

Notes from an Open White House

Some things were different in Washington last week.

New York's Congressman Barber Conable, who has been part of the Republican leadership for four years, got his first invitation to the Oval Office.

He came in the northwest gate without a pause, found himself ushered cheerfully into the visitors' lobby of the West Wing, then next thing he knew he was in the back rooms having a good discussion on health insurance and tax reform with two old friends, Mel Laird and Bryce Harlow. He was led down to the President's office and found himself standing right at the heart of things shaking hands with another congressional friend, Jerry Ford.

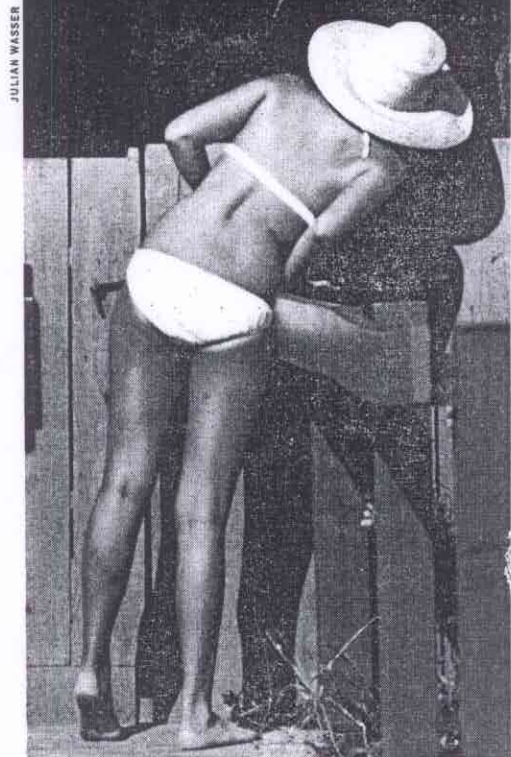
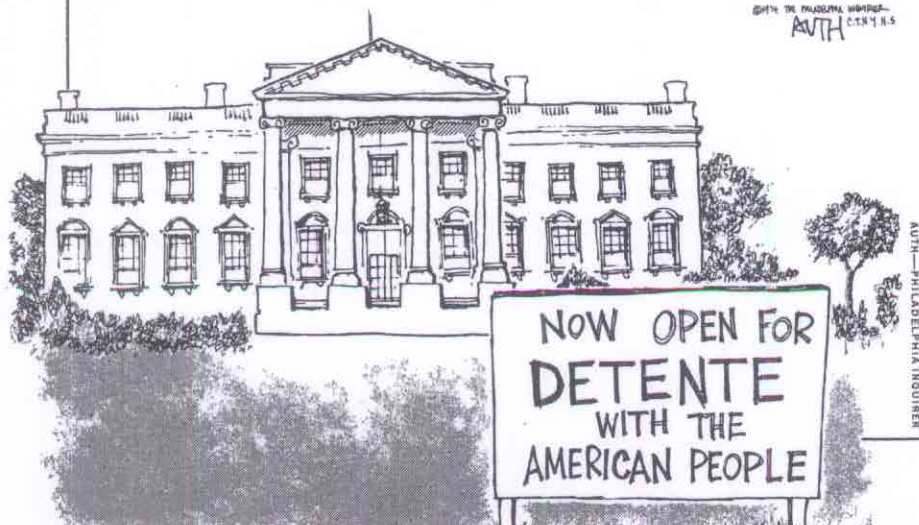
Conable said it was his first time in the Oval Office. Ford looked surprised, assured him it would not be his last. The President ordered iced tea for the two and they settled on the sofas. "Is that a Gilbert Stuart?" asked Conable, admiring the portrait of George Washington over the fireplace. "I don't know," said the President. "I haven't been here long enough." Conable got down to business. "What kind of Vice President do you want?" he asked Ford. "Wait a minute," said the President, "I asked you here to tell me what kind of Vice President I should have."

Between the Nixon resignation and the Cyprus crisis, Henry Kissinger stood in his huge domain on the seventh floor at the State Department and actually let his mind wander from statecraft. "What do you think of this rug?" he asked a visitor, pointing at a handsome Oriental that had been laid over the broad and lifeless expanse of beige G.I. carpeting. "Nancy thought I needed something to break things up. It's a little too busy, isn't it?"

