from genteel poverty and propelled him through college and law school on hard-won scholarships. Then it took him to Washington and later, as the most powerful man in the world, to Russia and even the Great Wall of China. Finally, it brought him back to California in disgrace. Richard Nixon played a central role in many of the great events of the postwar era, and probably no public figure aroused stronger feelings among his fellow Americans. On these pages, a Nixon album of the highlights of his remarkable and troubled career.



Rand McNally

Upward bound: Richard, 4, perches atop a stepladder



As a young violinist



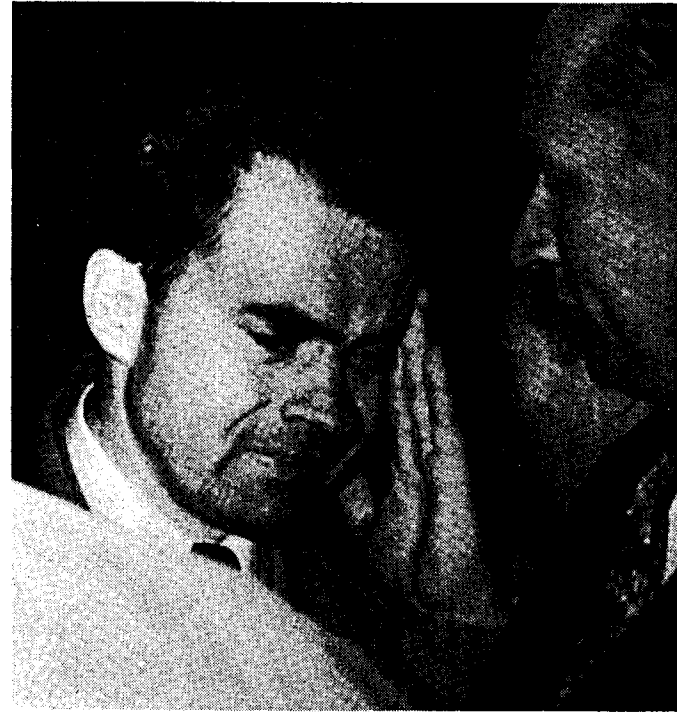
Good sport: At Whittier College, tackle Nixon (No. 23) warmed the bench



Lieutenant Commander Nixon, 1945



UPI



AP Photos

**THE EARLY YEARS:** Richard Nixon made his national reputation as a Communist-hunter; at top left, he examines microfilm evidence that had been hidden in a pumpkin on Whittaker Chambers's farm. His exploits in pursuing former State Department official Alger Hiss led to his nomination for Vice President on the Eisenhower ticket in 1952. But controversy over an \$18,235 expense fund nearly caused his downfall. Nixon saved his career with the celebrated "Checkers speech" on television, which made the family dog a household name. Once the ordeal was over, Nixon sobbed in relief on the shoulder of Sen. William Knowland.





**CONFRONTATIONS:** Debate was the Nixon style. In 1960, he squared off with John F. Kennedy on television; above, Nixon and JFK chat after going off the air. During a visit to Moscow as Vice President in 1959, he became embroiled in the famous "kitchen debate" with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev. Actions were louder than words in Caracas when a mob attacked Nixon's car. In 1962, after losing in California, he quit politics, declaring: "You won't have Nixon to kick around any more." But six years later he made his comeback.



AP photos



Inauguration: Chief Justice Earl Warren swears in Nixon on Jan. 20, 1969, as Mrs. Nixon and LBJ look on

Battleground: Early in his first term, President Nixon visits South Vietnam and chats with GI's



AP photos

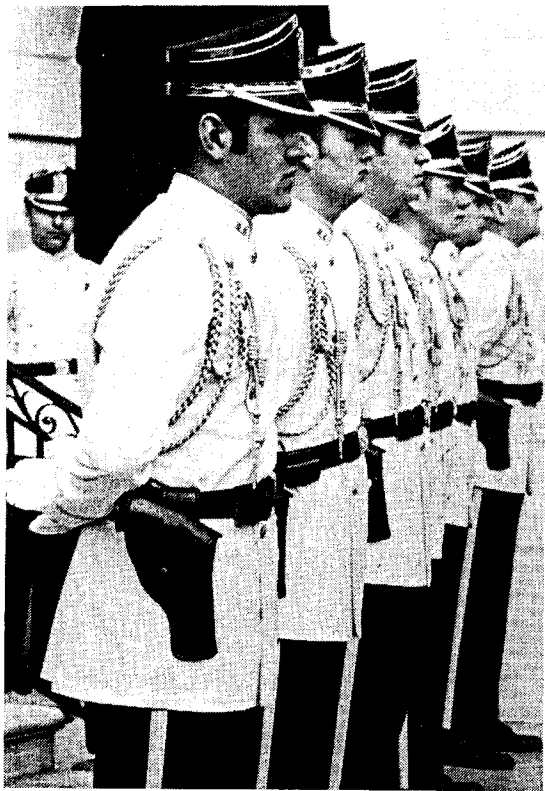


Partners: Nixon and Spiro Agnew accept renomination in 1972; two years later, both had fallen in disgrace

In the clutch: At a 1972 rally, Nixon is hugged by one of his celebrity supporters, Sammy Davis Jr.







Ruritania: White House guards line up in their new ceremonial uniforms in 1970



High Style: In one of the warmest moments of his Presidency, Nixon escorts daughter Tricia to her 1971 White House wedding

Wally McNamee—Newsweek



Milestone: The Nixons and Secretary of State William Rogers go sightseeing on the Great Wall of China in February 1972



At ease: Nixon cruising with wealthy pals Robert Abplanalp and Bebe Rebozo

UPI photos



(Continued from Page 36)

tor and former Communist courier named Whittaker Chambers murmured the name of Alger Hiss, a former State Department official under Roosevelt and Truman, as a Communist spy.

Hiss, a polished and influential member of the Eastern Establishment, coolly denied ever having known Chambers, much less having been a Communist himself. But despite Hiss's credentials—or perhaps because of them—Nixon pursued the case relentlessly. Eventually he brought it to the melodramatic conclusion of the “pumpkin papers”—State Department documents allegedly stolen by Hiss and later hidden in a hollowed-out pumpkin on Chambers's farm—and in 1950 Hiss was convicted of perjury.

In the flush of success, Nixon denounced Hiss as “the archtraitor of our generation,” and for good measure he pinned the traitor's label on Harry Truman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Adlai Stevenson. Years later, Truman was still fuming: “Nixon is a shifty-eyed, goddamn liar.” More elegantly, Stevenson declared during his run for the Presidency in 1952 that “Nixonland is a land of slander and scare, of sly innuendo, of a poison pen and the anonymous telephone call, and hustling, pushing and shoving—the land of smash and grab and anything to win.”

*I won my share of scholarships, and of speaking and debating prizes in school, not because I was smarter but because I worked longer and harder than some of my more gifted colleagues.*

Richard Milhous Nixon was born on Jan. 9, 1913, in the tiny farming community of Yorba Linda, about 20 miles east of Los Angeles. He was the second son of Frank Nixon, a prickly, outspoken Jack-of-all-trades, and Hannah Milhous, a strong-willed and pious Quaker. Most of the time, the Nixons lived on the edge of poverty. Richard had to work at odd jobs and earn scholarships to put himself through nearby Whittier College and Duke University law school.

Nixon was weaned on the humiliations that haunt life's underdogs. At Whittier College, he languished on the football bench for four years. After graduating from Duke, he set his heart on a job with a prestigious Wall Street law firm, but he was brushed off there, and when he lowered his sights to the FBI, he lost out again and returned to the modest practice of law in Whittier.

Even his courtship of Thelma Catherine Ryan (nicknamed “Pat” by her Irish-American father because she had been born on the eve of St. Patrick's

Day) had its moments of indignity. Occasionally he would drive her into Los Angeles and wait for her while she had a dinner date with someone else. But Dick and Pat were cut from the same bolt of cloth; both poor, they became self-made persons. “People from humble circumstances,” Mrs. Nixon once observed, “can through sheer hard work go up the ladder.” They went up together, but neither of them ever forgot where they came from or what they had endured.

*Thinking back to Franklin Roosevelt's devastating remark in the 1944 campaign—“and now they are attacking poor Fala”—I decided to mention my own dog Checkers. Using the same ploy as FDR would irritate my opponents and delight my friends, I thought.*



© Herblock in The Washington Post  
 ‘Of course, if I had the top job I'd act differently’

Less than six years after his election to Congress, Nixon was named Dwight Eisenhower's running mate with the promise that he would help to “clean up the mess in Washington.” But soon the senator was in a mess of his own. Early in the campaign, it was revealed that a group of Nixon supporters had set up an \$18,235 fund for him. Opponents called it a “slush fund”; Nixon insisted that it was for political and campaign expenses, not for his personal use. As pressure for Nixon's resignation grew, Eisenhower remained silent, waiting for his running mate to prove himself as “clean as a hound's tooth.”

The result was an astounding speech—and a landmark use of television in politics. Nixon defended the fund and

detailed his own modest assets as proof of honesty. “I should say this, that Pat doesn't have a mink coat,” he declared. “But she does have a respectable Republican cloth coat, and I always tell her that she would look good in anything.” He did own up to accepting one gift—Checkers, the cocker spaniel beloved of his daughters Tricia and Julie. The audience swamped the Republican National Committee with “Keep Nixon” messages, and Eisenhower told Nixon: “You're my boy.”

*In a losing campaign, only the candidate is responsible for the tactics that led to defeat.*

Nixon began his 1960 Presidential campaign with a slight lead in the polls over John F. Kennedy. But perhaps because of his past successes with Voorhis and the Checkers speech, Nixon unwisely agreed to debate Kennedy on television. The first debate was a disaster. Badly made up and ill at ease, Nixon fared poorly, as much in terms of style as of substance. The election was a squeaker; JFK won by a mere 118,000 votes of nearly 69 million cast.

Almost as though to prove that his defeat had not been an accident, Nixon miscalculated again in 1962, challenging Edmund G. (Pat) Brown for the governorship of California. He lost, and in a remarkable morning-after tirade he renounced any further political ambitions. “You won't have Nixon to kick around any more,” he told reporters, “because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference.”

**FAREWELL ADDRESS**

He misspoke himself, of course. For the next six years, Nixon toiled diligently in the political wilderness, campaigning for Republicans across the country and loyally supporting the kamikaze candidacy of Barry Goldwater in 1964. After the rout of Goldwater conservatives Nixon became, once again, the Republican heir-apparent. In 1968 he was back in the comfortable guise of the attacker, lashing out at Hubert Humphrey's legacy from Lyndon Johnson—the failures of the Vietnam war and of the Great Society. The outcome was another paper-thin margin, but this time the decisive votes went to Nixon. At the outset, his style in office seemed admirably matched to the nation's mood. After the turmoil of the LBJ era over the Vietnam war and the fight for civil rights, Nixon's lower voice was welcome.

*A leader must do more than count noses of his advisers. He should consider their opinions, but he must always re-*

member that it is his responsibility to make decisions—not theirs.

Although he professed great affinity for the common man, Nixon lacked the common touch; confronting antiwar students at the Lincoln Memorial, he could think of nothing better to talk about than football. At times, the President became a virtual recluse, screened from the view of even his Cabinet by a Prussian wall of self-assertive aides, notably chief of staff H.R. (Bob) Haldeman, domestic counselor John Ehrlichman and his closest confidant, John Mitchell.

The Nixon entourage mirrored the President's own ambivalence. One principal speechwriter, Raymond Price, was the voice of sweet reason; the other, Patrick Buchanan, pitched the political hardball. Men like Melvin Laird and William Rogers rubbed elbows with manipulators like Charles Colson. Press chores were assigned to reasonable men like Herbert Klein—and to propagandists like Ronald Ziegler and Ken Clawson. The "good guys" often clashed with the "bad guys," and more often than not the less scrupulous advisers prevailed.

*What was really at stake was that admitting Red China to the United Nations would be a mockery of the provision of the Charter which limits its membership to "peace-loving nations."*

Nixon's first important task was to wind down the war in Vietnam, and many Americans were under the impression that he meant to do it quickly. But it developed that the new President planned instead to remove American troops gradually while preserving at least the form of an independent South Vietnamese Government. The troop cuts and the introduction of a draft lottery effectively muffled the antiwar movement, although the invasion of Cambodia in 1970 provoked demonstrations on college campuses, including that of Kent State University in Ohio, where four students were killed by National Guardsmen.

On Vietnam, as with other issues, Nixon tailored his policies to reassuring the "new Republican majority" in Middle America. He promised to review the controversial conviction of Lt. William Calley in the My Lai massacre case. In May 1971 he applauded the unwarranted arrest of antiwar demonstrators in Washington. And when Daniel Ellsberg tried to inform the American public about the causes of U.S. involvement in Vietnam by leaking the Pentagon papers to the press, Nixon attempted—unsuccessfully, in the end—to block their publication.

By then, the peace talks were on in Paris, and whenever they faltered, Nixon turned on the pressure, bombing Cambodia secretly and pasting Hanoi and Haiphong at Christmas 1972. "Peace with honor," as Nixon saw it, finally came three months after the 1972 election. And when U.S. prisoners of war re-

turned from North Vietnam in better-than-expected shape last year, the nation was exuberant. Yet as Nixon left office last week, the fighting among the Vietnamese was still going on.

### WATERGATE ACROSS THE SEA

The Administration's peacemaking efforts had more rapid success in the Middle East, and led to a Presidential tour of the area last June that marked Nixon's last full-scale triumph. Meanwhile, the ice had been broken with China and Russia. The immediate results of the China visit in February 1972 were less tangible than symbolic. The three Soviet summit meetings produced solid progress

*I doubted if any official in Washington had greater, more sincere respect for the press corps than I, or had tried to be more fair in his treatment of them.*

Throughout his Administration, Nixon waged an intermittent feud with the press. In 1969 he sent forth Spiro Agnew to do battle with the media. With newsmen figuring prominently on the official "enemies list," some journalists' phones were tapped, others were subjected to tax audits and CBS's Daniel Schorr was investigated by the FBI—allegedly because he was being considered for a White House job.

As the 1972 election approached, the



To peace: A toast with Soviet chief Leonid Brezhnev at the first summit, 1972 UPI

on trade, and some on arms limitation. But even in diplomacy there were curious lapses. A \$1 billion wheat sale to Russia benefited only the Soviets and a few U.S. grain companies, and added measurably to the speed of U.S. inflation.

At home, Nixon's economic and social policies were marked by a search for whatever could work. He abandoned conservative economics in favor of wage and price controls in an unsuccessful attempt to curb inflation. He dismantled such "Big Government" operations as the Office of Economic Opportunity, and in an effort to cut spending for social purposes he vetoed dozens of Congressional bills and impounded the funds when his vetoes were overridden.

men around Nixon stepped up the pace of their illegal activities against a wide range of foes. Although Nixon seemed to have the election all but won, the White House set out to discredit the stronger Democratic contenders with dirty tricks. They also amassed a huge campaign war chest of \$60 million, much of it in illegal contributions from corporations. Their preparations had reached fever pitch by June 17, 1972, when five burglars from the Committee for the Re-election of the President broke into Democratic headquarters in the Watergate.

