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Nixon - plans, future, psychological; what may be in the works HW 9/6/74

Interesting as are the contents of Lou Cannon's story, "Nixon in Exile: Lonely, Depressed" in today's Post, more interesting still is it that some of this information was made available to the paper Nixon considers his premier enemy and by his friends and associates.

And interesting and reasonable as are Cannon's conjectures about the future, what he omits from his conjectures likewise can be interesting.

That Nixon has had psychological problems all his life is hardly new. My records in clippings go far back. When I started to break the Watergate clippings down by subject I established a separate "Psychological" file. In the original book there was to have been a separate section on him as psycho. The file contains many tidbits not in any way connected with The Watergate. Many date from the time of no Watergate reporting.

This story appears at a time Nixon's indictment is a real possibility. It says that he is emotionally disturbed, largely out of contact with reality, if not an authentic psychological case on the verge of real and serious psychological trouble.

It also says there "is Mr. Nixon's inability to say the name of Leon Jaworski, the Watergate special prosecutor," attributed to his supporter, Congressman Dan Kuykendall (R, Tenn.)

There can be a kind of psychological campaign in all of this, to make it appear to Jaworski and his staff that if Nixon is indicted they will be responsible for driving a former if disgraced President actually insane.

What better way to influence, to attempt to prevent indictment? The grand jury wanted to indict on much less evidence than is now public so its willingness to indict <sup>can</sup> be questioned. That it hasn't already can be attributed to prosecutorial influence only.

It is likewise the same kind of pressure on Ford, Saxbe and the Congress is not also the media.

What Cannon reports is what Nixon and his friends would not ordinarily want said about him. It is not what the paranoid in Nixon would want said to make himself out to be a persecuted man. But were these not truth, if friends wanted a sympathetic story of this nature, ordinarily they would not have picked out his worst enemy to plant it with. They could have used the wire services, for example. Even if Cannon had the idea and was to their knowledge working on such a story. They could have placed it elsewhere. Ordinarily they would have.

It therefore seems not unreasonable to believe that regardless of the origin of this story, it can have Nixonian purposes. This is only one.

Cannon deals at length with Nixon's planned writing, his financial situation and his library. He does not mention what should be considered with all these matters, the exceptional increase in the generous funding by the government of all ex-presidents. Why does a Nixon whose top adviser is the nothing Ziegler need extra staff, for example, extra funds for setting up offices when he already has them? There is no ~~serious~~ single person with Nixon who could be seriously considered a real adviser to a man with Nixon's many problems. He has Ziegler, Bull and a military adviser. These are light-weights at best.

Now if other appeals are intended by this story and its contents, wealthy Nixon supporters may well be its targets. This is a cry for help of the kind they can provide.

One means is by buying at a fancy price part of the San Clemente estate for his library, perhaps including the Abplanalp part. It means nothing that Nixon has said he would deed this to the people. Much happened since then and he was never conspicuous for truthfulness. And then he got the light tax treatment but nonetheless a heavy cost.

This is not essential to other suppositions but can be helpful to them. It provides for a typical Nixonian dodge, having the eaten cake. He can stay at San Clemente through the writing of his memoirs (by others) and for the beginning of the setting up of the library there and then sell his remaining interest, probably for an even larger sum, to the library and move elsewhere, to Bebe or to New York.

San Clemente is the ideal place for the writing of these memoirs. Its seclusion permits the easier hiding of the fact that Nixon will not be writing them himself. His ghosts. It permits them to be quartered secretly. More, they can be called part of his staff or research assistants, almost anything to comfort his ego needs.

There is no need for office expenses, furniture, etc. as he stays at San Clemente for the period covered by the requested appropriation because there is already an office complex built for him. There likewise would be no such need were he to move to NYC for ample federal office space is available there. In Key Biscayne there is no close office space but he could rent his spare house to the government as Bebe rented his. He or Bebe could thus make money from Nixon's subsidized officing.

But there could be no grafting on payroll. Real people would have to receive and sign real checks. If he can get along in this crucial period with a nothing like Ziegler as his top staffer, what kind of future staff can he believe he really needs? The most likely explanation or answer is a writing and research staff, of federal subsidy of his \$2,000,000 book that, with the precedent of the crooked Eisenhower tax ruling, would receive favorable tax treatment and be more his than any other author's. This like the book itself would be even more graft but legally.