Three reporters in the 1971 chartreuse Pinto belonging to the Milwaukee *Journal's* Jack Kole sped up to the White House following Ford's address to Congress. They wanted a text of the speech. "We are going to test the Administration's new openness," the Chicago *Daily News's* Peter Lisagor told the guard. "Can we drive in?" The police officer checked, was told it was okay. They drove up West Executive Avenue, sometimes called Limousine Alley, finding a parking space in slots reserved for the Vice President. They got the text, went off into the night as easily as they had come.

West Virginia's Republican Governor Arch Moore, who has been going to the White House as Congressman or Governor since the days of Dwight Eisenhower, came around for the President's courtesy meeting with the Executive Committee of the National Governors' Conference. Moore found himself swept along in congenial confusion through those sacred corridors of power in the White House. He paused at the Oval Office, then went on to the Cabinet Room. There was no agenda and Ford just came into the room with no fanfare and started to shake hands around the big table. "This should be a frank discussion," he told the men, "but most important, it should be relaxed."

It was. It included a talk about football and about working together. It struck Moore that there were only three presidential aides in attendance. He recalled that in the previous years the walls had been papered with those young, eager staff members that inhabited the White House. Back in Charleston, the Governor pondered the pleasant interlude. "We had the impression," he said, "that we were most welcome." Everywhere there was the feeling that the American presidency was back in the possession of the people.



PEERING OVER FENCE AT SAN CLEMENTE

THE EX-PRESIDENT

In Seclusion

The beach that used to be guarded by foot patrols and a Coast Guard cutter has been returned to the public. Last week a stream of strollers made the one-mile trek along the sand from San Clemente State Beach to stare at—and try to peer over—the wooden fence behind the railroad tracks and the 25-ft. bluff behind it. All that the curious could see was the gazebo that was refurbished at public expense and a corner of the main building. Richard Nixon stayed out of sight, as secluded in the Casa Pacifica at San Clemente as he was in his last weeks in the White House.

Except for occasional trips to the beach at Camp Pendleton 13 miles south of the estate and a drive in a dark-topped white Mercury, Nixon remained inside the compound. He received hardly any visitors and made only a few telephone calls to old supporters. He did call his longtime friend and former communications director, Herb Klein, to offer a good-humored apology for the unflattering references in the transcripts of June 23, 1972, to Klein's not having "his head screwed on." After President Ford's address to Congress, Nixon sent him a congratulatory telegram. The next day Ford called to thank Nixon, and the two talked for 15 minutes.

Los Angeles Lawyer Dean Butler, who is handling Nixon's personal legal affairs, journeyed to San Clemente for a round of talks with Nixon Aides Ronald L. Ziegler, Stephen B. Bull and Colonel Jack Brennan. Butler glimpsed the

former President walking the grounds, but the two did not speak. He is not involved with Nixon's Watergate-related legal problems.

San Clemente is adjusting calmly to the reduced estate of its most famous resident. Souvenir hunters quickly made off with signs referring to the city as the "home of the Western White House." One mile northeast of the Nixon house, the 300-unit condominium development called "Presidential Heights" continues to advertise that "nearly every hill-house home has a view of the Western White House." Real Estate Broker Charles Day said last week that the ad may be changed, but not the name. "It's been very successful," he insisted. "It has the connotation of quality and success."

Back in Washington, Julie Nixon Eisenhower supervised the packing of her mother's prized glass and crystal and the delicate art objects collected by the Nixons in years of world travel. They will be shipped to San Clemente. At midweek Julie flew to the headquarters of Curtis Publishing Co. in Indianapolis, an unvarying routine for her even in the worst weeks of the impeachment crisis. Julie's career is faring well: last week she was promoted from associate editor to assistant managing editor of the monthly *Saturday Evening Post*.

Meanwhile, some of the more intimate vignettes of the final hours of the Nixon presidency continued to emerge in Washington as the participants compared notes. A poignant one concerned Nixon's farewell meeting with 46 invited friends from Congress, just one hour before he announced his resignation in a televised address from the Oval Office. At the meeting, Richard Nixon was on the verge of emotional collapse. He noted that it would be his last meeting in the Cabinet Room—and then he laughed loudly and incongruously.

Nixon launched into a disjointed monologue. He talked of his days at Whittier College, where he had made the freshman football team, which had been so hard up for personnel that "they even played a fellow who had a broken ankle." He had made the eleventh spot on the twelve-man track team "by only an inch." Again, the strange laugh. But as he turned to his Watergate predicament, Nixon choked up. There were long silences. "Wait a little bit," he would say as sobs blocked his speech. Reminiscing again, he thanked the members of Congress for their support of his Viet Nam War policies.

