

# POLITICIANS CALL THE TRANSCRIPTS A CRISIS FOR G.O.P.

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Members of Both Parties  
Link Problem to Tone of  
Presidential Operations

## CAPITAL PONDS DATA

President's Viewpoint Held  
to Outweigh Questions of  
Possible Wrongdoing

NYTimes

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 3—Politicians in both parties here say they see a deepening crisis for the Republicans in President Nixon's transcripts of Watergate-related conversations.

The Republicans' problem, as the politicians see it, is more the tone than the technicalities of what went on in the White House, and campaign veterans are raising questions about the party's future.

For several days Washington has been too busy reading the transcripts to react to them. But, politicians say, as they get deeper into the more than 1,200 pages of Mr. Nixon's intimate

### Transcripts

The New York Times completes today, on Pages 13-23, the publication in full and in chronological order of the Watergate tape transcripts that the White House has edited and made public.

conversations with his aides, the picture of the President's outlook begins to outweigh even the question of whether he did anything wrong.

#### View Called 'Frightening'

Senator Robert W. Packwood, a Republican running for re-election in Oregon, got halfway through the edited White House transcript of the tape-recorded conversations and commented that he found Mr. Nixon's view of government "rather frightening."

"There's no reference throughout the whole transcript," Senator Packwood said, "to what is good for the American people. There are not even any token clichés about what is good for the people."

Mr. Nixon, who went to Phoenix, Ariz., tonight to address a rally, announced on television Monday night that he would send to the House Judiciary Committee the edited transcripts of tapes it had subpoenaed, rather than the tapes themselves.

In his first test Tuesday night, Mr. Nixon won the partisan split he had apparently sought when Republicans on the committee balked at a proposal to cite the President for noncompliance with the subpoena. Many politicians here also feel Mr. Nixon is still benefiting from his televised address to the nation.

There are other signs, however, that the White House ap-

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peal for the Republican party to show the President "loyalty for loyalty" is being rejected. Elliot L. Richardson, who held three Cabinet posts in the Nixon Administration, called the appeal "a prescription for suicide on the part of most Congressional candidates."

Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, once among the Administration's fiercest defenders, was asked this week if he would want President Nixon in his state during his re-election campaign. "Sure," he snapped, "let him fly over anytime."

For months the practical dilemma facing Republicans in elections this year has been how to keep their hold on party workers and contributors, for the most part loyal to the President, and at the same time win a popular majority in an electorate that, in national surveys, disapproves the President by a margin of roughly 3 to 1.

The release of the transcripts and the approach of a House vote on impeachment of the President appears to politicians to sharpen the dilemma and is sharpening their calculation of the political alternatives.

#### Perils of Impeachment

Representative Dan H. Kuykendall of Tennessee, a Republican, reflected today that, in a close vote on impeachment, any Republican with significant opposition in his district "loses either way—if he goes loyalist, he loses the independent; if he votes against the President, he loses his workers."

Senator Peter H. Dominick, Republican of Colorado, facing his most difficult re-election campaign, illustrated the effort of many Republicans to please both sides with the comment yesterday that "I can easily defend [President Nixon] on his policies; I haven't agreed with him on his handling of Watergate."

Senator Dominick said that there might be a human "plus" in the transcripts. They show, he said, "a much more warm and perplexed nature" than people have seen before. "The people of the country looked

at him as a kind of automaton, and he's not an automaton."

Beyond the practical dilemma, politicians see in the White House transcripts—in the consideration of hush money and perjury as ways out of the Watergate quagmire—an even more fundamental blow to Republican identity.

The pain of Watergate is all the worse, an official of the Republican National Committee recently observed, because Republicans have long viewed themselves as the "good guys" against the Democratic machines.

### Nixon Sees Problem

President Nixon himself described the problem in a tape-recorded conversation with John W. Dean 3d, then the White House counsel, on Feb. 28, 1973. "I don't know what we can do," the President said, "the people who are most disturbed about this (unintelligible) are the (adjective deleted) Republicans. A lot of these Congressmen, financial contributors, etc., are highly moral. The Democrats are just sort of saying (expletive deleted), 'fun and games.'"

Democrats, however, say that the transcripts have taken away any fun there may have been for them in Mr. Nixon's troubles.

