

July 22, 1974 / 60 cents

File 15 Jul 74
(on newstands
this date)

New York

THE EVIDENCE

I want you all
to stonewall it,
let them plead t
Fifth Amendment
cover-up or
anything else
save it



The Watergate Evidence Page 14

It was another of those seismic weeks that have punctuated the history of Watergate—a daily succession of shocks that ruined Richard Nixon's respite from his troubles and quickened the rush toward his impeachment. The House Judiciary Committee published eight thick volumes of Watergate evidence—and a separate paper suggesting that Mr. Nixon's tape transcripts had been tampered with. The Supreme Court prepared to rule this week that he must surrender still more tapes. His sometime top hand John Ehrlichman was convicted of conspiracy and perjury in the Ellsberg burglary case. And the Ervin committee weighed in with its own valedictory report—plus a staff study al-

leging that Mr. Nixon may have bought a pair of birthday earrings for Pat, among other luxuries, out of campaign funds controlled by his friend Bebe Rebozo.

To cover the spill of news, Washington bureau chief Mel Elfin fielded a task force of eleven correspondents: Henry W. Hubbard, Nicholas Horrocks, Stephan Leshner, John J. Lindsay, Samuel Shaffer, Hal Bruno, Anthony Marro, Diane Camper, Henry L. Trewhitt, Evert Clark and Thomas M. DeFrank. In New

York, National Affairs editor Larry Martz put together his own writing team—Peter Goldman to report the turbulent week and its impact on the politics of impeachment; David M. Alpern to analyze the committee's evidence; Arthur Zich Jr. to assess the telltale discrepancies; Sandra Salmans to distill the Ervin report, and Jerrold K. Footlick to review the Supreme Court case. And Merrill Sheils and Freddy Boyd prepared the House committee's record of the Watergate crimes for a special supplement in which Newsweek's readers may study for themselves the raw facts on which Mr. Nixon and his Presidency will be judged. (Cover photo by Wally McNamee—Newsweek. Mezzotint by Martin J. Weber.)



Focus on Hussein Page 53

King Hussein of Jordan has become a pivotal figure in the search for a settlement of the Palestinian question and a lasting peace in the Middle East. Senior Editor Arnaud de Borchgrave and the King toured a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan, where Hussein received a tumultuous welcome. De Borchgrave then met with Palestinian commando leader Yasir Arafat for a rare interview.

Presto! It's Magic Page 58

Faster than a rabbit can pop out of a top hat, magic is turning into America's newest fad. With files from domestic bureaus and a stint of levitation contrived by The Amazing Randi (below), Linda Francke reports.



Roll 'Em Page 65

Ever since the pioneering days of Billy Bitzer (above, left, with director D.W. Griffith), cameramen have been the unsung geniuses of the movies. But now a brilliant young breed of cinematographers is gaining new prominence—and in the process making American movies look better than ever. Charles Michener describes them from files by Martin Kasindorf in Los Angeles.

Contents

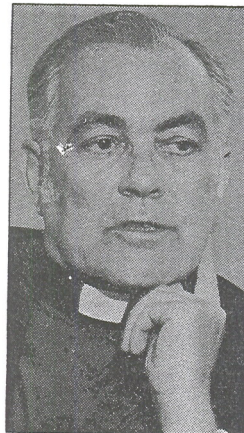
July 22, 1974

NATIONAL AFFAIRS	14
Watergate (the cover):	
Beginning of the end game	
Those two-track tapes	
The Judiciary Committee goes public	
The President's memoir of March 21	
Cutting Mitchell's loss	
Howard Hunt's "threat"	
The evidence	
The Ervin Committee winds it up	
Pat Nixon's earrings	
The verdict on Ehrlichman: "guilty"	
The Supreme Court's hard questions	
INTERNATIONAL	52
Portugal: how firm is Spínola's grip?	
The Mideast: focus on Hussein	
A talk with guerrilla leader Arafat	

Canada: Trudeau's surprise triumph	
Maalot: did Dayan blunder?	
Japan: Tanaka's troubles	
Annexing the Marianas	
LIFE/STYLE	58
It's magic!	
BUSINESS AND FINANCE	60
Turmoil of tight money	
Farewell to the France—and an era	
Fly now—or pay more later	
The "bait and switch" game	
Pressure for tax-shelter reform	
SPORTS	73
The WFL's promising kickoff	
JUSTICE	75
Earl Warren, 1891-1974	

THE ARTS	
MOVIES	65
The new cinematographers	
BOOKS	68
Malcolm Muggeridge: the scourge of God	
"The Dogs of War," by Frederick Forsyth	
OTHER DEPARTMENTS	
Letters	4
Newsmakers	57
Transition	76
THE COLUMNISTS	
My Turn: Theodore M. Hesburgh	11
Meg Greenfield	50
Clem Morgello	62
Pete Axthelm	74
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The Best and the Brightest