As his television appointment approached, Nixon's state grew worse. He rose and started to leave the room. Weeping softly with his head down, he weaved unsteadily, then stumbled. Several aides rushed to his side, took his arms and helped him regain his balance. Yet moments later, showing his amazing recuperative powers, the outgoing President firmly and forcefully told the nation that he was resigning.

JUSTICE

The Legal Legacy of Watergate

The new President was earnestly in action, the former President departed, and a Watergate-weary nation was eager to turn the scandal over to the historians. But one of Watergate's lessons was that the U.S. legal processes, once activated, cannot be turned on and off with a twist of a judicial wrist. Already it was apparent last week that Citizen Nixon was enmeshed in criminal litigation and that the nation still faces an unwanted decision on what legal toll should yet be exacted of its deposed leader.

Richard Nixon's forced removal from office was a unique and humiliating punishment. But it was also based on the proposition that no man is above the law and that justice must at least strive for equal treatment of all those who

for Nixon, at least until national sentiment has cooled and crystallized. That shifted the burden, perhaps unfairly, to Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, who is charged with investigating and prosecuting all Watergate-related crimes. Understandably, he was in no hurry to make that decision. Yet it was widely believed among legal experts in Washington and indeed within his own staff that Jaworski had no choice: the evidence of criminal activity by the former President is sufficient for indictment and Jaworski therefore is under a legal obligation to prosecute Nixon. Simply judged by the law and the facts, the question was not whether, but when.

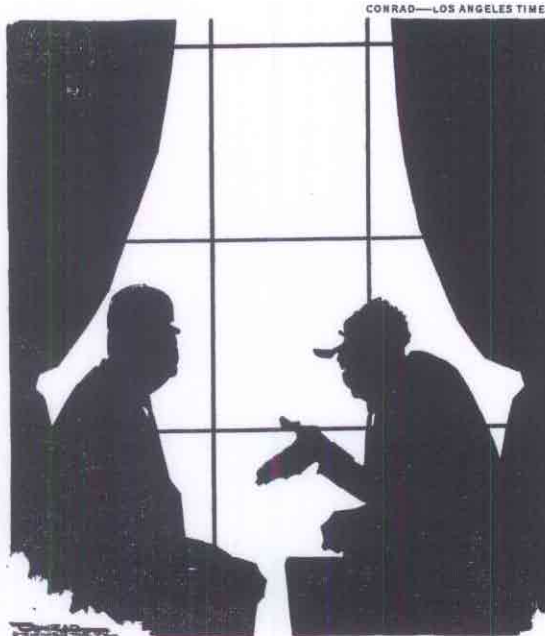
For Jaworski, his most immediate problem was how to mesh any action

against Nixon with the impending Watergate cover-up conspiracy trial of six former Nixon aides. The special prosecutor moved last week to gain more time to study that situation by agreeing with most of the defendants that the trial should be delayed. While the defendants pleaded for postponement because of the massive publicity generated by Nixon's resignation, Jaworski based his concurrence on the need to analyze the 55 tape recordings of White House conversations that Federal Judge John J. Sirica is turning over to Jaworski under orders endorsed by the U.S. Supreme Court. Sirica was to hold a hearing this week on whether the trial should be postponed.

Before the trial is held, Jaworski will have to decide how to treat Nixon, whether

as a defense witness, a prosecution witness or defendant. The grand jury that only named Nixon an unindicted co-conspirator because of doubts that a sitting President could be indicted can reconvene at any time to indict Citizen Nixon. A decision of some sort is inevitable since one defendant, John Ehrlichman, last week issued a subpoena for Nixon's testimony at the trial. Accompanying the subpoena, which presumably will be served on Nixon at San Clemente this week, was a check for \$302 for his travel expenses to and from Washington and a \$20 daily witness fee.

The subpoena from Ehrlichman marked a sharp break in longtime cooperative defense strategy between Ehrlichman and Nixon's other former top aide, H.R. Haldeman. Both had previously denied any attempt to obstruct justice by impeding the Watergate investi-



"As President, Jerry, you could grant me clemency . . . but it would be wrong!"

break the law? Compassion might dictate immunity from prosecution for Nixon. But would it be just to permit him to go untried while some two dozen of his agents have already paid the penalty of conviction or face trial for crimes committed in his behalf? If all were pardoned in a grand gesture of healing, what of justice for such as Charles Colson, Egil Krogh, Jeb Stuart Magruder, Herbert Kalmbach, Donald Segretti and the lesser Watergate burglars who already have been imprisoned? What of justice in a historical perspective, when so many have admitted their guilt, if Nixon were allowed to cling to the fiction that he resigned only because he had lost his "political base" in Congress?