"I came up through the ranks in politics in Texas," Robert S. Strauss, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said in an interview. "I think I've seen just about everything. I know not all Democrats are pure. Each of our houses has some unclean spots. I've done things I'm not proud of. But this reading of these tapes has upset me more than anything in my life."

"I told my wife over the third martini last night, I'm embarrassed to have our kids read this and think it's part of the life I'm in." Now that's an interesting reaction from a guy who's no rose. It's saddening; there's no fun in it. It's sadder and sicker than I ever imagined. I keep looking for some mention of the American people, some concern for the nation."

Frederick G. Dutton, a lawyer, author and veteran strategist of Democratic campaigns, said he saw in the Nixon transcripts an explicit rejection

of the integrity standard that carried the Republican party through the Roosevelt-Truman wilderness" and even through the cataclysmic defeat of Senator Barry Goldwater's Presidential campaign in 1964.

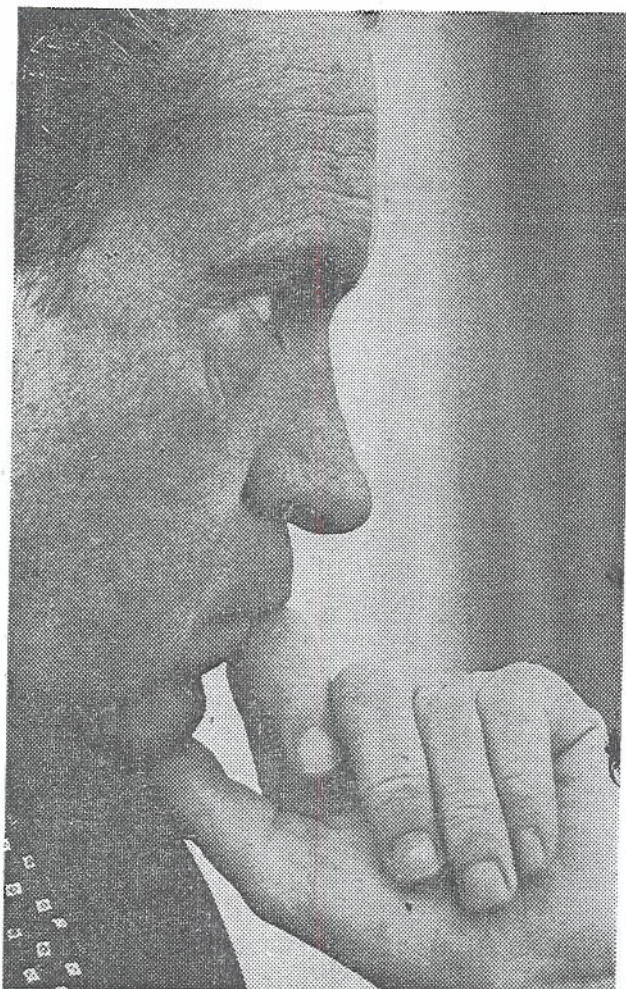
Kevin Phillips, once a Nixon campaign strategist and more recently a prophet of a political "realignment" that would redraw national political lines to match the Congressional coalitions of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats, said he saw in Mr. Dutton's analysis some confirmation of his own.

Publication of the White House transcripts, he said, "would tend to promote realignment by accelerating the dissolution of the 'morality axis'—the Republican party from Maine to Oregon—that comes out of the Civil War."