*Lawyers in politics need non-lawyers to keep them from being too legalistic, too unimaginative.*

The President and many of the men who helped cook up Watergate and the other acts of sabotage must have known what they were doing; they were lawyers, though hardly legalistic ones. After June 17, they threw themselves into a frantic cover-up, trying to hide the activities of the White House "plumbers" and dirty tricksters, the Ellsberg burglary and the subsequent attempt to influence the judge presiding over his trial. There was also a long list of suspect dealings with giant businesses headed by Nixon friends and campaign benefactors—including ITT, which pledged \$400,000 preced-

\$120,000 had been spent on LBJ's home); some of the money, moreover, went for no valid "national security" purpose but did enhance the value of Nixon's property. The President also vastly underpaid his income taxes, mainly because of improper deductions for the gift of his Vice Presidential papers to the nation. A Congressional committee found that Nixon owed \$476,431, and the IRS ruled, charitably, that he had merely been negligent in preparing his returns—though possible fraud charges have not yet been entirely ruled out.

There were signs, too, that illegal cam-

tapes still threatened him. Then the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that Nixon would have to hand over the tapes of 64 conversations to special prosecutor Leon Jaworski. Some of the President's advisers finally listened to those tapes and discovered what Nixon himself had neglected to tell them—that the cover story wouldn't "play in Peoria," or anywhere else.

*Looking back, I think I can understand how [Chambers] must have felt. His career was gone. His reputation was ruined. His wife and children had been*



Behind the White House wall: Nixon confers with aides Bob Haldeman, Dwight Chapin and John Ehrlichman, 1970

ing a favorable antitrust decision, for example, and a dairy-industry group that pledged \$2 million to the Nixon campaign just before an increase in milk-price supports was granted.

*Once a man has been in public life for any period of time, his interests and ambitions change. Naturally, he wants and needs enough income to take care of his own and his family's needs. But acquiring money and property, as an end in itself, has no appeal for him.*

Many of the Nixon scandals and cover-ups impinged on basic principles of American democracy, including free elections and equal justice. But almost as disturbing were the excesses involving the President's own pocketbook and real estate. While Nixon was becoming a near millionaire in office, the government spent up to \$17 million on his homes in Key Biscayne and San Clemente. The sum was staggering (only

campaign contributions may have found their way into the hands of Nixon's family and friends—in particular a \$100,000 payment from billionaire Howard Hughes. And on Mrs. Nixon's 60th birthday in 1970, the President gave her a \$5,650 pair of diamond and platinum earrings; most of the money for the purchase, investigators have charged, came from "laundered" campaign funds.

*Hiss, a lawyer himself, had made the fatal mistake no client should ever make—he had not told his own lawyer the full truth about the facts at issue.*

Richard Nixon repeated his claims of innocence so often and so ardently that he may well have ended up sincerely believing them. But the day of reckoning could not be postponed forever. Many of the advisers who had helped him "stonewall" in the past had already left for jail cells or courtrooms across the country, and the remaining White House

*humiliated. But all this would not have mattered to him if the cause for which he had taken those calculated risks had some chance to prevail.*

Richard Nixon left office with as much grace as he could muster and as much face as he could save. He talked of goals achieved and of the national interest. But what principles did the 37th President stand for? What were the hopes and causes and ideals that extended beyond his own ambitions? At one time or another, he had espoused almost every worthy principle, often repeatedly. But in practice he violated enough of them to make all of his protestations suspect. The constants in Richard Nixon's character as a public man were, rather, suspicion, aggressiveness, secrecy, insecurity, loneliness and a bitter resentment. Whatever he may have done to his fellow citizens in betraying their highest trust could hardly be worse than the scars on his own spirit.

# Nixon's New Cash Bind

In his new life as a private citizen, Richard Nixon faces a host of uncertainties—not the least of which are some nettlesome financial worries. Although he managed to treble his personal fortune and join the ranks of America's millionaires in his first term in the White House, Nixon now finds himself strapped for ready cash and confronting a mountain of bills. But no matter how difficult his immediate problems, the betting is that he will probably fare quite well in the long run—though it may require a little help from his friends.

Little is known for sure about his post-Presidential plans. Colleagues expect the Nixons to spend most of the year at their San Clemente estate, perhaps wintering at Key Biscayne—if they don't sell it. Mr. Nixon is also likely to continue his trips to close friend Robert Abplanalp's retreat in the Bahamas. As for work, Nixon himself told a crowd of Californians welcoming him home last week that he planned "to continue to work for peace . . . Having completed one task does not mean that we now just sit in this marvelous California sun and do nothing." But what he might work at remains unclear. The California bar is considering his disbarment, but friends doubt that he would consider returning to law practice in any case. He himself ruled out a business career, telling newsmen last November: "After being President, you never want to sit at any other end of the table, and being on a board of directors, it pays well, but it is rather boring." Asked about other options, Nixon did say that he might do "a little writing."

That—along with the Presidential pension and the other government benefits Nixon retains (box)—would seem certain



On the beach at San Clemente: No plans to just 'sit in the sun' UPI

to provide enough money to keep body and soul together. Nixon's autobiographical "Six Crises" earned him more than \$250,000, and publishers predict that his post-Watergate memoirs would bring in several times that amount. Indeed, according to The New York Times, a close associate of Nixon's, apparently acting on his behalf, has been told that Nixon's version of Watergate would earn "a minimum of \$2 million before taxes."

## 'AN ENORMOUS BURDEN'

Nixon may also have another potential gold mine—his trove of Presidential documents stored at the White House, the National Archives and other Washington hideaways. Some Justice Department lawyers contend that his legal right to walk off with his papers is "fuzzy," but precedent dating back to the days when George Washington carted his papers off to Mount Vernon clearly favors the Chief Executive. And most experts doubt that Nixon could be denied the documents—and perhaps even the infamous White House tapes—if he put up a fight. Except under the most dire circumstances, he undoubtedly would prefer to keep his records for the Nixon Library. But several appraisers have predicted that if in a pinch he sold them on the open market, he could expect a yield of \$2 million to \$5 million.

Unfortunately for Nixon, however, the "money in the bank" represented by the Presidential papers and the projected book royalties does not help him at all with his immediate burdens—a staggering array of tax and mortgage payments. Nixon had to pay up \$284,706 in back taxes last April for the years 1970, 1971 and 1972. Although the statute of

limitations on his 1969 tax liability had run out, he also pledged to come up with \$148,081 in unpaid taxes for that year. To make matters worse, Nixon's final \$226,440 mortgage payment on San Clemente came due last month. He managed to pay part of it but is now reportedly trying to spread the full payment over the next several years.

Nixon may also have to contend with other big bills in the future. The Watergate special prosecutor's office is still investigating the possibility of fraud in connection with his questionable tax payments, and a conviction on that charge could bring with it a penalty of up to \$196,000. What's more, as a private citizen, he will have to pick up all his attorneys' fees. And even if he escapes prosecution, he is almost certain to be subpoenaed as a witness in other Watergate trials—appearances that will demand plenty of costly legal work.

Whatever happens, Nixon's long-term insurance policy is his friendship with a string of wealthy industrialists and businessmen such as Abplanalp, Charles G. (Bebe) Rebozo, Leonard Firestone and others. Many of these men helped Nixon build his fortune during the '60s and his early White House years, and they presumably stand ready to help him out again should he fall on hard financial times. In California, former Nixon aide and confidant Robert Finch said he had received several calls from people asking how they could assist the former President. "There may be an enormous burden," said Finch. "Nobody knows, really, till Congress or the special prosecutor acts. Nothing has been organized, but a lot of people have said they'd like to help."

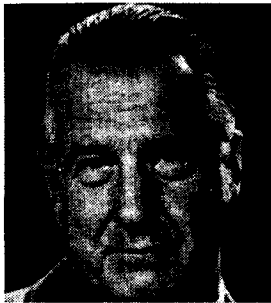
## An Ex-President's Perks

*Although Richard Nixon has become a private citizen again, he retains a host of government benefits and privileges. Among them:*

- A \$60,000 annual pension
- A \$96,000-a-year allowance for office expenses and staff
- Free office space
- Free mailing privileges
- Free use of government planes
- Secret Service protection
- Up to \$18,000 in Civil Service retirement benefits
- A \$20,000 annual widow's pension for Mrs. Nixon, should she survive him

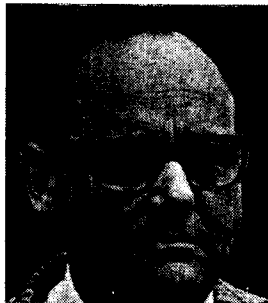
# All the President's Men

Richard Nixon called Watergate "the broadest, but the thinnest scandal in American history." But Watergate and its associated misdeeds have already involved 28 White House aides and high Republican officials—including a Vice President and four Cabinet officers—in criminal charges. The President's men, and the cases against them:



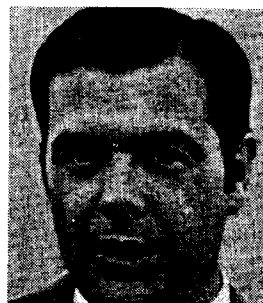
**Spiro T. Agnew**  
*Vice President*

Pleaded nolo contendere to income-tax evasion; resigned October 1973; sentenced to 3 years' probation.



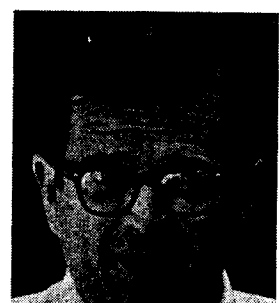
**Bernard L. Barker**  
*White House plumber*

Sentenced to 1½ to 6 years for role in Watergate break-in; freed on appeal. Sentence suspended in Ellsberg case.



**Dwight L. Chapin**  
*Appointments secretary*

Sentenced to 10 to 30 months in prison for lying to a grand jury about campaign "dirty tricks"; free pending appeal.



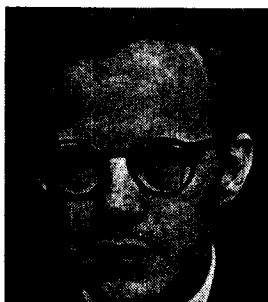
**Charles W. Colson**  
*Special counsel*

Fined \$5,000 and sentence to 1 to 3 years for his part in the Ellsberg case; now serving his term.



**John Connally**  
*Secretary of the Treasury*

Awaiting trial on bribery, conspiracy and perjury charges stemming from the milk-subsidy scandal.



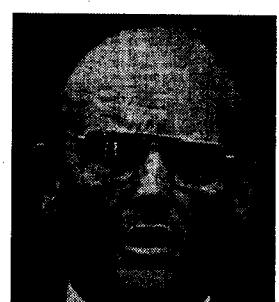
**John W. Dean III**  
*Counsel to the President*

Sentenced to 1 to 4 years for conspiracy to obstruct justice in the Watergate cover-up; begins his term Sept. 3.



**Felipe DeDiego**  
*White House plumber*

Indicted for conspiracy in the Ellsberg break-in; charges were dismissed, but prosecutors have appealed.



**John D. Ehrlichman**  
*Assistant to the President*

Sentenced to 20 months to years in the Ellsberg case; free on appeal. Awaiting trial in the Watergate cover-up.



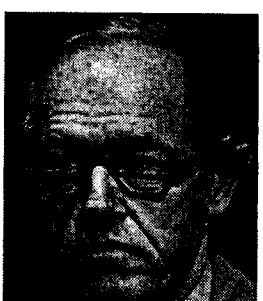
**Virgilio Gonzalez**  
*White House plumber*

Sentenced to 1 to 4 years for his part in the Watergate break-in; freed on parole last March after serving 4 months.



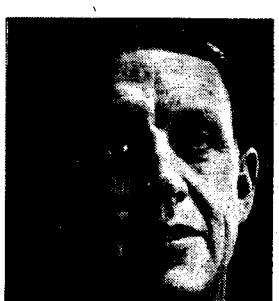
**H.R. Haldeman**  
*White House chief of staff*

Indicted for conspiracy, perjury and obstruction of justice in the Watergate cover-up case; trial set for Sept. 9.



**E. Howard Hunt Jr.**  
*White House plumber*

Fined \$10,000 and sentenced to 2½ to 8 years for his role in the Watergate break-in; now free on appeal.



**Herbert W. Kalmbach**  
*Nixon's personal attorney*

Fined \$10,000 and now serving 6 to 18 months for breaking campaign laws and selling a Federal appointment.





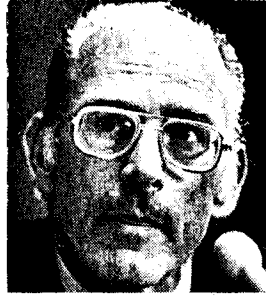
**Richard G. Kleindienst**  
*Attorney General*

Fined \$100 and given suspended 1-month sentence for lying to the Senate about the ITT antitrust settlement.



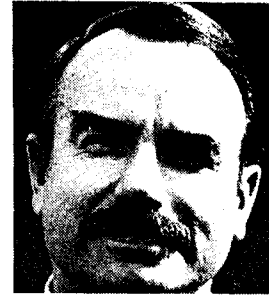
**Egil Krogh Jr.**  
*Ehrlichman's deputy*

Sentenced to 6 months in prison for conspiracy in the Ellsberg case; released after serving 5 months.



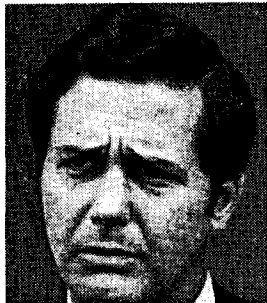
**Frederick C. LaRue**  
*Assistant campaign director*

Pleaded guilty to conspiracy to obstruct justice in the Watergate cover-up case; sentencing deferred.



**G. Gordon Liddy**  
*Campaign counsel*

Fined \$40,000 and now serving 6 $\frac{2}{3}$  to 20 years for Watergate break-in; concurrently, 1 to 3 years in Ellsberg case.



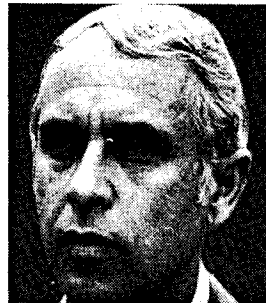
**Jeb Stuart Magruder**  
*Deputy campaign director*

Sentenced to 10 months to 4 years for his role in the Watergate cover-up; now serving his term.



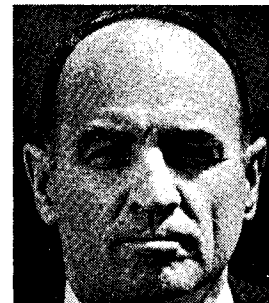
**Robert C. Mardian**  
*Deputy campaign manager*

Indicted on a charge of conspiring to obstruct justice in the Watergate cover-up; trial set for Sept. 9.



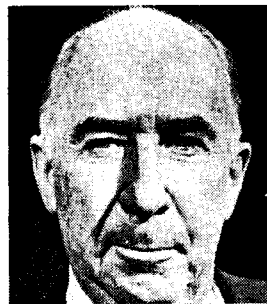
**Eugenio Martinez**  
*White House plumber*

Sentenced to 1 to 4 years in Watergate break-in; paroled after 4 months. Sentence suspended in Ellsberg trial.



