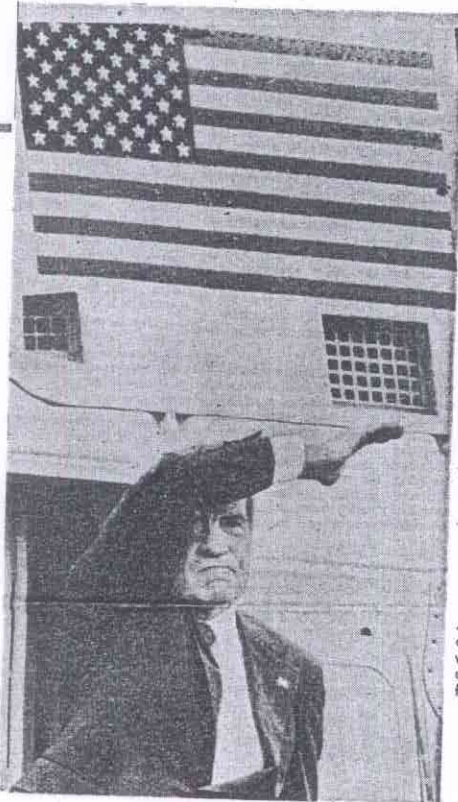


Watergate: The Story Isn't Over



Prosecutor Jaworski
Three grand juries.

Post
Daily
Magazine

a-year pension. Neither effort is likely to get very far.

THE TRIALS

The coverup trial of Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Mitchell is scheduled to begin Sept. 9. That date hardly seems realistic, however, because the status of Nixon as a private citizen casts the trial in a new light. The grand jury may return a superseding indictment, adding Nixon as a defendant; this would necessitate a delay, probably into 1975. If that is not done, either Jaworski or one of the defense lawyers may call Nixon as a witness, which would cause both sides to alter their strategy for the trial. That, too, would mean a delay.

George Steinbrenner 3d, head of the Yankees baseball team, is facing trial on Nixon campaign contribution charges connected with his shipbuilding firm. No date has been set for that.

Strangely enough, the first decision on Nixon's tapes in his new status as a civilian will probably come out of St. Paul, where tapes have been subpoenaed for the federal court trial of two leaders of the American Indian Movement involved in the armed occupation of Wounded Knee, S. D., last year. The Indians want the tapes to see if Nixon discussed the occupation with his aides.

CIVIL SUITS

There are already a handful of civil suits in connection with Watergate, and more are certain to come. While Nixon was President, none of the suits involving him stood much of a chance.

The first of those post-Presidency suits was filed Friday in Philadelphia, by a photographer named Kent Saldon. He is seeking \$25 million and a decision overturning the results of the 1972 election.

Other civil suits have been pending in the courts, some for almost two years. The Democrats settled their suit against the Committee to Reelect the President last week, but a \$5 million suit by Spencer Oliver, a Democrat whose phone inside the Watergate complex was tapped, is still pending.

So is a \$2.5 million suit filed by Jane Fonda against the entire Executive Branch. She claims she was harassed by the White House.

So are suits by two of the subjects of the national security wiretaps—Morton Halperin and Anthony Lake.

So is a suit by lawyer Henry Rothblatt, who claims he is owed \$113,500 in legal fees for the four Cuban-Americans caught inside the Watergate. He also is seeking \$10 million in damages from Nixon and nine others.

DISBARMENT

Nixon may face disbarment proceedings in New York and California.

LIDDY AND THE BIG QUESTION

And then there is G. Gordon Liddy. Liddy has been in jail for almost two years now and faces the prospect of being there for 20 more. He has yet to say a word about Watergate.

With last week's release of three tapes, one of the overriding questions of Watergate has been answered—what did the President know and when did he know it.

With Liddy, the leader of the burglary team, rests the answer to the other question—why was there a Watergate break-in, just who ordered it and what were the burglars looking for?

There is no reason to believe Liddy will start talking. But very little of Watergate has, had much reason behind it.

THE PROSECUTOR

Jaworski has three active grand juries, all of which can recast their investigations now that Nixon is a private citizen. Jaworski is known to be studying the possibility of specific offenses by Nixon in each case.

Two investigations thought to be complete may be reopened. In the milk fund case, Nixon could face conspiracy and bribery charges in connection with his decision to raise milk price supports. In the Ellsberg break-in case, Nixon could face conspiracy and obstruction of justice charges in connection with the attempt to smear Daniel Ellsberg. Charles Colson, who pleaded guilty to smearing Ellsberg, said he undertook the smears at Nixon's behest.

These other areas are still open:

—The 18½-minute tape gap. Columnist Jack Anderson reported yesterday that prosecutors are investigating the possibility that Nixon himself caused the gap.

