


1974

## U.S. House Journal of William H. Natcher, vol. 36

Manuscripts & Folklife Archives  
Western Kentucky University, [mssfa@wku.edu](mailto:mssfa@wku.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: [http://digitalcommons.wku.edu/whnatcher\\_journals](http://digitalcommons.wku.edu/whnatcher_journals)

 Part of the [American Politics Commons](#), and the [Public Affairs, Public Policy and Public Administration Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Folklife Archives, Manuscripts &, "U.S. House Journal of William H. Natcher, vol. 36" (1974). *U.S. House Journals of William H. Natcher*. Paper 39.  
[http://digitalcommons.wku.edu/whnatcher\\_journals/39](http://digitalcommons.wku.edu/whnatcher_journals/39)

This Other is brought to you for free and open access by TopSCHOLAR®. It has been accepted for inclusion in U.S. House Journals of William H. Natcher by an authorized administrator of TopSCHOLAR®. For more information, please contact [topscholar@wku.edu](mailto:topscholar@wku.edu).

J O J R N A L

OF

WILLIAM H. NATCHER

MEMBER OF CONGRESS

2ND DIST. OF KENTUCKY

VOLUME XXXII

The documents according to the Post that are marked "Top Secret" show that it was Kissinger who phoned Hoover on May 9, 1969 and started the surveillance which lead to the tapping over a 21-month period of 13 high ranking government officials and four newsmen. According to the Post, the Hoover memorandum on that date stated that Kissinger called to complain of an extraordinarily damaging news leak believed to be the New York Times account of the secret bombing of Cambodia and Kissinger asked the FBI director to use whatever resources he needed to find out who did it. Kissinger, in the press conference indirectly acknowledged the conversation with Hoover but said that press accounts took the incident out of context and that he was not the one who brought about the tapping surveillances. The question was asked of Kissinger at the time he testified before the Senate Committee if he was the one who had demanded that wire-tapping take place. He answered emphatically, no.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee said yesterday that it would review the wiretapping testimony before its Committee and would be glad to hear Mr. Kissinger if he wanted to appear.

On and on we go and I presume that the Washington Post and the New York Times now feel that they are removing

Kissinger from Cloud Number One and that his coattail hanger, Nixon will be knocked off of his perch. I have never in my lifetime witnessed such a vendetta and can only say that none of this is good for our country.

June 13, 1974

The old adage of "where there's a will, there's a way" sometimes works in a right unusual manner. Several years ago when President Johnson visited Mexico for a period of some seven days, there was great concern throughout Mexico because this country, as well as ours, was having difficulty on the campuses and general disorder from dissident groups who were causing trouble particularly throughout their country. The President of Mexico was very much concerned about President Johnson's visit and of course would not want to have any trouble or serious events taking place which would embarrass our President and also Mexico. The President of Mexico suddenly decided the best way to take care of this matter was to immediately arrest and place in jail throughout Mexico leaders of the dissident groups and the general disturbers who might cause trouble and after issuing an order to have these people picked up and placed in jail, he then issued a statement that was carried throughout Mexico that if there was any trouble from any of these groups or any of the dissidents he simply was going to issue

an order to have the leaders shot. He dared them to cause any trouble and stated that if they did, the order would be issued immediately and those in jail who were leading these groups would be lined up and executed. Long after President Johnson left Mexico, word leaked out that this action had taken place and this confirmed the newspaper reports that they were surprised to see such order and decorum throughout the ceremony and throughout Mexico generally during the seven-day period that President Johnson was in the country. Again, sometimes in right unusual ways, "where there's a will, there's a way".

June 14, 1974

We had our annual Flag Day Ceremony yesterday. Our honored guest was Hank Aaron, the home run king. Hank Aaron, so far, has hit 723 home runs and several weeks ago when he hit 715 this topped the 714 all time record of Babe Ruth. The gallery was full and we had members of the armed services with us along with the Army Band and Army Chorus. Hank Aaron was presented and made a short speech. He said he loved our flag and in fact, had been aiming at it for a long time now. The flag pole and the flag in all of the major league ballparks is in center-field and in the vicinity of where most of Hank Aaron's home runs were made.

