

PORTLAND'S CONNIE McCREADY



BEAVER FALLS' REV. H.B. FRENCH

OPINION

How Main Street Views Watergate

Watergate has deeply divided Americans, but the splits are not along simple partisan lines. Some Republicans, feeling betrayed, are more bitter than many Democrats. Nor are the divisions along lines of white v. black, or urban v. rural, or young v. old. Yet there are some discernible patterns. For well-educated and politically aware Americans, Watergate usually is a searing, personally felt issue. Others are bored by the whole mess, especially those who cynically regard all politics as dirty. To sample the various American moods and reactions, TIME correspondents interviewed people in five diverse communities last week.

LEXINGTON, VA.: On his farm near Lexington (pop. 8,440), Carl Sensabaugh, 68, and his wife Katrina are more concerned with candling the eggs than with following the scandal. "Shoot, I watched that Senate committee on TV for an hour, and I couldn't figure out hide nor hair what they were up to," says he. "I reckon they're trying to figure out how many crooks we got up there in Washington." Adds Mrs. Sensabaugh: "I know it must be important because they keep telling us it is. But my goodness! You'd think they'd have something better to do." Should Nixon be impeached if he is shown to have had prior knowledge of the bugging and break-in? Replies Sensabaugh: "If impeached means kick him out, I say no."

Beef Farmer Randolph Huffman, 50, reflects the opinion of some Americans who voted for Nixon in 1968 and 1972 but never fully trusted him. "I don't really like Nixon, but both times I figured he was the lesser of two evils," says Huffman. "This type of Watergate thing goes on all the time. These boys were just unfortunate to get caught. But Watergate has caused us to lose whatever confidence we had left in our Government, in the System."

Major General Richard L. Irby

(ret.), 55, superintendent of Virginia Military Institute, says: "Watergate is not Topic A here—local problems are—but it worries everyone, and there's more concern every day. I don't think the President has done wrong. I believe what he said on TV, and I can't fault him any more than I'd fault a bank president whose cashier steals money. Of course, the responsibility for what his aides did falls on the President's shoulders, and he has taken it. But I'm talking about responsibility—not guilt."

Mrs. Julie Martin, 46, a V.M.I. administrative assistant who voted for Nixon, says: "People don't know what to believe. They feel lost. I have a strong feeling that I've been betrayed somehow, because this is my Government and I expected it to be noble and above all, honest. Sure, rising prices bother me, but in Watergate we're talking about something far more important than pocketbook issues: the integrity of the Government. This is something that I hold very dear. I'm a flag waver."

Yet Norman Andersen, a motel owner, reports that when his overnight guests pick up the morning paper they exclaim: "Oh, no, not Watergate again!" To Andersen, the affair has dragged on too long.

BEAVER FALLS, PA.: This steel-fabricating town of 14,375 people northwest of Pittsburgh had a primary election last Tuesday, and news of Watergate and Skylab was relegated to page 13 of the local paper. As Edward A. Sahli, 69, a General Motors dealer put it: "The people are interested in campers and football; they're not worried about this." Sahli himself is more concerned about familial propriety than political ethics. He argues that "F.D.R. had a couple of babes on the side. Morally, Watergate is no worse."

Typical comments from Beaver Falls people:

"They are blowing it up and keeping

it alive" ("they" meaning some vague, unidentified enemies of the President).

"The stories are so confusing that I can't follow them, and anyway, nothing has been proved."

"I'm scared to read the papers. It makes me nervous. I just don't want to know about it."

The Rev. H.B. French, 49, of the Second Baptist Church, spoke for his black parishioners: "They've heard too much about it. People in this country are impatient. If you don't nail a man immediately, forget it."

More deeply concerned was Eugene F. Jannuzi, 57, chairman of Moltrup Steel Products Co. Says he: "Watergate is like a scandal in a family of good repute. You cringe and wonder what more can come out. But it's not going to go away." Jannuzi is also worried about Watergate's effects on business. It has already depressed the stock market and the dollar, he noted, adding: "Lack of confidence has a way of permeating everything we do. It makes me worry whether the present economic boom will continue." Impeachment? "This is so fearful a prospect that people don't say what's on their minds."

SHAKER HEIGHTS, OHIO: In this affluent suburb of Cleveland, City Librarian Margaret Campbell, 60, is worried. How will she ever get back \$157 worth of unreturned books when dishonesty reaches as high as the White House? "I'm just appalled by Watergate," she says. "What kind of world are we making for the young? How can we hope to inspire them if our officials are men they can't admire?" Once sympathetic to Nixon, Miss Campbell now salutes Barry Goldwater ("Though I never thought I'd be lined up with him!") for his call upon Nixon to exercise more vigorous leadership. Miss Campbell has another cause for concern. She is planning a trip to Portugal and does not want to have a feeling of shame about her Government when she is with foreigners.

In another Shaker Heights library, there is a flurry of interest in Water-



The light at the end of the Watergate tunnel.

MILWAUKEE: The South Side of this large city (pop. 717,000) is the middle of Middle America, with a tavern on every corner. The families are mostly blue-collar, third- and fourth-generation descendants of Poles, Italians, Germans and Serbians; they gave George McGovern a slight majority. South Siders talk about many things: family problems, rising truancy in schools, soaring property taxes, baseball and—a poor fifth—Watergate.

“The attitude in my parish,” says Father James Czachowski, 46, of St. Ignatius Church, “is that Watergate is so far removed, we can’t do anything about it. Pope Pius XII said, ‘The greatest sin is that we do not recognize sin.’ Watergate is so big that we don’t recognize it.” Will Father Czachowski give a sermon some Sunday about the Watergate scandal? “No. We have to save ourselves, not these Watergate people.”

“Look,” says Ed Daniels, 56, an American Motors stockman, hunched over his beer in Lud and Jerry’s: “This stuff is rotten, but impeachment would be worse. Let Nixon finish out his term, then throw him in jail.”

“What bothers me is that the image

gate, with readers Xeroxing newspapers and newsmagazines. Books in demand include *The Presidential Character*, *The Strange Case of Richard Milhous Nixon* and *The Politics of Lying*.

Says Mrs. Patricia Plotkin, 41, past president of the local League of Women Voters: “Watergate is all you hear talked about. The number of disillusioned Republicans is incredible.” Yet in an auto-service shop in the poorer section across town, the workers are fed

up with Watergate. “What the hell’s the big deal?” booms Mechanic Carl Reed, 51. “Both parties have been doing it for years.” Ken Masshart, 34, blasts: “I’m so sick of hearing about it that I couldn’t care less. I just jump right over it in the paper and read something else.” On the first day of the Senate hearings, Cleveland TV stations received 2,500 phone calls from irate viewers in Shaker Heights and other nearby communities; they wanted their soap operas back.