People are not dealing with realities when they report on Nixon these days. The most recent example is the story on how legal and proper his changing the conditions of his gift of his papers is. To begin with it says that the alleged gift was legal and proper when it was not. And it is not in any sense a new condition. It is merely a precise formulation of a proviso of the original and unaccepted contract that was not reported as either a contract or one not consummated. That original paper gave him the right to restrict or withdraw anything and everything, but the government is not saying this. Instead they say the seemingly new restriction is normal.

Unless it is a fairly full confession any Nixon book now can't have a market that could justify a \$2,000,000 advance against royalties. Its sale would have to be without precedent. Its content would therefore have to be significant. Picture of Nixon confessing or telling any substantial part of the truth! Or the sales potential of more of his boasting about his great successes! Or his apologies. His hardcore can't be expected to buy in the quantity required for an advance of this size. Advances are only a fraction of the royalties a publisher expects the book to earn. With a maximum royalty of 15% on hardback, less on paper reprint, regardless of the sales price the number of books that would have to be sold merely for the recovery of the advance is neither possible nor precedented. In fact, the cases in point all say it can't happen. Neither Ike's nor Johnson's nor Six Crises sold anything close to this. Even Manchester's had to be virtually remaindered beginning at the very beginning by selling them so cheaply to mass marketers like drug chains that they, in turn, could retail them at less than the wholesale price to book stores.

This is evidence that hidden financial support for Nixon is readily available.

It is reason to believe that a rescue Nixon operation is and has for weeks been active.

The Cannon story can be interpreted (particularly with others also recalled) as indication that it covers all areas of importance to Nixon.

# Nixon in Exile: Lonely, Depressed

## Agonizing Wait for Jaworski Move Leaves Him Indecisive

9/6/74  
By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

SAN CLEMENTE, Calif., Sept. 5— He awakens early in the morning when the high fog that will burn off later in the day still shades the bluff below Casa Pacifica. He breakfasts on orange juice and a poached egg served him by the valet who still calls him "Mr. President."

He wanders alone or with his friend, Bebe Rebozo, along Red Beach in sight of Secret Service men who out of his hearing refer to him as "the old man" and try to stay out of his way. Sometimes he rummages through the stacks of unanswered mail in his mementostewn office or disconsolately plays the piano. At other times he talks on the telephone to his lawyers and occasionally to old friends or to former White House subordinates who now work for President Ford.

He is Richard M. Nixon, once President of the United States, and now an

exile in the villa that used to be the Western White House.

The picture of him provided by friends and associates who have seen him or talked to him since he returned to California is a gloomy one.

"He's terribly depressed, with much to be depressed about," says a friend. "Anyone would be depressed in his situation. I don't mean he's going off the deep end. I just mean that everything happened to him, seemingly all at once, and he doesn't know what to do about it."

Another friend says that Mr. Nixon's mind seems to wander when he talks. The friend uses the term "absent-minded," and says he is not suggesting that Mr. Nixon is unwell.

One peculiarity noted by this friend—which also showed up in a telephone call to Rep. Dan Kuykendall (R-Tenn.) recently—is Mr. Nixon's inability to say the name of Leon Jaworski, the Watergate special prosecutor.

It is the agonizing wait for Jawor-

ski's decision on whether to seek an indictment against Mr. Nixon that is responsible for the former President's extreme isolation and indecisiveness, his friends say.

"He just can't say anything or do anything until Jaworski acts," says one who has talked with Mr. Nixon. "It's a terrible period for him."

Aides and friends of the former President say he now thinks it likely that Jaworski will seek an indictment against him for obstructing justice in the Watergate case. But they describe Mr. Nixon as hopeful that President Ford will grant him a pardon long before the case runs its course in the courts, although probably not before the Nov. 5 election.

These same aides and friends declined to say whether Mr. Nixon would make the granting of this pardon easier by some public acknowledgment of his own role in the Watergate cover-up.

