



Lowell P. Weicker Jr., freshman Senator from Connecticut, and his wife, the former Marie Louise "Bunny" Godfrey of Rye, N.Y. Recently, they bought the Alexandria, Va., suburb townhouse of John Dean, the tell-it-all character of Watergate, on the Potomac River for \$135,000 plus \$15,000 for furnishings.

Lowell the Lion-Hearted

A Profile of Senator Weicker of Watergate Fame

by Lloyd Shearer

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Before Watergate, Lowell Weicker, Jr., 43, first-term Republican Senator from the Democratic state of Connecticut, enjoyed one signal physical distinction: at 6 feet 6 he was the tallest member of the U.S. Senate.

Today, maverick Weicker, by virtue of his Watergate committee behavior and oratory, has developed another distinction, a moral one which positions him as the most vocally idealistic member of the U.S. Senate.

While cynics and diehards have sought to rationalize the evils of Watergate in terms of traditional politics, i.e., "They all do it... Politics is a dirty business... Every other administration has done the same things, sold out to big business, wiretapped enemies, pulled fast ones for major campaign contributors. . . ."—man-mountain Weicker has doggedly rejected the infection of such rapidly spreading moral jaundice.

"I don't want to hear that everybody does it," he bellows. "I come from the state of Connecticut, and I can only relate to the experience I've had in politics and government, [three terms in the state assembly, one term in the U.S. House of Representatives, 3½ years in the U.S. Senate] and believe me, everybody does not do it.

"This country is a decent place, peopled by honest, decent men, and that includes politicians. To say 'Everybody

does it,' is to describe a pervasive rottenness that just doesn't exist in the United States, and I refuse to believe that it does.

"Do you know what to me was the most surprising, profound, and meaningful revelation of Watergate?" he asks. "It was," he declares, his words tumbling so fast that they trip over each other, "the incredible abuses committed by our law enforcement and intelligence community—the FBI, the Justice Department, the Internal Revenue Service, the CIA, the Secret Service, the military.

Something new

"Influenced by the White House, the abuses of these agencies have been unparalleled, at least to my knowledge, in the modern history of this country."

Removing his spectacles, rubbing his bright blue eyes, running the fingers of his right hand through his sand-color hair, Weicker asserts: "We can live with or without Richard Nixon. To me he is no more important than the four Cuban-Americans or any other individuals involved in Watergate. Individual guilt or innocence is something that has and will be determined by the judicial process, or, in the case of the President, by the Congress.

"In my judgment the major lesson of Watergate is that we cannot live with government agencies that are influenced or pressured to impose conformity of thought and action upon the people of this country by equating dissent with disloyalty.

"I pick up a newspaper," Weicker explains in mild outrage, "and I read that several weeks ago the FBI investigated Don Santarelli who happens to be a former law enforcement official himself. Santarelli is a Nixon loyalist, if you will, yet he makes a speech in Norfolk, Va., in which he questions police crime statistics.

Getting angry

"Some people obviously disagree with him; so they pressure the FBI into sending an agent down there to check out what it was he said.

"Now I'm getting damn mad about all this business. The FBI has many valid functions to perform, but checking out citizens who disagree with them is not one of them.

"The same thing with the IRS. It has many valid functions to perform, but auditing and harassing American citizens on a so-called political enemies list is not one of them either. Neither is it the damn business of the IRS to audit the taxes of anyone who attends a rock festival."

(It was Lowell Weicker who, conducting his own investigation, revealed early this year a startling status report of a special compliance group organized inside the IRS in 1969, to collect information on all persons or groups advocating so-called extremist views.)
"Do you realize," Weicker says,

"that this special compliance unit was supposedly set up to keep tabs on terrorist, subversive, and militant organizations. Yet in the hundreds of documents we examined, there wasn't one terrorist, one subversive, one militant individual or organization. The list consisted of Lowell Weickers, people like you and me."

Senator Weicker, who attended Culver Military Academy as a boy and later served as a lieutenant in the Army (1953-55), is a friend of the military. He has also supported Nixon's Vietnamization policies, "but how in heaven's name," he exclaims, "can anyone read Department of Defense surveillance reports about Army agents breaking into a guy's room in Berlin, an American civilian, and finding an autographed picture of George McGovern on the wall and not get angry?"