A great many members had their children and grandchildren in the Chamber and they just hooped and hollered when Hank Aaron was presented and said that he had been aiming at the flag for years.

President Nixon has been well received on his trip abroad. The crowds estimated in Egypt exceeded a million people and when he and President Sadat were on the train the day before yesterday going from one point to another in Egypt, hundreds of thousands of people were along the railroad tracks and at the small stations paying their respects to their foreign visitor. President Nixon is trying to get as much out of this trip as possible. The Harris Poll yesterday showed that 60% of the people were in favor of impeachment and approximately the same percentage wanted Nixon removed from office.

June 15, 1974

Yesterday, President Nixon while visiting with President Sadat in Egypt, entered into an agreement promising to help Egypt develop nuclear energy for peacetime uses. Under the agreement, the U.S. is to begin the sale of nuclear fuel to Egypt later this month. A nuclear power unit will be available and the commitment makes American nuclear technology available to Egypt under safe-

guard conditions. I hope that the President has not made a mistake.

Senator Jackson and one or two others in the Senate immediately said that the President had made a serious mistake and that it was useless to attempt to halt the danger of a nuclear war if we constantly gave away our nuclear secrets. The White House attempted to answer this by saying that proper safeguards would be set up and that it would be years before Egypt could take anything that we furnished and arm weapons.

Certain key administration leaders were advised last week that President Nixon would also offer Israel the same nuclear technology and fuel.

Pictures appear in the newspapers throughout this country showing President Nixon and President Sadat conversing at the base of one of the pyramids. The pictures of this pyramid is an excellent one and clearly shows what is meant by the fact that wind and sand are wearing out the pyramids. Near the top of this pyramid are slopes showing a very uneven line and jagged sections demonstrating just what time is doing to some of the pyramids.

From Egypt, President Nixon next landed in Saudi Arabia. The President

spent a three-day visit in Egypt and was welcomed by hundreds of thousands of people everywhere he went. At a dinner meeting, King Faisal in his short speech said that there will be no lasting Middle East peace while Arab lands are occupied. King Faisal is the one who initiated the Arab oil embargo against the United States last year and in his speech gave the President somewhat of a lecture. It was the toughest talk the President has heard since he began his Middle East trip Wednesday. King Faisal went on to say that unless Jerusalem is liberated and returned to Arab Sovereignty and unless liberation of all of the occupied Arab territories is achieved and unless Arab peoples of Palestine regain their rights to return to their homes there will be no true and lasting peace. King Faisal's language was much stronger than President Sadat's and again, I do hope that the President is not making commitments and promises that he will be unable to carry out. Upon being interviewed, Presidential Advisor Haig who is with the President said of course this trip would be of great benefit to Nixon and the United States. I believe that the President can have a successful trip if only he does not over extend himself and if the trip is not based solely on the idea that the President is trying to turn attention away from Watergate which is believed by a number



of us on the Hill, then the trip will be worthwhile.

Preparing for President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union, Leonid I. Brezhnev said last night that his country was ready to reach an agreement now with the United States on the limitation of underground nuclear tests. This is the clearest signal that we have had so far that the Soviet Union is now prepared to accept the kind of limited underground test ban which American sources have described as possible to achieve at the Soviet-American summit meeting scheduled for the later part of this month. A U.S. delegation has been in Moscow for about two weeks negotiating on this issue. With this information being well received in this country we had a slight shock yesterday when Paul H. Nitze, the top Pentagon representative to the U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation talks resigned abruptly claiming that the depressing, traumatic events now unfolding in Washington make it unlikely that any real restraints can be placed on the nuclear arms race at this time. The 67-year old official who has served in the last three Administrations did not specifically mention Watergate or the President, but it is well known as to just what he refers to. In his statement, Mr. Nitze said that U.S. arms control policy is integral to the national security and foreign policy of this nation and that in