See NIXON, A4, Col. 1

## NIXON, From A1

"It is a touchy subject and not easily broached to him, even by the lawyers," said one friend.

Mr. Nixon's indecisiveness is not limited to his legal predicament.

Friends say he also has not made any firm decision on where he will live, and that he has been offered conflicting advice within his family and his inner circle. It is known that Mr. Nixon's daughters, Julie and Tricia, have urged him to leave California and come to New York, as he did after his defeat in the California gubernatorial election in 1962.

Rebozo, in turn, is said to have suggested that the Nixons leave San Clemente and live at the Nixon home in Key Biscayne, which adjoins Rebozo's villa in Florida.

Unlike the Nixon home in San Clemente, which is a short drive from the San Diego Freeway, the Key Biscayne home is in an out-of-the-way location. Also, the residents of that small Florida island traditionally have respected the privacy of the celebrities who live among them.

But Mr. Nixon himself is said to favor remaining at San Clemente, both because of his love for the ocean and because of the access that he hopes the home will provide to a future Nixon library.

Mr. Nixon is believed to regard the future of that library as a topic second in importance only to his legal predicament.

For one thing, he expects to write his memoirs and feels that an accessible library with the documentary records of his public career

is a prerequisite for this task.

Whittier College and at least two other California institutions of higher learning are known to have made exploratory offers in behalf of a Nixon library. But it is expected that the library would be located on some still-undetermined, private site, even if operated in conjunction with a college, rather than on any campus.

The ultimate fate of the library, like Mr. Nixon's own future, is heavily dependent on the outcome of the Watergate prosecutions.

Four Watergate defendants—Herbert W. Kalmbach, John N. Mitchell, H. R. (Bob) Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman—are directors of the Richard M. Nixon Foundation, which was supposed to raise money to build the library and to determine its location.

The foundation now faces a reorganization, but probably not until the pending Watergate prosecutions are completed. Mr. Nixon's friends have told him it would be difficult if not impossible for the foundation to raise funds for the library as long as Watergate defendants remain on the board of directors.

The foundation is headed by Leonard K. Firestone, who has indicated his willingness to continue raising funds and finding a site for a library. However, Firestone has limited time to devote to this effort because he is ambassador to Belgium. The actual direction of the foundation's efforts is expected to fall to Taft Schreiber, wealthy vice president of the MCA entertainment firm and a member of the Nixon foundation's development committee.

Schreiber, who is now in Europe, visited Mr. Nixon in San Clemente on Aug. 20. He is expected to meet later this month in Brussels with Firestone before returning to the United States.

Mr. Nixon does not expect to wait until the library question is resolved to begin work on his memoirs. Most of his documents are stored in Washington, but there is

ample room for all of them at a vast pyramid-like structure owned by the federal government at Laguna Niguel, 14 miles from San Clemente.

This unmarked multi-tiered building, roped off with "U.S. Government-No Trespassing" signs around it, was built by North American Rockwell Co. in the heyday of the space exploration program. It is now operated by the General Services Administration.

Mr. Nixon's prospective memoirs are seen as the solution to his other pressing problem—a financial situation that his tax lawyer, Dean S. Butler of Los Angeles, describes as "uncertain and unclear."

The former President was said to have reacted angrily last week when he saw a Los Angeles Times headline on an interview with Butler. "Nixon (Broke), Says Attorney," the headline declared.

A day later this headline was denounced in another interview in the Times with Arthur Blech, the President's accountant. But Blech said he took no issue with the story itself in which Butler was quoted as saying, "I would expect that it isn't too much of an exaggeration" to say that Mr. Nixon is broke.

Actually, say Nixon intimates, the problem is one of immediate cash flow rather than any long-term financial problem.

Mr. Nixon is believed to have been offered up to \$2 million for his memoirs by various publishers and \$100,000 a year to serve as a consulting editor for Reader's Digest. But he has signed no contracts and friends say he won't sign any until the Watergate issue is resolved.

One of these friends says Mr. Nixon is "indecisive with good reason." But he added that he is worried that the former President will become "seriously depressed" unless Jaworski acts soon.

