



JANE SELL, PATTY & MAXENE ANDREWS IN A NOSTALGIC NUMBER FROM *OVER HERE!*

THE MOOD

Of Crisis and Confidence

Shaken severely by the three Furies of Watergate, inflation and energy crisis, large numbers of Americans have lately lost faith in their leaders and institutions. The people are looking inward—to community, family and self—and discovering a new spirit of self-reliance. Yet by demonstrating their disenchantment with their public officeholders—large numbers of whom will surely be turned out this fall—the people are also creating a power vacuum at the national level. Says Bill Moyers, the former presidential press secretary who now travels the length and breadth of the land to find material for his weekly television journal: "I find the country up for grabs."

Unquestionably, public confidence in authority has sunk. Last week Pollster Louis Harris reported that people surveyed in January had an even lower opinion of Congress than they did of President Nixon, whose popularity has been at an all-time low for months. Harris found 69% of Americans thought Congress was doing only a "fair" or "poor" job. In an earlier survey, 68% of those polled expressed similar negative feelings about Nixon. Says Harris: "The federal establishment looks paralyzed, inept and impotent. In ten years of the Harris survey, confidence has never been this low before."

For the first time in decades, too, once self-confident Americans are growing pessimistic about their personal welfare. In a survey for *TIME* last November, Opinion Analyst Daniel Yankelovich reported, 72% of the public thought that national affairs were going "very badly" or "pretty badly," but some 90% said that all was "very well" or "fairly well" with their personal lives. Now,

chiefly because of rising prices and the fuel shortage, Yankelovich estimates that only 50% to 60% still have the same sense of personal well being. Surveying 500 families in the Chicago area, the Exchange National Bank discovered that while 61% said their financial situation was the same as or better than a year ago, only 11% thought it would improve by the end of this year.

Harris reports that more than half of Americans (up from 45% last fall) believe that the quality of life in the U.S. has deteriorated over the past ten years. His surveys find that not more than 20% of the public go along with the proposition "We have been through bad times before, and things will once more return to the way they used to be." California Pollster Mervin Field assesses the public mood as one of "muted outrage, semi-shock—if not full shock—numbness, perplexity." Typically, a bewildered airline executive in Manhattan complains: "My salary has doubled in the past five years. I can't ask the company for more, they've been good to me already. But I can't keep up with expenses. The 1930s were pretty bad and we were poor, but at least the price of apples stayed the same."

Some citizens seek escape in the wave of nostalgia for the 1950s or earlier. By the millions, they crowd into movies like *American Graffiti* and *The Sting*. They enthusiastically applaud the Andrews Sisters, the World War II singing sensations, whose songs are hot again and who will open on Broadway next month in a musical, *Over Here!**

Others are turning to fundamentalist churches like the Southern Baptist Con-

*Jane Sell has taken the place of LaVerne Andrews, who died in 1967.



DEMONSTRATORS OUTSIDE THE CAPITOL

vention. New York Rabbi Balfour Brickner explains: "People are desperately looking for something to cling to when all other models and molds have been shattered." Still others seek relief in the occult. "Magic and the occult can explain the unanswerable and give the person a sense of control," says Drexel Institute Sociologist Barbara Hornum. Many Americans are falling back on a devil theory of sorts, or at least some sinister force, to explain the nation's problems, or simply personalizing problems with a vengeance. Vanderbilt Chancellor Alexander Heard notes: "Devils are being found in the oil companies, the presidency and others to whom blame can be assigned."

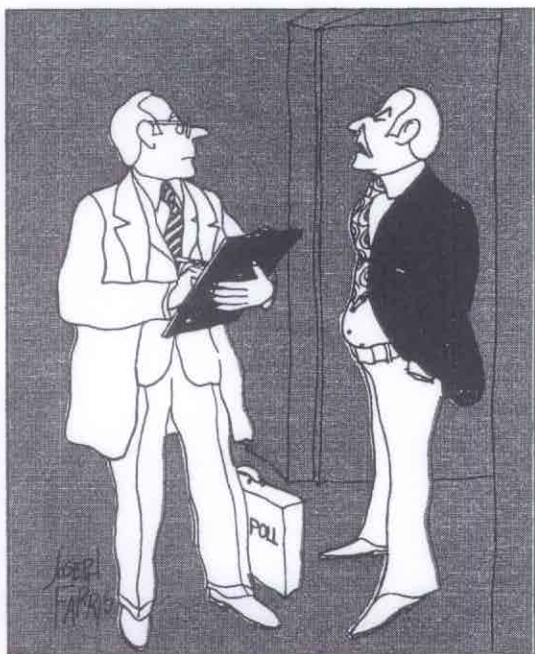
The failure of the nation's leaders to demonstrate that they are in control of the various crises causes some political scientists to draw an analogy with the early 1930s. "We've got a deep sense of inadequate leadership," says Harvard Political Sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset, "so once again it is a ripe time for a charismatic leader." It seems doubtful, however, that America will turn to a demagogue for salvation. Men on horseback have never done well in the U.S., and there is nobody tall in the saddle in sight.