turn are closely intertwined with domestic affairs. In a one-sentence resignation speech which stated that his request of May 28 to resign had not been accepted, he said therefore he was now compelled unilaterally to terminate his appointment effective as of yesterday. In a statement which he released he said that in his view it would be illusory to attempt to ignore or wish away the depressing reality of the traumatic events now unfolding in our Nation's Capital and of the implications of those events in the international arena. Further, he said that until the office of the Presidency has been restored to its principle function of upholding the Constitution and taking care of the fair execution of the laws and thus be able to function effectively at home and abroad, he saw no real prospect for reversing certain unfortunate trends in the evolving situation.

This man Nitze is considered by the Congress as an able and dedicated public servant. We are losing men like Mr. Nitze every day here in Washington and this does not speak well for the future.

So far, I have not received any applicants of a serious nature from young ladies who want to attend the service academies. One young lady

was so determined that after she received a nomination from her Congressman and was turned down she instituted a suit in federal court. The Judge yesterday refused to order the Air Force and Naval Academies to reserve spots for women in its upcoming freshman class and he indicated that he would rule against the women in their all out attempts to enter the two military academies. I know the boys at West Point must be disappointed. I served for 10 consecutive years on the Board of Visitors at West Point and each year when we made our annual inspection trip, the matter concerning equal rights for women and nominations in the future for young ladies was discussed. All kinds of humorous remarks were made but it all ended up each time with us as the Members of the Board recommending that there be no women at the service academies.

Stewart Alsop, one of our well known columnists died of cancer several weeks ago and his brother, Joseph Alsop has a column that appears in the papers from time to time. Joseph Alsop is recognized as a good newspaper man and in his column this week bitterly criticizes the media for their attack on Dr. Kissinger. He said it was hypocrisy to pretend that the press was not responsible for Dr. Kissinger's decision to resign unless his name was cleared.

Alsop goes on to state that it is time to stop being mealy-mouthed and if the U.S. Government loses the services of Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, the enormous, Watergate-induced self importance of the American press will be to blame. The plain fact of the matter, Alsop says, is that we now have in Washington not just a double standard, but a triple standard. The first part of this triple standard, he said, is public judgment of public men concerning the political role of the press or media. The questions propounded to Secretary Kissinger and the loud shouting that took place from one or two reporters that are not well thought of generally according to Alsop, made this press conference a disgusting and savage affair. Kissinger, according to Alsop, was treated like a common criminal and at one point one of his interrogators even suggested that he might well be indicted for perjury and bellowed out in a loud tone of voice inquiring as to whether or not Kissinger had already retained counsel to represent him in case of a perjury indictment. This loud, noisy reporter that bellowed it out represents the Des Moines newspapers. Just like a fresh breeze and right unusual to say the least. Just to think that a newspaper man who started out with Nixon and then turned on him like most of the others have would then

proceed to lecture the members of the Fourth of State.

June 17, 1974

During his travels, the President is really giving away things. President Nixon gave one of the White House helicopters to President Sadat of Egypt. Nixon took the helicopter along with other White House mobiles and other aircraft on his trip to the Middle East. Until Mr. Nixon gave it to Mr. Sadat, the helicopter was used by security men hovering over the President's tour of Egypt. I hope that Pat Nixon, who is traveling with the President is real good, because I would hate to read where he decided to give her away during his Middle East travels.

