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**An Outspoken Goldwater Shows New Political Life**

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

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WASHINGTON, Jan. 8—Barry Goldwater, like a Republican cloth coat rediscovered in the closet at the end of a fashion era, is back in style.

For a decade, Democrats gleefully scorned him; now they quote him. Republicans tried to forget his political legacy; now they applaud him.

The reason is Watergate—and Senator Goldwater's outspoken criticism of President Nixon and what he plainly believes is Mr. Nixon's failure to deal effectively with the scandal.

The blunt candor that devastated the Senators campaign for the White House in 1964 appears to many to have be-

come something of a national treasure in 1974, and, as the following occurrences indicate, each passing day seems to yield new evidence that the Arizona Republican is in the middle of a political renaissance:

¶Senator John G. Tower of Texas, the conservative chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, urged President Nixon in October to nominate Senator Goldwater to succeed Spiro T. Agnew as Vice President.

¶Victor Gold, the conservative columnist and former aide to both Senator Goldwater and Mr. Agnew, suggested more re-

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The prodding has varied from a private needle—when the Senator arrived at the White House for one of Mr. Nixon's "Operation Candor" meetings with Republican Congressmen late last year he gave the President a bottle of Watergate brand bourbon—to uncommonly harsh public criticism of what the Senator complained was a Nixon tendency "to dabble and dabble and argue on very nebulous grounds like executive privilege and confidentiality when all the American people wanted to know was the truth."

**Little Impact Seen**

Thus far, however, the Senator's frank statements appear to have had little lasting impact at the White House. In apparent frustration, Mr. Goldwater told The Christian Science Monitor in a widely reprinted interview last month that he had "never known a man to be such a loner in any field" as Mr. Nixon.

Senator Goldwater's limited influence at the White House is not new, and some of his associates believe his bluntness reflects pique at Mr. Nixon's lack of attention to the President's predecessor as the Republican standard-bearer.

One Senate colleague, who asked not to be identified, remembered having told Senator Goldwater in 1971 that the White House no doubt was grateful for a laudatory speech by the Arizonian.

"Grateful?" the Senator reportedly replied. "Right after the inauguration in 1969, Nixon called and said, 'You and I want to be very close; I hope you won't find it a burden to come down to the White House every two weeks or so.' Christ, I haven't seen him in a year."

Although Senator Goldwater declined through an aide to submit to an interview, Capitol Hill associates and Administration officials described a long series of unavailing attempts by the Senator to persuade the White House to respond openly to Watergate critics and investigators.

According to one source, the Senator first began inquiring about Watergate during the 1972 Presidential campaign,

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cently that the nation take a second look in 1976 at a Goldwater-for-President movement.

¶Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr., a liberal Republican from Maryland, declared that "there is this tremendous thirst for truth, and Barry is talking straight."

¶Mark Shields, a campaign strategist for liberal Democrats, concluded the other day that Mr. Goldwater "represents the ultimate triumph of character of ideology."

¶Senator Goldwater will appear Sunday on the National Broadcasting Company's "Meet the Press" program. He was last asked to appear on the show a decade ago.

¶The Senator has popped up on the Gallup Poll list of the most admired men in the world, finishing 10th, behind Pope Paul VI.

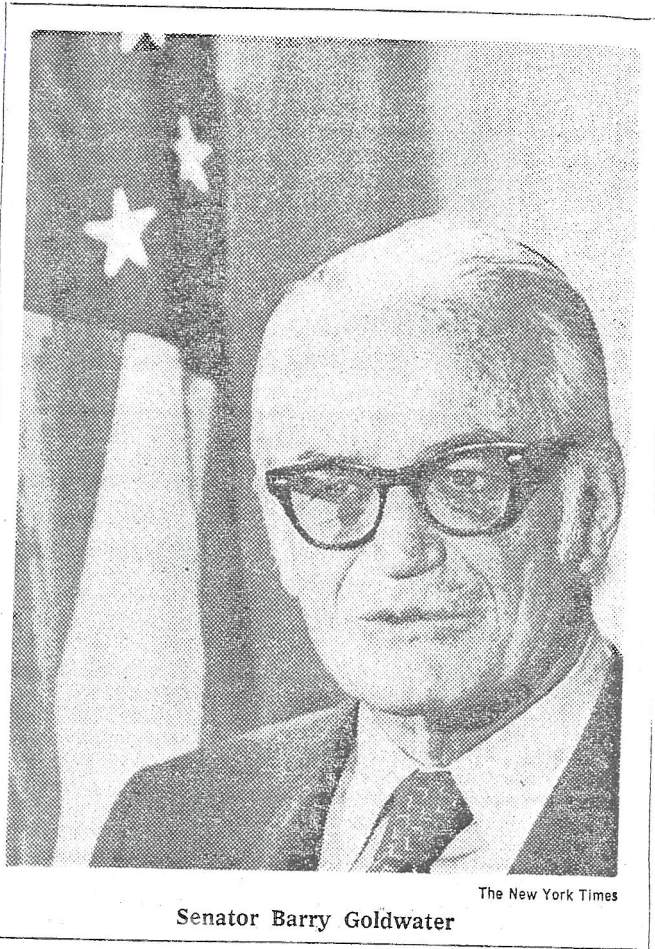
**From Goat to Hero**

There is more than mere irony in the transformation of the goat of the 1964 Republican disaster into a hero of the 1974 Republican trauma. It may be both a cause and a symptom of the President's troubles.