A TIME POLL

Did President Nixon Really Know?

A nationwide telephone poll of 1,037 voters conducted for TIME last Wednesday, Thursday and Friday by Crossley Surveys, Inc., reveals that the American public is evenly divided on whether President Nixon knew of and approved in advance the Watergate burglary and bugging. But almost three out of five people surveyed refuse to believe his denials that he knew of the cover-up that followed.*

While only one in four would approve of impeaching Nixon if he was merely aware of the cover-up, nearly half believe that he should be removed from office if it is shown that he knew about the plot in advance. Of the people in the sample, 62% voted for Nixon in November. The questions:

Do you believe President Nixon knew in advance of the Watergate bugging and approved it?

Yes	41%
No	41%
No opinion	18%

Do you believe President Nixon knew of the cover-up that followed?

Yes	58%
No	25%
No opinion	17%

counted for 38% of the sample, were more suspicious of the President than Republicans, who totaled 23%. Fully 52% of the Democrats and 42% of the Independents believed Nixon knew of the bugging in advance, while only 20% of the Republicans thought so. The opposition was even more willing to accuse Nixon of covering up; 68% of Democrats and 62% of Independents believed that he was aware of efforts to conceal White House involvement; 37% of Republicans felt he knew about such activities.

If President Nixon knew of the bugging in advance and approved it, do you think he should be removed from office through the process of impeachment?

Yes	44%
No	42%
No opinion	14%

If President Nixon knew only about the cover-up that followed, do you think he should be removed from office through the process of impeachment?

Yes	24%
No	63%
No opinion	13%

Democratic and Independent votes outnumbered Republican ones on the question of impeaching the President for prior knowledge of the bugging plot. Only 32% of the Republicans felt that removal from office would be justified

in this instance, but 51% of Democrats and 44% of Independents thought so. A majority of all groups agreed that impeachment was unjustified if Nixon merely knew of the cover-up; 77% of Republicans, 54% of Democrats and 62% of Independents voted no.

Do you think President Nixon is doing everything possible to get to the bottom of this scandal?

Yes	53%
No	38%
No opinion	9%

Which of the following statements best describes how you think the Watergate scandal compares to other political scandals?

Much more serious	34%
Somewhat more serious	26%
No difference	27%
Less serious	8%
No opinion	5%

Do you think the news media are treating President Nixon fairly on the Watergate issue?

Yes	60%
No	28%
No opinion	12%

Nixon has clearly lost support among people who cast their ballots for him last November. When asked whether they would have voted for him if they had known then what they know now about Watergate, 70% of the Nixon voters said yes. While this change might not by itself have cost Nixon his victory, given many imponderables, it would have made the election a squeaker.

*The poll was substantially concluded before the President’s latest and strongest denial on Friday.

of the country is hurt," says Bud Bongard, 46, a machinist. "We don't talk about Watergate much at the shop or at home. I used to read about it every day, but now the press is overdoing it, and I'm back to the sports pages."

Democrat Dan Cupertino, county board supervisor, expresses frustration. "What can one man do? I can't even do anything about the scandals here—and there are plenty. Before Watergate, politicians used to be the second rung from the bottom of the ladder, just above used-car salesmen. Now we're on the bottom."

Joe Bananas, a city employee, thinks he knows the root of the trouble: "It's Ellsberg and all those Commies. Nixon did the right thing. He's protecting the country from subversives." R. Thorne Ellis, salesman for Sheboygan Paints, offers another defense: "At least the Republicans didn't kill anybody—like Chappaquiddick." Says Pat Platto, owner of a linoleum company: "In this political system, a President has to be amoral."

PORTLAND, ORE.: Because this city (pop. 360,000) has had no taint of local political scandal in 15 years, Watergate is all the harder for Portlanders to comprehend. By and large, they trust their officeholders. Even the people who are ready to believe the worst about Watergate commonly add a cautionary note: "But I don't believe this means that all politicians are crooked." Probably the hardest hit emotionally are the Republicans. Never truly comfortable with Nixon, preferring the Nelson Rockefeller brand of Republicanism, they nonetheless supported the President. Now they feel that their trust has been violated.

One such is Mrs. Connie McCready, 51, a commissioner of public utilities. She says: "Nixon just wasn't my kind of guy. When I heard his Checkers speech I wanted to throw up. But I felt guilty, that perhaps my dislike of him was superficial. Then I thought he had really grown in the office, and I supported a lot of what he was doing. Now I'm stunned. Even among my staunch Nixon-loyalist friends you don't hear any support for the President: they feel even more betrayed than me. I no longer care whether Nixon knew of this or that particular action. If he didn't know, he should have. He's politically dead if he did do it, and he's dead if he didn't."

Clyde Brummell, 46, a carpenter and a Republican precinct committeeman, says that he saw something like Watergate coming because of Nixon's self-imposed isolation from the party structure and his reliance on the Committee for the Re-Election of the President: "Why, the local CREEP man told me during the last election, 'We don't need the lunch-pail vote.' Can you believe it? I can't convince myself that Nixon had any part in planning this thing, but I'm astounded at his pygmy-minded approach in disregarding the

party structure and bringing in these people."

Tom Cook, 52, a printer and a McGovern Democrat, is far from jubilant about Watergate. "It's a sad thing," he says. "Anybody in the White House should be above that. They were crying law-and-order when they went in, and now we see them pulling everything in the book. It's hard to believe that Nixon didn't know something about all this. If he was involved, he should resign. That would be better for the country than if he were impeached."

Frank Driver, 24, a Viet Nam veteran, is unusual among Portlanders, even McGovernites, in expressing glee

over the Watergate disclosures, and he uses war-born language to describe it. "My friends and family are really pleased," he says. "We can't wait for the body count to get higher." Despite this, Driver does not want to see Nixon impeached, or even implicated further. "I'd prefer to see Nixon kept in office, but with his powers reduced by a more effective Congress," he explains. "We'd have 3½ years of lame-duck drift, that's all."

Portlanders do not profess to know what will happen, but a dominant feeling among them is one of faith in the American governmental system and its ability to withstand any shock.

Goldwater on Nixon's Prospects

Most Republicans are disturbed by the crisis into which their party has been dragged by the Watergate scandal. Conservatives, despite their general support of Richard Nixon, have been especially troubled. Among the most outspoken critics has been Barry Goldwater, the G.O.P.'s 1964 presidential candidate. Last week, in an interview with TIME's Hays Gorey, the Senator from Arizona talked with his usual bluntness about Watergate's impact.

Has Watergate eroded the President's support among Republican conservatives? Watergate is the con-

WALTER BENNETT



GOLDWATER IN WASHINGTON OFFICE

cern of every Republican I talk to. But both conservatives and liberals in the party are ready to stand behind the President. I think he'll continue to get support on votes in Congress, particularly on vetoes.