As Congress prepared for its late summer recess, it was obvious that the lawmakers had no intention of offering any advice on the question of immunity

gation. The devastating June 23, 1972, transcripts of talks between Nixon and Haldeman, however, clearly show that Nixon and Haldeman had used the CIA to impede the FBI probe. TIME has learned that Ehrlichman, who also talked to both CIA and FBI officials at the same time, wants his lawyers to question Nixon about the precise instructions the President had given him. Ehrlichman now claims that he was misled by Nixon and Haldeman into thinking that genuine national security considerations lay behind their desire to get the FBI to restrict its investigation.

For Nixon, the subpoena presents an acute personal problem. He can move to quash it, as he had on several occasions in other litigation as President, but legal experts see little hope of a successful challenge now that he is out of office. Eventually, he probably will either have to plead the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination or testify and perhaps further incriminate himself.

Little Leverage. Unless Congress recommends otherwise or Ford intervenes with a pardon (although a pardon before an indictment apparently is unprecedented), Nixon's most probable trial role may well be as a defendant. He conceivably could attempt to plea bargain with Jaworski, although he has little leverage remaining for that purpose, considering the evidence against him already on record and the fact that there is no higher official that Jaworski could seek to indict. Only a detailed admission of guilt, including his cover-up activities relating to such defendants as Ehrlichman, Haldeman and John Mitchell, would be likely to impress Jaworski. The penalty Nixon would then have to pay presumably would be up to Judge Sirica, although President Ford could of course pardon him after any judicial action.

The Jaworski decision could be influenced by whatever the special prosecutor yet learns about Nixon's Watergate role in the tapes he is now acquiring. His staff indicated last week that it has no plans to subpoena any more tapes or documents from the ex-President. Nevertheless, the Jaworski team demonstrated that it had more than a casual interest in the 950 reels of taped Nixon conversations still locked up in the Executive Office Building. Among their final official acts, Nixon's chief Watergate defense lawyers, James St. Clair and J. Fred Buzhardt, advised Ford's staff that under past precedent, the tapes were the personal property of the former President. Ford's press secretary, J.F. terHorst, announced that Nixon would be able to dispose of them as he wished.

That decision was modified, however, when Ford's assistants learned that Jaworski had been merely advised of the opinion by the Nixon lawyers, rather than consulted on it and concurring with it as the aides had been led to believe. That produced an abrupt about-face

from the White House and an announcement from Jaworski's office that it was agreed no tapes will be moved "pending further discussion" with the special prosecutor's staff.

The extraordinary problem of how to deal with criminal activities emanating from the office of the President thus apparently was left—at least temporarily—to the ordinary processes of the judicial system. That seemed to be precisely how representatives of the nation's legal profession prefer to resolve the matter. Meeting in Hawaii, the American Bar Association (*see THE LAW*) vocally approved without dissent a resolution noting that "the foundation of the American system of law is equal justice under law" and that the law must be applied impartially "regardless of the position or status of any individual alleged to have violated the law."

LAURENT CORBELLE



RICARDO THOMAS



DIRCK HALSTEAD



SENATORS KENNEDY, PERCY, JACKSON

POLITICS

Winners and Losers

Even before Nixon's resignation, all Democrats and even some Republicans had good reason to rue the accession of President Ford. Now all that has changed. It will take weeks and months for the full political effects of Ford's presidency to become known, but by last week leading Republicans and Democrats were already busily assessing the post-Nixon political box score, trying to slot the winners and losers.

Since Ford will almost surely run for President in 1976, clear losers were those Republicans who had been cranking up for a run at their party's 1976 presidential nomination. Illinois Senator Charles Percy, a liberal Republican who had already spent about \$180,000 campaigning for the top spot on the party's 1976 slate, said that his candidacy has been put "on the back burner and maybe into the deep freeze." Similarly, other leading Republicans who remained untainted while the Watergate scandal was

under way have ironically been victimized by the end of the affair. California Governor Ronald Reagan and New York's Nelson Rockefeller have little chance now for 1976. Indeed, it would take a near disaster to drive Ford out and open the door to others.

On the Democratic side, the picture is more complicated. Loyalists of Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy insist that their favorite has emerged a winner from the resolution of Watergate. Kennedy, they argue, has the personal magnetism needed to unseat Ford in 1976. "Ford's going to run a personality campaign," says one Democratic strategist, and "I've been hearing people say that Ted's the only candidate we have with a personality strong enough to move people."