—The \$100,000 campaign contribution Howard Hughes funneled through Nixon's friend, C. G. (Bebe) Rebozo. If Jaworski finds that some of those funds were used for Nixon's personal benefit, the charges could involve conspiracy and tax evasion.

—Nixon's tax returns. Jaworski has a grand jury looking into the question of fraud.

—Abuse of the Internal Revenue Service. One Watergate tape indicated a conspiracy to violate the civil rights of Lawrence O'Brien and other White House "enemies."

—Nixon's San Clemente and Key Biscayne homes. There is a possibility of illegal conversion of governmental property to personal use and conspiracy to defraud the U.S.

And, of course, there is the Watergate coverup. That grand jury—empaneled more than two years ago to look into the break-in—is still sitting. Earlier this year they voted 19-6 to name Nixon an unindicted co-conspirator, electing not to indict him because Jaworski told them they couldn't indict a sitting President. That barrier has now been removed.

IMMUNITY

Jaworski must make the decision—to indict Nixon because the tapes clearly show him to be a participant in an obstruction of justice, or not to indict him because resignation is a severe enough penalty.

The pressures on Jaworski are enormous, and his decision—either way—will have monumental political ramifications. Many Republicans would just as soon let the matter drop; many Democrats insist Nixon be tried. The pollsters are already measuring public opinion on the question. Jaworski cannot win—he will be criticized either way.

CONGRESS

Capitol Hill appears content—for the time being—to let Jaworski make the decision on whether to give Nixon immunity from prosecution. In this election year, neither side seems ready for a long and certainly bitter debate.

But Watergate will still be a live issue in Congress. The House Judiciary Committee must yet file its final report on impeachment, and a significant number of Congressmen want it debated and voted on to have the full House on record.

In the Senate, a few members want to go on with an impeachment trial. A few others want to strip Nixon of his \$80,000-

trial. Columnist Joseph Kraft reported before those three were released that 17 of the tapes involved "devastating material."

The other tapes certainly will become public—either at the coverup trial or before. Sirica is now reviewing the tapes to act on Nixon's claim of executive privilege, but special prosecutor Leon Jaworski is certain to challenge the claim, now that Nixon is no longer the Chief Executive.

Once Sirica approves sending the tapes to Jaworski, the prosecutor must give the relevant portions to lawyers for the six former Nixon Administration and campaign aides charged in the coverup case. If history repeats itself, that means portions will be leaking out almost immediately.

In fact, signs are that an accommodation may be reached and that Nixon, who appears to be the final owner of the tapes, may permit them to be released immediately.

From those tapes we may learn whether Nixon's revelations of last week were just the tip of an iceberg and whether he was even more deeply involved in the coverup than those first three tapes reveal.

The tapes may also bear significantly on the other investigations still being conducted by Jaworski. Nixon is a potential target in at least five other areas besides the coverup.

The matter of the Nixon tapes, in any case, will not end with the coverup case. They have been subpoenaed for at least one other trial and are certain to be the targets of subpoenas in the flock of civil suits against Nixon that are still to come. And Jaworski will certainly want more of them for his three grand juries.

A private citizen with an uncertain future...

By ANDREW PORTE

"Our long national nightmare is over."
—President Ford, after taking the oath of office.

The new President may be right, but there are going to be some bad dreams for a while.

For the Watergate story is far from over. Its final chapters will be written by the special prosecutor's three grand juries, in the chambers of Federal Judge John J. Sirica, in the halls of Congress, before disciplinary committees of bar associations across the country, and in courtrooms stretching from Philadelphia to St. Paul to Los Angeles.

And the concluding narrative will reach beyond the locked gates of La Casa Pacifica, where private citizen Richard Nixon can now devote his full time to mounting a defense against the charges to come.

By resigning, Nixon has apparently succeeded in heading off debate on the floor of the House and a trial on the floor of the Senate. But he has opened himself up to criminal charges, civil suits and the possibility of being summoned as a witness in a large number of cases.

He has also substantially weakened his claim of executive privilege over his White House tapes and greatly increased the prospect that many more of them may become public, possibly quite soon.

Here is a look at Watergate to come.

THE TAPES

Nixon released only three of the 55 tapes turned over to Sirica for use in the coverup



A CONSERVATIVE VIEW

James J. Kilpatrick

WORST BILL OF THE YEAR

WASHINGTON

The presidential storms having abated, the Senate continues debate this week on a measure that merits a splendid superlative title. It is the Worst Bill of the 93d Congress.

Admittedly, that takes in a considerable sweep; but the bill to create a Consumer Protection Agency is not merely a bad bill. It is a monstrously bad bill. In the holy name of consumerism, one of the more fashionable religions of the day, the Congress is about to create a bureaucratic nightmare.