**James W. McCord**  
*Campaign security coordinator*

Sentenced to 1 to 5 years for burglary, wiretapping and conspiracy in the Watergate break-in; free pending appeal.



**John N. Mitchell**  
*Attorney General*

Acquitted of perjury and conspiracy in the Vesco case; awaiting trial on Watergate cover-up charges.



**Kenneth W. Parkinson**  
*Campaign counsel*

Indicted for conspiracy and obstruction of justice in the Watergate cover-up case; trial is set for Sept. 9.



**Herbert L. Porter**  
*Campaign scheduling director*

Convicted of lying to the FBI in the Watergate cover-up; served 27 days of a 30-day sentence.



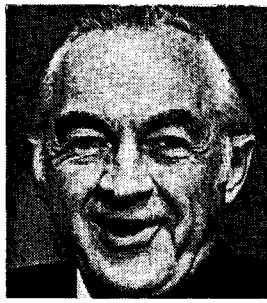
**Ed Reinecke**  
*Lt. Governor, California*

Convicted of lying to a Senate committee about the ITT antitrust settlement; now awaiting sentence.



**Donald H. Segretti**  
*Political operative*

Sentenced to 6 months for conspiracy and distributing illegal campaign literature; freed after 4 months.



**Maurice Stans**  
*Commerce Secretary, campaign finance chairman*

Acquitted of perjury and conspiracy to obstruct justice in the Vesco case.



**Gordon C. Strachan**  
*Haldeman's aide*

Awaiting trial for conspiracy, obstruction of justice and lying to a grand jury in the Watergate cover-up case.



**Frank Sturgis**  
*White House plumber*

Sentenced to 1 to 4 years for his part in the Watergate break-in; freed after 2 months pending appeal.

# What Does It All Mean?

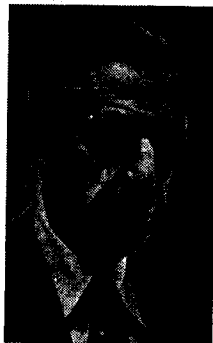
*What are the lessons of last week's historic events? Newsweek asked a wide range of Americans—some of whose careers were directly touched by Nixon over the years—for their reactions. A sampling of their views:*

## J. Kenneth Galbraith

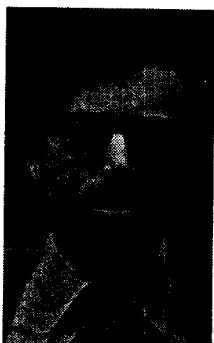
*Economist, ambassador to India under President Kennedy*

While Mr. Nixon's going is good and a definite boost to the Republic, we will suffer for it in the days ahead. That is because his departure will bring out all that is loathsome in our literary tradition. There will now be a drawing of morals until healthy stomachs retch. Someone, I promise you, will say that the fault lies deeply within ourselves. Well, the hell it does. It lies with Richard Nixon and the people who voted him into office.

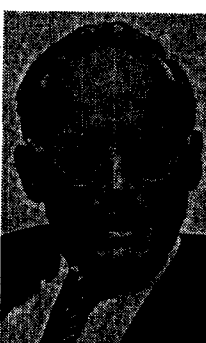
The only lesson to be drawn from the Nixon debacle is that the wrong man can be elected in this country after due notice by a landslide. Mr. Nixon has been tediously around and excessively visible



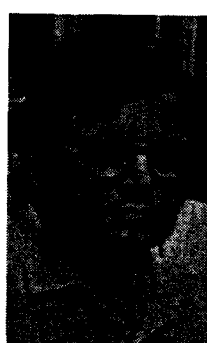
Galbraith



Phillips



Bundy



Wills



Jordan



Hiss

for close on to 30 years. Nixon was a premeditated political assault, committed in broad daylight. How did it happen?

One reason is the decline of language. Every newspaperman covering Nixon—Joe Alsop and William Buckley possibly excepted—knew that he had a deeply bogus streak. All said this privately. Few said so in public. The media isn't biased, it's mealy-mouthed. As late as last Thursday night, there was Eric Sevareid deeply touched by the Nixon whopper that he had always tried to serve the public interest as opposed to his own. There should have been raucous laughter.

Further, there is the solid preference of Americans of the highest respectability and the saintliest character for any politician, however deplorable, if he seems not to be a threat to their personal wealth and comfort. In the 1972 election, Nixon was perceived as no threat to the privileged. McGovern, to say the least, inspired no such confidence.

There is, perhaps, a subtle retributive justice that in voting for Richard Nixon the privileged of the Republic installed the man who, advised by his economists, did more to motivate doubts about the free-enterprise system than any President since Hoover and who, additionally, caused more loss of capital to the affluent even than Lenin. A costly lesson, probably unlearned.

## Kevin Phillips

*Now a syndicated columnist, Phillips was an assistant to John Mitchell and wrote 'The Emerging Republican Majority'*

Gerald Ford's goodwill toward Congress may not prevail. Having deposed the Chief of State, Congress now has to

prove its own leadership capabilities. Past legislatures that have dethroned kings have quickly proven so inept—England's Rump Parliament, France's National Assembly—as to invite men on horseback, among them Oliver Cromwell and Napoleon.

The power, bias and malice of important elements of the press have been spotlighted, and comments by Barry Goldwater and others suggest that if the battle to tame runaway White House power has been won, a bitter battle to tame runaway media power is only beginning.

Since the failure of Cologne's Herstatt bank in late June, concern has grown about the possibility of bank failures and worldwide depression, and the last, weakened days of the Nixon Administration whetted this economic psychology of fear. As for the political consequences of chaos, psephologist Richard Scammon has noted, "There is a euphoric belief

among liberals that discontent leads to liberalism. Nothing could be further from the truth." Conservative self-identification is at an all-time Gallup-poll high, and University of Michigan Institute for Social Research data show that the military is the most respected institution in the United States.

## McGeorge Bundy

*President of the Ford Foundation, director of national-security affairs for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson*

The great task before Gerald Ford is to restore the open Presidency without which our government can do nothing big or lasting. This takes priority over even such issues as inflation and the renewed danger of war in the Middle East. Apart from the specific abuses detailed by the Judiciary Committee and confirmed by the tapes, the White House has in recent years been suffused with a secretiveness and hostility that have led to executive impotence in many areas not directly affected by Watergate. Even in foreign affairs the real achievements of the Nixon Administration are fragile because they have been excessively private and personal.

The Presidency is only a fragment of itself unless it works in open trust with the rest of the executive branch, with the Congress and with the people. Even a large-spirited President, as we saw in the late '60s, can be gravely damaged by secretiveness. But in an open Presidency any fair and honest man has a chance for high success. This is Ford's opportunity.

## Garry Wills

*Syndicated columnist and author of 'Nixon Agonistes'*

Let him go. Let him, politically, be forgotten. Nothing he said at the end surprised or disgusted—any more than it inspired. He is gone, and our politics recovers its health. But as for the law, let that take its course now, apart from politics. Those who would interfere with the

course of law say "the President has been punished enough." What they mean is that political loss exempts from law—in effect, that Presidents, no matter what they do, are too good to go to jail. It is the same mentality that says there should be one law for rich men and another for the poor, one law for whites and another for blacks. Three dozen or so men have been convicted in Mr. Nixon's service. Ask the families of those in jail if loss of office is the greatest punishment imaginable. Mr. Nixon left office, getting that characteristic last free ride on Air Force One, to avoid conviction in the Senate and to hope for immunity from the law. It is the nation's task to say that no man is thus immune.

**Donald Segretti**

*Former Nixon campaign aide and convicted Watergate defendant*

We must get down to business and begin to speak to each other again—to argue with each other clearly and articulately, not with the rancor that has marred the past few months, but with a new awareness that all sides of every question deserve a fair hearing in the marketplace of ideas. It was this lack of civility, this refusal even to consider listening to the other side, that caused the explosiveness of Watergate.

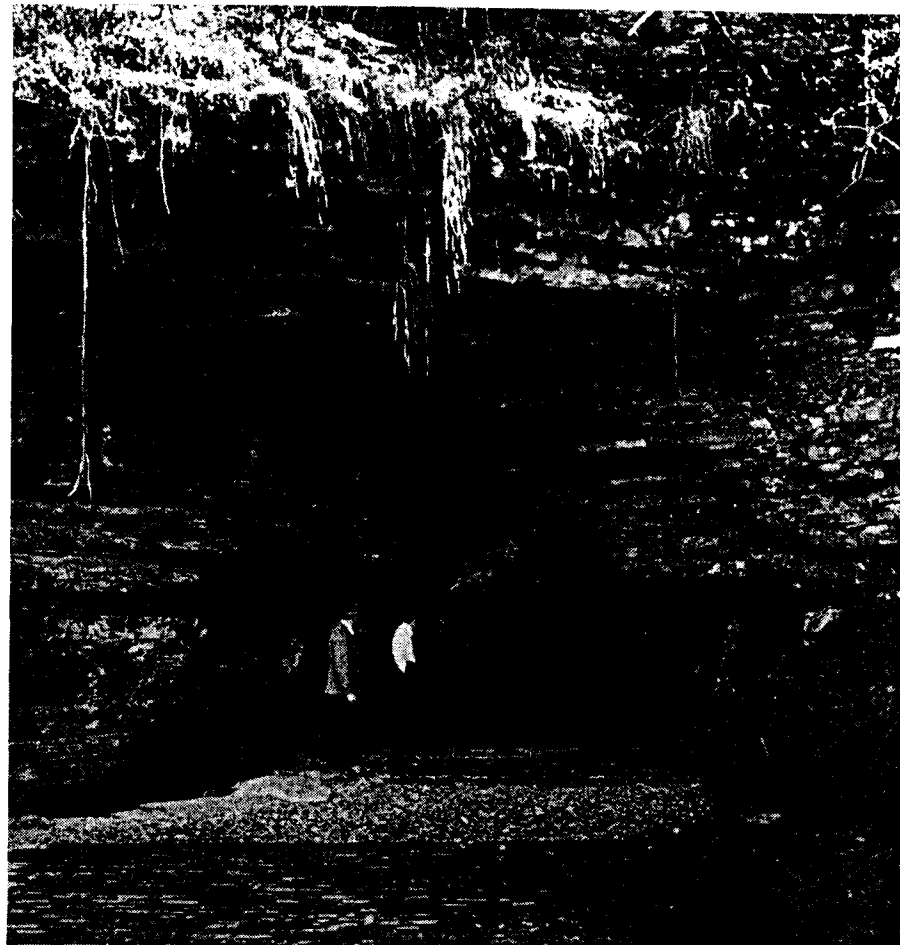
What destroyed Richard Nixon was not the media, not the acts of his subordinates, but rather his handling of his own response to the scandal. We must now demand that our country be governed in the open so that all citizens may observe and understand what our leaders are doing and why. Only then will this "experiment called democracy" continue with any resemblance to what it is supposed to be.

The pain and the heartbreak have been great, but we have all learned something very important from our mistakes. The Greeks explained that the importance of tragedy is the catharsis it brings. We have had our tragedy; we have had our catharsis; it is now time to solve real social and economic problems that have been neglected so long.

**Rabbi Baruch M. Korff**

*Director of the National Citizens' Committee for Fairness to the Presidency*

As Richard Nixon has always done, his friends now must look to the future. What would he want of us? Strict adherence to the Constitution, surely; a strong national defense; careful expenditure of the people's money; above all, continued loyalty to the Presidency so that never, never, shall any of his successors be savaged as he has been by media giants and vested interests. We shall not be ruled by NEWSWEEK and Time any more than we shall be governed



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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

by the ACLU, ADA and George Meany. We shall not have our elected officials assassinated, by violence or by hatred.

Never again must a President be forced to strip bare his office for the inspection of his foes. We must apply the generous spirit of the Talmud's advice: "The head of state may neither judge nor be judged, testify, nor be testified against." By that I mean our Chief Executives must be shielded from petty assaults and defended from public brutalization. In that urgent effort, I intend to do my part. I am prayerful that the millions of Americans who have joined me in the fairness movement will continue their efforts to preserve the Presidency and to sustain President Gerald R. Ford.

### Vernon E. Jordan Jr.

*Executive Director, National Urban League*

Nixon is gone, but black people and members of other minority groups are left to deal with the aftermath of his Presidency: with the malignant philosophy of benign neglect; with his appointees to the Supreme Court; with revenue sharing, which places special powers in the hands of the states and localities, seldom the sources of black achievement; with across-the-board cutbacks in social programs; in short, with a legacy of systematized insensitivity to the needs and aspirations of black people.

Despite all this, it is my hope that President Ford can, and will, by the exercise of his leadership, take us into a new era of social progress. I hope that in the conduct of his Administration and in the selection of his Cabinet, he will prove sensitive in areas where we in the black community have become accustomed to a pervasive insensitivity.

### Alger Hiss

*Hiss, convicted of perjury largely as result of the efforts of young Rep. Richard Nixon in 1950, is seeking to reopen his case.*

As far as [Nixon's relationship with me] was concerned, it was just political opportunism. He didn't know me, so I can hardly say he betrayed me. Besides, I see no rational reason for bitterness.

I applaud Nixon for achieving détente with Russia, even more so with the Chinese, though it is hard to tell how much of that was Nixon and how much was Kissinger. But I feel Nixon and Kissinger were both Johnny-come-latelies in détente. It could have been achieved a long time ago.

At all events, I am not a believer in the "great man" theory of history, though I still do think that Roosevelt, for one, was an extraordinary individual. I do think there are certain more or less ineluctable forces in history, that those

known as leaders are often in the forefront, rather than actually leading.

It may seem too personal a matter to bring up at such a time, but I can only hope that Nixon's resignation can permit me and the American people to seek and find the truth of my case.

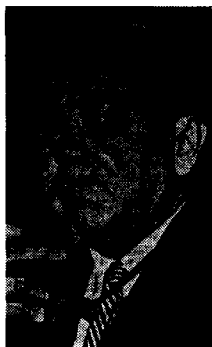
(Hiss was interviewed by Newsweek.)

## George F. Will

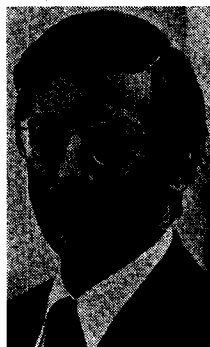
Syndicated columnist for  
*The Washington Post*

The Constitution is supposed to prevent gross and protracted abuses of power. For this purpose it vests limited and enumerated powers in the separate and rival institutions that are supposed to act, if only out of jealous self-interest, to quickly check their rivals' abuses. But in spite of Mr. Nixon's many obstructions of justice and other abuses of power, which extended over several years, his last crisis would have faded away if he had not committed the inexplicable blunder of taping felonious conversations.

The sobering truth is that without that blunder his crimes would not have caused his downfall. Moreover, it was a



Commager



Will

jerry-built, extraconstitutional institution—the special prosecutor's office—that turned the tapes into a lethal weapon against Mr. Nixon. And if Mr. Nixon had refused to appoint a special prosecutor in May 1973, Congress would have groused at him but would not have impeached him. If there had been no tapes, Mr. Nixon would not have had to fire Archibald Cox last October. Without the Saturday Night Massacre, there would have been no "fire storm" to cause the impeachment machinery to clank into gear.