"Now, gosh darn," he fumes. "I think it's incredible that our military men in Berlin have enough time on their hands to go chasing around, investigating American civilians who are guilty of the great crime, supporting Sen. George McGovern."

White House memo

"Let me give you another example," he continues. "I write a column for weekly newspapers in Connecticut, and in a column I wrote several months ago, all I did was to reprint a memo written on White House stationery—and to me 'The White House, Washington, D.C.' is an address which has always represented integrity, honor, and decency."

"The memo was from Jack Caulfield to John Dean. In black and white, it sets forth a contemplated breaking and entering and burglary of the offices of Potomac Associates, one of those think-tanks. That memo speaks for itself in a thousand different, awful ways."

"It sure drives me up a wall when I think of all those guys over at the White House in 1972 who wore American flag lapel pins while they advocated burglary, wiretapping, committed perjury, impugned the patriotism of those who disagreed with them and tossed due process into the shredder."

Blames the public, too

Weicker blames not only the Nixon Administration and its unquestioning fanatics for Watergate, but he also blames the American electorate. "The quality of political ethics in a democracy," he states, "is determined by the voting public. In 1972 the electorate demanded peace at any price, quick answers to complex problems. It sought to protect accumulated wealth rather than expand opportunities for the poor."

"My feeling is that we have reached the point now where we have to decide what kind of democracy we want."

"Democracy," he declares, "is bloody inefficient, especially when it

comes to law and order. The motif of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights is the importance and dignity and liberty of the individual, the freedom to blossom and flower and develop and grow and experiment as a person."

"If law and order is the prime requisite of our society, then there are other forms of government which are far more efficient. Our Constitution does not guarantee a structured peace. In fact it guarantees trouble, because it encourages a nation to strive, to seek out trouble, to find out where the raw spots are."

"I remember Martin Agronsky, the newsman here in Washington, telling me about one of his last interviews with the late Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black. Martin interviewed Black after the Supreme Court handed down a group of decisions which made it more difficult to convict criminals. Justice Black said, 'Martin, the whole Bill of Rights makes it more difficult to convict in America. It is far more difficult to convict a man if he has the right to a jury trial, the right to counsel. One of the major purposes of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, our system of justice and its principles, is to make it damn difficult to close the prison doors on an American.'"

Follow the Constitution

Weicker maintains, "We've had less law and order in this administration, because people departed from the Constitution. Those guys over at the White House thought to voice dissent was to be disloyal, that those of us who disagreed were traitors. I'll tell you this, most of the time we've gone wrong in this country, we've gone wrong because we departed from the U.S. Constitution and its spirit and tried to do things differently."

It is inevitable that any Republican who so forcefully criticizes an incumbent Republican administration will stimulate retaliation. Weicker's mail advises him, among other things, to

"go back to Russia where you obviously come from," to "stop betraying your country," and to "quit shooting your mouth off, because you're nothing but a stupid, silly jerk without an ounce of patriotism."

The Senator finds the equation "Disagreement equals disloyalty" particularly vexing. "Such logic," he points out, "reflects the attitude of the Nixon Administration which sought to 'get' the guys who disagreed with their policies."

The President's supporters

"Last year in February," he narrates; "I was invited to the White House for a 'Peace with Honor' reception. I learned that invitations were extended, not to the whole Congress in celebration of getting us out of Vietnam, but only to those of us who had supported the President's position. Since the reception was designated 'Peace with Honor' the implication was clear—those who had disagreed either did not want peace or they were dishonorable men and women."

"Apparently it never occurred to the White House that the people who doubted the correctness of our role in Vietnam were just as patriotic and helpful in getting us out of the quagmire as were the President and his supporters."

"Just thinking about that got me so mad I refused the invitation, and I haven't been asked back since. My role in Watergate," he adds, "was not one to endear me in the hearts and minds of the palace guard who extend White House invitations. No matter—I couldn't care less. No man should place popularity above principle."