The sponsors and defenders of this bill make it sound so simple. Out of whole cloth they have fashioned a speechless dummy named "the consumer." This poor creature, it is said, has no one to defend his interests. Business and industry have highly paid lobbyists whose insidious talents is to ma-

William F. Buckley is on vacation.

nipulate the agencies set up for their own regulation. The consumer, by contrast, is an abandoned babe in a forest of wolves. The bill would create a new agency with authority to fight back on his behalf.

The theory rests on a false premise, that there is such a thing as "the consumer." Under the definition contained in Section 4 of this bill, every human being who uses or purchases any goods or services whatever is a consumer. But unless one assumes that all human beings have identical personal and economic interests, it is plain that no advocate could possibly serve all consumers alike.

Let us examine, if you please, the best interests of this hypothetical "consumer" in such areas as milk, lumber, textile products and shoes. Presumably, consumers have an interest in cheap milk; but the human beings in the dairy industry, who also are consumers, have an interest in higher milk prices. People who build houses want cheap lumber; people who produce lumber find that idea unappealing. The country is flooded with textiles imported inexpensively from the Far East, and doubtless this suits some consumers very well; but the consumer who works in a North Carolina mill has a different view.

Back in January of 1972, this correspondent happened to be covering the McGovern campaign in New Hampshire. The candidate stood in the snow outside a couple of shoe factories, shaking hands as the shifts changed. Repeatedly, he was asked one question: How did he stand on the importation of shoes from Italy? These men and women were consumers of shoes; they were also producers of shoes. How would a Consumer Protection Agency look after their interests?

The bill is a fraud. It defines the "interest of consumers" partly in terms of their "economic concern," which is to say, in terms of the price the consumer pays for goods and services. In the determination of such prices, no factor of cost is more important than the cost of labor. Yet labor is exempted from this bill.

The bill is administratively impossible. Under this measure, the new agency would have an administrator. He would be responsible to no one. He could intervene in any governmental proceeding (except as to labor) throughout the entire realm of federal authority. His determination of the "interest of consumers" would be virtually unreviewable. He could be removed by a President only at the risk of another Saturday night massacre.

Under this legislation, the new agency would have some \$30 million to spend on advocacy. It is a small sum, perhaps, in a \$300 billion budget, but it is a large sum indeed in terms of lawyers, lobbying and litigation. Far from putting the "consumer" on an equal platform with business spokesmen, the authorized sum would make the administrator King of the Lobbyists, the fattest cat in town.

Our present system of consumer protection may not be perfect, but such old-line agencies as the courts, the Food and Drug Administration, and the Federal Trade Commission do a reasonable job, and such new agencies as the Consumer Products Safety Commission are coming on strong. A case for further bureaucracy cannot be made.

Black Exodus

From "The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I" by Arthur E. Barbeau and Florette Heint (Temple University Press, \$10).

Although the outbreak of war in Europe brought the black man of America no social or political change, it did revolutionize how and where he lived. In 1914 about two-thirds of the cultivated land in the South was rented, sharecropped, worked and (some of it) owned by blacks. . . . Northern employers were scouring the country for replacements for the cheap immigrant labor stopped by the war just as war production skyrocketed. Black migration from the South, fairly significant since 1900, after 1914 turned into a mass exodus.



PRESIDENT FORD & YOUR POCKETBOOK: III

Sylvia Porter

INFLATION: A BLUEPRINT

Has our new President a real, no-faking program to help battle inflation—which he himself calls "a cancer that could cause a lingering death for the industrialized world?" Yes.

Does Republican President Ford's program differ significantly from that of Republican President Nixon? Yes.

A first fundamental point is that Ford does have a program, and a detailed one. During the drama-packed weeks before Nixon stepped down, the Vice President was outlining that blueprint but few were listening. I'll submit its key aspects today.

A second fundamental is that Ford's approach differs in several unique ways from Nixon's. Among the most significant of those differences is Ford's emphasis on cooperation with Congress, on reaching solutions, and his pleas—stated in recent weeks with increasing urgency—for "reconciliation" and for "reasonable compromise." Perhaps Nixon might have stressed these aspects, too, but the Watergate scandals so divided the U. S. that Nixon couldn't even try to attract the active support of all segments in Congress, much less hope to win it. Ford has an extraordinary chance to achieve this during his "honeymoon."

A third fundamental is that Ford is now surrounded by a team of tough, dedicated anti-inflation advisers who have convinced him there "is no easy way, only a hard way" to curb the price spiral. He is not an economist by any stretch of the imagination. But when he says "the real weapons against inflation are the old-time virtues—a

sound budget and a sound monetary policy," he sounds like he understands and means it.

Now to the details, which touch each of us:

The new cornerstone that Ford will place in the anti-inflation fight (if he can) will be a federal budget not only in balance next year but "maybe in surplus." Nothing could be more important than to achieve that budget surplus, he says. He promises, therefore, to veto budget-busting legislation, to ask Congress to have the "political guts" to defer programs that are desirable but not really essential. Then he holds out to his friends in Congress the carrot: "as one of you for a quarter-century, my dearest wish is that a way can be found for us to work together."