Of the public's response to the current combinations of crises, Princeton Historian Eric Goldman says: "This kind of malaise atrophies the will of the people. They tend to turn in among themselves and say, 'I'll take care of my family's concerns.'" In many ways Americans are drawing inward and becoming more conservative in their career goals, their finances and their politics. Some examples:

► College students are flocking to vocational and pre-professional courses, while enrollments in the humanities

continue to drop. Robert Sexton, an administrator of the University of Kentucky, says: "Today's students have lost the 'service' orientation that was generated in the early '60s and have turned to more self-interested goals." At the Berkeley campus of the University of California, Political Scientist Nelson Polsby finds students more realistic and less radicalized than they were five or ten years ago, but also less optimistic. He explains: "It takes an enormous amount of optimism to be a radical."

► Investors are turning from stocks to tangible goods like gold, silver and jewelry. The price of silver has more than doubled in the past year, to more than \$5 per oz. Prices of new gold jewelry at Tiffany's have climbed 35% in the past year. Banks report that demand for pennies has doubled in recent weeks



"Not only do I have no confidence in Nixon, but I don't have any confidence in anyone!"

as the price of copper topped \$1 a lb. Speculators hope that the price will exceed \$1.45—and make their pennies worth more melted than as money.

► Voters seem to be swinging to the right. There has been a marked increase in the number who consider themselves "conservative," granted that individual definitions of what conservative means vary widely. In 1971, Pollster Yankelovich found that 25% of the public labeled themselves conservative, 55% middle of the road and 20% liberal. By last December self-professed liberals had declined to 17% and those in the middle of the road to 37%, but conservatives had grown to 46%. On campus, the American Council on Education reported this month that its annual survey of college freshmen found that liberals continue to outnumber conservatives by more than two to one. But for the first time, more than half of the freshmen (50.7%) said that they preferred middle-of-the-road political positions.

The crises have eroded support for incumbents in elective office and for the traditional parties. A recent Gallup poll found 34% of those surveyed identifying themselves as independents, up eight points since 1970. Yet, far from turning voters off, the nation's problems have dramatically increased public interest in local politics.

In New Hampshire, 1,126 candidates have filed for 400 seats at the next state constitutional convention; ten years ago, there were so few candidates that 82 people won election with write-in candidacies. At last count 14 candidates were running for Congress from Ohio's 23rd district, near Cleveland. In Winnetka, a suburb of Chicago, town meetings that were once sparsely attended are now overflowing with people. "The cliché is that good government begins at home," says Tom Donohue, chairman of the Winnetka nonpartisan caucus committee. "I think people are beginning to realize that that is true."

There is greater vigor in finding local approaches to national problems because of Washington's failure to act. Oregon's Republican Governor, Tom McCall, started a gasoline-rationing program, and a dozen states followed with distribution plans of their own. On his initiative, Pennsylvania Governor Milton Shapp stepped in to mediate the independent truck drivers' strike.

Only rarely, however, can a local response to a national problem be wholly adequate. As President Edward Gels thorpe of the Boston-based Gillette Co. points out: "The country really has its whole economic structure built on bigness and its whole social-political structure built on a foundation of strong institutions." He adds that the problem with them is not their size but finding ways to make them more honest, efficient and responsive.

Bill Moyers finds the American people alternating "from pessimism to optimism, from resignation to resolution. Roosevelt caused people to really believe that Government was the only way to deal with crises. Now, I think people are beginning to believe that we are better than our Government. That's giving them a sense of pride, although it's not articulated at the moment."