Weicker suspects that "I'm never going to be anybody's darling—the Republican Party's or the Democratic Party's—because I'm too outspoken, and I prize my independence too highly." Which is why he insists he has no designs on higher political office. "I don't want to be Vice Presi-

dent. I don't want to be President. All I want is to remain a U.S. Senator. I behaved the way I did in Watergate out of principle, not because I wanted to make a name for myself and climb the political ladder. I saw evil, and I exposed it."

"Hell, I'm no wild-eyed liberal who hates Nixon and everything on the conservative side. I supported Barry Goldwater very vigorously in 1964, and in 1968 I delivered four of our delegates to Richard Nixon. People who doubt my loyalty to the Republican Party forget the summer of 1972."

"There was a young Republican from Mississippi, Gil Carmichael, well-qualified, sensitive, intelligent, progressive, who was running against Jim Eastland. I have nothing against Senator Eastland, but he's a Democrat. Carmichael, far more conservative than I am, truly representative of Mississippi, was a superb opposition candidate, but Agnew and Nixon abandoned him. They wouldn't support a Republican against a Democrat. I, myself, I had to go around the Senate and get 12 other Senators to come out in Carmichael's behalf. We found out during the Watergate hearings that there was a White House strategy to abandon certain Republican candidates when they were running against Democrats who were in tight with Nixon, and Jim Eastland is of course one of those Democrats."

"Then during the same summer, if you recall, there was the Youth for Nixon organization. I saw their operation in New Hampshire, and I considered it pretty much of a fraud operation. I called up Bob Dole [Senator Dole was Republican National Chairman], and I told him that insofar as Connecticut was concerned, I wanted the Young Republicans separated from the Committee to Re-Elect the President and placed under the Republican National Committee. The way that Committee to Re-Elect the President maneuvered—you could smell them a mile off."

Lowell Weicker, who describes himself as "scrappy, competitive, honest, and independent," has the wherewithal to remain so.

No nickname

He was born into a wealthy family in Paris on May 16, 1931, and christened Lowell Palmer Weicker Jr. "I've never had a nickname. People have always called me Lowell."

Weicker is the second son of Lowell P. Weicker and the former Mary Bickford Paulsen. His father was manager of foreign operations for the family business, E. R. Squibb & Sons, the well-known pharmaceutical house, at the time baby Lowell was born.

"My grandfather, Theodore Martin Weicker," the Senator explains, "came from Darmstadt, Germany, to this country about 1890 or so. He was a graduate chemist from the University of Heidelberg, and he had a job as



Of the seven Senators who comprised the Watergate Committee, Howard Baker, Weicker and committee Chairman Sam Ervin were the three most publicized. They are shown conferring with assistant counselors Terry Lenzner and Rufus Edmisten.

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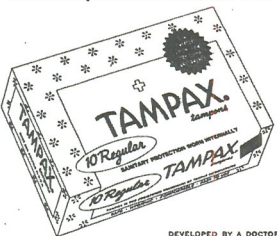
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Each Friday afternoon Senator Weicker flies to his home in Greenwich, Conn., to spend a weekend with his family. From left to right: The Senator, son Scot, 16, wife Marie Louise, son Gray, 14, and Weicker's ward, Brian Bianchi, 8.

WEICKER *continued*

U.S. branch chief for Merck & Co. He met Dr. Squibb, a pharmacist in Brooklyn, and together they set up what was to become a most profitable business. Grandfather Weicker acquired a controlling interest around 1904 or '05 and served as a leading officer of the company until he died in 1940."

City and country houses

Weicker and his two brothers and sister were reared in New York City (Park Avenue), Long Island (Oyster Bay) and Connecticut (Greenwich), attended a series of expensive private schools. Lowell went to Buckley, Culver Military, prepped at Lawrenceville, entered Yale where he rowed, debated, majored in political science. One of his classmates was William F. Buckley, the vocabulafian, TV performer and conservative columnist.

After graduating from Yale in 1953, Weicker served in the Army for two years, then entered the University of Virginia Law School, where he was graduated in 1958.