Other Democrats agree that Kennedy is most capable of unifying the var-

ious elements that can be rallied to the party's side—liberals, the labor unions, big-city ethnics, Catholics, blacks, the Spanish-speaking.

Kennedy supporters argue that he was the most damaged of all Democrats while Watergate was in full and odious bloom, since the sins of Nixon and his men called attention to Kennedy's own clinging scandal—Chappaquiddick. But, they continue, as Nixon's scandal fades, Kennedy's will fade with it.

It seems likelier for the opposite to take place, however. With Ford as a Mr. Clean in the White House, Republicans have no reason to allow Chappaquiddick to fade into obscurity—"Nobody drowned in Watergate," says one nasty bumper sticker. Even many Democrats question the wisdom of electing another morally tarnished candidate to the presidency just after getting rid of Nixon. As Reporter Robert Sherrill recently showed in a devastating New York Times Magazine article, there remain many unanswered questions about the Chappaquiddick incident, including Kennedy's public explanation of it, that

are bound to haunt a Kennedy run for the presidency.

These doubts about Kennedy may help other Democratic hopefuls, especially Washington's Henry Jackson. "Scoop's" conservatism in foreign policy areas—he favors large defense spending and is ultracautious on détente—may make him appealing to a part of Ford's natural constituency. His liberalism in economic matters could prove attractive to voters, especially if Ford does poorly in the fight against inflation. But Jackson, who does his homework and is known as an "issues man," often overstates his issues. Besides, he is dull. It is hard to see him overcoming either the Kennedy charisma or Ford's open charm.

In general, Democrats are suffering because they have lost their principal platform: anti-Nixonism. While they

have been given new life by Nixon's resignation. Among them:

► Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, former Republican national chairman. "He spent the first two years of Nixon trying to convince the people back home that he was the President's right hand man," says one Midwesterner. "He spent the last two years trying to convince them he never saw the guy." Free of the Nixon incubus, Dole's dilemma is ended. His opponent, Congressman William Roy, has been attacking him for being close to the former President. That attack has been blunted by Nixon's resignation, and Dole's chances of holding his seat in Republican Kansas have been enhanced accordingly.

► Senator Marlow Cook of Kentucky, who faced an uphill fight for reelection against popular Democratic Governor Wendell Ford. A few weeks

of the Watergate imbroglio. But estimates of losses, which ran as high as 80 or 100, have been scaled back down to 20 or 30. Among those favored by Nixon's resignation are the Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee who voted for impeachment—like RAILSBACK of Illinois and BUTLER of Virginia. Nixon defenders like SANDMAN and MARAZITI, both of New Jersey, who switched after Nixon's confessional tapes were released on Aug. 5, have similarly been protected from adverse conservative Republican fallout by the ex-President's resignation.

Says Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter, the Democrats' National Campaign Committee chairman: "Gerald Ford's assumption of the presidency will result in the election of about 15 Republican Congressmen who might not have made it if the impeachment process had continued." Carter emphasizes that no Democrats wanted to keep Nixon in office for the sake of gaining seats. Still, they know that his departure from the White House will enable Republicans to avoid calamity. As one Carter aide somewhat wistfully puts it: In the narrowest partisan terms, some Democrats "would have preferred to see Nixon twisting slowly, slowly, in the wind."

Lester's Last Hurrah

For the past four years a one-man road show named Lester Maddox has been touring Georgia. At rural crossroads and in small towns where his beloved "little people" congregate, Maddox, 59, sings hymns and country ballads, plays his harmonica, and pedals his star-spangled bicycle backward. The object is to give Maddox a second term as Governor, a post he held from 1967 to 1971. Prohibited by state law from succeeding himself, Maddox has been bidding his time as Lieutenant Governor while waging the campaign he calls his "last hurrah." Last week that effort suffered a setback that may be fatal; Maddox failed to win enough votes to avoid a runoff in the Democratic primary.

As expected, Maddox led the crowded field of twelve candidates. After all, he has kept himself continuously in the public eye since 1964, when he drove blacks away from his Pickrick restaurant in Atlanta with a pistol and pick handles. But with just under 36% of the votes, his margin is too small to assure him the support he needs in the runoff on Sept. 3. He will face George Busbee, 47, a respected member of the state house of representatives for 18 years and now majority leader. Busbee won only 21% of the primary votes, but stands to gain more than Maddox from the votes that went to the other ten candidates. A majority of the voters, including 70% of the state's 450,000 registered blacks, stayed away from the polls last week. If many absentees show up for the runoff, they too are expected to help Busbee put an end to Ole Lester's political career.

