

THE NATION

ently as a favor to the President, were concluding a deal to buy a chunk of Nixon's property in San Clemente.

The "Public Institute" affair is another odd saga involving surplus funds from Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign. Some \$500,000 was placed for a time in bank accounts opened in the name of the otherwise nonexistent institute and maintained by Herbert Kalmbach, then the President's personal attorney and the man who handled the purchase of Nixon's California estate. Kalmbach has insisted that "not a dime of campaign money went into San Clemente," and he has agreed to testify at length about how the funds were used. Carmine Bellino, a top investigator for the Senate Watergate committee has also been looking into the institute deposits. Beyond that, TIME has learned that Bellino and two accountants recently spent a week in Los Angeles delving into records of a "nonprofit educational foundation" suspected of concealing gifts to Nixon, then departed abruptly for Miami. Sources close to the investigation report that Cox became privy to the results of their work in the days just before his ouster.

Only a portion of the list of illegal corporate contributors to Nixon's 1972 campaign has been made public. So far three companies—Goodyear Tire & Rubber, 3M and American Airlines—have been fined for unlawfully dipping into corporate funds for gifts to the President's re-election effort. Cox's investigators claimed that they were looking into possible violations by two dozen other firms and labor unions.

Alarming Tips. In pursuing this plethora of leads, Cox's staff had subpoenaed masses of bank records and deployed several dozen accountants from the IRS and the FBI to examine them. Members of the special prosecuting team suspect that the White House received tips from one of the federal agencies and became alarmed at the burgeoning scope of Cox's investigation. In addition, Administration officials may have disliked Cox's success in persuading former presidential aides—so far John Dean, Jeb Magruder and Fred LaRue—to agree to testify for the prosecution in return for leniency in their own cases. Members of the task force were reportedly pressuring John Ehrlichman and H.R. Haldeman, two of Nixon's highest-ranking aides until the scandal blew, to make some sort of deal.

The 80-man legal task force assembled by Cox will apparently remain intact for the time being. Though some of the younger attorneys threatened to resign as a protest against Cox's firing, Assistant Special Prosecutor James McBride and other top Cox assistants persuaded them that the momentum of the fast-spreading Watergate investigation would be slowed for months without their expertise. Criminal Division Chief Henry Petersen, who is mightily distrusted by many Cox associates because of his solicitous attention to Ad-

ministration feelings during the original Watergate investigation, held a tense meeting with members of the staff. As their temporary boss, he urged them to stay on. "Stay, that's what we want," said Petersen. "That's definite. We aren't going to fire a single one."

Yet leaders of the task force plan to seek quick assurance that Petersen—or any new special prosecutor—is genuinely determined to follow any trail. Within the next two weeks, one senior attorney says privately, the task force will "send a crunch decision" to Petersen or whoever is the new special prosecutor that Nixon has promised to name this week. They intend to hand up evidence involving a "sensitive area" that will force the new prosecutor to make good or else. If whoever is in charge by then fails that test, mass resignations will surely follow.

THE NIXONS

The Family Stands Firm

For a glimpse inside a family under pressure, TIME Correspondent Bonnie Angelo talked last week to irrepresible Julie Nixon Eisenhower about life in the White House during a week of crisis:

Julie is incensed at the idea that her father is a desperate man, harassed by the worst of all his crises. "I think sometimes he really likes a challenge," she says. "It's kind of a gauntlet thrown down—you've got to pick it up." That, asserts Julie, is exactly what the President has done. She says that her father has never discussed the possibility of impeachment with his family. On the contrary, she reports, the President is the family's strongest member these days. "He's the one who's always calling us and saying, 'Now don't read the papers tomorrow because it's going to be bad. This whole week is going to be bad, and I don't want you to worry about it. I

know what I'm doing and I'm doing the right thing.'" She simply laughs off AFL-CIO President George Meany's charge that the President is suffering "dangerous emotional instability." Says she: "It's so absurd."

How did Nixon feel about his reversal on the Watergate tapes? "Disappointment," says Julie. "He was standing with a constitutional principle, and he wanted to preserve this for future Presidents [but] he thought it had reached the point where there was no public understanding for his position."