In 1953 he married Marie Louise "Bunny" Godfrey, a "Navy brat" from Rye, N.Y., whom he claims to have met at a Phi Gamma Delta houseparty at Yale. After "Bunny" was graduated from Connecticut College, having majored in psychology, they met again in Paris. She went to work as a researcher at *Fortune* magazine, gave it up to marry Weicker and spend the next five years at Fort Sill, Fort Bragg, and Charlottesville, Va., where the first Weicker child, Scot, was born. The Weickers have two sons, Scot and Gray, and an adopted son of sorts, Brian Bianchi. Brian's parents were close friends of the Weickers. When they died recently, the Senator and his wife asked Brian to move in with them. They have since become his legal guardians.

Lowell Weicker entered politics two years after he was admitted to the Connecticut bar in 1960. He was

elected to the Connecticut state assembly for three terms, simultaneously worked as Greenwich's First Selectman, the equivalent of mayor, and earned good marks in the suburb of the millionaires by keeping the local tax rate low.

In 1967 he decided to run for Congress. He campaigned long and hard—"I lost 35 pounds in the campaign"—but won the seat in the House, representing Connecticut's Fourth Congressional District.

As a freshman legislator, Weicker drafted an amendment to the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969, insisting upon the replacement of demolished housing units on a one-for-one basis. The legislation was passed, earning Weicker the reputation of being a "comer."

Three and a half years ago, "even though it meant facing my eighth election in eight years," Weicker decided to run for the U.S. Senate seat held by the late Sen. Thomas Dodd, a politician with an inordinate liking for money and alcohol. In a three-way general election against Dodd, who ran as an independent and Joe Duffey, who ran as the Democrat, Weicker, representing the Republicans, was elected with 42 percent of the vote. Duffey, who got 34 percent, and Dodd, who received 24 percent, killed each other off, allowing Weicker to win with only a plurality.

His companions

It was the veteran Hugh Scott, Senate minority leader, who recommended Weicker for the Watergate committee and thereby brought him into national prominence. The other two Republicans on the seven-man committee were the quick-tempered, hapless Edward Gurney of Florida and the diminutive front-runner Howard Baker of Tennessee.

Of these three it is probably Weicker whose performance was most memorable, particularly his emotional outburst on June 28, 1973 that "Repub-

licans do not cover up . . . , do not . . . threaten, do not commit illegal acts. And God knows, Republicans don't view their opponents as enemies to be harassed." It was a brief but moving speech which prompted an immediate, enthusiastic ovation by spectators in the Senate Caucus Room.

During the course of Watergate, Weicker, relying on his own team of researchers, supervised a separate investigation of relevant scandals. His men uncovered scads of incriminating documents—on the IRS; on the U.S. Army files on politically active Americans in Germany; on the Nixon domestic intelligence plan originated by Tom Charles Huston, a White House aide, and subsequently vetoed by J. Edgar Hoover because it was patently illegal; on the dirty tricks engaged in by Nixon politicians, and on much more, all of which he released to the full Senate committee. And all of which transformed him from a relatively unknown Senator into a national figure.

Opposes partisan justice

As a result of his Watergate research, Weicker says, "I'm seriously thinking that the Attorney General of the United States should be elected by the people instead of being appointed by the President. Attorneys General are elected in about 40 states and territories, and I'm inclined to believe the same should hold true in the federal government. We can live with partisan politics in this country but not with partisan justice. The Attorney General of the U.S. should be held accountable for his actions by the people, and the greatest accountability is achieved through the electoral process."

Weicker believes, too, that Presidential aides like H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman should be confirmed by the Senate. "Men like those," he points out, "had far more power than Cabinet members who have to be confirmed. The Senate should have some basic information beforehand about the men the President proposes to place in positions of power and influence. If that had been the case I can assure you that I wouldn't have voted to confirm a hater like Bob Haldeman."

Careful strategy

Although he is on occasion blunt and characteristically outspoken, Weicker does his homework before he takes a position on anything. He is a responsible man who thinks problems through, which is the same way he plays tennis. Strategy lies behind his strokes, just as thought lies behind his words.

"There are many people," he concedes, "who are far more gifted than I am in looks, intelligence, charm and a lot of other qualities. But I tell you this, I try hard, I fight hard, I work hard, and despite Watergate, I remain an incurable optimist."