At this point, perhaps the only surety is that 1974 will be as much a year of profound turbulence for the American economic and political system as was 1973. Pollster Harris finds the American public "in the mood for sacrifice and aching to find things to come together on." But who or what will fill the power vacuum created by the public's loss of faith in national leadership and institutions is still very much in question.

The Quiet-Stall

Pronounced physically fit and free from any signs of emotional strain after a long-delayed medical checkup, Richard Nixon quickened the tempo of his Watergate survival strategy with a burst of public appearances. At the same time he curtly cut off cooperation with Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, once more reneging on his previous claims that he wanted "all the facts" about the scandal exposed.

The President's dual strategy of stonewalling investigators while diverting attention from Watergate could not, however, obscure two imminent and immensely significant developments:

► The House Judiciary Committee is about to define what it considers to be "impeachable offenses." Almost certainly, its definitions will be broad and will not require evidence of criminal activity by Nixon. As the first step, the committee's Chief Counsel John M. Doar and Minority Counsel Albert Jenner this week will submit a report outlining just what kinds of acts the committee's staff of legal specialists deem to be impeachable. The report is expected to say that betrayals of public trust and gross neglect of official duties fall into the category of the "high crimes and misdemeanors" that are cited in the Constitution as a basis for impeachment (see TIME ESSAY, page 23). The committee will then debate the proposal, possibly along partisan lines.

► Detailed indictments will be issued by one or more of the three Watergate grand juries, almost certainly within a week, charging some of Nixon's closest former aides with illegal acts. Among those likely to be indicted are men on whose testimony the President's own professions of Watergate innocence heavily rest. The first indictments are expected to involve the Watergate wiretapping and its cover-up.

Prosecutor Jaworski last week reported the President's intransigence on Watergate evidence to the Senate Judiciary Committee but pledged that failure to get the evidence now will not hold up indictments. The committee will meet this week and may discuss what action, if any, it should take on the Jaworski letter. The committee can do little more than join his protest. It had supported the confirmation of Attorney General William Saxbe only after extracting promises from both the White House and Saxbe that no restrictions would be placed upon Jaworski's pursuit of evidence. The President clearly has now defaulted on that promise.

In his letter to Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Jaworski complained that his request for 27 tapes of specific presidential meetings and telephone calls had been denied by Nixon even though "there was no indication

Survival Strategy

that any requested recording is either irrelevant to our inquiries or subject to some particularized (presidential) privilege." While grand juries can proceed without these tapes, Jaworski wrote, "the material is important to a complete and thorough investigation and may contain evidence necessary for any future trials." Jaworski reported that he had promised Nixon's chief Watergate counsel, James St. Clair, that these unfulfilled requests completed his list of documents wanted in his pretrial investigation, but he was nevertheless rebuffed by the White House.

Unless Nixon reverses himself, the impasse apparently can be broken only by court order. Jaworski plans to proceed with the Watergate cover-up indictments, then subpoena the Nixon tapes before the trials begin. If Nixon ignores the subpoenas or challenges them in court, another legal battle would follow—a fight similar to two that former Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox had won before Nixon fired him. Some of the White House evidence sought by Jaworski also relates to Nixon's former team of secret investigators ("the plumbers") and his dealings with milk producers, who contributed large sums to his re-election campaign. Jaworski is expected to subpoena this evidence before seeking indictments in those fields.

Missing Papers. In his letter Jaworski hinted at another problem in gaining White House evidence. He noted that "we have reason to believe that there are additional documents somewhere in the White House files"—papers that Nixon's attorneys claim never existed. TIME has learned that some Watergate witnesses have described such documents and that they have disappeared from a vault in the Executive Office Building where they were stored. Believed to be missing are official White House memos—some related to activities of the plumbers—written by former Presidential Aides John Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman and Charles Colson. The vault in which the files were kept is guarded by Secret Service agents, but they do not search the White House aides and lawyers as they leave the vault after inspecting documents.

The still-gathering clouds of Watergate seemed to be never too far from the President's mind even as he plunged into a round of activities. He astonished a small crowd assembled at the Lincoln Memorial to commemorate Lincoln's 165th birthday by appearing there without notice to speak (see The Presidency/Hugh Sidey, page 14).