Busy Weekend. Of life in the White House during the tumultuous weekend that brought the firing of Archibald Cox, the resignation of Elliot Richardson and the dismissal of William Ruckelshaus, Julie understates: "Well, it was a busy weekend for my dad. But in the evening we did relax, and Friday night turned out to be a kind of party." Julie and David had invited another young couple, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Milligan (he works in the Commerce Department), to the White House. "My parents were up in the solarium and when they heard our voices, they came hurrying down and asked us to have dinner with them." Joined by Nixon Friend Bebe Rebozo, the young people dined with the Nixons, discussed the day's events and then put matters aside to watch the latest Paul Newman movie (*The Sting*). Most tantalizing of all the weekend's events is the picture Julie draws of the President on Saturday evening summoning the family to explain why Cox had been fired, an explanation Julie adroitly declined to pass along. "When he writes his memoirs, he will explain."

Sunday saw a visit by Rebozo and the Nixons to Julie and David's home in Bethesda, Md. "It's the best deal in the world," chuckles Julie. "My parents bring dinner. And they always bring so much—this time it was a Mexican dinner—that I freeze the other half."

Her mother Pat has been her usual

BRAD HUFFMAN—WTTG-TV



JULIE NIXON EISENHOWER

UPI



PAT NIXON WITH POSTER CHILD

equanimous self during the crisis, reports Julie. "She just has great inner strength. I don't know how she does it. She's an inspiration to the rest of us, and she's a great help to my dad. I don't think people realize how really great she is." In a week that for Pat Nixon included presentation of awards to Washington youngsters for beautifying the nation's capital, handshaking with surprised visitors to the White House Rose Garden, and greeting the six-year-old poster child for the muscular dystrophy and multiple sclerosis campaign, a friend found the First Lady's mood "ebullient and confident."

Julie saved her most heated reply for charges of improprieties raised in connection with Rebozo. "He's being attacked to get at my father," she bristles, "and I know it hurts my father deeply. He doesn't mind if his policies are under the gun, that's fair game. He just hates the idea that his family or his friends are being hurt. But we can all take it. It's a really silly situation because he's feeling sorry for us, and we're feeling sorry for him." Julie remains confident that her father will not be impeached—nor, she vows, will he resign. "The people wanted him in 1972. He got a tremendous mandate, and no matter how many columnists write it, that mandate cannot be taken away."

PERSONALITY

The Reluctant Dragon

Few people in Washington are more uncomfortable these days than House Speaker Carl Bert Albert, the "Little Giant" from Bug Tussle, Okla. It is he who set in motion the proceedings that could lead to the impeachment of Richard Nixon. It is he who stands next in line of succession to the presidency until Congress confirms House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford as Vice President. For many politicians, those would be heady circumstances, but Albert relishes neither role. He wants Ford to be confirmed "as quickly as possible," and he fervently hopes, "for the country's sake," that Nixon will be exonerated. That would free the 26-year veteran of the House to resume his duties as Speaker unencumbered by a constitutional crisis, unthreatened by awesome responsibilities he does not seek.

Albert at 65 has no desire for higher office. Born in an unpainted shack in McAlester, Okla., he was raised in nearby Bug Tussle (later renamed Flowery Mound), after his father abandoned coal mining to become a tenant farmer. As a student in a one-room schoolhouse, Albert developed a love of reading (chiefly history and biography). He used his \$1,500 winnings as a champion high school orator to continue his education at the University of Oklahoma, where he graduated with a Phi Beta Kappa key and a Rhodes scholarship.

At Oxford, he earned two degrees,

then in 1934 returned to Oklahoma to practice law. In 1941, he enlisted in the Army as a private, emerging five years later a lieutenant colonel. Then, adopting the slogan FROM THE CABIN IN THE COTTON TO THE CAPITOL, he won election to Congress from Oklahoma's "Little Dixie" district, which borders on the late Speaker Sam Rayburn's district in Texas. Albert entered the House in 1947, the same year as freshmen Representatives John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon.

Iron Backbone. In Congress, Albert became extraordinarily popular. Small (5 ft. 4 in., 150 lbs.) and self-effacing, he showed himself to be considerate of other members' sensitivities, and trustworthy. Regarded as a tireless worker and gifted parliamentarian, he became assistant Democratic leader in 1955 under Rayburn, who called him "one of the greatest whips the House has ever known." With the death of Rayburn in 1961, Albert was promoted to party floor leader. He became Speaker in 1971, after the retirement of John W. McCormack.