So we lassooed a rampaging White House with a thin rope of tape. We may not be so lucky as to stumble upon such a handy rope whenever we need one.

## Henry Steele Commager

Historian

What good has come out of the crisis and the agony of Watergate—what besides ridding the body politic of

Newsweek, August 19, 1974



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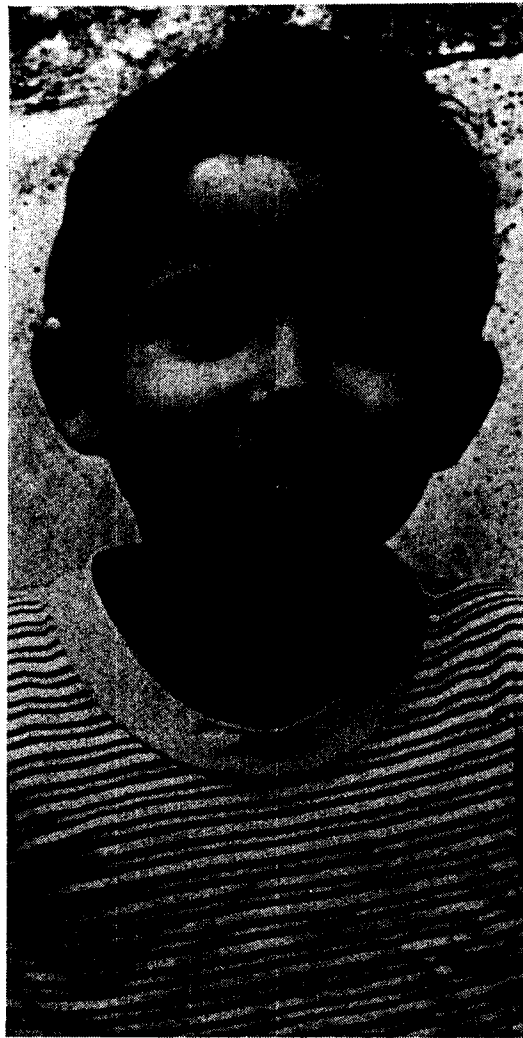
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Richard Nixon and his piratical crew? Watergate has restored the Constitution to a central place, not only in politics but in ethics. It has, let us trust, reinvigorated the Congress and awakened it to a sense of its responsibilities as a coordinate branch of government.

These two things are obvious. Less obvious, perhaps, it has helped make clear a distinction between false conservatism and the true conservatism of a Jefferson, a Theodore Roosevelt, a Franklin Roosevelt. Practically and symbolically, Mr. Nixon associated conservatism not with conserving the resources and institutions of the nation, but with exploiting them for shortsighted and often private ends; with power—military, economic and personal; with a spurious "honor" which required that we go on for four years fighting a war that should never have been started in the first place; with inveterate hostility to freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and with control of the press and of television; and with private aggrandizement of the natural resources which belong to the whole people; with uncritical approval of corporate practices and malpractices; with the worship of money and wealth in all of its most vulgar manifestations.

His "conservatism" and his appeal to what he contemptuously called Middle America meant hostility to the press, to the academy, to the arts ("The arts—they're Jews—they're left-wing—stay away"), to the "liberal establishment" and to the young with all their hopes and idealism. But true conservatism preserves natural resources, human resources, the resources of the law and of the Constitution, intellectual, moral and artistic resources, and the resources of our history, our traditions and our ideals.

## George Ball

*Investment broker, Under Secretary of State under JFK and LBJ*

I would be less than candid if I wrote words of high praise about Richard Nixon, whom I have profoundly mistrusted for two decades. The domestic economic policies of his Administration were a series of unsuccessful improvisations with no central theme. My provisional verdict on his foreign policy—uneven but with definite achievements—awaits the confirmation of future events.

The manner in which he extricated our forces from Vietnam was protracted and costly, while the war, in which we still have a heavy investment, goes on and on. His establishment of communications with China was a commendable initiative but marred by flamboyance and quite unnecessary harm to our relations with Japan. If Henry Kissinger, as a holdover Secretary of State, succeeds in turning the flabby talk of détente into concrete achievements in controlling nuclear weapons, that will unquestionably reinforce the reputation of the Nixon

Administration, where the effort began. But if nothing positive and permanent comes out of SALT II and the arms race continues, historians are likely to regard détente as a transient aberration.

Much the same comment applies to the Middle East. If Secretary Kissinger can use the momentum of his two brilliant military disengagements to solve the obdurate issues of the Palestinians and Jerusalem, the reputation of the Nixon Administration will be the beneficiary. But the outcome is by no means clear.

### Herbert Klein

*Former White House communications director*

Each President has his own style, and Mr. Ford's style will be different from that of Mr. Nixon. The office and its power remain the same, posing a challenge,



Ball



Klein

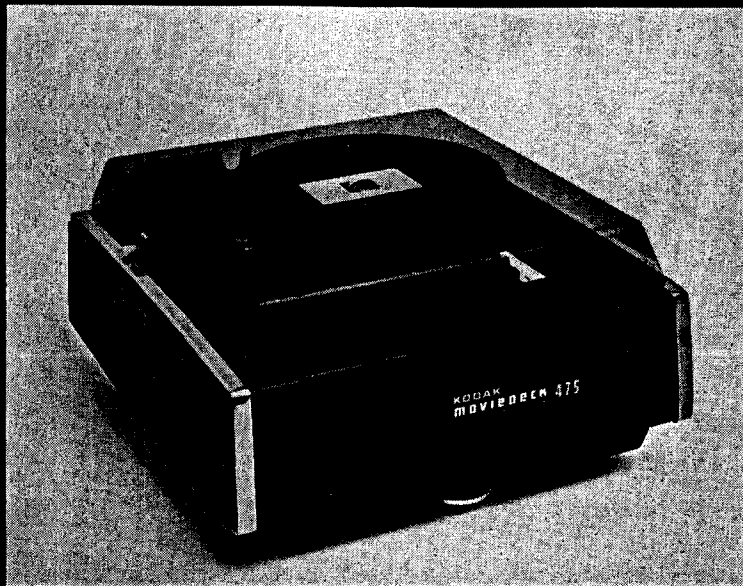
a great opportunity and overwhelming responsibility. To be a strong President today, one must delegate, but, as Mr. Nixon has said, the Commander in Chief also must bear the responsibility for the power delegated or held.

Mistakes were made by those who accepted delegated power in the Nixon Administration. And strangely, had Mr. Nixon been elected President in 1960, I do not believe he would have delegated as much responsibility. It was not his style then. Yet the very power Mr. Nixon delegated became part of his downfall. It also provided the precious hours which gave him the opportunity to lead the nation and the world to unequalled progress toward lasting peace. Those who write and broadcast the immediate history may not give Mr. Nixon the high marks he deserves and eventually will receive when we pass from the trauma of Watergate.

The orderly procedure which has alleviated a national crisis has preserved the Presidency and given new opportunity to Mr. Ford, who I believe is the man for this time—his time—a strong yet humble man. Mr. Ford's first act was to appoint a highly capable newsman as his press secretary, Jerry terHorst. Mr. terHorst has the full trust of the new President and the respect of the press. He will be an asset as Mr. Ford commu-

August 19, 1974

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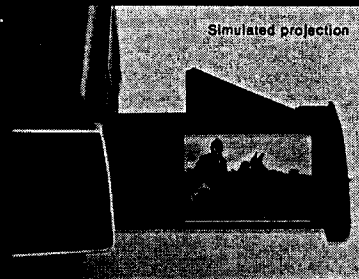
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## Emmet John Hughes

*Speechwriter for Eisenhower,  
author of 'The Living Presidency'*

Dear Mr. President:

All at once, we welcome you and we burden you. Even as we salute, we seek and want; this is the American way with Presidents.

Let us once again swing open wide the gates, doors and windows of our White House and let in the sweet smell of dissent. This place was built not to be a fortress but a forum—a home for men free, not frightened. And the purest Republican regime here should still find room for stray Democrats and stray ideas.

Let us all—again—taste the raw democratic diet: the bread of trust and the wine of truth. We hunger for this not just because we have heard so many lies told but because we have seen so many lies lived.

Let us glimpse, once again, some signs of compassion. There is no other way to put the brutish past behind us. If Presi-

dential mercy were visited upon Richard Nixon and all those Vietnam protesters to whom he promised no mercy, who would rail against you?

I would finally urge one cause above all others. This is to ask that you not use your Presidential powers slackly because your Presidential forebears used them ruthlessly. If there ever be a twilight to the Presidency, there will also be a twilight to our country. The fact that Presidential power for years has been used obscenely does not make this power itself an obscenity. It is now your Presidency—for a while. There is no reason to conduct it as an act of contrition for the sins of your predecessors. Let it be yours. Let it be *you*. For in politics as in poetry, any truth is better than make-believe.

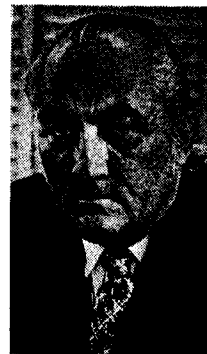
## The Rev. Jesse Jackson

*Chief of PUSH (People United to  
Save Humanity), based in Chicago*

Richard Nixon, politician, has been headed for this day when his political career is being ended in such an ignominious manner from the very first political campaign he ran more than 25 years ago. But the deeper malady is the sins of the American nation over this past quarter century, during which time in

both foreign policy and domestic life, the United States in practice has negated and turned its back upon the lofty humanist ideas set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

The challenge awaiting the new President is to use the authority of his office



Hughes

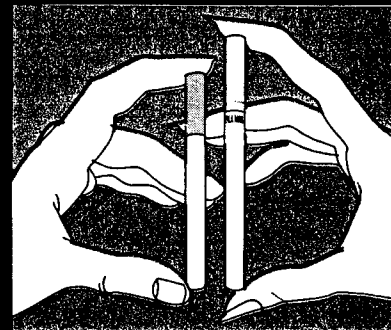


Jackson

to restore the nation's moral health. This is a process that will require statesmanship and selflessness on the part of Gerald Ford. This can be accomplished if the new Administration is patriotic enough to see itself as a caretaker government, organizes a bipartisan Cabinet to conduct the business of state and takes as its highest object the moral regeneration of American society.

# PALL MALL GOLD

## THE LONGER FILTER THAT'S



## LONG ON TASTE

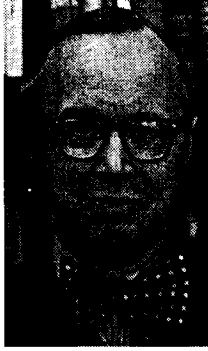
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21 mg "tar," 1.5 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report MARCH '74.

President Gerald Ford has a unique opportunity to lead a beleaguered nation back to moral decency. All America would benefit by his nominating Sen. Edward Brooke, Republican of Massa-



Graham



Schlesinger

chusetts, as Vice President-designate of America. New progressive leadership is necessary. This would be a great stroke of unity and move to reconcile racism.

### Billy Graham

We should learn anew that there is such a thing as right and wrong, and that we all—regardless of our position—are ultimately morally accountable for

our actions. The Bible teaches and experience proves that no man or nation can continually break God's laws and get away with it.

This should be a time of turning to God. Perhaps we as Christians failed to pray enough for President Nixon. Let us not make the same mistake in failing to pray for President Ford. We must pray that honor and truth and integrity and candor and right motives will always govern our public affairs. We should also pray for Mr. Nixon and his family as they seek privacy and rest. He has paid a terrible price for his mistakes; we should have compassion for him.

### Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

*Historian, aide to JFK,  
author of 'The Imperial Presidency'*

In a way, Mr. Nixon was consistent to the finish. He showed himself as morally obtuse about Watergate at the end as at the beginning. To the very last he gave no evidence of recognizing that he had done anything really wrong. Here was the man who ran what was by any standard the most lawless Administration in the history of the republic; and all he could see—after the violations of the Constitution, the abuse of power, the obstruction of justice, the

subversion of government, the lies to Congress and the American people; after the exposure, the evidence, the confessions, the indictments—was a mistake or two in judgment. He was being driven out of office, so far as his farewell address told us, only because of the erosion of his "political base" in Congress. His Presidency was dying of self-inflicted wounds; and Mr. Nixon talked as if he were the innocent victim of a hit-and-run driver.

One felt that, consciously or unconsciously, he was laying the groundwork for a stab-in-the-back myth—that he sees himself, and wants the country to see him, as a righteous President cruelly cut down by Congress in the midst of his selfless campaign for world peace. His total failure to admit guilt or to acknowledge the political and moral enormity of his offenses carries with it the threat of a struggle for vindication. As insurance against this, it is surely necessary for Congress and the courts to place the full story solidly on the record. If Mr. Nixon were capable of saying that he had done wrong, this might not be necessary. But since he plainly thinks himself unfairly treated, let posterity judge the record. As Mr. Nixon himself said last March, when he was still riding high, "the only way to attack crime in America is the way crime attacks our people—without pity."

# 100's



# Adjusting to a World Without Nixon

NIXON: C'EST FINI ... NIXON GOES ... NIXON TREEDT AF ... NIXONS RUCKTRITT ... K OTSTAVKE R. NIKSONA. The news was splashed across front pages in every written language and, for an entire day, the world became a global village in a collective state of shock. Richard Nixon's sudden resignation was almost as traumatic in New Delhi as it was in New York. Muscovites buried themselves in Pravda's page-one story. GI's on duty in the Far East clustered around transistors to listen to the Armed Forces Radio broadcast of the Nixon speech. Kibbutzniks in Israel huddled in front of communal television sets to watch satellite coverage of the event, and the revelers in Harry's New York Bar in Paris paused long enough to hear Nixon's farewell—and to cheer or weep. "The President is dead," said one Communist diplomat. "Long live the President."

Even before the transfer of Presidential power to Gerald Ford, the U.S. took steps to assure the rest of the world that America still had a functioning and stable government. The U.S. Information Agency distributed a filmed interview and biography of Ford to most of its overseas posts. The Pentagon kept U.S. forces at their normal peacetime state of readiness: any extra alert, strategists reckoned, would only convey a sense of insecurity.

## A 'FAST AND HARD' MESSAGE

The crucial symbol of foreign-policy continuity was clearly Henry Kissinger, and most foreign governments took heart from Ford's early announcement that Kissinger would stay on as Secretary of State. Just hours after his swearing-in, the new President made his first diplomatic contacts: along with Kissinger, he met with about 60 ambassadors at the White House. That same day, Kissinger ordered a "fast and hard" message sent to all American ambassadors instructing them to emphasize that the abrupt departure of Richard Nixon did not signal a wrenching change in U.S. foreign policy. And a State Department official indicated that Kissinger would likely be dispatched on a globe-trotting mission to a dozen or more capitals to tell foreign leaders that "all is well in Washington again."