What should be done now? There ought to be a complete clarification—who, what, where, when—everything out. Right now.

Should the President make a statement on Watergate? What the hell can he say? It's all coming over the tube, anyway. If he didn't lie, he'll probably be O.K. The American people are not too concerned with the morals of their leaders.

Should President Nixon resign? If the President of the United States lied to the American people, then the question is: Can you trust him? Impeachment would come up. And this country is in too much trouble internationally to have such a gigantic demonstration of distrust in its leaders. I'm convinced he knew nothing at the inception [of the Watergate affair]. But the cover-up? If it can be proved that he lied, resignation would have to be considered. It would be quick. Everything would be over, ended. It wouldn't drag out like impeachment.

If Nixon resigns, should Vice President Agnew also resign? No. If there is one thing the Vice President can back up, it's that he doesn't know what the hell is going on at the White House.

What should the President do to exert leadership? Lead. We are in a very, very critical position as a nation. We have to reassure everyone at home and abroad that this country is not just standing still. He was going to reorganize the State Department. It's totally inept. Nothing has been done. I visited the Pentagon last week. I was appalled. There are at least five vacancies at the Secretary level. There's no one in a civilian suit to give orders.

What can be done to prevent another Watergate? Stop printing dollar bills. In other words, nothing—unless people suddenly become highly moral, honest and ethical.

Do you sense that your words have had impact? I see no indication of change.

Main Street Revisited: Changing Views on Watergate

Last spring, just as the Senate Watergate hearings began, TIME correspondents interviewed citizens in five diverse communities to sample reactions to the break-in and cover-up. They found that with few exceptions, people were confused by the charges and countercharges. Some claimed that they were losing interest; others insisted that previous Administrations had done similarly scandalous things but had not been caught. Nearly everyone thought that impeachment was too fearful a prospect to be considered seriously (TIME, May 28). Last week correspondents returned to the same people in the same communities to find out how public attitudes have changed after five more months of disclosures and crisis:

LEXINGTON, VA.: Last May Mrs. Julie Martin, then 46, an administrative assistant at Virginia Military Institute, was not sure what to think about Watergate and the President. Now she says: "The public's confidence in him and his Administration is so riddled with doubt that for the good of the country he should be persuaded to step down." She still shies away from backing impeachment, but believes: "As painful as impeachment might be, perhaps it is necessary, to demonstrate that we as a people insist upon ethical government. I have to believe he's guilty of using the Government and people and his position to his own advantage. When you put it all together, it doesn't leave you much room for charity—and I'm a charitable person."

Her views illustrate how public opinion in this farming community (pop. 8,440) has hardened among some people. Those who were suspicious of Nixon now totally distrust him. But many still defend him and are insistent that the liberal news media are partly to blame. Farmer Carl Sensabaugh, 69, and his wife Katrina, 70, still pay more attention to the price of chicken feed, but are concerned about what is going on in Washington. He says: "I don't keep up with it except on TV, but I kinda feel like if they would leave the President alone, he'd do a better job."

BEAVER FALLS, PA.: Many people interviewed in this steel-fabricating town (pop. 14,000) hope Nixon will end the crisis by resigning. Even those who try to give Nixon the benefit of the doubt find it difficult to support him. One such is Dr. George W. Carson, 51, minister at Trinity United Presbyterian Church. He cautiously argues: "If President Nixon defended these tapes because of a principle, then it is to his credit. But if it is proved that he was protecting himself, then it's contrary to the spirit of our country." What does Carson believe? "I believe he's protecting himself, but I don't want to believe it."

Nixon has some defenders in town, such as Auto Dealer Edward A. Sahli, 69, who still likes former Vice President Spiro Agnew, thinks the President is a victim of "harassment and persecution," and insists that the public is bored with Watergate ("It's like going to see *Uncle Tom's Cabin* ten times"). More typical are the views of Karen Phillips, 23, director of Christian education at Trinity United. She no longer defends Nixon, explaining: "My dad would say, 'All politicians are crooks,' and I used to say no. Now I agree. I feel betrayed."

SHAKER HEIGHTS, OHIO: In an auto service shop of this prosperous suburb (pop. 36,000) of Cleveland, Mechanic Ken Masshart, 35, ridiculed Watergate for months as just another political squabble. He even used to skip over newspaper stories about it. But Spiro Agnew's resignation convinced him that something was terribly wrong in Washington. He explains: "All of a sudden, I started reading about politics again; I got wrapped up in it." For the image of the country, he thinks that "Nixon should resign before impeachment, if it comes to that."

Librarian Margaret Campbell, 60, also keeps up with the Watergate news, yet she finds herself "just as confused as I always was" about what's happening. Indeed, she thinks that the actions of those involved in Watergate defy understanding: "Maybe they read too many books about suspense and intrigue."

Mrs. Patricia Plotkin, 41, past president of the local League

of Women Voters and a first-year law student, used to be on the fence about Watergate. Now she declares: "I have zero faith in the President, at least in his integrity." To her, impeachment is still "a frightening prospect," but she adds: "I frankly would be willing to accept the fear. I don't feel that is any reason we should keep a President in office when there are fundamental questions about his honesty and his ability to serve."

PORTLAND, ORE.: President Nixon still has a few loyalists in this city (pop. 390,000), such as President John Howard, 51, of Lewis and Clark College, who says of the press and Congress: "They are like sharks. When they smell blood, they go mad." Another is J. Richard Nokes, 58, managing editor of the *Oregonian*, who declares: "A lynch-mob atmosphere has developed in the Washington press corps and in Congress. Now it has spread through the country." But majority sentiment in Portland is illustrated by the fact that Nokes' own newspaper receives 40 times as many anti-Nixon letters as pro-Nixon; one family alone wrote five angry letters in a single week.

For months Democratic Mayor Neil Goldschmidt, 32, was cautious in his criticism of Nixon because he did not want to jeopardize the city's application for \$20 million in federal funds for law enforcement. Now he exclaims: "Think of the men who have sat in that office, the dignity surrounding it. What will be left when he gets through with it, Lord only knows." Says Mrs. Margene Williams, 53, a gift shop operator: "When Agnew resigned we caught the flea but not the rat." Adds Tom Cook, 52, a printer: "I can do without steak, but I don't want my three kids to grow up in the country the way it is now."

Most bewildered of all are the city's Republicans. Clyde Brummell, 47, a carpenter and a Republican precinct committeeman, says: "When I was growing up, all I heard was that Herbert Hoover caused the Depression. Now they are trying to Hooverize the Republican Party again, saddling us with something we didn't cause."