Asked to explain the reversal, an official in the Nixon Administration said that Mr. Goldwater "is not talking about nuke-ing the enemy any more, he's talking about nuke-ing Nixon."

Or, as a departing White House aide put it, "All the professional Nixon haters rejoice if Barry says something critical of Nixon."

According to Senator Goldwater's close associates, he is trying to help the President—and has been for more than a year—by prodding Mr. Nixon to make a full disclosure on Watergate matters, convinced that it will be to his benefit and the only way to salvage his Presidency.



The New York Times

Senator Barry Goldwater

when Mr. Goldwater was one of a number of White House spokesmen, and sought assurance that he could dismiss Watergate as a serious matter.

He was told, the source said, that, once the whole story was known, "the Democrats will have redder faces than ours."

Early last year, when Watergate disclosures first began to trickle into print, a group of senior White House aides reportedly told Mr. Nixon he should consult with Senator Goldwater.

The Senator was advised that he would hear soon from Mr. Nixon. A few hours later, he was invited to the White House. But rather than an audience with the President, he was taken to the office of Bryce N. Harlow, a White House counselor, and asked what advice he would give if Mr. Nixon should seek it.

Mr. Goldwater reportedly proposed that the President "get up to the Hill and talk to Sam Ervin" of North Carolina, the chairman of the Senate Watergate committee.

Senator Goldwater was never asked to give the President the advice directly. Mr. Nixon is still refusing to appear, formally or otherwise, before the Senate committee.

Last April 10, in what his colleagues said was an effort to smoke Mr. Nixon out, the Senator told an interviewer that Watergate was beginning to "smell" like Teapot-Dome and that if it was not cleared up he could "see the issue out of this as 'Can you trust Dick Nixon?' It gets right down to that."

#### Inertia Charged

When the interview was published, a senior White House official telephoned and asked the Senator what he had meant. Mr. Goldwater reportedly replied that he could not make it any plainer.

Last May, the Senator complained in a statement that Watergate was producing Government inertia and dwindling confidence in the nation and the Republican party. Again he received a White House query: What did he mean?

Mr. Goldwater's reply, sharp and characteristically profane, was to cite unfilled jobs in the Administration, rising international gold prices and a slumping stock market.

When the Senator had an

opportunity to address Mr. Nixon directly last November at the "Operation Candor" meeting, he objected that supporters of the President had been prepared for months to assist Mr. Nixon but the trouble was that he never asked for help until difficulties had developed.

On Dec. 14, the date of the interview with The Christian Science Monitor, Mr. Goldwater said he still had not had a "man-to-man talk" with the President.

However, by coincidence, a few hours after the interview, Mr. Goldwater was invited to a small White House dinner. It turned out to be purely social—Mr. and Mrs. David Eisenhower and Rose Mary

Woods, Mr. Nixon's secretary, were among the guests—and the Senator did no more than tell a few anecdotes.

"He has concluded there is only one way to communicate with Nixon, and that's through the public print," a colleague of the Senator said.

There are conflicting views as to whether what Mr. Goldwater says in print has much effect, particularly at the White House.

One former Nixon aide said that Mr. Goldwater "irritates the hell out of the President" by saying things that produce "fodder for the liberals." The aide said, however, that the White House was less troubled by Mr. Goldwater's pungent critiques than it would be if Senator Strom Thurmond, the South Carolina conservative, or Gov. Ronald Reagan of California spoke out as boldly from Republican ranks.

A White House official who still sees Mr. Nixon occasionally said that Mr. Goldwater was getting broad attention only because he was "saying things more acceptable to the media" and that "his shock value tends to diminish after the first blast."

But another senior White House assistant attributed Mr. Goldwater's renewed prominence to the tides of political fortune, contending that Democrats no longer had cause to attack the Senator, and that, "as the muck of political assertions has ebbed, the shining image has emerged."

The official said that Mr. Goldwater had resumed his role as the leader of conservative Republicans "in light of the misfortune of Spiro Agnew."

Most troublesome, potentially, for the White House is the assessment of another Republican Senator.

"Barry's not too influential in the Senate because he doesn't spend a lot of time there," the colleague stated. "But he is very influential in the Republican party. If he signals a move toward impeachment, the herd will stampede."