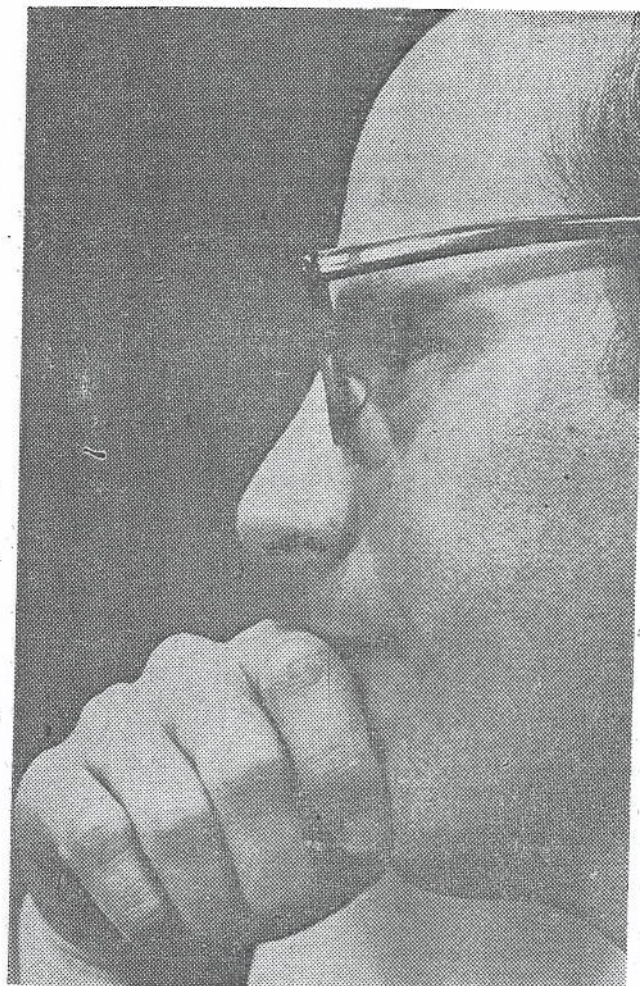
But for the conservative successor to the Republican party, as Mr. Phillips sees it, the Watergate crisis is only the agony of birth. Watergate will help the Democrats, mostly Liberals, to gain 25 to 40 seats in the House of Representatives this year, he speculated, "focusing attention on Congress as the instrument of real power in national government."

"If you have Congress in the saddle, that gives the Democrats the onus for Government in 1975 and 1976—which is to me the most amusing prospect in sight," he said.

In the Presidential election of 1976, he said, "we'll see a virtual collapse of the political parties as we've seen them."



White House Photograph



The New York Times

President Nixon and John W. Dean 3d, former Presidential counsel. Edited transcripts show conflicts in some testimony from Mr. Dean and in some public accountings by Mr. Nixon.

### Constituents' Views

The Washington Star-News

WASHINGTON, May 3—In the four days since Mr. Nixon announced his decision to release transcripts of Watergate-related discussions, Congressional offices have reported no huge increase in letters, telegrams and telephone calls from constituents.

Most of the constituents' views that have come in are opposed to Mr. Nixon's position. They favor release of the tape recordings themselves, not the edited transcripts; or they favor impeachment of the President.

However, the expressions of sentiment have not been as

extensive as the flood of letters and wires urging impeachment that reached Capitol Hill in the days after Mr. Nixon dismissed Archibald Cox as special Watergate prosecutor last October.

Like others, Senator Robert P. Griffin, Republican of Michigan, the Senate minority whip, reported yesterday that his mail since Mr. Nixon's television speech on Monday had been light and anti-Nixon.

#### Few Back President

His office received 16 letters yesterday dealing with the transcripts, three favoring the President and 13 opposed. The day before, it received 32—four supporting Mr. Nixon and 28 opposed.

Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland, has experienced an increase in telephone calls but has received only 25 wires. The sentiment is running 60 to 70 per cent against Mr. Nixon, his office said.

Representative John J. Rhodes, Republican of Arizona, the House minority leader, has received a dozen telegrams, only two in support of the President.

Representative Joel T. Broyhill, Republican of Virginia, one of the President's staunchest backers, has received 25 letters in the last two days, 10 favoring Mr. Nixon and 15 against him. "In view of the Cox situation, this is a very low order of mail receipt," an aide, Tom Adams, said.

Representative Stanford E. Parris, Republican of Virginia, has received 15 letters on the transcripts issue, two favoring Mr. Nixon and 13 opposing him. Representative Gilbert Gude, Republican of Maryland, has received 25 letters and 40 calls, nearly all of them anti-Nixon.

Representative Brock Adams, Democrat of Washington, has heard from 25 constituents, only two of them in favor of Mr. Nixon's position. Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, the House majority leader, has received 50 telegrams, two supporting Mr. Nixon.

"The telegrams all have little quotes in them," an O'Neill aide reported, "like, 'We want the tapes, not the novels.'"