

'Mr. Nixon Is Down and Hypocrisy

By Patrick J. Buchanan

WASHINGTON—Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, has been named an unindicted co-conspirator by the unanimous vote of a Federal grand jury in the nation's capital, Washington, D. C. Sounds impressive and ominous.

Now the President's lawyers have asked the Supreme Court to decide the constitutional question of whether the grand jury had the right to name him as an unindicted co-conspirator in a criminal proceeding. They also plan to argue that the evidence on which the Watergate grand jury acted was "totally insufficient" to name him a co-conspirator.

What went into the production of that headline—so deleterious to the President—"Jury Linked Nixon to Cover-Up"—variations of which ap-

peared prominently in almost every newspaper and news magazine in America? Who "linked" this President to the Watergate cover-up, and why?

Well, the grand jurors who voted 19 to 0 to name this President were drawn from a pool of residents of the nation's capital and environs, the most anti-Nixon city in the United States.

While the District of Columbia was giving an astonishing 78 per cent of its votes to George McGovern and Sargent Shriver, elsewhere in America the pair was buried beneath the greatest avalanche of ballots in the history of the Democratic party.

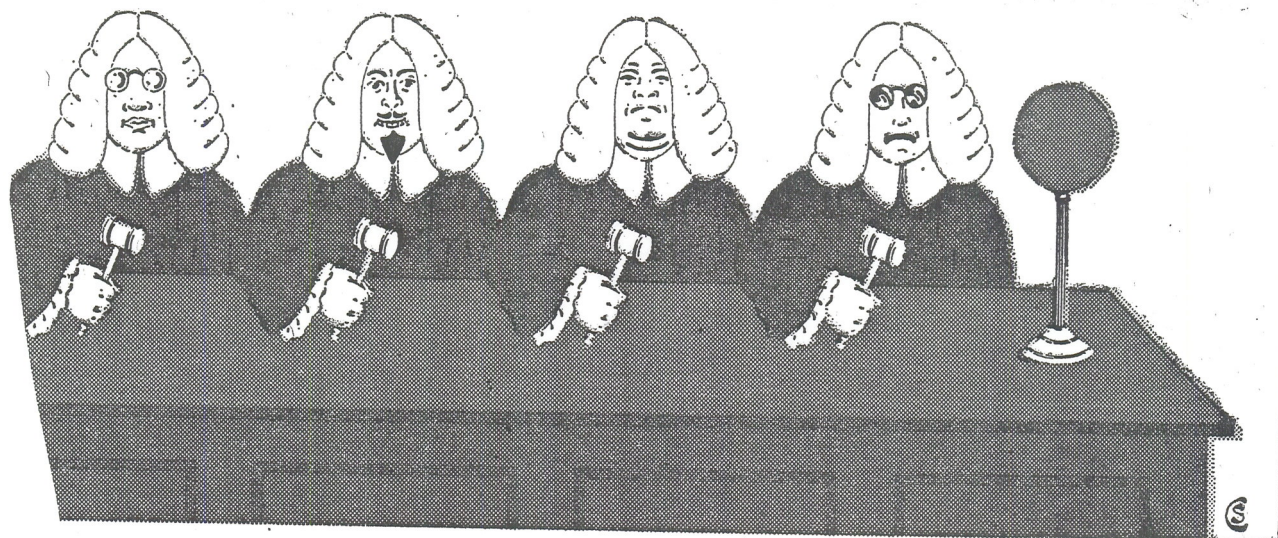
Only a single member of that 23-member grand jury was a Republican. Seventeen of the 23 were black—members of a racial minority that voted, nationally, upwards of 10 to 1 against the President, a minority whose political leaders have repeatedly characterized Richard Nixon and

his Administration as bigoted and racist.

Such was the composition of the Watergate grand jury. And who were the prosecutors who gathered and presented the selected evidence? They were Archibald Cox's men. Seven of the first eleven senior appointments to the Watergate special prosecution force—Ruth, Vorenberg, Heymann, Neal, McBride, Merrill and Cox himself—had histories of close political or professional association with the brothers Kennedy.