President Nixon beginning in 1969, began complaining about federal spending. He keeps talking about congressional spending and this was one of the themes that he used in his 1972 re-election campaign. The budget that the President submitted to us for the 1975 Fiscal Year totals \$305.4 billion and according to our staff is \$11.4 billion out of balance. Notwithstanding all of his indignant words, Nixon has been the biggest deficit spender of any American President since World War II. The President's first full Fiscal Year in office was 1970. The Government ran a deficit then and has in each year since. The aggregate deficit over all including the projected deficit for Fiscal Year 1975 is \$77.9 billion. The

national debt which was \$367.1 billion at the end of Fiscal Year 1969 is expected to reach \$507.3 billion by the end of Fiscal Year 1975. These deficit and debt totals do not tell the whole story. First of all, a deficit can be judged high or low only in relation to the state of the economy. If output is low and unemployment high and the economy is sagging badly, a \$20 billion deficit might not be high at all but would provide less stimulus than the economy needs. If the economy is running at full steam and overheating, even a \$2 billion deficit may seem excessive.

Before President Nixon left Saudi Arabia, King Faisal soundly denounced Mr. Nixon's critics saying that anyone who stands against the President is causing the splintering of the world. In farewell remarks before the President left Jeddah, the King expressed full confidence that Mr. Nixon would succeed in removing all of the blemishes standing between the Arab world and the U.S., but what is more important the King went on to say, is that our friends in the United States of America be wise enough to stand behind the President and rally around him. The King declared that his aims and the Presidents were identical in securing peace, justice, stability and prosperity to the whole world. The King also said that anybody who stands against the President in the United States or outside of the United States obviously has one aim in mind, namely

that of causing the splintering of the world.

I just wonder who wrote the King's speech--maybe it was Mr. Kissinger.

We continue to read about the dairy cooperative campaign contributions to the Members of the House and the Senate. According to the front page story Sunday, since election day in 1972, the political committees of the three large dairy cooperatives have sprinkled Capitol Hill with campaign contributions with the contributions going to one out of every seven Members of the House and the Senate. The largest amount, according to the story, went to Representative David R. Bowen of Mississippi who received \$32,000 and from all other sources only received \$33,208 for his campaign. The article goes on to again name Senator Walter "Dee" Huddleston of Kentucky who accepted \$15,000 plus \$8,500 in the first seven months after the disclosure law became effective. According to newspaper reports carried in Kentucky, Huddleston accepted some \$17,000 after the election was over from different sources. The article goes on to state that Frank Stubblefield accepted \$5,000 and Ed Jones, the former Commissioner of Agriculture of Tennessee and now the Chairman of the milk subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations in the House accepted \$12,000. Of course,

Senator Humphrey and a number of other famous campaign contribution acceptors are in the list. Senator Bob Dole of Kansas accepted \$15,600 but several months ago returned the amount. Senator Herman Talmadge, Chairman of the Agriculture Committee in the Senate and a millionaire accepted \$10,000. The list goes on and on and according to the latest news story, Representative Tom Steed of Oklahoma is the only Member of the Committee on Appropriations who accepted money the last go-round. He accepted \$5,000.

The Supreme Court on Saturday agreed to consider whether the Watergate Grand Jury overstepped itself in naming President Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Watergate cover-up.

It may be that President Nixon, in his struggle for political survival is relying on the institutions he hates the most--press, radio and television. The pictures coming back from the Middle East are all over the front pages of the newspapers and pictures such as the one before the pyramid and others have been given space in all of the large newspapers. After the President returns from the Middle East, he catches his breath and then he goes to Moscow to attend the summit meeting. After that trip, the President may decide to go to Europe and confer with the new leaders of Britain, Germany and France about



the monetary, economic and political problems of the world. It is quite obvious that the White House strategy is now fairly clear. The White House is raising as many objections to full disclosure as possible both in the courts and in Congress. It yields a little and compromises a little but still delays and delays. The President travels and by this method you can see the strategy that he has developed which he hopes will keep him in office during the balance of his term.

A great many people in this country have become coin collectors. This past week at a sale in New York City held by Stacks, a 1907 high relief Saint-Gaudens proof double eagle \$20 gold coin sold for \$200,000. This is the all time record of the sale of any coin in this country and this double eagle dated 1907 in Arabic numerals is one of only 13 to 16 specimens known to exist. President Theodore Roosevelt directed that these special coins be minted and he used them to present to distinguished people and the one sold last week was one of those presented to someone by President Roosevelt.