Even as Speaker, Albert is rarely in the public eye. He lives quietly in a modest apartment in northwest Washington with his wife Mary, a former Pentagon clerk. They have two children: David, 18, a student at Harvard, and Mary Frances, 25, who teaches high school in Washington. To keep his weight down, Albert jogs and swims. He is seldom seen on the cocktail circuit, devotes himself to his family and his work, and his strongest expletive is "jeepers creepers."

Albert operates much as Rayburn did—backstage, without seeking publicity or notoriety. Instead of twisting arms, he works for cooperation and consensus. But the very qualities that won him the votes to become McCormack's successor led some Representatives to doubt that he had, in Rayburn's phrase, the "iron in his backbone" needed to be an effective Speaker.

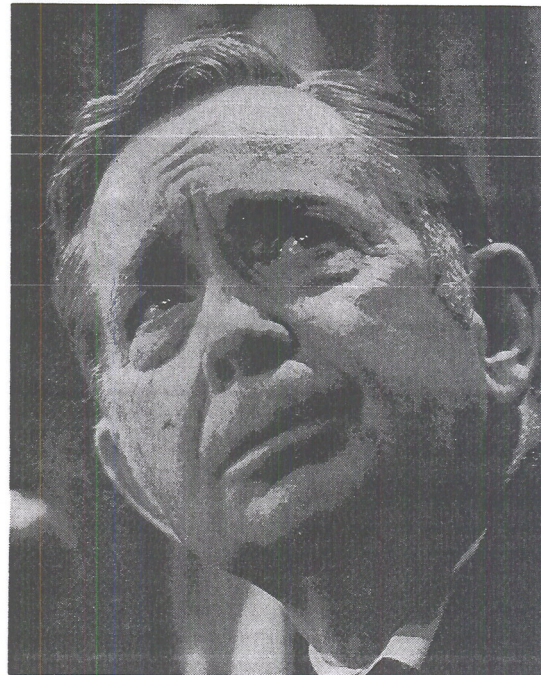
At first, Albert looked as if he did not. He backed away from a confrontation with one of his most acerbic chairmen, Ohioan Wayne Hays of the House Administration Committee, who seized authority over the House staff payroll. Despite tradition, Albert refused to chair the 1972 Democratic National Convention (though he had done the job in 1968). He vacillated on the amendment to end the Viet Nam War, finally voting against it. Even more embarrassing, he was involved in an automobile accident, and it was reported that he had been drunk. Albert denied the accusation, but that did not stop stories about his drinking habit from spreading at the time. Those who know him best now say he has no drinking problem.

This year, however, he seized control of the Rules Committee by insisting that Representatives loyal to him be named to it. That made him the first Speaker in almost 40 years with absolute control of the House's legislative agenda. Then, as crises began to envel-

op the presidency and vice presidency, he quietly ordered the House parliamentarian and legal experts to study how the House should proceed, if the holder of either office resigned or had to be impeached. As a result, the House was able to begin action on Ford's nomination and Nixon's possible impeachment without public wrangling. Also, Albert rebuffed Spiro Agnew's attempt to use the House to block the court proceedings against him.

After Agnew resigned and the Secret Service agents arrived to protect him as next in line to Nixon, Albert was trying to speed the day when they would no longer be needed. "Jerry," he told his friend Ford, "I would vote to confirm you today." Because of the scandal-ridden climate of the times, howev-

DENNIS BRACK—BLACK STAR



HOUSE SPEAKER CARL ALBERT
"Jeepers creepers."

er, Albert felt (and Ford agreed) that he had to order the Judiciary Committee to be thorough in its investigation of Ford. But he rebuffed Democratic partisans who demanded that he delay House action until after the Senate acts. He explained: "I think I have a personal and an official responsibility to do it as quickly as it can properly be done."

Last week he reluctantly directed the committee to conduct full hearings on whether Nixon should be impeached. Albert does not want to believe that impeachment might happen. "I think it would be a traumatic experience for the nation," he says. "I would lean over backward to give the President the benefit of the doubt." Although he has generally supported his foreign policies, Albert has never admired Nixon as a man. Nonetheless, he declares: "I am not doing this out of animosity for Nixon. I have an overwhelming constitutional responsibility to see that we in the House do our job."