Still, the sudden awareness that Richard Nixon was out of office gave the world pause. The new President and his views on foreign policy (following story)

were both mysteries overseas. And foreigners were aware that whereas foreign policy was always Nixon's long suit, Ford has focused his attention on purely domestic matters. No one knew how much influence Kissinger would retain with his new boss. It was even hard to calculate how much Nixon's departure would detract from the old foreign-policy magic associated with Kissinger's name. So closely linked in the world's eyes were the former President and his Secretary of State that while French Cabinet Minister Françoise Giroud in-

Kissinger foreign policy: "The historians are probably going to say that the Nixon-Kissinger policy falls into two parts: the period of hard choices and new directions, when Mr. Nixon may indeed have been necessary but which is now largely completed; and the period of following through, which can be done without him if it can be done at all."

What's more, the special working relationship between Nixon and Kissinger, which had made them such a formidable team, seemed in recent weeks to have gone sour. "How the hell am I supposed



Going, going, gone: Though the symbol of continuity in foreign policy was Kissinger

sisted, "The foreign policy during the Nixon years was Nixon's," a Soviet diplomat was just as emphatic in saying, "We have always regarded Kissinger as the architect of American détente policy and Nixon as his pupil."

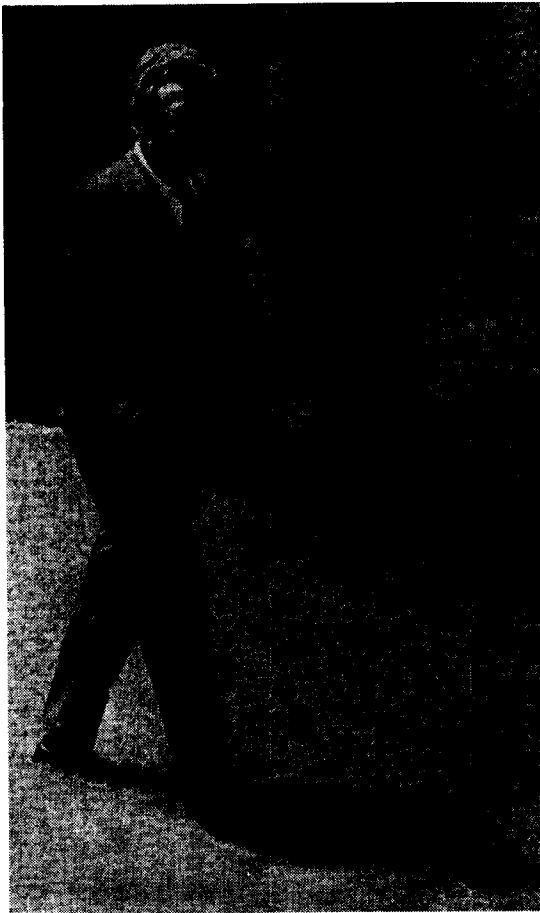
Kissinger's continued presence at the helm of the State Department was nonetheless immensely reassuring. So too was the feeling that even if Nixon had masterminded the innovative foreign policy achievements of the past five and a half years, his presence was no longer as crucial now. As London's prestigious magazine, *The Economist*, said of the Nixon-

to conduct foreign policy in this atmosphere," Kissinger himself fumed last week. Even before that, the strains were becoming apparent. When Kissinger won the Nobel Peace Prize last year, one White House insider confided to *Newsweek's* Bruce van Voorst, "Nixon practically had a tantrum. He thought it should have been his." And when the investigation into Kissinger's role in the wiretapping of seventeen officials and journalists was reopened in June, Nixon at first refused to accede to Kissinger's requests that the President assume responsibility for the taps. It was only when



Kissinger threatened publicly to resign unless his name was cleared that Nixon certified he had given the wiretap order. Last week, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee gave the Secretary of State a virtually clean bill of health.

It was a timely action. For even though President Ford would probably assign highest priority to such pressing domestic problems as inflation, the fact was that foreign affairs, as always, could be expected to intrude urgently in the Oval Office. Last week, the continuing blood-letting in Cyprus, a new Communist military push in South Vietnam and the tenuous state of semi-peace in the Mideast all clamored for attention. So too did the tasks that Nixon and Kissinger left unfinished: tightening the bonds between the U.S. and its Western European allies,



Sven Simon

... there was an uncertain Ford in the future

repairing a badly frayed alliance with Japan and healing the world's economy. And it was hard to imagine that Ford could long delay meeting with Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev and Western European leaders.

Indeed, one of Ford's major tasks in the first few months of his Administration will be to introduce himself to a world that knows little of him—and, in some cases, doubts his qualifications for the Presidency. "The only Ford we know here is the car," cracked one Asian politician. But in spite of Ford's international anonymity and his reputation as

an innocent in foreign affairs, his ascendancy gave rise to considerable optimism in some quarters. Said one Soviet expert on U.S. affairs: "If he were as dumb as the Georgetown snobs think he is, he wouldn't have lasted in your politics or gotten as far as he has. He's obviously a good student, and the White House is the best school in the world. Give him time—and Kissinger to teach him—and he'll learn."

#### AN EXPLETIVE DELETED

If for no other reason, most foreigners were willing to give Ford the benefit of the doubt because they had come to realize that Nixon was no longer able to lead the Western world. Then, too, as foreign leaders read through the latest Nixon transcripts last week, the former President's supposed expertise in international affairs seemed suddenly to be riddled with holes. "A cursory reading," marveled one leading European politician, "conveys the impression of an indecisive President with a crass ignorance of economic and monetary affairs, a President who doesn't give an expletive deleted about the Italian lira and who reacts like a high-school student to the floating of the British pound, not quite sure what it means."

Relief at Nixon's departure was matched by a wave of encomiums to the American political and legal system. The Constitution, the Congress, the courts, the press and the American people were all saluted for their role in pursuing the Watergate nightmare to its necessary conclusion. "The whole episode is a sign of the vitality of the American system," said one influential Arab businessman, "and a testimony to American political morality." The praise was often coupled with an admission that few other nations would have persevered as the U.S. did. "I wish I could say that such a drama would have ended with such dignity in a European country, but I don't think so," a Belgian diplomat confessed. "The Watergate denouement and the smooth transition will immeasurably enhance America's image throughout the whole world."

Whatever new luster might be added to America's image, the key calculation overseas was that American foreign policy would hardly change at all. Policymakers around the globe pointed to the truism that a nation's foreign policy depends on its national interests, and that those do not change overnight even though a government might. Still, they acknowledged that it would be implausible for a President unversed in foreign affairs to strike out with any daring steps. As a French political analyst

noted, "There is reason to believe that American foreign policy will slow down—which many of us will welcome." It cannot, however, slow down too much, for Ford and Kissinger already face a series of challenges that call for U.S. action and involvement. Foremost among them:

**Détente.** Talks with the Soviets on the limitation of strategic arms are expected to resume next month in Geneva, but Ford will first be called upon to settle a dispute within his own Administration on the proper stance for the U.S. to take. Kissinger believes that even a partial agreement would be a plus, while Defense Secretary James Schlesinger argues that a limited pact would be unwise and that the U.S. should stand firm until Moscow makes sufficient concessions and a comprehensive accord can be reached. To gain such a compromise from Moscow, Ford may have to make good on one pledge that Nixon could not fulfill: tariff concessions to the Soviets, currently blocked in Congress because of Russia's refusal to permit the free emigration of Soviet Jews. Even then, the Kremlin leaders may well elect to hold firm and test the fledgling President's mettle.

**Asia.** "What I am concerned about," said one Chinese America-watcher, "is the U.S. capability of responding to a crisis." The potential crisis that all Chinese officials worry about most is Soviet adventurism on their border—and what the U.S. response would be. For the immediate future, however, there are far more pressing problems for both Washington and Peking: the internal dissension within China, the failing health of Premier Chou En-lai and the uncertainty over who will emerge in power when he or Mao Tse-tung dies. Until the succession question is answered there is little chance that much significant progress will be made in relations between the United States and China, but Peking will be waiting for a sign that the Nixon era rapprochement will continue.

In contrast, the Japanese will be looking for indications that the cold shoulder they got from Nixon will not be repeated by Ford. Tokyo generally seemed pleased with the change in Presidents, but as one Japanese put it, "What we want to know is what about import restrictions, and will there be protectionism? There will be no answers until Ford names his economic advisers."

**Western Europe.** Relations between the U.S. and its European allies were frequently strained during the Nixon Administration. Washington was angered at Europe's refusal to join the U.S. in a common front to combat the Arab oil boycott. Europe was concerned that Nixon and Kissinger were oblivious to its economic troubles and so eager to pursue détente that they might not protect European interests in the process. Then too, Nixon's preoccupation with Watergate and Kissinger's with ongoing Mideast crises left little time for Europe. Now, European diplomats and officials hope

that Ford will reach out to shore up the NATO alliance, that he will not be so preoccupied with cultivating the Soviets and that he will turn to the urgent financial problems facing the Continent.

**The Mideast.** Though they got along just fine with Nixon, Israelis are delighted at the prospect of dealing with Ford. But the Arabs are gravely troubled. "In Congress, Ford has given steady support to Israel over the past twenty years," beamed one Israeli diplomat. "His record is very strong." But an Arab countered, "Nixon was relatively able to free himself from Zionist pressures and pursue a more evenhanded policy. Many Arabs feel he was in a better position to pressure Israel into needed concessions if a peaceful settlement is ever to be achieved." The Arabs are hoping that Kissinger, whom they trust and like, will persuade Ford that his predecessor's policy must be followed if new conflicts are to be avoided.

#### FORD'S BEST INSURANCE

But with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin clinging to power by one vote and a large number of Israelis adamantly opposed to any territorial concessions, the Arabs are taking no chances. Cairo has begun a new initiative to improve relations with Moscow and with Palestinian guerrilla groups. Saudi Arabian officials have warned that they will once again impose an oil boycott if Israel does not withdraw from more occupied land this fall. And Syria has indicated that if such withdrawal does not occur, it will ask the U.N. to pull its observer force out of the Golan Heights—and Syrian soldiers will resume fighting.

Ultimately, Ford's best insurance against a major international crisis will be the maintenance of the U.S.-Soviet détente. And last week the Soviet Union indicated it understood that too. Mikhail Sagatelyan, vice president of Novosti Press Agency, told *NEWSWEEK*: "However acute the character of the forthcoming struggle for détente may be, one may . . . assert with a good dose of optimism and confidence that the future of the cold war forces looks today scarcely less bleak than it did yesterday. After all, the policy of détente today has an immeasurably stronger and more massive following than it had yesterday." And in the hospital room where he is being treated for an inflamed pericardium, poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko—a sometime angry young man now responsive to the Kremlin's official line—penned a tribute to détente:

*Near the Pushkin monument  
I see an American student in velvet  
jeans  
With a worn, suede shoulder bag  
That does not smell of winter—  
The winter we have overcome. . . .  
We have settled accounts, thank  
God,  
With the cold war crone  
And, I believe, no one has power  
To drench America and Russia  
With icy water ever again.*



Changing of the guard at embassy in Bonn: What else will change? <sup>AP</sup>

## Diplomacy: The New Model Ford

It was after midnight in Jerusalem several months ago, and an exhausted Henry Kissinger was in his sixth-floor suite in the King David Hotel. Suddenly, the telephone jangled at his bedside. A call was coming in from Grand Rapids, Mich.—from the Vice President. Startled, Kissinger ordered it put through immediately, and seconds later he was talking to Gerald Ford. In no time, it became clear to the Secretary that there had been a mix-up. Ford had been sent a message to call Kissinger's White House office for a late fill-in on the day's shuttle diplomacy, but somehow the Vice President thought he was supposed to phone Kissinger in Jerusalem. Despite the hour and the confusion, the Secretary of State launched into a detailed Mideast discussion with his newest—and most important—foreign-policy pupil.

That long-distance briefing was part of an intensive effort by Kissinger to educate Ford in the nuances of superpower diplomacy. At the Secretary's urging, Ford hosted a series of receptions at Blair House last winter to meet members of the Washington diplomatic corps. Then, as Watergate pressures on President Nixon mounted, Ford—with Kissinger at his side—increasingly sat in for the President in handling visiting dig-

nitaries and even held a formal dinner for Jordan's King Hussein. Recently, Kissinger stepped up the pace of his tutelage—making sure that Ford attended breakfasts for Congressional leaders at the State Department dining room. "If only on the basis of these sessions," said one Kissinger aide, "Ford was getting a seminar on foreign affairs."

He certainly seemed to need it. "Jerry Ford," one supporter quips amiably, "knows as much about foreign affairs as a butterfly." The meager record of the new President's overseas travels left a cold trail last week for world leaders searching for clues to his thinking. Even the countries he officially visited during his quarter century in Congress seemed to have no memories of his passage. The Soviet Embassy in Washington at first insisted that Gerald Ford had never visited Moscow (he was there in 1959); the French said they had no record of his ever being in Paris (1973); and nobody in the British Foreign Office could summon more than a hazy recollection of a visit by Ford during the 1950s.

Ford's almost invisible profile on the world stage is all the more remarkable in that he was first elected to Congress on a platform stressing foreign policy.

During the 1930s, in college and law school, Ford had been an ardent isolationist. But then World War II intervened, and Navy Lieutenant Commander Ford came home from the Pacific with a much more internationalist point of view. On his arrival in Washington, the freshman congressman was taken under the wing of Michigan Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, who had undergone a similar wartime metamorphosis out of isolationism. Ford often said in later years that Vandenberg had a "very substantial" influence on his thinking on foreign policy.

But while Ford prefers to describe his stance through the 1950s and 1960s as "dyed-in-the-wool internationalist," the phrase "cold warrior" would appear to characterize his views more accurately. Few congressmen were stauncher hawks on Vietnam. In 1967—when many Americans who once supported the war were having second thoughts—Ford castigated President Johnson for failing to bomb many highly significant military targets in North Vietnam.

### TALKING WITH PREMIER CHOU

But when Richard Nixon took office in 1969, Gerald Ford began a series of foreign-policy shifts as dramatic in their way as Nixon's own. Nixon, after a lifetime as a cold warrior, moved to normalize relations with China and to seek détente with the Soviet Union, and Ford made the switch with him. By the spring of 1970, Ford was telling audiences that "President Nixon no longer sees the Communist world as a monolithic enemy alliance," and he indicated that that was also his own view. Step by step, Nixon moved into what he called an "era of negotiation"—and in most cases, Ford was close behind. Indeed, Ford felt hurt in early 1972 when China invited the Senate leaders, but not their House counterparts, to Peking. Soon, Ford got his own invitation and met for five hours with Premier Chou En-lai. He termed the session "probably the greatest experience of my lifetime, as far as foreign policy is concerned."

Though Ford pledged last week to carry on the Nixon Administration's policies toward Russia and China, some changes in emphasis appear possible at least in his dealings with the Soviet Union. "I strongly believe that détente has been very beneficial," the new President recently declared. But Ford also feels that the U.S. should not brush moral issues aside to develop relations with Moscow. In a 1971 speech that seems relevant today, Ford said the President "has a historic opportunity to serve a compelling humanitarian cause" by linking the treatment of Soviet dissidents and Jews with détente. "The Russians will be seeking various [U.S.] concessions and compromises," he declared. "The time would be ripe for President Nixon to very appropriately raise the issue of Soviet Jewry with the Soviet Government."

