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Most Damaging Case Against

By Haynes Johnson

Washington Post Staff Writer When it was over, the most damaging case against the President had been made by those who stayed with him to the end.

More than any others. their words seriously undercut previous presidential and White House statements about lack of wrong-doing in the Executive Mansion.

What mattered most was not the fire-eating, anti-Nixon, liberal Democratic words of the Waldies, Dri-nans and Conyeres. Nor was it the widely publicized Re-publican defectors—the Butlers, Railsbacks, Hogans and McClorys—or the loss of Southern Democrats from strongly pro-Nixon district, although these certainly

have had considerable politi-cal impact.

The deepest wounds came from the core of what had been the Nixon constituency in the Congress.

For those millions of Americans watching who clung to the belief that the case against the President and his men was being leveled by a combination of the liberals in the press and Congress, the six days of televised debates must have been dismaying.

Tuesday night, in the final hours of the impeachment hearings, the committee was weating, the committee was wrestling with questions over the President's taxes. The President's side carried convincingly when the vote came. Yet even in winning, the President was losing.

Delbert Latta of Ohio, who supported the President on all five impeach-ment roll calls:

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"So we pay our taxes and I think the President of the United States should pay his taxes likewise. And I find him guilty tonight of bad judgment and gross engligence."

Wiley Mayne of Iowa, an-her Republican who other stayed with the President to the end:

"Regrettably it seems to me this President has set a very sorry example in the way that he has performed this basic obligation of American citizenship."

Throughout the wearying hours of debate, the Presi-dent's stanchest supporters him were defending in

largely narrow, legalistic terms.

There wasn't enough specific legal evidence to justify impeachment, they were arguing. But they studiously were not condoning his ac-

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tions or those of his subordinates.

In the process, the long White House attempt to depict the impeachment forces as a lynch mob of liberals and a kangeroo court came close to being demolished.

Even the strongest legal defense of Mr. Nixon often was accompanied by harsh personal judgments.

Carlos J. Moorhead of California:

". . . Although I deplore



any element that we see here in the tapes of any lack of moral knowledge or feeling in some instances . . . I believe that the President of the United States has tried to come to the best conclusions that he could for our people."

David W. Dennis of

Indiana: "I am as shocked as any-one by the misdeeds of Watergate. Richard Nixon has much to answer for, and he has even more to answer for to me as a conservative Republican than he does to my liberal friends on the other side of this asile." Charles W. Sandman Jr.

of New Jersey:

"Now, I want to say that at the very outset this is not a case as far as I am con-

cerned for or against Richard Nixon . . . I am not a nitpicker. You can find almost anything that will disturb you. There are lots of things wrong, there are lots of crimes committed by lots of people, but were they placed at the door of the White House? I do not think so."

Joseph Maraziti of New

Jersey: "It is apparent from wht we have heard that mem-bers of the Committee to Re-elect the President and members of the House staff — yes White yes, even House staff — yes, even prominent members of that White House staff — have been involved in illegal, criminal activities, as the gentleman from New York has just morphicard has just mentioned.

"But let me say that I con-

demn their illegal actions and those who are guilty should, and I am sure will be, properly punished ac-cording to law."

Mayne of Iowa, in his opening statement:

"I for one, and I know I am joined by many of my colleagues, if not all, cer-tainly deplore the sorry ex-ample which was set by the Chief Executive himself for his fellow citizens in his personal as well as his official conduct and responsibilities. "But, the question is not whether we condemn and deplore the presidential action or inaction, no matter how disappointing it may have been. The question before us is, was the President guilty of treason, bribery or other high crimes and mis-

demeanors which are the only constitutional grounds for impeachment."

What was coming over, in the full glare of the televi-sion lights and before millions of citizens, was a devastating acknowledgement of misdeeds committed by the President and his men. The emerging portrait could hardly have been any com-fort to the President. It was his friends, not his

enemies, that were striking those blows. Long ago, in another pres-

idential ordeal, Warren G. Harding expressed a similar thought.

"I have no trouble with my enemies," he said. "But my goddam friends... they are the ones that keep me walking the floor nights."