Already in place is the cornerstone of a tough monetary policy which has made credit so scarce and pushed borrowing costs to horrendous heights. This, Ford says, he will not oppose because the inflation-creating supply of money and credit must be restrained, and when the budget is reduced, this will mean "reduced government borrowing, reduced interest rates" and a much less painful overall credit policy.

Then, Ford pledges these actions:

An all-out drive to expand the productivity of industry, particularly production in industries where shortages exist—such as energy and a variety of basic materials.

A reexamination of regulations in the environmental area to make sure there is a proper balance between the needs of the economy and our yearning for social well-being.

Special programs to aid industries badly hurt by a stringent monetary policy, such as public utilities, housing financial institutions.

Particular emphasis on expanding the production of our farms and, say, Ford, as a representative of a rural oriented part of Michigan, he truly recognizes the importance of this.

A rejection of price-wage controls as making "only a marginal contribution," but at the same time a "need for close monitoring of price and wage developments (which means a new wage-price setup in Washington), for not to do so would be "unforgivably negligence."

A provocative fight on monopoly power in labor or in industry, for "monopoly inevitably reduces supply and creates artificial high prices" (quite a pledge indeed!).

Tax incentives in various areas and forms, if found desirable, to spur investment in new plants and equipment that will help increase our nation's productive capacity.

There is more to Ford's program but at the point of overwhelming significance at this point is that he even has a program.

The eagle on the dollar is screaming we must unify in responding to that cry. . . . "The time has come for action, not doom-saying and hand-wringing" . . .

Colorful phrases with a potentially profound impact. For all our sakes—and the world's—pray that he means them.

Continued Tomorrow.



Bob Greene

A TIME TO FORGIVE

Dear Mr. Ford:

I used to drop a note to your predecessor from time to time, but he only wrote me back once. When I opened the envelope, there was a color photograph of himself, his wife, and his two daughters, with the inscription, "Thank you for your good wishes"—which was very nice, but which led me to believe that he really hadn't read my letter very carefully.

Anyway, I thought I'd give it a try with you. Like just about everyone else I have talked to, I was heartened and encouraged by your "a little straight talk among friends" speech on the day you took over the presidency, and I thought I'd throw some return talk at you. I promise not to make a habit of this — hopefully, if things keep going the way you've started them out, a lot of us won't be tempted to spend so much of our time thinking and worrying about the White House, and will just live our lives instead.

But there is one thing, and I hope that, in these beginning days of your Administration, you're not too busy to give it some thought. I'm sure that it's not just a matter of interest for myself—from what I can tell, there are millions of your countrymen who wish you would consider doing something about it.

It has to do with making this a season of forgiveness.

There are young American men all around the world this day who cannot return to their country because they believed deeply that the Vietnam war was immoral, and left the U.S. rather than participate in the killing. There are other young men who will spend the day in prison cells, because they tried to explain their opposition to the war to judges, and the judges ordered them locked up.

There has been quite a bit of talk in the last few days about granting amnesty to your predecessor, to protect him from legal retribution for the crimes he participated in. It looks as if a debate is forming on this issue, with potential ugly feeling brewing on each side.

I'd like to ask you this: If you plan to consider granting forgiveness to your predecessor, do you think you could consider doing the same thing for your fellow citizens in exile, and in prison? I know that you were never particularly a dove during Vietnam—but at least I hope you can agree that the young men who felt such abhorrence for the war were not dishonest, were not deceitful, were not duplicitous. To use a phrase we have been hearing a lot of lately, they tried to put the interest of their country above their personal interests.

I think you should know that, for many of these young men, the idea that they should be "forgiven" is a little hard to swallow. They know that they have done no wrong, that their

position on the war was long ago vindicated, and that if there are any who deserve forgiveness, it is the other Americans who demanded that the young men be punished for trying to tell us all that something in the country was very wrong. I hope you can understand this, and deal with it gently.

Even if you still believe these young men were wrong in what they did, am sure that you feel that people are entitled to mistakes—especially mistakes made in good conscience. In these last few months you made a major mistake, by going around the country guaranteeing us that your predecessor was innocent of all the charges against him. Evidently, you mistake was made in good conscience and we are all willing to put that aside and wish you well.

Your predecessor always said that he would never grant forgiveness or amnesty for the young men who were moved so wrenchingly by the wrongness of our war policy. But you predecessor was no healer—and you have given us every indication that you do want to help heal our nation's wounds.

We have all been through a series of deep-aching traumas during the past few years. There is no single a you could take to make us all of country again that would be greeted with more understanding and hear felt approval than this one.

Your predecessor, in the long ago promised to "bring us together." Like so many of his forgotten pledges, the one, too, falls on you to carry out. Thanks for thinking about it.