In the opinion of Mrs. Connie McCready, 52, a public utilities commissioner and a Republican, the situation has worsened since May. She explains: "Every week you pick up a newspaper you have to say, 'My God.' I feel like I'm standing in the surf, and just as I am hit by one wave, another comes and hits me until I'm reeling. I feel myself drawing inward, pulling in my head like a turtle. I think the country can survive this; we can survive anything. But I'm awfully worried."

MILWAUKEE: On the blue-collar, white ethnic South Side of this city (pop. 708,000), Watergate as a topic of conversation still ranks behind street crime and the Green Bay Packers. In May people were unbelieving and bored with Watergate; now most apparently have decided Nixon should be removed, but they feel uncomfortable talking about it. Explains the Rev. James Czachowski, 47, of St. Ignatius Church: "Last May nobody would point a finger at the President; now they all think he's guilty. But we want him removed without having to do the dirty work ourselves. When Agnew resigned people said, 'Maybe he's showing the way for Nixon.' But if the President does go, what will we have? They can give us all those constitutional successors, but we elected a President. All those other people are strangers."

Not all South Siders share his concern. At Pinky's bowling alley, Grace Londo, a nursing assistant, declares: "Last May I had my doubts. No more. My woman's intuition says Nixon's a liar. He's gone beyond politics as usual; he's taken advantage of being President. Impeach him." Just as emphatically, others disagree. "My business is going good; let's not disrupt the country," says Pat Platto, 41, owner of a linoleum company.

But Machinist Bud Bongard, 46, expresses the views of most South Siders: "I've never felt so helpless. What can we people at the bottom do? We used to take pride in our vote. We thought we were electing the lesser of two evils last year, and look what we got. I'm thinking about not voting next time."

THE NATION

will become of the country if we get rid of the President; I'm worried about what will happen if he stays."

THE SOUTH

Atlanta Bureau Chief James Bell is responsible for eleven states from Virginia to Louisiana. He reports:

There is probably a greater degree of compassion for Richard Nixon in the South than anywhere else in the nation today. While his position has eroded in the past month, the South would appear to be more willing to forgive and forget than the rest of the country. There is more sorrow than anger over the President's transgressions, whatever they may be. Perhaps because of their own long history of resistance to the national Government, Southerners are less surprised or dismayed when that Government proves to be corrupt.

"You can't isolate Watergate as a separate problem," says Aaron M. Kohn, director of the metropolitan crime commission in New Orleans. "It's the peak of a pyramid that covers all 50 states. All of the ingredients of Watergate are merely a reflection of things we have tolerated too long throughout the political system." Says Fred Hand Sr., a Georgia farmer and banker who was speaker of the Georgia house for eight years: "Anyone who has run a political campaign on a state level knows that if everything he did were uncovered he could be put on a chain gang. I don't care who he is."

A majority of Southerners still seem to fear impeachment more than they resent Nixon. Joe Feinberg, who supplied the decorative ceramic tiles for the Key Biscayne homes of both the President and Bebe Rebozo, thinks Nixon is "guilty as sin." But he worries about

PRO-NIXON MOTHER & CHILD



DAVID HUNE KENNELLY

"who is going to talk to Brezhnev and Mao. How is Carl Albert going to be able to carry on a dialogue with the big powers? They'll kill us."

On the basis of the evidence disclosed to date, Pat Smith, a sometime lobbyist in the Texas state legislature, thinks there are insufficient grounds for impeachment. "We could suffer this trauma every four years, and we can't afford it." Many Southerners blame the press more than Nixon for the Watergate debacle. Says Nick Parker, an advertising man in Birmingham: "A few Democrats and the liberal press—especially the *Washington Post*—are persecuting the President and tearing up the country."

What could eventually turn the South against Nixon is that he has not acted with the personal honor that the region has always valued. It is the gut that may react first, as it did with the patrons in the saloon owned by Manuel Maloof, a power in the Democratic Party in De Kalb County, Ga. Maloof was bartending when the news of the missing tapes was reported on TV. "You wouldn't believe the look on their faces," he recalls. "They can't believe this guy. I'm honestly afraid he might force a revolt in this country. Hell, this ain't a banana republic. We don't want a *coup d'état*. But he's going to drive some people too far."

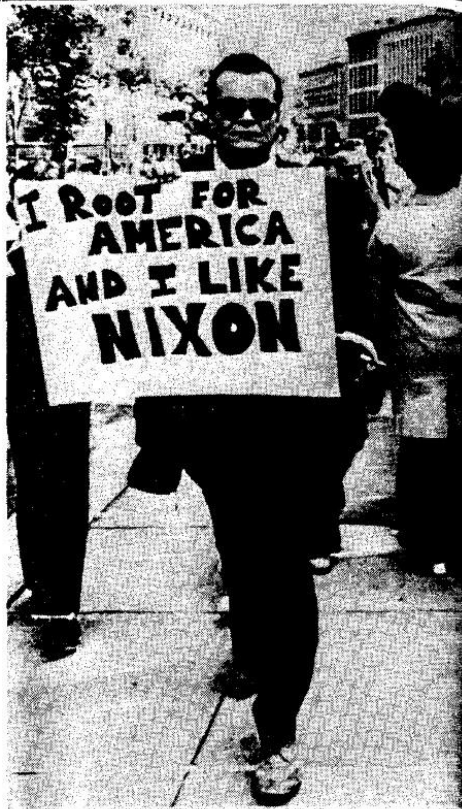
THE MIDWEST

Chicago Bureau Chief Gregory H. Wierzynski is responsible for 15 states ranging from Ohio to Oklahoma. He reports:

The Midwest has long been Nixon country. For years, millions in the heartland have felt that the President was one of them, embodying the simple traits they admire so much: purposeful ambition, pride in country, respect for family and church, plus a dash of disdain for the culture pushers from the East. But to these same people today, he is a much diminished man. His troubles are like a disgrace in the family. Few people want to disavow him completely, and some of the old affection lingers. Most citizens are embarrassed, perplexed and, most of all, saddened.

The Watergate hearings began eroding Nixon's popularity this summer, but lately the disillusionment has moved from the political left to include most of those in the middle and many on the traditional right. In one of its strongest outbursts, the conservative *Chicago Tribune* called the President's firing of Cox a "colossal blunder." While only a few weeks ago, most people were willing to give him at least the benefit of the doubt if not their full trust, his credibility today is virtually nonexistent. A Chicago newspaper sampling showed that 63% of the people in the area do not believe the White House statement that the two missing tapes never existed.

Not many people believe that the President can regain the country's confidence. Says Illinois Republican State



PICKETS NEAR WHITE HOUSE
Diminishing loyalists.