The President was in a lively mood at a party celebrating the 90th birthday of Alice Roosevelt Longworth. When his wife Pat gave the tart-tongued daughter of Theodore Roosevelt two jars of Iranian caviar, Nixon indiscreetly confided

that it was a gift "from the Shah to Pat and from Pat to you." Advised by the President to "eat it with a spoon," the irrepressible Mrs. Longworth replied: "I'll wallow in it"—an allusion to Nixon's celebrated comment: "Let others wallow in Watergate." Asked later about the party, Nixon's Watergate resentments surfaced in an attack on the press. "Mrs. Longworth has kept young by not being obsessed by the Washington scene," he said. "You know, if she spent all her time reading the Washington Post she would have been dead by now." The Post, Nixon complained, rarely writes about the "great issues that will affect the future of the world in a responsible way." Mrs. Longworth, in fact, reads the Post every day.

No Strain. Next day, Nixon was driven to Bethesda National Naval Medical Center for a 2½-hour physical examination, after which his doctor, Walter Tkach, declared that the President was in "excellent" condition. All of his tests showed results "within normal limits" and "there was no evidence whatsoever of any emotional strain." Tkach said Nixon "never overexerts" and "he never overdrinks." He exercises by jogging in place some 400 steps daily but could use "more sunshine."

As if on his physician's cue, Nixon flew off to Florida in Air Force One—his first trip in the big 707 since the energy crisis became acute. On a sunny afternoon in Miami, he helped dedicate a health-care center at Cedars of Lebanon Hospital. The carefully watched audience (at least 30 security men could be counted on nearby rooftops) of 4,000 was preponderantly friendly, although a battle of signs between critics and partisans broke out. Some banners proclaimed: KEEP NIXON. HANG IN THERE. At the rear of the crowd, protesters carried signs that read: IMPEACH AND IMPRISON. EXORCISE NIXON. Throughout Nixon's speech, hecklers were highly vocal. When he vowed that "no American will ever be denied health care because of lack of ability to pay," someone shouted: "Pay your taxes."

Later, apparently concerned about Jaworski's complaint, the White House tried to blur the fact that the President and the Special Prosecutor were on a collision course over Watergate evidence. Presidential Counsel St. Clair issued a statement arguing that to give more materials to Jaworski would result in "delaying grand jury deliberations many months." St. Clair did not explain how additional evidence would slow, rather than speed indictments. The statement did, however, fit the current presidential defense strategy, which is to push publicly for a fast end to the many Watergate investigations, while acting privately to stall and delay any quick resolution of Nixon's own fate. The President's hope apparently is that a Watergate-weary public will lose all interest in the sorry affair as the matter drags on—and will neither notice, nor care, who is prolonging the proceedings.

DIRCK HALSTEAD



NIXON DEDICATING MIAMI HOSPITAL WING
Friends facing indictments.

THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDNEY

Trying to Get Right with Lincoln

Historian David Donald once wrote a delightful essay called "Getting Right with Lincoln." It told, among other things, how Presidents in trouble over the last hundred years discovered a remarkable kinship to our greatest President.

Herbert Hoover, for instance, in 1932 journeyed to Springfield, Ill. As if it were the dark days of 1864, Hoover borrowed Lincoln's words for the war and declared that victory over the Depression was just a matter of fighting it out on "this line"—if it took all summer. Franklin Roosevelt suggested that Lincoln was a father of the New Deal. Lyndon Johnson ran into Lincoln's sympathetic ghost stalking the White House every time L.B.J.'s popularity dropped in the Gallup poll.

Richard Nixon has raised "getting right with Lincoln" to new heights. Last week he went down to the Memorial on Lincoln's Birthday and drew the Lincoln mantle round his shoulders. "It is quite clear," said Nixon, "that no President in history has been more vilified or was more vilified during the time he was President than Lincoln . . . Lincoln had that great strength of character never to display [hurt], always to stand tall and strong and firm no matter how harsh or unfair the criticism might be."

In case somebody did not get the point that Nixon was casting a Lincolnesque shadow, there has been a flurry of speeches and articles by Administration figures giving the impression more vividly. In a speech before a "Support Our President" rally in Los Angeles, Commerce Secretary Frederick B. Dent ran down the vile names that Lincoln was called, pointed out how Nixon's enemies were abusing him, then said, "But all they do is shame America . . . through it all, our President stands steadfast." Writing in the *New York Times*, Franklin R. Gannon, a presidential aide, drew even finer lines. "Even the casual reader wary of undue comparisons will be struck by some of the pertinent and poignant political similarities between Mr. Lincoln's presidency and President Nixon's current troubles." Then Gannon declared that Nixon, by his "resolute conduct so far," had already earned some of the words of praise given to Lincoln.