Had Martin Luther King been indicted for "sedition" by a grand jury in Plaquemines Parish, La., by prosecutors formerly associated with the late Leander Perez, The New York Times might have viewed that charge with the same skepticism with which many have greeted this particular grand jury's naming of Richard Nixon.

The prosecutors have contended that their quarry has been justice



Is King in the National Capital'

all along. But the circumstantial evidence mounts that the true quarry is Richard Nixon and his men. H. R. Haldeman was indicted for perjury by misplacing the comment "it would be wrong" by no more than eight minutes in the conversation of March 21, 1973. While John Dean's repeated and critical misplacing of the discussion of "hush money" by eight days—from March 13 to March 21—was passed over as honest error.

When Dwight Chapin was convicted for the felony of perjury for not telling the truth about his knowledge of a misdemeanor, the members of the prosecution staff, gathered in court, cheered and embraced.

When John Mitchell and Maurice Stans were proved innocent of the Vesco indictment by a petit jury, outside of Washington, reporters characterized the mood at the special prosecutor's office here in Washington as one of gloom and despair. Why should that be, if the men were exonerated after a fair trial?

Mr. Nixon is down and hypocrisy is king in the national capital.

Charles Colson pleaded guilty to having leaked derogatory information about an individual under indictment—and faces potential disbarment and a possible prison sentence for his offense.

Meanwhile, the Watergate committee, chaired by the great constitutionalist, Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., is a veritable gusher of malicious leaks against innocent and indicted alike in the Watergate affair, even as the same publications that vilify Mr. Col-

son for his leaks about Daniel Ellsberg reap handsome profits from publishing every rumor and report about the Watergate indictees.

Strange how ineffectual the committee counsel Samuel Dash can be when the targets of the leaks are Mr. Nixon's men—and how effective an investigator he turned out to be when the target of the leak was Prof. Sam Dash himself.

When an anonymous staffer was quoted in the counterculture tabloid, *Rolling Stone*, as having said that Sam Dash was an "egomaniac," the professor proved a veritable Gletkin* in pursuing and punishing, within hours, the offending staffer.

No Congressional committee staff in history has managed a more deplorable record of violating its own rules of confidentiality, and systematically savaging the reputations of its witnesses, than the majority staff of Sam Dash.

Their claim to be the arbiters and authors of a new code of political ethics has passed from being hypocritical to being hilarious. Given the reckless disregard for the rights and reputations of witnesses, Mr. Dash's treatise on ethics should be accorded the same reception as a treatise by Madame de Pompadour on chastity.

We live in strange times: Henry A.

Footnote

*Gletkin, one of the principal characters in Arthur Koestler's novel, "Darkness at Noon," was the Soviet Communist party official who was the relentless interrogator of the protagonist.

Kissinger, the American Secretary of State, is being called upon to answer publicly—not for the wisdom of the Paris concessions that brought disengagement in Vietnam, not for the negotiated agreement on strategic arms with the Russians, not for the diplomatic opening to Peking, nor détente with the Russians, not for his diplomatic triumph in the Middle East. No, Henry Kissinger is being dragged into the dock to answer the historic question of whether, in the use of a handful of wiretaps five years ago, his operative verb should have been "recommended" instead of "referred."

And what of the President of the United States? Apparently, he will not be judged in impeachment proceedings for great questions such as the constitutionality of his clandestine decision to use American air power against enemy-occupied Cambodia, a decision of moment and controversy that may have cost thousands of enemy lives and saved thousands of American lives.

No, the impeachment of the President, at this writing, is more likely to hinge on such questions as what day in March of 1973 was it that John Dean told him that Gordon Strachan might have known what the convicted Watergate buggers had been up to.

One historian has observed that an unmistakable sign of a declining nation or civilization is an exaggerated emphasis by its intellectuals upon the trivial, the insignificant and the inane—to the exclusion of matters crucial to the survival of the state. Under such a criteria, the nation qualifies.