Chairman Don Adams: "I'm convinced now that there is no way he can win, no matter what. He could give up every tape and hand over the key to the Oval Office and that's not going to be enough." University of Minnesota President Malcolm Moos, an adviser to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, has an even gloomier view. "He can't pull out of it, with the possible exception of contrived military crises."

In the board rooms of the great Midwestern corporations and in the private clubs where businessmen gather, Nixon is perceived not so much as a wicked man as an inept one. "Had he had a firm grip on what was done on his behalf, Watergate would never have happened," says Oscar Blomgren, president of Tuxco Manufacturing Corp. in North Chicago.

Shrill Campuses. With more passion than logic, other businessmen blame Watergate for the poor business climate. But the shrillest cries for the President's removal come from the campuses. Student demonstrations are lackadaisical by the standards of the late '60s, but petitions are circulating in just about every school in the Midwest, and campus papers are having a field day.

Despite their misgivings about Nixon, most Midwest citizens stop short of calling for impeachment. Many wish he would resign, but few hold out much hope for that. John Bauswein, 26, a registered Republican who runs a tavern in Cleveland, worries that impeachment would tarnish the country's image abroad: "I support the President only in that I don't want him impeached. I don't want the country further embarrassed." Some Midwesterners feel that impeachment would disfranchise them. Says Marjorie Bohac of Kimball, Neb.:

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"A vocal minority is trying to accomplish by impeachment and removal of our President what it was unable to do in the election last Nov. 7. I resent this group trying to take my vote from me."

A hard core of Nixon supporters blames the President's troubles on the press. The sentiment is particularly strong in Oklahoma and Nebraska, where Nixon ran up huge pluralities last year, but it can also be detected in parts of Kansas, Indiana, Missouri and, to a lesser degree, in every other Midwestern state. "After the President's news conference, I wept," wrote Mrs. V.A. Atkins, in a typical letter received by the *Tulsa Tribune*.

THE WEST

Los Angeles Bureau Chief Richard L. Duncan is responsible for 13 states stretching from Texas to Montana and west to Alaska and Hawaii. He reports:

Most Westerners do not want to impeach their President, but they are running out of patience with him. They may have been slow to arrive at this point, preferring to hope through the summer and early fall that there would be no more scandals in the Administration and that the question of the tapes would be settled neatly by the courts. The loss of Cox, Richardson and Ruckelshaus changed all that. Suddenly it seemed that the messages coming over the Rockies from Washington were all bad.

A massive hemorrhage of confidence in Richard Nixon began that weekend, was partially stanching by his subsequent agreement to turn over the tapes, then spurted anew when two turned up missing. San Diego Secretary Phyllis Resnikoff summed up the new mood: "I'm a little paranoid right now about my Government. It seems like things are going to happen, and I don't know what they are, and I don't think I'm going to like them."

As a result of these recent shocks, most people have moved into a kind of political agnosticism. They no longer believe in their President, but they are not yet ready to deny him totally. A strong minority of perhaps more than 25% of the citizens in Western states are in favor of impeachment; a smaller group is unwaveringly behind Nixon, still feeling that he will be vindicated and can restore strong Government if only the Democrats and the press will give him a chance. "It's my opinion we should impeach Congress," says Stockbroker Ralph S. Cannon of Bountiful, Utah.

Others find themselves talking in terms of a jilted lover or abandoned spouse. "I'm kind of like the woman who's sure her husband has been unfaithful," says Carmelita Langeland, a housewife in Woodland Hills, Calif., who has supported Nixon for more than 20 years. Mourns a Los Angeles public relations man: "It's like a guy living with a woman he doesn't care about any more. He'd like to get a divorce, but he doesn't want to face the pain. And then there's what it would do to the kids."

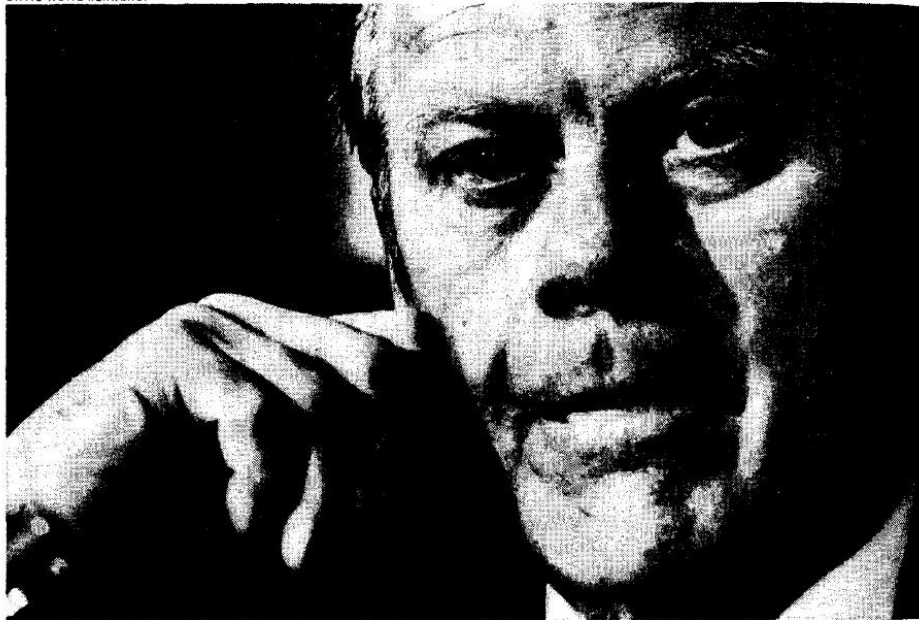
To the West's conservative Republicans, the past months have been especially trying. They bit their tongues when Nixon went to China, and they reluctantly accepted "peace with honor" in Viet Nam rather than victory. But the contradiction between the morality of Watergate and their own law-and-order instincts irks them. They are coming to question his competence and his feel for the country. Most difficult for the majority who voted for him just a year ago has been the emotional roller coaster caused by each successive revelation. When Nixon reversed himself and agreed to turn over the tapes to Federal Judge John Sirica, William Murray Ryan, G.O.P. state chairman in New Mexico, was reminded of "Agnew's saying he'll never resign and then resigning."

Two factors seem to be inhibiting or-

ganized impeachment activity. One is the uncertainty over a successor—a deep concern that the hasty removal of Nixon might leave the nation in inept hands. Equally widespread is a reluctance to go the last mile on the basis of press reports. Though he has almost decided in favor of impeachment, Los Angeles Architect Paul Hoag declared: "I'd be more positive about it if I didn't have the feel of the press closing in for the kill."

As the disenchantment grows, partisan differences decline. Voices are generally lowered, rhetoric is restrained. Most citizens seem anxious to exchange views about the plight of the country but reluctant to commit themselves on what should—or might—happen. There is still faith in the Constitution, in firm values under "everything." There is a whiff of gentle patriotism in the air, born of uncertainty and caring.