It is an ancient and honorable right of politicians to "raid the closet and steal the stovepipe hat," as Professor Donald puts it. But as he so often does in his moments of emotional oratory, Nixon seems to have gone beyond the bounds of fact and good taste. A sample of Lincoln scholars was appalled. "I'm outraged," said Donald. "I don't see a hell of a lot of parallel myself," said Historian Bruce Catton.

To start with, there is no solid measure that Lincoln was the most vilified President in our history. Richard Current, professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, thinks that Harry Truman might hold that prize. Some of the harshest material now printed about Lincoln came from private letters and obscure speeches before tiny radical audiences. Much of this had almost no public circulation at the time, although there were many widely read assaults on Lincoln from his moderate critics.

To the extent that anybody can measure public sentiment in those days, it appears that Lincoln had a majority of the Union with him during most of his presidency. The Republicans carried Congress in 1862, and Lincoln was re-elected by a solid majority in 1864.

More important, unlike the situation with Nixon, the general attacks on Lincoln were rarely if ever on his character. They were attacks on his policy and his decisions. "There were never any accusations that Lincoln was personally crooked or bad," says Catton. "And remember, the country was in a civil war. The Archangel Gabriel couldn't have avoided criticism in that time."

"Lincoln's critics did not accuse him of dishonesty or malfeasance," says Current. "Nobody asked, 'Would you buy a used horse from this man?'"

"Nobody accused Lincoln of personal involvement in corruption," insists Donald, now teaching at Harvard. "The Nixon comparison is weak and erroneous. It is one thing to say that a man is foolish or misguided and another to say a man is breaking the law for his own use."

Nixon was right about one thing, though. The fellow who would object least to lending his stovepipe hat to a President would be A. Lincoln. Wherever he is, Lincoln is probably telling a funny story about all the new White House friends he has collected in the last hundred years or so.



THE VICE PRESIDENCY

Delicate Balancing Act

The guest of honor at the head table had barely finished his spareribs when he was introduced by Republican Congressman Tim Lee Carter with a ringing declaration: "I shall work for his nomination in 1976 with all my strength!" The audience responded with applause and cheers at last week's Lincoln Day Dinner held in the Laurel County High School gym at London, Ky. As he rose to speak, the object of the Republicans' affection smiled modestly and let the pledge and its portents go by without comment. Vice President Gerald Ford was much too careful to start his own bandwagon rolling at this early date, yet the fact that it was already moving showed how prized he is by the Republicans.

As a politician who projects complete sincerity, Ford has rapidly become the hottest G.O.P. property in the era of Watergate. He is now the ceremonial head of the party; Republicans want him, not Nixon, as the keynote speaker at their fund-raising dinners. And despite his devout denials of any higher ambitions, Ford looms as the leading Republican candidate for 1976. In conversation, the President usually leads off his private list of possible Republican standard-bearers with his deputy's name. In the Harris poll, the Vice President leads the Democratic front runners for 1976, Senators Edward Kennedy (48%-44%) and Henry ("Scoop") Jackson (43%-41%). "Ford's different, refreshing, new," says Kentucky's Republican Senator Marlow W. Cook. "That's what the American people are looking for."

Rescue Effort. Ford's popularity is largely due to his success as the Mr. Outside of the White House, the link between the besieged Nixon presidency and the people. He also serves as a special White House emissary to a hostile Congress. For the first time in history, a President needs his Vice President more than, well, vice versa. Ford recognizes the pitfalls and anomalies of this situation, not the least of which is a Gallup poll finding that Americans, by a margin of 46% to 32%, would like him to finish out Richard Nixon's term. For the good of both the party and himself, Ford must back up the man who selected him—yet he cannot become his puppet. Last month he made the mistake of letting his loyalties as a team player overcome his instincts as a politician. He delivered a speech drafted by the White House charging that a "relatively small group of political partisans" was dragging out Watergate to cripple the President.

On Capitol Hill, Ford was severely criticized not only by liberal Democrats but by conservative Republicans. "The conservatives understand his need to support the President," says Congressman John Anderson, a House Repub-