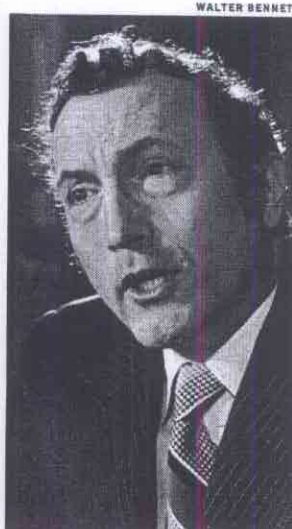


ROBERT DOLE

Assessing the post-Nixon political box score.



MARLOW COOK



RICHARD SCHWEIKER

enjoyed gleeful unity as long as Watergate flourished, its resolution now exposes the deep conflicts and divisions that plague a party encompassing both George Wallace on the right and George McGovern on the left.

The biggest political beneficiary of the entire Watergate tragedy could well turn out to be some horse too dark to be seen just now. The Democrats are well aware that any of their current major candidates would alienate some sectors of the party. A new star—a Reubin Askew of Florida, a John Gilligan of Ohio, a Wendell Anderson of Minnesota—might just be kicked up by the need for a fresh face. This possibility makes it important for Kennedy to decide early on his own plans. As long as he waffles over running for the presidency himself, less well known candidates will have a hard time making a bid.

Some dramatic effects of the Watergate climax will surely appear in the upcoming congressional elections. The Democrats are likely to pick up two or three Senate seats this November. But some Republican senatorial hopefuls

ago, the race was felt to be lopsided in Ford's favor. The Governor had effectively linked Cook to Nixon. But now, as one local G.O.P. official, Jack Will, puts it, "People will be voting on the candidates themselves." If Cook gets a campaign visit from President Ford, it is possible that the tide could swing his way.

► Senator Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania in his tight struggle with his Democratic opponent Pittsburgh Mayor Pete Flaherty. A liberal who was on the White House "enemies" list, Schweiker has been handicapped by the G.O.P. Administration in Washington. But despite President Ford's conservatism, relations between the new Administration and Schweiker are friendly and cooperative; a new campaign vigor and a spirit of optimism in the Schweiker camp have been immediate results.

Similarly in the House, political bookmakers have already drastically reduced their dire forecasts of a Republican slaughter. There are likely to be some unseated Republicans, while several strong G.O.P. Congressmen retired rather than face the voters in the midst

An Amnesty for Citizen Nixon?

To the Editors:

There is nothing to be gained by further punishment of former President Nixon. He has already suffered enormously, and our society would not benefit from prolonged vindictiveness.

If the public believes that equal justice is violated by prosecution of the underlings and immunization of the alleged No. 1 conspirator, however, then either the former President should be prosecuted or immunity should be extended to all Watergate defendants now caught up in the criminal justice system.

The Watergate episode has vindicated our faith in the collective wisdom of the American people. Public pressure has helped force several vital developments in the case, from the appointment of Leon Jaworski to the collapse of congressional support for the President and his ultimate resignation. Now the public must also determine the Nixon immunity question. It is not a problem that should be dumped solely on Mr. Jaworski. After a period of contemplation, the Congress should gauge public sentiment and advise the special prosecutor.

Politically, it's a no-win situation for the Congress, similar to the impeachment vote prior to the last tapes revelations. But the problem must be faced. An appropriate attitude for Jaworski would be: "I'm going to proceed with the criminal investigation of Ordinary Citizen Nixon until I hear differently from the Congress." In that way, even congressional inaction will represent acquiescence with a course of prosecutorial conduct.

Unfortunately, unfairness is bound to result. Last year not a single witness who admitted giving money to former Vice President Agnew was indicted, because the Justice Department believed it would be grossly unfair to prosecute one-half of the bribery conspiracy while pardoning the other half. It is too late to be as consistent now in Watergate.

The problem shouldn't be decided immediately, in this time of high emotion, but studied soberly and determined on the basis of what best serves the national perception of fairness and justice.

*William D. Ruckelshaus
Washington, D.C.*

The writer was Deputy Attorney General of the U.S. until Oct. 13, 1973, when, in the "Saturday Night Massacre," he was fired by Richard Nixon for refusing to sack Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox.