DAVID HUME KENNERLY



VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE FORD AT SENATE HEARINGS ON HIS CONFIRMATION

VICE PRESIDENCY

A Rush to Judgment on Gerald Ford

The hearings had originally been scheduled to be protracted affairs—the House's lasting until mid-December and the Senate's stretching on until early 1974. Congress wanted to take plenty of time to check out the record of Gerald Ford, the nominee of Richard Nixon to become the next Vice President.

Then came the uproar over the firing of Archibald Cox and the spreading realization that the President could resign or be impeached. Suddenly, leisurely hearings were a luxury that the Congress—and the nation—could not afford. Last week there was a sharp crackle of urgency in the air when the Senate Rules Committee began meeting on Ford's confirmation. Said Senator Claiborne Pell: "I believe we all realize that the nominee of today may not only

be the Vice President of tomorrow, but the President of next year."

In its zeal to make sure it missed no Agnewesque indiscretions, the Congress subjected Ford to an extraordinary investigation. The FBI put 350 agents from 33 field offices onto his trail—sending 70 into Ford's hometown of Grand Rapids, Mich. Soon a steady stream of phone calls began coming into Ford's Washington office from friends and associates who wanted him to know that they were being questioned. Ford had one stock reply: "Tell them the truth—give them everything."

The 1,700 pages of raw, unevaluated data collected by the FBI were reviewed for the committee by Democratic Chairman Howard W. Cannon and Marlow W. Cook, the ranking Republican. In

Watergate I: The Evidence To Date

The huge bulk of the Watergate committee testimony contains so many diversions, evasions, conflicts and lies that the record of what has been learned is still unclear.

There is more to be heard. After a month-long recess Senator Sam Ervin's Select Committee still expects to question seven further witnesses about the Watergate burglary and the subsequent cover-up. Also missing from the record is the potentially (but not necessarily) decisive evidence from the tapes of conversations secretly recorded by the President. Nixon's latest account of the affair, presumably to be given this week, could alter the weight of evidence already before the committee.

Yet the hearing recess provides a fitting opportunity for the Ervin committee staff to begin sifting the testimony in search of tentative conclusions—and perjury. TIME, too, has assessed the evidence to date and, without attempting to indicate individual criminal culpability, offers this analysis:

The 1970 Intelligence Plan

UNDISPUTED FACTS. President Nixon on July 23, 1970, notified four federal intelligence-gathering agencies—the FBI, CIA, National Security Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency—that he had approved a new plan for the use of some previously banned tactics in gathering information on antiwar demonstrators, campus rioters, radical bomb throwers and black extremists. The tactics included breaking and entering, the opening of personal mail and the interception of communication between U.S. residents and foreign points. One of the plan's originators, Nixon Aide Tom Huston, pointed out in a memo that breaking and entering, at least, was "clearly illegal." The plan was opposed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover (for reasons not entirely clear, since the FBI has not been above breaking and entering in espionage cases); his objections were supported by Attorney General John Mitchell.

IN DISPUTE. Nixon said in his May 22 statement that because of Hoover's protests, he rescinded his approval of the plan five days after granting it. He said the plan never went into effect. Neither Mitchell nor John Dean, then White House counsel, could recall seeing orders canceling the plan. No such documents were produced. Questions by Senators indicated some doubts about whether the plan had actually been promptly and completely killed.

WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE. The lack of any evidence that any illegal acts have been carried out by the intelligence agencies seems to indicate that the plan was indeed rescinded. Similar acts, however, were carried out by the White House "plumbers."

WHAT DID NIXON KNOW? However temporarily, he approved the plan—and thus approved acts that he had been advised would be illegal.

Creation of the Plumbers

UNDISPUTED FACTS. Concerned about leaks of classified Government information to newspapers, especially the Pentagon papers, Nixon in June 1971 created a White House group called the Special Investigations Unit, also known as the plumbers. It was supervised by John Ehrlichman, directed by Egil Krogh and included David Young, E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy. Its activities included tapping the phones of officials and newsmen suspected of handling leaked information; burglarizing the office of a psychiatrist consulted by Pentagon Papers Defendant Daniel Ellsberg; investigating Senator Edward Kennedy's Chappaquiddick accident; covertly spurring ITT Lobbyist Dita Beard out of Washington; and fabricating a State Department cable linking the Kennedy Administration with the

assassination of South Viet Nam's President Diem. Two of the plumbers, Liddy and Hunt, later were convicted of wiretapping and burglary at the Watergate.

IN DISPUTE. The President's May 22 statement denied that the plumbers were assigned to do anything illegal. It said that their duties were strictly in the field of national security and, beyond plugging leaks, they were to compile "an accurate record of events related to the Viet Nam War." Ehrlichman portrayed the plumbers' main purpose as to "stimulate various agencies and departments" in controlling leaks. He rejected suggestions by Senators that the plumbers resembled a secret-police group or that their activity was primarily political.

WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE. The plumber operations described by Mitchell as "White House horrors," especially the fake Viet Nam cable, the Dita Beard foray, and the Chappaquiddick probe, did not at all fit the Nixon or Ehrlichman descriptions of the plumbers' role. These acts were highly political and had nothing to do with national security.

WHAT DID NIXON KNOW? No witness admitted discussing with Nixon any of these plumber activities except for the burglary of Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office. Yet Nixon created the plumbers to deal with a threat "so grave as to require extraordinary actions," and he described their work as "highly sensitive." There is a strong possibility that he kept informed of all plumber activities. If he did not, he should have.

The Ellsberg Burglary

UNDISPUTED FACTS. Nixon on May 22 said he ordered the plumbers to examine Ellsberg's "associates and his motives" because no one knew "what additional national secrets Mr. Ellsberg might disclose." Directed by Plumbers Hunt and Liddy, a team of burglars paid by the White House broke into the Los Angeles office of Dr. Lewis Fielding in September 1971, in a search for Ellsberg's psychiatric records. (White House Aides Krogh and Young were aware of this burglary in advance.)

IN DISPUTE. Ehrlichman denied authorizing the burglary but admitted approving a memo from Krogh and Young suggesting that "a covert operation be undertaken to examine all the medical files still held by Ellsberg's psychiatrist." This information was needed, Ehrlichman said, not to prosecute Ellsberg (such evidence would be inadmissible) but to provide more data for a "psychological profile" that the plumbers had asked the CIA to compile; the White House had found the CIA's first such report inadequate. He rejected Senator Lowell Weicker's charge that the aim was to "smear" Ellsberg for political purposes.

WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE. Ehrlichman's admitted approval of a "covert operation" strongly suggests that he gave a go-ahead to the burglary; Young has told the Ervin committee staff that Ehrlichman in fact did so. A memo from Young to Ehrlichman just before the burglary said that "we have already started on a negative press image for Ellsberg" and that if the "present Hunt/Liddy project Number 1 is successful," there must be a "game plan" for its use. This suggests a move by the White House to smear Ellsberg.

WHAT DID NIXON KNOW? Dean claims that Krogh told him the burglary orders came "right out of the Oval Office." Ehrlichman, curiously, argued that Nixon would have been within his legal rights in ordering such a burglary. Nixon said he "did not authorize and had no knowledge of any illegal means to be used" to assess Ellsberg's motives. He said he was informed by Attorney General Richard Kleindienst on April 25 that Hunt was involved in the burglary and promptly agreed that the Ellsberg trial judge, Matthew Byrne, must be in-

formed. Yet a White House-supplied log of Nixon-Dean meetings indicates that Dean told Nixon about the burglary more than a month earlier, on March 17. If Nixon was not actually informed of all plumber activities, he was, in this case, remarkably slow in telling the judge.

Overtures to Judge Byrne

UNDISPUTED FACTS. Shortly before the Ellsberg case was expected to go to the jury, Nixon told Ehrlichman to find out whether Judge Byrne would be interested in a possible appointment as FBI director. Ehrlichman twice met briefly in California with the judge to discuss this. Nixon also briefly met him.

IN DISPUTE. Ehrlichman claims that since no formal offer was made and the judge did not object to discussing the matter, the meetings were not improper. He said neither he nor the President intended to influence the Ellsberg case.

WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE. Any approach to a sitting judge by Government officials who have an obvious interest in wanting the Government's case to prevail is wholly improper. If a private citizen made a similar move, he could be prosecuted.

WHAT DID NIXON KNOW? He ordered the contact made.

The Liddy Plans

UNDISPUTED FACTS. After joining the Committee to Re-Elect the President, former Plumber Liddy twice presented extravagant intelligence-gathering plans to Dean, Mitchell and Jeb Stuart Magruder, the Nixon committee deputy, while Mitchell was still Attorney General. The plans, which initially included wiretapping Nixon's Democratic opponents, using call girls to blackmail Democrats at their national convention, and the kidnapping of anti-Nixon radical leaders—all at a cost estimated at \$1,000,000—were rejected each time by Mitchell. Scaled down to concentrate on the wiretapping, the plans were presented again by Magruder at a third meeting with Mitchell at Key Biscayne after Mitchell had resigned from the Justice Department to head the Nixon committee. A Mitchell deputy, Fred LaRue, was present. Besides the Watergate, the wiretapping targets included Democratic convention headquarters at Miami Beach and the headquarters of the eventual Democratic nominee.

IN DISPUTE. Magruder claimed that Mitchell approved the plan at this third meeting. Mitchell claimed he bluntly rejected it. LaRue said he did neither, in his presence, but delayed a decision. Magruder also claimed that Charles Colson, a White House aide at the time, applied pressure on him to get the plan into motion. (Colson has admitted calling Magruder about Hunt's and Liddy's "security activities" but claimed he did not know what they were.) Magruder said he reported Mitchell's approval to Gordon Strachan, an assistant to H.R. Haldeman, so that Haldeman would be informed. Strachan said he included this item in a memo to Haldeman. Haldeman could not recall reading it. Dean said he reported the first two Liddy meetings to Haldeman; the latter said he did not remember this either.

WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE. An intelligence-gathering operation budgeted at \$250,000 and involving such risky and illegal activities as burglary and wiretapping would not have been undertaken on Liddy's authority—especially if Mitchell had flatly rejected it. Nor did Magruder carry that kind of clout. The likelihood is that Mitchell did give some sign of approval. There may also have been White House pressure.

WHAT DID NIXON KNOW? He has forcefully denied any knowledge of the Liddy plans. Dean said that he "assumed" that Haldeman had reported such significant information to the President, but that is highly tenuous. The Ervin committee was given no evidence that anyone told Nixon of the plans.

Destruction of Records

UNDISPUTED FACTS. After the arrests at the Watergate on June 17, 1972, there was an orgy of paper shredding. Liddy quickly destroyed a sheaf of documents from his offices at the Nixon finance committee, presumably related to his political-espionage plans. Magruder similarly ordered his Watergate-related documents destroyed, including reports of intercepted conversations at Democratic headquarters. Strachan went through Haldeman's files and destroyed documents reporting the Liddy plan. Herbert Porter, the Nixon committee's scheduling director, shredded various expense receipts given him by Liddy. Later both Fred LaRue and Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's personal attorney, destroyed records on the amounts of money they had secretly distributed to the Watergate defendants or their attorneys. Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray burned documents taken from Hunt's safe. Nixon Finance Committee Chairman Maurice Stans, Treasurer Hugh Sloan Jr. and Kalmbach destroyed reports of campaign contributions received before a financing-disclosure law went into effect on April 7, 1972, although this destruction may not have had any direct connection with Watergate.

IN DISPUTE. Just who directed the destruction in each case is unclear. LaRue claimed that Mitchell suggested that Magruder have "a bonfire"; Mitchell denied that. Strachan claimed that Haldeman had suggested cleaning out his files; Haldeman had no such recollection. Porter said he shredded at Liddy's direction (Liddy has talked publicly to no one). Gray said he burned "politically sensitive" papers unrelated to Watergate at the suggestion of Ehrlichman and Dean; Ehrlichman said the papers were given to Gray for safekeeping and to guard against leaks.

WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE. The widespread burning and shredding, regardless of who ordered it, clearly indicates that an almost automatic cover-up of the origins of the Watergate operation began immediately after the break-in was discovered. Destruction of contribution records probably was intended mainly to protect the identity of donors. Yet the elimination of precise records on large amounts of campaign cash also hampered investigators trying to trace Liddy's operating funds.

WHAT DID NIXON KNOW? There is no evidence that he knew anything about this matter. Many of the principals had ample reasons to protect themselves by destroying evidence without informing anyone else.

Misuse of the CIA and FBI

UNDISPUTED FACTS. Shortly after the Watergate arrests, Nixon ordered Haldeman and Ehrlichman to meet with top officials of the CIA. They did so. Later that same day, newly installed Deputy CIA Director Vernon Walters told Gray that FBI attempts to trace money used by the wiretappers through Mexico might interfere with a covert CIA operation there. This slowed the FBI probe. Later Dean asked Walters whether the CIA might provide bail money and support the wiretappers if they were imprisoned. Both Walters and CIA Director Richard Helms decided that the White House was trying "to use" the agency. Walters, after checking further on what the agency was actually doing in Mexico, told Gray that there was no CIA operation in Mexico that could be compromised by the FBI. Gray concluded that there had been an attempt to interfere with the FBI investigation, and he warned the President on July 6, 1972, that "people on your staff are trying to mortally wound you." Nixon asked no questions, but told Gray to continue his investigation.