Ford's concern for Soviet Jews is only one of many stands over the years that

have earned him a reputation as a staunch friend of Israel. Earlier this year he received the 1974 America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal from a prominent Jewish organization. But while his consistent support in Congress for military and economic aid to Israel has created a measure of alarm in Arab capitals that a shift away from the Nixon Administration's evenhanded policy is imminent, Ford in recent months has appeared to give full support to Henry Kissinger's rapprochement with the Arab world. And Ford declared earlier this year that he would not favor the U.S. entering into a formal treaty with Israel.

Indeed, steering clear of any commitments that could drag the U.S. into another conflict abroad seems likely to emerge as one of the major elements in the Ford Administration's foreign policy. Ford recently reaffirmed his belief that

"It may be a little too small," he replied.

Ford is also likely to continue to be a firm supporter of foreign aid. "It's my judgment," he said not long ago, "that a foreign-aid program is an important ingredient in the implementation of U.S. foreign policy." In fact, Ford played a major role last year in getting a foreign-aid bill passed by Congress after the program had limped along for years.

### WORKING WITH CONGRESS

The ability to work with Congress should serve Ford in good stead, for the extraordinary circumstances that brought him to the Presidency clearly argue for increased emphasis on Congressional advice and consent in the field of foreign affairs. Ford has already indicated he thinks the White House and Congress should work together in this area. While this will probably preclude much of



UPI

With Chinese envoy Huang Chen after swearing-in: Up from Isolationism

the U.S. should provide economic assistance and military hardware to its allies. But he added: "We have got to be extremely careful, very restrained, in the commitment of any U.S. military personnel for a combat purpose."

That doesn't mean Ford envisions any cut in military spending. "We can only achieve peace in this very difficult world today by being militarily strong," he recently declared. The new President favors moving forward on the Trident submarine program, and earlier this year, he called for a feasibility study on construction of a network of mobile land-based missiles. Ford also emphasized that he is totally opposed to a unilateral reduction of American forces in NATO. "Unilateral troop cuts," he said, "would undermine our negotiations with the Soviet Union directed at mutual force reductions in Central Europe." As for the over-all defense budget, Ford was asked recently what he thought of the proposed \$7 billion increase for fiscal 1975.

the flashy secret diplomacy of the Nixon era, one prominent European expressed hope that "détente between Congress and the White House may finally help unlock the long-stalled trade legislation."

To accomplish this, Ford may have to let the scales of power shift a bit away from Henry Kissinger and toward such powerful Congressional voices as Sen. Henry Jackson. "The brilliance of Mr. Kissinger," editor Theo Sommer of the German newspaper *Die Zeit* predicted, "will in the future find counterweighting forces in the Congress—especially in the Senate." While Ford may be content today to play up to Kissinger's ego, ultimately he may want to make America's foreign policy his own. "For the moment, Kissinger is Ford's diplomatic walking stick—enabling him to wade through the murky international waters," a Chinese analyst said last week. "But in the end, it is the master, not the walking stick, who has to make the major decisions."



Simon: Confident in the old-time religion

Lawrence McIntosh



Wall Street euphoria: The buying spree

## Ford Confronts 'Public Enemy No. 1'

It was his first official business as President of the United States. Less than two hours after he took the oath of office, Gerald Rudolph Ford called to the White House the economic brain trust he had inherited from Richard Nixon to brief him on America's "stagflating" economy and to outline the options available for coping with what the new President himself had publicly branded "world public enemy No. 1."

No policy decisions emerged from the meeting; none was expected. But the one-hour session, coming as it did just moments after a post-inaugural buffet luncheon in the new President's honor, clearly showed that Ford regards the nation's economy in general and inflation in particular as the principal business of his infant Administration. Unscarred by Watergate, with Henry Kissinger to handle his foreign affairs, Ford will have ample opportunity to devote his full attention to America's economic woes.

Yet it seems highly unlikely that the President will order major changes in economic policy. Those who know him well say that his knowledge of economics is anything but expert—some colleagues are even less charitable than that—and thus most Washington economic officials expect him to follow the course charted during the last months of the Nixon Presidency.

That policy calls for strict adherence to fiscal austerity—in short, balanced or surplus budgets—buttressed with monetary restraint exercised by the quasi-independent Federal Reserve Board. It is the traditional Republican remedy for

curing inflation—and the new President is a true believer, perhaps even more so than his predecessor, whose economic policies varied so widely during his years in office (page 67). "We all have our pet whipping boy when it comes to inflation," Ford told the Economic Club of New York in May, "but the real culprit today, as it has been, is excessive demand. Double-digit inflation is a result of double-digit increases in money supply and double-digit budget deficits."

### AN UNPARALLELED OPPORTUNITY

But if substance remains unaltered, the new Presidential style in economic matters seems certain to change significantly. While Nixon customarily announced a new zig or zag in his erratic economic course with great fanfare and then quickly turned his attention to other matters, Ford is likely to concern himself day-by-day with the problem. Moreover, he has other advantages denied Nixon. Clean and credible, well liked by former colleagues in Congress and backed by a business community anxious to see him succeed, Ford may enjoy a honeymoon longer than that ordinarily afforded a freshman President—and that, says economist Walter Heller, gives him "an unparalleled opportunity . . . to provide the economic leadership Nixon could not." Heller and other economists—Republicans and Democrats alike—urge the President to make a highly visible effort to engage all sectors of the economy in debate over economic policy. And in word and deed last week, Ford gave every evidence that

he was prepared to do exactly that.

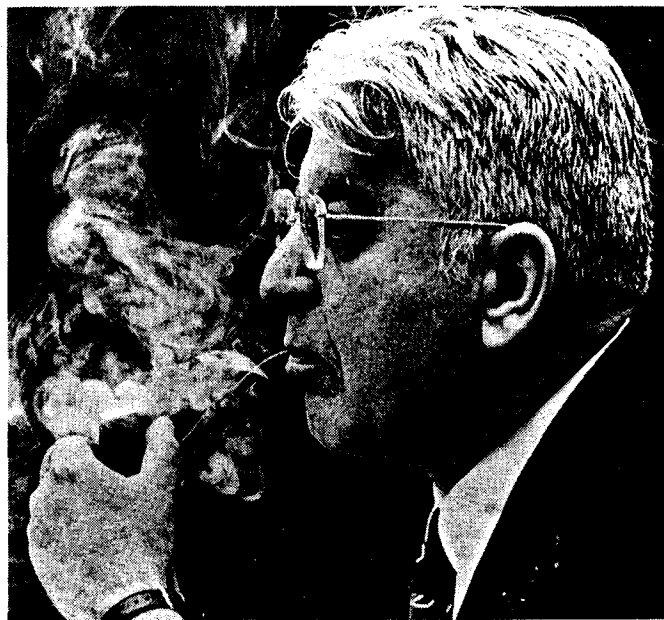
Indeed, consensus economics occupied much of the President's thinking over a weekend spent planning his address to a joint session of Congress this week. The idea is to capitalize on Ford's reputation for honesty and the current atmosphere of goodwill by convening an "economic summit," a gathering of Congressional leaders, businessmen, labor chieftains and consumer groups designed to display concerted action on the nation's economic difficulties. "Jerry is a man who believes in the collective decision," says House Republican Barber B. Conable Jr. "He doesn't go out on a limb on something when he has no experience."

At the summit, Ford intends to employ gentle persuasion, urging business and labor to exercise restraint in pricing decisions and wage demands and at the same time massaging egos by seeking advice. "This is not the time for abrasive jawboning," says Paul McCracken, President Nixon's first chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. "What we ought to work toward is some sort of social compact [between business and labor]. This has to happen, and [Ford] could bring these parties closer." And while his links to the labor movement are rather tenuous at this point, he should be among friends with the businessmen. "Jerry is very impressed by business people," says Conable.

According to New Mexico Republican Pete V. Domenici, one of five freshman senators who suggested the economic-summit notion to him early last week, Ford espoused "the idea of general sac-

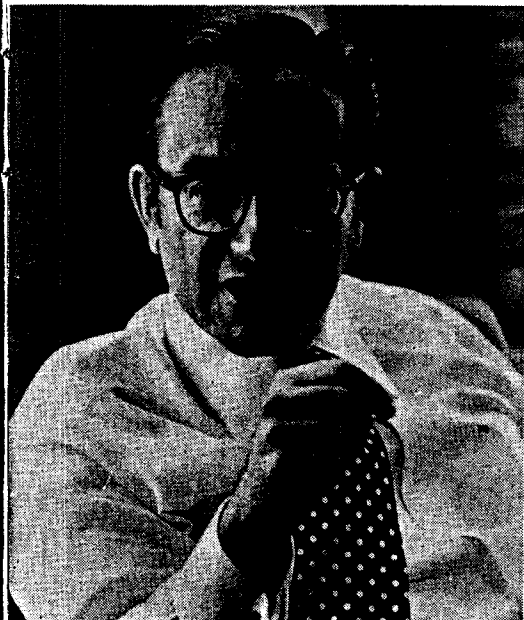


on the exchange floor as resignation rumors began to spread



UPI Photos

Burns: The economist Ford values most



Robert R. McElroy—Newsweek

Greenspan: Still headed for the CEA

rifice, saying you can't ask one segment of society to bear the burden. He said that if labor was to cut wage demands, then management had to cut prices and profits." But the President firmly believes that by way of example, his Administration must first put its own fiscal house in order—and he may well prove even more receptive than his predecessor to the budget-cutting instincts of his inherited advisers. Nixon had ordered that his own budget for the current fiscal year be trimmed by \$5 billion to a total of \$300 billion, or roughly in balance with anticipated revenues. But last week, Arthur Burns suggested a \$10 billion cut—and Ford values the Fed chairman's economic opinion perhaps above any oth-

er. For the fiscal 1976 budget, the first he will fashion as President, Ford wants a surplus.

Whether a combination of economic summitry and budget cutting will work remains to be seen, of course, but the prospect of a firm hand at the economic tiller after two years of Watergate distractions makes businessmen, labor leaders and consumers alike anxious at least to hear whatever the new President has to offer. Even AFL-CIO president George Meany, long at odds with Nixonomics, pledged "all possible support," and in dozens of interviews NEWSWEEK correspondents across the land listened to business leaders breathe a collective sigh of relief. "Whenever you remove uncertainty, there's a leveling, a stability," says Frank P. Wendt, president of John Nuveen & Co., a major bond house. "I hope we now have a leader who can address himself to the economy." Most businessmen also stress that the Ford Presidency cannot help but bolster public confidence in the White House—and that this factor may actually help in the battle against inflation by reducing the amount of consumer hedge-buying.

The reaction abroad to the changing guard in Washington was far more subdued. The only Ford most foreign bankers and businessmen know is Henry—"I never even heard of Jerry Ford until two years ago," said one—and they worry that the new President may have neither the interest in nor understanding of such international economic intricacies as monetary reform and the Eurodollar market. "The French business community feels that in economic matters, the new President is a lightweight," sniffed an imperious French banker. But most business leaders abroad tend to agree with Sir Richard Powell, president of

Britain's Institute for Fiscal Studies. "If the new President can calm America," Powell declares, "he will go a long way toward calming the world, and our common problems of inflation and other pressing [economic] issues may begin to get the attention they deserve at last."

Perhaps most important of all to businessmen on both sides of the Atlantic, the Ford Presidency returns a sense of character and integrity to the White House. Yet the problems bequeathed him by Nixon remain unchanged—and uniformly bleak. Inflation will not quickly subside nor the unemployment rate recede; money will still be expensive for borrowers, and lenders will pay high interest rates to attract funds.

#### FORD'S GRIM ECONOMIC LEGACY

Wall Street's reaction last week seemed to reflect these harsh realities; Watergate has plainly added to the stock market's woes over the past two years (chart, page 66), but a euphoric two-day rally when Nixon's resignation appeared imminent quickly sputtered, and on the very day Gerald Ford took office, the Dow Jones industrial average fell nearly 8 points. But then, there was ample reason for gloominess in last week's economic data:

- The wholesale price index rose a staggering 3.7 per cent in July—44 per cent on an annual basis—following a half year of relatively modest increases averaging 0.4 per cent a month. Much of the huge jump was due to farm prices, presaging higher supermarket prices this fall. But industrial commodities also leaped higher than expected—2.7 per cent.

- General Motors Corp. announced that its 1975 models will cost customers nearly 10 per cent more than the '74s, a price boost that may qualify GM for the



bite of a Ford Administration jawbone. ■ Investors continued to drain their savings accounts in favor of investments carrying higher rates of return. Last week, they flocked to buy the Treasury's new 9 per cent notes. This "disintermediation" has placed an enormous strain on thrift institutions—and on the housing industry they finance. In July alone, the nation's savings banks suffered a \$725 million outflow of funds, the worst monthly drain in 27 years.

To deal with these and other economic problems, President Ford seems certain to rely on the economic advisers Nixon left behind. His respect for Burns

and staffers, especially Michigan lawyer-accountant William Seidman and former Wisconsin Congressman John W. Byrnes.

It is uncertain, of course, how faithfully Ford will follow their advice. Last week, for instance, Fed chairman Burns suggested in an appearance before the Joint Economic Committee that the Administration re-establish a cost-of-living council with authority to delay inflationary wage and price boosts—and that the U.S. Treasury finance a \$4 billion public-service employment program to provide 800,000 jobs should the jobless rate hit 6 per cent. But the President is on record in opposition to another round

neither served on committees concerned with business and economics nor authored any economics legislation. Opinions of his economics expertise from those who know him well range from "woolly-headed" to a competent "generalist." His voting record in Congress seems to mirror his sincere commitment to pro-business Republican orthodoxy: tight budgets, tight money, less government interference with the private sector. In Congress, says a top AFL-CIO official, Ford voted the labor line only nine times on 118 pieces of legislation, casting nays for minimum-wage bills, Medicare and the creation in 1964 of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

When he has spoken on economic matters, Ford's speeches ring mainly with obvious truths, generalities and homespun homilies—and on some occasions, the onetime University of Michigan center lapses into a convoluted football metaphor. In February, Ford told one group: "I only wish that I could take the entire United States into the locker room at half time. It would be an opportunity to say that we have lost yards against the line drives of inflation and the end runs of energy shortages, and that we are not using all our players as we might because there is too much unemployment . . . There would be no excuses about previous coaches and previous seasons. I would simply say that we must look not at the points we have lost but at the points we can gain."