A Gross Insult to Justice

That our country has had to go through the agonies of the recent months is depressing, and yet how fortunate that the very circumstances once again bring to the forefront the basic rights our Constitution guarantees. There comes a time when the only way an unwholesome situation can be treated is by facing it and proceeding through the appropriate legal system if we want to retain our individual rights as well as law and order. Now that President Nixon has resigned rather than subject this country to the trauma of a trial in the Senate, to want

to go even further and offer amnesty or "off the record" equivalents would be a gross insult to our system of justice.

To make a "deal" with the former President would be a breach of faith with the future. The American people have had enough secret deals and plea bargaining. There must be no more deals. Now I think we have to go back to Harry Truman's statement, "The buck stops here," and apply it to the prosecutors and the courts. If any deals are made with the ex-President, I fear that much of our agony has been in vain.

*Norton Simon
Los Angeles*

The writer, a retired industrialist (he was head of Norton Simon Inc.), is an art collector and philanthropist.



On the Side of Mercy

President Ford would be wise to announce that Mr. Nixon will be given a general grant of amnesty because, as a noted jurist once said, there are times when "forgiveness is deemed more expedient for the public welfare than prosecution and punishment." To make such a move palatable to those who believe that justice should be evenhanded, President Ford should couple amnesty for Mr. Nixon with amnesty for the thousands of Viet Nam-era draft evaders still at large. Let us err on the side of mercy. Unless this quarrel between the past and the present is quelled, we shall lose the future.

*Bill Simons
Swampscott, Mass.*

Historical Perspective

Mr. Nixon's presidency has provided us all with an invaluable lesson in, and respect for, constitutional government. And the conduct of the American people has equally been a credit to the vitality of our Constitution. They have given Mr. Nixon the benefit of the doubt; they have not been swayed by the vocal minority or the powerful media; they have presumed the man innocent until proven guilty.

Mr. Nixon has always stressed the historical perspective. It would be tragic now if the people or their representatives in government were to lose that sense of history and constitutional justice and fail to prosecute fully all suspected criminals, including Richard Nixon.

*Paul Seliga, S.J.
Berkeley, Calif.*

After the Storm: Restoring Trust

What must be asked of those now in charge is whether they have the capacity to act, and can one trust that they say about what they are going to do. What has happened reminds me of a parable about a disciple who comes to his rabbi and asks him how to become wise. The rabbi advises, "Study and work hard." The disciple says, "But Rabbi, a lot of people study and work hard and they are still not very wise." "Study, work hard and experience," adds the rabbi. "But a lot of people do that and it doesn't make much difference," counters the disciple. Exasperated, the rabbi exhorts, "Study and work hard and experience and have good judgment!" Persisting, the disciple asks, "How do you have good judgment?" "By having bad experience," intones the rabbi.

We have had that bad experience

in this country. Perhaps we have taken the first step toward getting good judgment. Whether we have learned anything will be seen if this new Administration ends the practice of twisting major administrative agencies to political purposes. The building of trust will come when we see what kind of model Gerald Ford sets for everyone else. Trust will be restored when we feel that his public rhetoric and private transcripts match each other. While we will not have such transcripts to deal with literally now, people will be watching him more closely and reporting on him.

This close scrutiny of our leaders must be accompanied by a closer scrutiny of ourselves. We have all, and that includes the press, worked on a double standard vis-à-vis Nixon. Now that we have been rough with him, we must be as rough with other guys. If there is a

real gain from recent events, it may be a greater awareness of this double standard as well as the double dealing.

Daniel Bell
Cambridge, Mass.

The writer is a professor of sociology at Harvard and author of the recent The Coming of Post-Industrial Society.

Reason for Despair

Institutions get the people they deserve, and people like Richard Nixon, H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman got into power with the plaudits of an American majority, who were buying most of the vices they got with their eyes open. The voters did not foresee the details of a Watergate, but they got the kinds of people that our system in its present state is likely to get.

I doubt very much that the Ford Administration will fill the present vacuum of confidence. If the American people took a good hard look at what they got as a result of the Nixon Administration's fiasco they would have more cause for despair than for confidence. The nation that resoundingly voted down Barry Goldwater has managed to see itself survive to be governed by his inferior without an election.

What we need is a much greater filtering down of decision-making competence to lower levels of government, and a beefing up of municipal government rather than state or national government. In the future, we are going to have more of a true federalism, with more coordination among governments and with far more of the important decisions being made at lower levels. Through such a process, there may be some hope of a more broad-based political participation by groups that have been frozen out of it for many years. But if that doesn't happen, I see things getting progressively worse. If power doesn't go back down to a level where people can get a better handle on it, then we will be subject to increasingly abstract decisions made by increasingly powerful people, and the decisions will be increasingly bad.

