

Cox Sees 'Deceit' By Nixon on Tapes

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Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox accused the White House yesterday of "almost a deceit" in ostensibly leaving the Watergate case to the courts while refusing to produce evidence crucial to its prosecution.

"The Executive cannot have it both ways," Cox maintained at an unprecedented hearing in federal court here over Mr. Nixon's refusal to yield tapes of his conversations about the Watergate scandal.

"There's not merely accusation, but there is strong reason to believe that the integrity of the Executive Office has been corrupted — although the extent of the rot is not yet clear," Cox said.

If the President intends

"to leave the matter to the courts," the special prosecutor added, "then he must leave the matter to the courts, to be decided in accordance with rules of law. . . . If he wishes to dismiss the case, if he has the power, then he should exercise it and the people will know where the responsibility lies."

Mr. Nixon's lawyer, Charles Alan Wright, insisted that the truth about Watergate would come out anyway, "in the ordinary way we have in the courts—through the testimony of witnesses."

But he argued that the judicial branch has no power to compel production of the

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tapes in the face of Mr. Nixon's determination that such a step would destroy his right to confidential discussions and cripple the powers of the Presidency.

As for any doubts about the President's "good judgment" on that point or about his conduct in office, Wright told U.S. District Court Chief Judge John J. Sirica:

" . . . There is only one court to which the President is answerable for any supposed dereliction of duty and that is a court of impeachment."

Speaking in a courtroom packed with about 350 spectators the special White House counsel also contended that the tapes could not be released piecemeal with irrelevant and sensitive segments deleted by Judge Sirica in secret, as Cox has proposed.

Under the Supreme Court's 1969 Alderman ruling, Wright said, any Watergate defendants indicted with the help of the tapes would be entitled to the complete, unedited recordings of Mr. Nixon's talks with top White House aides and campaign advisers.

In that connection, Wright continued, raising the issue of national security for the first time in the dispute, "the President has told me that in one of the tapes, there is national security material so sensitive that he would not feel free even to mention to me what the nature of the material is."

Judge Sirica praised both lawyers at the end of the 2½-hour hearing for "a masterful exposition of the issues" at stake. He said he hoped to announce a decision next Wednesday. Whatever the ruling, it is expected to wind up before the Supreme Court.

A former solicitor general with a largely independent charter as special prosecutor, Cox acknowledged that the law has long recognized a "qualified and incomplete" privilege against forced disclosure of government pol-



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icy deliberations and internal documents.

But he said no one, not even the President, has "the absolute power to arbitrarily decide on his own say-so" what will be disclosed to the courts, especially in a case involving conversations that were apparently "poisoned by criminality."

Pointing out that Mr. Nixon has already waived any claim of executive privilege for the personal recollections of his top aides and advisers about White House involvement in the Watergate scandal, Cox said the tape recordings of their talks with the President were critical to resolving their conflicting accounts and plainly the best evidence of who said what.

But the White House, Cox protested, seems to be saying that the privilege can be waived for evidence "only so long as it is open to the defects of human recollection, only so long as it is open to a charge of lying."

The tapes involve nine of the President's discussions about Watergate stretching from June 20, 1972—three days after discovery of the break-ins and bugging at Democratic Party headquar-

ters here—to April 15, 1973. Ousted White House counsel John W. Dean III has quoted Mr. Nixon as acknowledging then a prior discussion of executive clemency for one of the Watergate conspirators.

The hearing before Judge Sirica began promptly at 10 a.m. with Wright, a professor of constitutional law from the University of Texas, leading off for the White House.

Standing at a lectern in the sprawling ceremonial courtroom of the U.S. courthouse here, Wright began by arguing that no American court would have dreamed before the Watergate scandal broke of asserting "the clout to overrule the President" and order his compliance with a subpoena.

The only other subpoena ever directed at a President was one issued to Thomas Jefferson by Chief Justice John Marshall during Aaron Burr's treason trial in 1807. Jefferson produced the letter at issue, but Wright said Justice Marshall avoided the question of what the courts might have done if Jefferson had chosen not to comply.

As a result, Wright said, no court has ever undertaken to compel a President to obey a subpoena that he has rejected, as Mr. Nixon has done.

Wright argued that compulsory production of the tapes would "impair very markedly the ability of the President of the United States—any President—to

perform the constitutional duties vested in him."

"Getting to the truth of Watergate is a goal of great worth," the White House lawyer said, but "there may well be times when there are other national interests that are more important than the fullest administration of criminal justice."

At the close of Wright's argument, Judge Sirica asked him, in light of the White House claim that the President "is the sole judge of his own privilege," whether such absolute power were not "contrary to the spirit of checks and balances that we find in the Constitution."

Wright replied that the framers of the Constitution provided a remedy for abuses of presidential power but this, he said, "was the impeachment procedure in the Congress." Only after impeachment, he maintained, can a President "be charged and tried for any crimes he may have committed."

Cox said he thought it particularly unfair for the White House to suggest to the courts that the tapes can be withheld "as a matter of law" while contending at the same time that any prosecutions hinging on them will have to be dismissed if the courts insist on their production.

"That, if I may venture without any disrespect," Cox said, "would seem to me to be almost a deceit which would undermine confidence in the processes of justice."