**UNEMPLOYMENT THE REAL TEST**

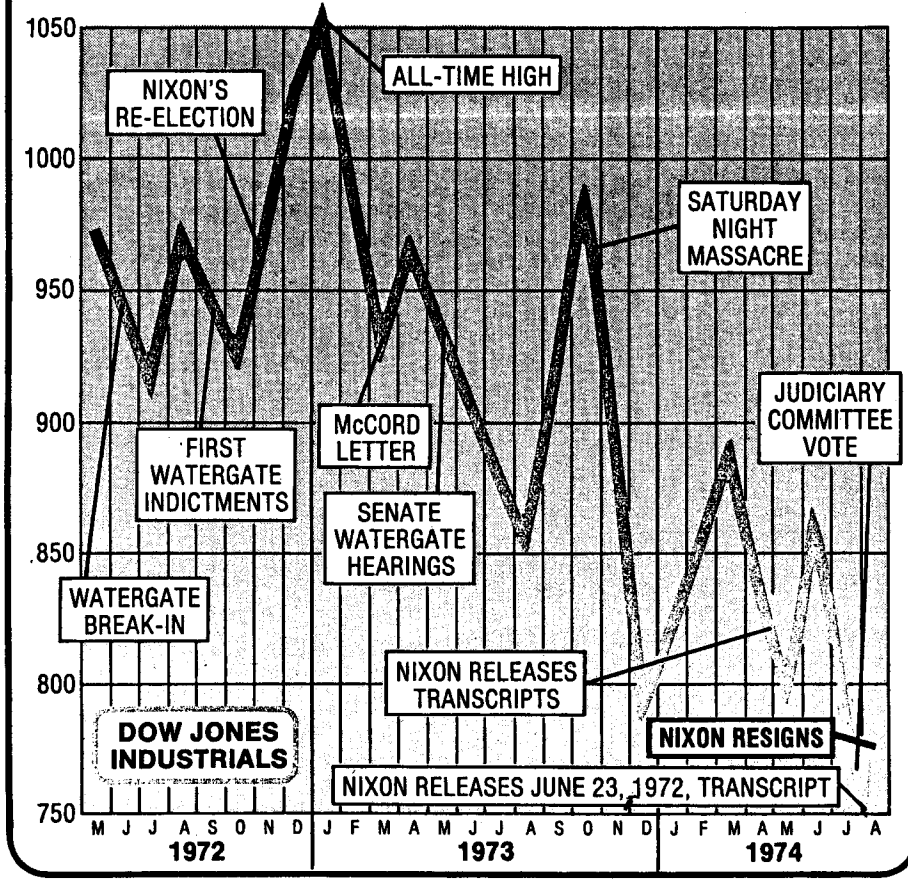
One possible hitch in Ford's economic game plan may be presented by his old pals on Capitol Hill. As House Minority Leader and later as Vice President, Ford gained a well-deserved reputation as a man who could never say no to Republican colleagues seeking campaign help—and come this fall, his friends will certainly want the President to make them look good. One sure way to do this in the face of rising unemployment would be to pump up the economy with expansive fiscal and monetary policies.

Greenspan has maintained that the current restrictive policies should stay in force for at least one to two years—and if they work, unemployment is certain to increase. The real test of the current Ford policy, most experts believe, will come when the jobless rate passes 5.5 per cent. "At that point," one top government economist predicts, "the time will have come to separate the men from the boys."

But for these early weeks, most Administration planners are confident that the new President is starting off in the right direction in his campaign to restore the nation's economic health. "The right policies are in place," says Herman Liebling, the Treasury's senior career economist. "As we look ahead to the rest of '74 and '75, I just want to see whether economic policy will be pursued as policymakers now say it will be. If so, it will get us where we want to go."

**THE WATERGATE MARKET**

Inflation and high interest rates have been the market's main depressants, but Watergate added more than a little gloom. Significantly, prices turned up last week when President Nixon's resignation appeared imminent.



is unshakable, and he has already asked Treasury Secretary William E. Simon to remain aboard indefinitely. Budget director Roy L. Ash has been requested to stay "for now," he says, but insiders speculate that unless Ford can detoxify the poison darts Ash and Simon have been throwing at each other, one of them will have to go—and the betting is that it will be Ash, perhaps early next year.

Ford has also reaffirmed Nixon's appointment of New York economist Alan Greenspan as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, replacing Herbert Stein. And finally, he surely will seek counsel from his own coterie of friends

of wage-price controls in any form, and his belief in the old-time religion of balanced or surplus budgeting might prompt him to bounce any proposal he regarded as budget-busting. "Jerry believes in what Nixon believed in," says a close friend familiar with his economic views. "But I think he's slightly more conservative. He's not going to mount a white charger, put on a liberal hat and gallop around."

For the most part, Ford will probably adhere closely to the policy recommendations of his advisers, if only out of enlightened self-interest. By all accounts, he comes to his new job a novice in economics; in 25 years in the House, he

# The Legacy of Nixonomics

Fueled by the Vietnam war, the U.S. economy was booming when Richard Nixon ran for President in 1968. But the war had also touched off a vicious wave of inflation—and Nixon coupled his campaign pledge to extricate the nation from its Indochinese nightmare with a heady promise to stop the price spiral without tumbling the economy into recession. "Peace with prosperity!" went the slogan that helped elect him.

Six years later, the departing President admitted in his resignation speech last week that his goal of "prosperity without inflation" had eluded his Administration. Nixon left the White House with the economy slumping, unemployment rising and inflation eating away at the U.S. dollar at twice the rate suffered during his first months in office (chart).

Clearly, Nixonomics—that paradoxical amalgam of reluctant jawboning, full-scale government intervention and old-fashioned Republican orthodoxy—has been by and large a failure. Not even Nixon's stunning decision in August 1971 to freeze wages and prices for the first time in the nation's peacetime history was enough to put a lid on inflation. And his widely heralded plans for welfare reform and revenue sharing never really did get off the ground. Indeed, the only economic area in which he can claim real success is international trade. His two decisions to devalue the dollar bolstered American industry's fading strength in world markets.

## A LACK OF PHILOSOPHY

Where did Nixon go wrong? It certainly wasn't in any exaggerated devotion to a particular economic ideology. Rather, it was precisely the opposite—a virtual lack of any fixed economic philosophy beyond the traditional Republican distaste for government intervention (and even this Nixon was willing to abandon when he felt the time was right).

"It was not only that he was disinterested in economics," notes Walter Heller, chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers. "He disliked economics." As President, Nixon seems to have regarded economic policy as something to be exercised all too often for political advantage. "The Nixon economic policies were circumscribed by political debts," says Otto Eckstein, a CEA member under President Johnson. "Every corporate call by his fund raisers gave away a small piece of economic policy."

Of course, the nation's current economic woes aren't entirely Nixon's fault. "America's economic-policy machinery simply cannot control the weather, the Arabs or the superinflationary economic policies of other countries," points out economist Albert H. Cox Jr. What's more, notes *NEWSWEEK's* chief economic correspondent, Rich Thomas, "Any Pres-

ident in a period of inflation confronts one nasty fact: there is simply no proven way to halt inflation without putting people out of work and business through the wringer."

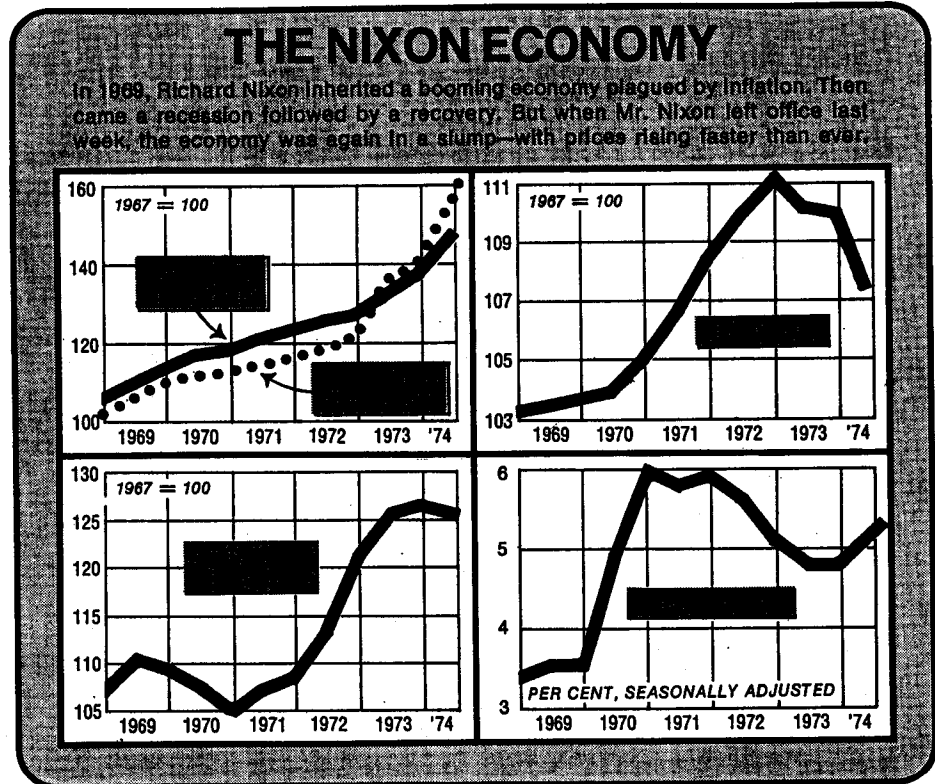
That did not keep Nixon from trying—with a policy called "gradualism." The theory was that if the government applied the conventional anti-inflation policies of budgetary and monetary restraint gradually and with scientific precision, that would produce just enough of a squeeze to curb spending while avoiding a recession. The problem, however, was that business and labor leaders read the newspapers. Knowing that this kid-

spending. And the President ordered large increases in government spending to pump up the economy.

By August inflation was clearly getting out of control, and Nixon dramatically announced a 90-day wage-price freeze in hopes of containing the inflationary pressures ravaging the now-surgingly economy. The controls worked at first; but ultimately they proved a disaster.

## TOO HOT TO HANDLE

For one thing, the domestic economy was boiling at a rate impossible to cool off with wage and price controls. Moreover, at about the same time, grain-crop failures overseas triggered a worldwide explosion in food prices. And then in late 1973 and early '74, the Arabs



gloves treatment was designed to keep them from getting hurt, they could safely ignore it.

So the inflation rate continued to climb and the government found itself forced to keep squeezing the economy longer than it had planned. The result was stagflation—prices kept rising, unemployment skyrocketed and the nation found itself in its first recession since the Eisenhower years.

By early 1971, with unemployment at a ten-year high and inflation as bad as ever, memories of the late-1950s recession that helped thwart his 1960 bid for the Presidency tempted Nixon to switch his approach. With the end of his first term in sight, Nixon coolly rejected a lifetime of laissez-faire pronouncements and announced that he had become a Keynesian—a believer in the doctrine that the economy could be "tuned" by fiddling with taxes and government

stunned the world by quadrupling the price of oil.

In response, Nixon's shell-shocked planners gave up trying to control economic events with precision. Thus, as effortlessly as he had converted to Keynesianism, the President reverted back to what his advisers called "the old-time religion"—the idea that a stiff dose of unemployment and reduced demand would bring inflation to heel.

That has yet to happen. Whether it ever will, of course, is no longer Richard Nixon's problem—though the damage his sudden policy shifts did to the American economy remains, in part at least, his legacy. His economic stewardship was cursed with bad luck, to be sure, but it was also crippled by his habit of swaying in the winds of expediency. "He let his political instincts rule over his economic instincts," says Heller. "That was his major problem."



BY PAUL A. SAMUELSON

## COPING WITH STAGFLATION

President Ford's taking office is not likely to have any great effects on the U.S. economy one way or another. This anticlimactic conclusion does not, however, rule out the following prospect:

*With a little luck, the U.S. economy is likely to do better in President Ford's first year of office than it did in Nixon's last year.*

On analysis, I find no merit in the common view that our economic troubles were appreciably due to the fact that Richard Nixon was so busy fighting for his political life that he was unable to devote the time needed to devise government policies to cure inflation. If he had all the time in the world, we'd still face our present problem of stagflation.

There are no feasible policies that President Ford can now be expected to formulate with the help of a cooperative Congress that will succeed in doing much about such inflation. If you don't believe this sober fact of life, gather a jury of the country's twelve best economists. Provided you have sampled a broad spectrum of political opinion, their lack of agreement will corroborate the one basic fact about stagflation:

*No mixed economy—not the U.S. or U.K., Sweden or Switzerland, Germany or Japan, France or Italy—knows how to have sustained full employment with price stability.*

Galbraithians will tell the new Presi-

dent that price-wage controls administered by a President who believes in them can do the trick. Gerald Ford will not agree with them, and neither will their academic colleagues.

Hayekians will tell Ford that the free market plus control on the supply of money is the only way to deal with stagflation. But a majority of their colleagues will read in the evidence of the modern world greater costs and less benefits from such policies than are dreamed of in these philosophies.

### CONTINUITY

What then will the new President do? He will listen to the cacophony of advice offered. Being essentially conservative, and being a believer in continuity, he will presumably follow the advice of people like Dr. Burns and the inherited staff of Administration economists.

So long as the unemployment rate stays below the politically critical levels of, say, 5% per cent, Ford will give his blessing to tight money and austere fiscal policy.

The dozen forecasters with the best batting averages in recent times expect that, under these policies, *real growth will be anemic from mid-1974 to mid-1975*. To be sure, that would be better than recent negative growth. But it would be significantly less than the 3 to 4 per cent growth rate needed to employ a growing labor force.

Gerald Ford, being a political pragmatist, can be expected later to talk increasingly about the stagnation part of our stagflation problem—as the electorate begins to react to the growing level of unemployment. Once the 1976 election comes into view, the dynamics of populist democracy will tend to reactivate the only business cycle left in the modern mixed economy—the political cycle, in which policy is expansionary just before major general elections.

### THE MIDDLE WAY

How would I advise a new President?

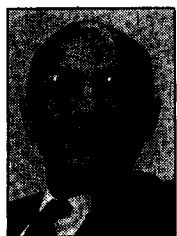
1. Set yourself realistic sights. Best feasible policy is to try to reduce this year's low two-digit inflation to high one-digit inflation by next year.

Most relief will come about not from government's austere macroeconomic policies but from abatement of the rash of exogenous factors that sent prices up in 1974: no new strength to the Mideast oil monopoly; with luck, no worldwide rash of crop failures; no simultaneous flare-up of overheated economies all over the world.

2. Realize that the inflation you inherit is tougher than what Nixon faced in 1968-69. Now cost-push inflation, not demand-pull, is on us in force. The President of all the people, who wishes to end the divisiveness of our political life, should speak softly and put aside his big stick lest he rouse sleeping dogs of the class struggle.

3. Apply a simple test to any counselor who presses an all-out religious crusade against inflation. Ask what his program is likely to achieve in terms of percentage-point reductions in inflation, and make him set out its costs in unemployment and living standards.

In short, replace ideology by cost-benefit analysis.



BY MILTON FRIEDMAN

## DEALING WITH DISCONTENT

Inflation, 12 per cent; unemployment, 5.3 per cent; second-quarter economic growth, minus 1.2 per cent. These key statistics describe our current economic troubles. Yet they deal only with symptoms. They do not reveal the fundamental economic problem that President Ford inherits.

That problem is reflected in a very different set of statistics:

■ From 1955 to 1965, output per person in the U.S. rose by 20 per cent; real spendable weekly earnings of the average worker rose by 15 per cent.

■ From 1965 to the second quarter of 1974, output per person rose by 23 per cent—or by more than in the prior decade—but real spendable weekly earnings did not rise at all; they are today actually lower than they were in 1965.

Herein is the real source of our present discontent.