Anthony Amsterdam
Stanford, Calif.

The writer is a professor at Stanford Law School.

The Resignation: No Disaster

While this historic time is one of personal tragedy for Richard Nixon, it would be a mistake to consider it one of national disaster or disgrace. I can think of no national tragedy more serious than to have overlooked or tacitly accepted the deceptions of his Administration.

In the face of all the ethical obituaries written on our society, it is heartening to realize that we obviously have considerably more than just a passing acquaintance with morality. We're hear-

ing a lot about the wisdom of our founding fathers. It would appear that we have almost come full circle. Rather fitting on the eve of our 200th anniversary.

Carolyn S. Wright
Ft. Bliss, Texas

True to Form

How true to form that this man who removed honor, dignity and outright cash from his office as President would deny his countrymen the peace of knowing that their great constitutional processes had worked justly. How tragic that a President of the United States had not the moral fiber to provide us with a moment of truth.

Ruth Reynolds
Palo Alto, Calif.

In the Driver's Seat

I suppose that now some "bleeding-heart" conservatives will say that the press drove Richard Nixon from public office. Let us remember that Nixon was in the driver's seat and he chauffeured himself through the morass of Watergate. I hope that the new model Ford will lead the nation to a more settled America.

Marjorie Cunningham
El Paso

They Finally Got Him

Something about Richard Nixon has always seemed to spur his opponents on to unusually harsh attacks. During the whole Watergate affair, the prime thought was not on any real crime the President might have committed, but on how to "get Nixon." Well, they finally "got him," and it makes me sick.

I liken this assassination of Nixon to the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and other great men in our history. Yet an overwhelming majority of Americans have delighted in it. As an American, I am ashamed.

Peggy Ashcraft
Westminster, Calif.

Cohen's Forebears

You identify Maine's William Cohen as the son of "a Jewish baker and an Irish mother," implying that a religious identity is one and the same as an identity of national origin. I would not wish to nitpick over a matter of semantics, but this sort of writing could lead to some interesting analogies: Richard M. Nixon, son of a Quaker mother and an American father; Barry Goldwater, son of a Jewish merchant and an American mother; Lyndon B. Johnson, son of a Protestant mother and an American farmer; John Kennedy, son of a Catholic mother and an American politician. I'll quit, if you will.

Faye Anton
Abilene, Texas

Jordan's Manner

I was more than a little surprised to read that you found Congresswoman Barbara Jordan's "cultivated accent and erudition surprising." She is a lawyer and a member of Congress. Did you expect maybe Aunt Jemima?

Judie Weintraub
New York City

The Only Solution

The solution to the Cyprus crisis is not *taksim*, the partition of the island into Greek and Turkish enclaves. Nor is *enosis*, union with Greece, feasible. As long as a Turkish minority resides in the midst of a Greek majority only strife and bloodshed will be the legacy for future generations. The mutual hatred that developed during the long centuries of Ottoman domination cannot be easily forgotten.

The 119,000 Turkish Cypriots should be compensated for their property and repatriated to the Anatolian mainland among their Moslem brethren. This is the only lasting solution.

Thomas Spelios
Port Chester, N.Y.

Sheathing the Sword

Reader Peeleman's letter about how Napoleon judged a woman who accused one of his officers of raping her [Aug. 12] reminded me of a similar story about a praetor in Caesar's army who also had a woman complain to him that she had been raped. The praetor handed the woman his sword and asked her to sheathe it while he moved the scabbard. The woman took his sword and lopped off his hand, causing the scabbard to fall to the floor. After that she had no problem sheathing the sword.

It may indeed be difficult to "thread a moving needle," but it takes a person of incredible naiveté to imagine that a woman can avoid violence by simply stepping out of the way. Given the choice, most women would submit to a rapist rather than face being disfigured or even murdered. Either way, the victim loses and she gets the added treat of reading letters written by men who either have no understanding of the problem or sympathize with the rapist.

Nan Taylor
Lake Ronkonkoma, N.Y.

Revealing Attitudes

Peeleman's letter is a graphic illustration of what the revolt against rape is all about—not only the physical crime of violence, but the attitudes that perpetuate and nurture the crime. What woman—or man—would move when the gun at their head might go off or the knife at their throat might slip?

Mary Ann Largent
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