When Watergate first broke into our consciousness more than a year ago, John T. Connor, former Secretary of Commerce in the Johnson Administration, wrote on this page that the only move that could re-establish equilibrium in Washington would be a coalition government, immediately appointed as a new Presidential Cabinet. I think he was right, even though the President had other ideas. He was right because in a time of great crisis only the best of leadership, from whatever origin, can really save the nation. The question remains: how can we assure such leadership in 1976, even though we did not get it in 1973? In 1976, whatever happens, the nation will face its 200th anniversary in parlous shape. Each can write his or her scenario for the intervening years. It still adds up to a nation in deeper crisis than ever before since its birth.

That was a good birth, since it was attended and facilitated by an extraordinary group of leaders—Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, to name a few. If a ragtag collection of 3 million Colonials could assemble such leadership to get us born well as a nation—what of the possibilities today, and in 1976?

One problem is that we keep looking for a single leader on a white horse—who can also throw a coin across the Rappahannock. It took more than a single leader to get America born. After the series of shocks we have undergone lately, it will take more than one man on horseback to get us back together as a nation that has to rekindle its pristine idealism, restore confidence and face its destiny with hope and renewed energy.

WHAT SHOULD BE KNOWN

Some will say: the normal political process of Presidential primaries, two years from now, will bring to the fore our next leader. Again we are back to the *one* leader. I am not sure that there is *one*. Certainly, no *one* is presently apparent, although there are volunteers aplenty. My thesis is that what will be needed is a congeries of leaders, the very best possible from whatever source, to get America back on track.

Certainly, there will be a new President and Vice President, elected by the usual procedures. But we will and should

know something about the new President's associates, those who are willing and able to make his leadership as efficacious as it will need to be. For example, Richard Nixon said he would appoint a new Attorney General to replace Ramsey Clark, of whom he took a dim view. He has, in fact, replaced him with four others: one who is under indictment, another who has pleaded guilty to testifying falsely, another who became a hero by resisting Presidential orders and a fourth who is less than spectacular. No one could have predicted this. You pick Nixon and you only make an act of faith in his judgment, in this case horrendous.

NO LACK OF LEADERS

Let us assume that we expect a more certain knowledge of the kind of people our next leader has in mind to help him—something along the lines of the British shadow Cabinet. It is not that America lacks leaders—rather that most of them are avoiding Washington like the plague, and politics as well. Might not the next President—before he is elected *and in order to be elected*—let us know the kind of people he desires and *can indeed enlist* to share the momentous task that will await him on election?

My thesis supposes that there is a sizable list of people who form a kind of national informal leadership in America, each with a sizable constituency at the moment. These leaders would be characterized by the following qualities:

- They are intelligent, imbued with a rather detailed vision of what America can and should be, and they are able to articulate this vision with some degree of inspiration and enthusiasm.
- They are persons of unquestioned integrity who are simply not for sale, even though someone would offer a fabulous price. You can't buy them.
- They are humane people, concerned with the values that have made America great. They have compassion for the poor and unfortunate, concern for social and racial justice, and for domestic and international peace. They long for the development of all men and women and children in this largely interdependent world of ours, and are realistic enough to know what is required for our own national prosperity.
- They are probably, for the most part,

not hungry for political office, political power or status, since most of them are reasonably successful where they are, doing well whatever they are doing.

Any job to which they were assigned would not bring prestige to them—they would bring competence, dignity and prestige to it. Contrast this with the present Presidential Cabinet whose members practically no one can name.

Having experienced the worst, I am now suggesting that America, to recover, really needs the best. Anyone hoping to lead America back to where it ought to be should be required not to ask for a personal vote of confidence in himself alone—we have had enough of that—but to assure us that he has a group of the greatest men and women available, willing to help him do what desperately needs to be done. If elected, he must be able to deliver more people to take on the rebuilding task in Washington and throughout the nation.

INSTINCTIVE TRUST

Everyone would recognize a good list of such people. It would involve persons well known as the best of their kind in a variety of categories, men and women, young and old, minorities and majorities, business and labor, Northerners and Southerners, Easterners and Westerners, leaders from education and religion, science and the arts, business and politics, too. All would have in general to meet the four requirements listed above, although some would be in political life already. Looking at the list, Americans would say instinctively, I can trust them, I can have confidence and faith in their performance, whatever task they are given to do. If he or she—whoever the potential next President might be—can enlist such people to do the task ahead of rebuilding America, it really can and will be done, and we will all help.

We should not elect the next President unless he first assures us he has such a team already standing by, willing and able and ready to serve.

Father Hesburgh is president of the University of Notre Dame.