How can it be that output rose yet real spendable earnings fell? Part of the answer is that an ever-higher fraction of the nation's total goods and services has been diverted from producers to nonproducers—through direct gov-

ernment spending and through governmentally imposed private spending for such things as safety and environmental devices.

Inflation has not caused the diversion; it has simply been one means of achieving it. If producers—the workers who furnish the labor, the managers who coordinate the labor, the investors who provide the tools—have disposed of a declining fraction of total output, some mechanisms must have channeled an increasing fraction into other hands. Explicit taxes were one such mechanism, but legislating higher taxes is not a politically popular pastime. Borrowing from the public is another such mechanism, but that tends to drive up interest rates. Inflation is a third mechanism that no one openly supports yet that political authorities find seductive. It is a hidden tax that no representative or senator needs to vote for. It is collected efficiently, automatically and silently. That is why since time

immemorial it has been resorted to by every sovereign who has sought to command a larger share of his nation's output than his subjects would voluntarily spare him.

We could deal with inflation itself—and should have done so long since—by imposing additional explicit taxes and by borrowing more from the public instead of financing government spending by inflationary creation of money. But that would not touch the major problem that makes the one or the other necessary—the diversion of output from producers to nonproducers, which creates widespread dissatisfaction and, by impairing the incentive to produce, threatens future growth.

**CUT GOVERNMENT SPENDING**

President Ford can deal with that major problem in only one fundamental way: by persuading Congress to reduce direct and indirect levies on output.

Reduction of direct levies means a re-

duction in government spending—a real reduction, not a token reduction, a reduction in this year's spending compared with last year's, not a reduction from a proposed \$30 billion increase in the budget to a \$25 billion increase. There is ample room for reduction, given the will. Every government program is for a "good" objective, but there is hardly one that gives the taxpayer his money's worth.

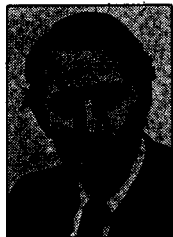
Reduction of indirect levies means a reduction in government impositions on private spending. The dollars that private enterprises and individuals are required to spend for environmental and other purposes are no less a drain on output because they come from private pockets than they would be if they came directly from government coffers. "Environment" and "safety" are fine objectives, but they have become sacred cows about which it is almost heresy to ask whether the return justifies the cost.

Another indirect levy is the growing

tide of government guarantees of credit and direct loans for housing, producers of beef, badly run railroads, banks and other enterprises. This indirect levy is particularly serious because it encroaches on the limited resources available to add to productive capital. Where will the funds come from to pay for the new equipment that we need to continue the growth in total output?

**NEEDED: STRONG LEADERSHIP**

Here is President Ford's challenge. Here too is his opportunity. The public is ahead of its "elected" leaders. It recognizes increasingly that it has been taken to the cleaners, that bigger government is not better government, that there is no magic wand that can produce something for nothing. It is fed up with high explicit taxes. It is fed up also with the hidden tax of inflation. It recognizes that it cannot get rid of these taxes without withdrawal pains. It is ready to bite the bullet. It awaits only strong leadership.



BY CLEM MORGELLO

**WALL STREET**

**WHAT WALL STREET WANTS**

Wall Street got its "resignation rally" last week, but it wasn't quite what was expected. In the months before the fate of President Nixon moved to its climax, brokers speculated that a resignation would be good for at least 100 points on the Dow Jones industrial average. What they got was 45 points in the three rumor-filled days before Nixon announced his resignation—encouraging, but not spectacular. Volume wasn't impressive, although odd-lotters were among the buyers for the first time in months. Profit-taking set in on the day of the actual announcement.

The simple fact is that Nixon's departure has taken care of only one of the so-called "Three I's" that have been bothering the market—impeachment, inflation and interest rates. The air has been cleared. That is obviously an event of great psychological importance, but it doesn't provide the answers to the inflation and interest problems. And, in truth, most brokers have very little in the way of new advice to offer President Ford about these matters. They think the government should continue its policy of moderate credit and budgetary restraint—and from all indications Ford is inclined to do so.

Beyond these macro-economic considerations, investment men do hope that the Ford Administration will make some constructive moves in an area of vital

concern to all industry as well as to Wall Street—the capital markets. According to one savvy estimate, the nation must invest \$4.5 trillion during the next ten years on plant and equipment, inventories and housing; that's triple the amount laid out during the past decade. As much as \$65 billion of the \$4.5 trillion may have to be raised from stocks and many times that from bonds.

**EQUAL TO THE TASK?**

How close America comes to meeting these boxcar numbers will, of course, determine the number of new jobs that are created and the level of the nation's standard of living. Unfortunately, the fear is now growing that the U.S. capital markets may not be equal to the task. The ability of industry to raise money has been deteriorating, a trend most noticeable among electric utilities. Beyond this, Wall Street's ability to market securities is being constricted by the attrition among brokerage firms. The willingness of public and institutional investors to buy has also diminished sharply.

To help remedy this situation, leading Wall Street men would like to see the Ford Administration create a central office to coordinate government activities relating to the capital markets, with a view toward insuring their health. There is no organization to do for the capital markets what the Federal Reserve

Board does for credit, for example.

A small delegation of powerful Wall Street executives recently urged their views on Administration officials. One of the delegates, president Donald Marron of Mitchell, Hutchins, suggests other, more specific, ways the markets could be strengthened.

- Increase the amount of capital losses that an individual can deduct from ordinary income in a single year. The current limit is \$1,000. Marron suggests that raising that limit to \$4,000 or \$5,000 would tempt more individuals to take a chance on stocks and provide the liquidity Wall Street so badly needs.

- Allow brokerage houses to set aside tax-free reserves out of current income. The reserves could be used to tide the brokers over lean periods in their brutally cyclical business. The ultimate objective, of course, is an improved ability to market industry's stocks and bonds.

- Clear up the legislative and regulatory uncertainty surrounding issues such as negotiated rates and the central market. Marron believes that many brokers are discouraged from making future plans because matters are up in the air.

Such measures would obviously help fatten the profits of Wall Street firms. But it would be worth the price if they also strengthened the ability of industry to raise the money it so badly needs.

	Close	Point Change	Volume / millions of shares
<b>DOW JONES Industrials</b>	777.30	+24.72	
<b>NYSE Composite</b>	42.39	+1.22	66.6
<b>AMEX</b>	79.05	+2.39	7.4
<b>NASDAQ Composite</b>	70.69	+1.29	16.8



Fred J. Maroon—Mercler

TV crew watches resignation outside White House: Excitement, bewilderment and, finally, a certain numbness

## The White House Deathwatch

It was a journalistic suspense story that had been unwinding for more than two years. But when the denouement finally came—in just four, electrifying days—it stunned the most shockproof political-press veterans, even those who had long been predicting the last chapter. Ironically, last week had promised to be the media's breath-catching lull before the full Congress grappled with the President's impeachment; even CBS's Walter Cronkite, who had vowed to stick to his post until Watergate finally ran its course, had slipped off to Martha's Vineyard for a few recuperative days of sailing. But it turned out to be a week that swept the U.S. press corps through a maelstrom of emotions—excitement, bewilderment, frustration and, for some, the exhilaration of vindication tempered by simple human compassion. By the weekend, the press was feeling the sort of psychic numbness that, as one Washington newsman put it, "follows the long wait at the bedside of a dying patient."

The four-day drama opened with a stampede. On Monday afternoon, about 80 reporters were on hand in the White House press room when two Administration secretaries started handing out Nixon's fatal statement on the June 23rd transcript that he was about to release. The secretaries were all but trampled as newsmen rushed up to grapple for copies of the two-page document before dashing for phones. For the next three days, deputy press secretary Gerald Warren either doggedly denied—or simply dodged—every question involving the President's imminent resignation. The press room was so supercharged with

expectation that the Associated Press chattered out a classic piece of semantic muddle: "By afternoon the speculation [had] hardened into rumor."

The fever crested on Wednesday when two afternoon papers—The Providence (R.I.) Bulletin and The Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette—carried stories saying that the President had decided to step down. Although Bulletin editors refused to identify their "reliable source close to the President," speculation centered on Rabbi Baruch Korff, the zealous Nixon defender from Providence who had visited with Nixon earlier in the week. Officials at the Gazette revealed that the paper's chief Washington correspondent had been tipped off by aides to Arizona Congressman John J. Rhodes, the House Republican leader. Both scoops, as it turned out, were a trifle premature: Nixon did not finally make up his mind until late Wednesday afternoon.

**Rotten:** It was ABC-TV that committed the week's only major gaffe. On Wednesday, ABC's Capitol Hill correspondent Bob Clark phoned the network's Washington bureau to report that a Senate source said that President Nixon had "indicated" to Sen. Barry Goldwater he would bow out. "Incredibly," recalled Clark, "I learned a half hour later that ABC was reporting Barry Goldwater told me the President would resign." To make matters worse, Clark's Senate source later corrected himself; Goldwater, he now said, was not involved in the leak in any way. But by the time Clark came on the air to apologize to the senator, Goldwater had already taken to the Senate floor to denounce

TV's "damned lies." Glaring up at the press gallery, Goldwater snapped: "You're a rotten bunch."

On Wednesday night NBC packed up its entire "Today" show operation and moved it from Rockefeller Center to Washington. CBS's Cronkite and Eric Sevareid, who had also been plucked back from vacation, flew to the Capital for the network's coverage. The next morning's newspaper headlines ran the gamut from caution to virtual certainty. NIXON DRAFTS RESIGNATION screamed The New York Daily News ("It was a scoop from a good source," said a News executive). The Washington Post didn't go quite that far (NIXON RESIGNATION SEEMED NEAR), while The New York Times simply equivocated (NIXON REPORTED UNDECIDED ON RESIGNING).

**Class:** The second largest TV audience in U.S. history—an estimated 110 million people (the first moon landing was tops with 125 million)—tuned in the President's farewell to the nation. All three networks manfully struggled to fill their two hours of warm-up coverage by interviewing Congressional leaders, legal scholars and Joes-in-the-street from Peoria to Times Square. Most newsmen displayed a somber magnanimity toward the speech itself. NBC's John Chancellor called it "restrained and statesmanlike." CBS's Dan Rather, regarded as one of Nixon's toughest inquisitors, said that "he gave his moment a touch of class . . . more than that, a touch of majesty"—an observation that brought a sharp demurral from his colleague Roger Mudd: "From the viewpoint of Congress, that wasn't a very satisfactory speech."

Rather was first to alert viewers that the next President had tapped Detroit newsman Jerry terHorst as his new press secretary and to report on the evening's





Press secretary terHorst: Well-liked and widely respected

## THE FRIENDLY FORD BEAT

Last December, when Gerald Ford became Vice President, only a handful of news reporters accompanied him on his travels. Among the first Ford watchers was *NEWSWEEK*'s Thomas M. DeFrank, who describes the new President as seen from the back of the press plane:

**J**erry Ford genuinely likes reporters—he always has. When he assumed the Vice Presidency, Ford declined to use a JetStar plane because it was too small to carry the press. He has been unusually accessible to reporters—giving 52 press conferences and 85 formal interviews since he was sworn in Dec. 6. “I think it’s important that we have good relations with the press,” he explained last March, “not because we agree with them, not because they will write something because they like you... I happen to believe the news media can and have been helpful in trying to preserve some of the great liberties that we have in this country.”

Ford’s friendly relationship with reporters is based on his openness and generosity. Last December, he delayed his departure to Vail for twenty minutes to wait for a tardy reporter. This year, he invited the press “regulars” to the dinner he gave for visiting King Hussein and to his son’s wedding reception—not as reporters but as official guests. And until recently, Ford would saunter through Air Force Two with a Martini or bourbon and water in hand to share jokes, trade mock insults and hoist a few rounds with the press. Once, after he had labeled the streaking fad as “silly,” the press corps

bought Ford a T shirt with **KEEP ON STREAKING** emblazoned in bold letters across the chest. The Vice President gleefully tried it on over his shirt and raced up the aisle of the plane to the press section.

Ford readily accepts a certain degree of good-natured sassiness. During his daunting round of out-of-town speeches this year, the press was forced to endure endless repetitions of what came to be known as “the telephone story”: how when Nixon phoned Ford at home to ask him to be Vice President, he had to ask the President to call back on a line with an extension so that Betty Ford could listen in. “You know,” one photographer finally told him, “we’re so sick of that story we wish the President hadn’t called back.”

**Pique:** There have been moments of friction. Last May, Ford told reporters he was worried that Watergate had so weakened the Nixon Administration that its foreign policy might have been damaged. Ford claims he said this off the record; when the conversation was reported in the press the next day, he was furious. He soon got over his pique, but Ford has never been quite so open with the press since.

As President, Ford will likely be more cautious with reporters. But it is hard to believe that he will change his gregarious style—and his new press secretary, Detroit News veteran Jerry terHorst, is equally friendly and well-liked. “Jerry Ford,” one regular predicts, “will probably saunter through the White House press room at least once a week—just to shoot the breeze.”

most bizarre event—someone’s decision to lock reporters in the White House press room for 23 minutes to insure Nixon’s privacy while he walked from the Executive Office Building to the White House. Warren later apologized for the incarceration.

On Friday, most of the major newspapers published special “background” stories that had been prepared well in advance. The Washington Post ran a 24-page special section entitled “The Nixon Years,” a graphic portrayal of the President’s career that took three months to compile and will appear as part of an instant book called “The Fall of the President” which goes on sale this week.

**Titles:** The sudden resignation presented the print media with all manner of arcane problems, technical and stylistic. The Washington Post found that it hadn’t any type large enough to produce a giant **NIXON RESIGNS** headline—so it set the letters in smaller type, took a picture of them and then blew them up to 2 inches through its photoengraving process. At The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, editors fretted over what titles to bestow on the drama’s two lead characters. Between Friday’s first and third editions, “Gerald R. Ford” had been elevated to “Mr. Ford,” and “Mr. Nixon” had slipped to simply “Nixon.”

Back in Washington, the fractious relationship between the media and the Nixon Administration concluded on a somewhat schizoid note. Press secretary Ronald Ziegler bade adieu to his journalistic combatants with a gracious, if tight-lipped, accolade to “the diversity and strength of... our free press.” But a few hours earlier, White House staffer Mort Allin, who prepared the President’s news summaries each morning, stormed into the briefing room and snarled at startled reporters: “I hope you guys are having fun getting drunk in your celebration, you [expletives deleted].”

**Cool:** For their part, White House press regulars seemed to be looking forward to covering President Ford (box). The new press secretary, Jerry terHorst, is a cool, widely respected veteran—he has covered the last four Presidential campaigns for The Detroit News—who reportedly has received a firm commitment from Ford to be plugged into the decision-making machinery. “He’ll come on like Jim Hagerty did during the Eisenhower years,” predicts one admiring colleague.

As it happens, virtually all of the newsmen who tagged along with Ford during his Vice Presidency will now yield their suddenly hot property to the media’s White House stars. And journalists will begin the psychologically wrenching transition from the numbing paroxysm of the week’s events to a fresh era of Presidential press relations. As an emotionally drained John Chancellor observed after Nixon’s historic speech: “A President has resigned his office. Tomorrow, we will have a new President. And the world goes on.”