IN DISPUTE. Haldeman contended that he merely asked the CIA officials to find out whether the CIA had been involved in Watergate and whether they had some operation in Mexico that might be exposed. Both Helms and Walters claimed that Haldeman had introduced the subject as a potential political em-

THE NATION

barrassment, not a security matter. Walters said he was not asked to determine facts, but was told by Haldeman to tell Gray to hold back the FBI's investigation in Mexico.

WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE. This is among the earliest and clearest instances of a White House effort to impede the investigation. The past CIA service of several of the arrested wiretappers made it seem logical at first that the CIA could provide a convenient cover for the Watergate operation, but Helms' instant denials to Haldeman of any CIA involvement promptly squelched any such notion.

WHAT DID NIXON KNOW? Nixon said on May 22 that he had no intention of impeding any Watergate investigation, but was concerned about an FBI probe interfering with matters of national security. If his intent really was only to protect national security secrets, he failed to convey that to Haldeman or, through Ehrlichman, to Dean. As these aides relayed the President's instructions to Gray, Helms and Walters, the White House interest impressed those officials as highly political. The fact that Nixon asked no questions when Gray warned him about his aides' activities suggests that Nixon might well have known what those aides were trying to do.

Executive Clemency

UNDISPUTED FACTS. Dean (through intermediaries John Caulfield and Anthony Ulasewicz) sent word to convicted Wiretapper James McCord that he could expect Executive clemency after perhaps a year in prison if he remained silent about any higher involvement in the burglary. McCord was told that the suggestion was coming "from the very highest levels of the White House." Even before the convicted wiretappers were sentenced, Ehrlichman and Dean asked Attorney General Richard Kleindienst at what point "Executive pardons" could be granted to convicted criminals.

IN DISPUTE. Dean claimed that he transmitted the message to McCord after being told to do so by Mitchell, who had indicated that similar assurances of clemency had been given to Hunt, another convicted wiretapper. Mitchell flatly denied that he had given either Hunt or Dean such assurances. According to Dean, Ehrlichman, apparently after checking with Nixon, also told Colson that assurances of clemency could be given to Hunt. Ehrlichman heatedly denied this. Magruder testified that when he expressed concern about committing perjury about Liddy's assignments for the Nixon committee, Dean and Mitchell told him he could expect clemency, as well as family-support payments, if convicted. Mitchell denied making such a promise.

WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE. Whatever the precise level of authority it came from, word did get to some of the convicted burglars that they could expect to get out of prison after serving relatively short terms if they kept quiet about who had authorized the Watergate crimes.

WHAT DID NIXON KNOW? Executive clemency can only be offered by the President. If Nixon's aides were making such offers, they risked directly implicating him. Dean contended that Nixon told him on March 13 that he had discussed clemency with both Ehrlichman and Colson. Nixon has denied that, as have both Ehrlichman and Colson, and this is one point on which the presidential tapes could prove decisive.

Money for the Wiretappers

UNDISPUTED FACTS. Some \$420,000, taken mainly from Nixon campaign contributions, was distributed covertly to the seven Watergate defendants, their families and lawyers. The deliverymen used telephone booths, storage lockers and other public sites as drops so that the recipients would never see them. One source of money was a \$350,000 White House cash fund that

had been controlled by Haldeman. Roughly half of the money was transmitted by Kalmbach, the other half by LaRue. Dean helped arrange and direct these payments.

IN DISPUTE. Dean claimed that Mitchell, Haldeman and Ehrlichman all approved the payments. Kalmbach testified that Ehrlichman specifically assured him that they were proper, that Dean had authority to direct them and that Kalmbach should continue to carry out Dean's instructions. Both Ehrlichman and Mitchell denied these allegations. Presidential Aide Richard Moore relayed a request from either Haldeman or Ehrlichman (he was not sure which) that Mitchell raise more money for the defendants. Moore said that Mitchell refused. Dean testified that the money was intended to buy the silence of the defendants. Kalmbach and Ehrlichman said it was meant for lawyers' fees or as a "humanitarian" gesture. Haldeman admitted being aware of the payments, but claimed he had not approved any, and said he had made no judgments about their propriety.

WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE. If the White House was not seeking silence and was not trying to conceal the involvement of high officials, it would have been under no obligation to help defendants who had created such a politically embarrassing mess. The surreptitious delivery was strong evidence that all those involved knew it was wrong. The contrary claims seem to be belated efforts to avoid criminal prosecution.

WHAT DID NIXON KNOW? Dean contended that he discussed these payoffs with Nixon, and that the President said it would be "no problem" to raise \$1,000,000 for this purpose. Haldeman, who listened to two tapes of this conversation, claimed that Nixon added a key phrase: "But it would be wrong." Only the tapes themselves can resolve this conflict.

The testimony does not legally prove that the President was an active participant in the cover-up (much less that he ordered or knew about the bugging). The damning testimony to that effect is the testimony of John Dean, which is still uncorroborated at key points. Dean's account has been challenged by Mitchell, Ehrlichman and Haldeman; their own credibility has been assailed in turn by other witnesses.

Although Nixon's involvement in the cover-up is not proved by courtroom standards, by any other rational standard it is extremely difficult to believe that he did not know of it or encourage it. He was warned early of cover-up activities undertaken by his closest aides; he then professed total unawareness for some nine months, despite his position at the apex of a tightly organized reporting system.

Throughout all the internal conflicts and ambiguities in the testimony, an overall pattern seems clear. Unwilling to trust regular agencies of Government to deal with genuine, though exaggerated, threats to domestic order, Nixon approved illegal means to fight them. When those were rejected by self-protecting bureaucrats, he created his own White House squad of undercover operators. They used some of these same illegal tactics against whatever forces the White House considered threatening, whether a Daniel Ellsberg, a Dita Beard or a talkative official. Eventually they were used against the Democrats.

Aside from these specific acts, the Watergate hearings produced evidence of an alarming atmosphere around the President. Whether it was John Ehrlichman's defense of spying on the drinking and sexual habits of politicians, John Dean's advocacy of using agencies of Government to "screw our political enemies," or Bob Haldeman's desire to "put out the story" on Communist money falsely alleged to be supporting Democratic candidates, an amorality prevailed that went well beyond normal standards of politics. It degraded the White House.

There was too the incessant secret taping, most notably by Nixon himself. The untested technicality of Executive privilege to protect the President's tapes, whatever its constitutional merits, seems insufficient cause to withhold evidence that might dispose of some of the accusations against him. Until and unless further evidence or explanations emerge from the President's expected statement, that is where the matter stands.