This friend says that Mr. Nixon's legal affairs are "scattered and unresolved." Mr. Nixon has hired Herbert J. Miller Jr. in Washington

to manage his Watergate-related legal defense and retained Butler for his financial affairs. He has been urged to hire still another lawyer who would serve as a consultant with oversight authority.

This same unresolve is apparent at San Clemente.

The Nixon villa itself, according to a person who was inside the compound within the past few days, is pervaded by "a sense of ruin." The flowers that well-wishers sent in during the first few days after Mr. Nixon returned to San Clemente have faded, and the mounded of unanswered mail have grown steadily higher.

Friends look forward to the imminent arrival from Washington of Rose Mary Woods, Mr. Nixon's secretary since 1951, because they believe she will organize his office and see that sympa-

thetic letter writers receive at least a form letter of acknowledgment.

Mr. Nixon's staff, which in his White House days numbered over 500, is now reduced to a coterie that includes his erstwhile press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler, former appointments secretary Stephen Bull, and military aide Lt. Col. Jack Brennan, four secretaries and Manolo and Fina Sanchez, his faithful personal servants. There also is a secret service detail, which will provide Mr. Nixon protection for the rest of his life.

Ziegler, at least until Miss Woods arrives, is nominally in charge of the small Nixon staff, but he has talked with Southern California friends about leaving.

"The problem is that the President (Mr. Nixon) has become dependent on Ron, which is kind of an unhealthy situation," says one Southern Californian who knows both Mr. Nixon and Ziegler. "Ron doesn't want to leave as long as the President says he has need of him."

Ziegler, who makes a federally paid salary of \$40,000 a year, also faces a job problem, according to friends. He has explored a variety of potential employment op-

portunities without success, they say.

Officially, the former President and Ziegler have attempted to keep almost entirely out of public view. Ziegler held a background briefing when he arrived in Southern California and gave out a new telephone number for the Nixon residence, a number that is answered either by a Secret Service agent or an official of the nearby Coast Guard station with the words, "San Clemente."

Ziegler, however, has made it a practice not to return press calls.

When a friend mentioned to him that this practice was not helpful to Mr. Nixon, Ziegler replied that he was not returning the calls because of the former President's orders.

Ziegler now lives at a home in nearby Cyprus Shores and spends most of his days inside the 26-acre Nixon villa. Mr. Nixon himself has left the villa only twice, once for a picnic in Ventura, and the other time for a freeway drive. One of Mr. Nixon's former associates says it was an aide impersonating the former President who drove out of the compound on Aug. 28 in a successful effort to divert waiting photographers from

a U.S. marshal who had come to serve two subpoenas upon Mr. Nixon.

Every effort is being made at San Clemente to insure Mr. Nixon's long-sought solitude. Hundreds of motorists turn off the San Diego Freeway each day hoping to get a glimpse of the Nixon residence but their hopes are frustrated by a "no trespassing" sign that blocks the entrance to the small guardhouse leading to the presidential estate.

Across the gate itself a hundred yards down the road is a sign saying "U.S. Coast Guard Station." Two armed and uniformed guards are at the gate.

The small ocean town of San Clemente, with a permanent population of 17,000 that sometimes doubles on hot summer days, has shown a steadily declining interest in its most famous resident. The Sanchezes shop regu-

larly at the Alpha Beta Market without interruption from people who know them.

Last weekend, San Clemente Councilman Paul Presley organized local youths in a cleanup of a flower garden that borders an exclusive residential community alongside the Nixon villa. The cleanup was approved by the Nixon staff, but it apparently occurred without knowledge of the former President.

On Mr. Nixon's last trip to San Clemente as President, Presley anticipated the resignation by ejecting White House aides and Secret Service men from the nearby San Clemente Inn, which he owns. He said that abrupt departures by the then President caused too many vacancies and cost him money.

At the inn a neon sign saying "News Center Lounge" remains but a basement room that was used for Western White House briefings is being remodeled. There is an idealized portrait of Mr. Nixon in the lobby, and a picture of the then-President and Soviet leader Brezhnev signing a nuclear treaty is tucked away behind the cigarette machine.

"It's difficult making the adjustment and realizing that he's not President anymore," says an old friend. "But however hard it is for us, it's much more difficult for him."