June 18, 1974

We adopted the Conference Report today in the House on the bill H.R. 7130 which establishes a procedure providing Congressional control over the impound-

ment of funds by the Executive Branch and for other purposes. Under this bill which has now passed the House and the Senate and is on the way to the President for his signature, the fiscal year is changed from the last day of June to the last day of September and the new fiscal year starts after the bill is enacted on October 1 of each year. A Committee is set up in the House and the Senate to oversee matters concerning the budget and federal spending generally. All authorization bills will have to be passed by a certain date and the budget from the Executive Branch of the Government must be submitted by the first day of February each year.

This legislation will not place us in a position where we can pay off the national debt within a few months but it will place the Congress in a position of having better control over the budget generally and all of the procedures that are used by the Legislative Branch of the government in bringing out appropriation bills. Before any funds are impounded, the President must notify the Congress giving his reasons for making the move and Congress can then proceed to act if the impoundment is not agreed to. All in all, this is a good bill and should be of great assistance to us on our Committee on Appropriations.

June 19, 1974

Former presidential attorney, Herbert W. Kalmbach, who helped collect the money for the Watergate cover up was sentenced on Monday to at least six months in prison for two campaign violations. He was given a concurrent sentence of six months on a misdemeanor violation for promising a choice assignment to an ambassador in exchange for a \$100,000 donation. In addition, he received six to 18 months for his role in a concealed campaign operation that funneled \$3 million to GOP senate candidates in 1970. He was also fined \$10,000. Kalmbach was given immunity from prosecution in cases including his role in the Watergate aftermath and the milk deal. He is expected to be a key witness for the government in one or two of the criminal cases now pending.

I guess that you have to wait for your real rewards until the end of time. Since I have been in politics, I have endeavored at all times to be strictly in compliance with all of the campaign election laws and have on several instances made refunds of money that was delivered to someone who was working for me in one of my elections. I do not accept campaign contributions and in my last race, the Kentucky Medical Association sent \$1,000 into my District for use in my campaign. This was listed as a campaign contribution

and this is how I found out that it had been sent into my district. The Director of the Office of Campaign Expenditures for Kentucky called me and said I know that you have no knowledge of this, but thought you ought to know that the \$1,000 was sent in. I immediately sent my check for \$1,000 to the Kentucky Medical Association and told them that I did not accept campaign contributions but did appreciate their support in my race generally for re-election. I was right mad at the time because I had just finished paying all of the bills and the election was over and here was \$1,000 that I had to pay because I did not accept it and no one else had the right to accept it. Common Cause wrote an article saying that I had accepted two campaign contributions in my last race and one was the Medical Association and the other was the Meat Cutters Association of America. The Meat Cutters Association, according to the list they filed, contributed \$300 to my campaign. I immediately contacted the Meat Cutters after receiving word that they had listed this amount and they said they had given it to one of my supporters in Owensboro. This supporter is a good, close, personal friend of mine and of course, he had no right to accept this money so I had a check sent to the Meat Cutters for their \$300.

On a number of other occasions, I have sent money back and still believe that this is the right procedure to use. In my campaign that was just completed on May 28th, my opponent spent approximately \$100,000. This did not worry me because I sincerely believe that the people know my record and know me. Sometimes some of my strong political friends, who are right good politicians, say that I take too many chances and say that I should accept campaign contributions. This may be true, but I do not intend to change.

In going back to my original statement, maybe sometime a few of us will get a little additional praise and praise comes very seldom sometimes.

All over the front pages of the newspapers in this country this week appeared articles concerning the dairy cooperative contributions that have been made to Members of Congress during the past five years. The title of the article in the Louisville-Courier Journal this week was--One Congressman Out Of Seven Has Received Milk Funds. The article goes on about Frank Stubblefield's \$5,000 this time and several thousand dollars prior to this election and again goes into detail concerning Senator Walter "Dee" Huddleston's contributions that he has accepted. This last story said that he had accepted \$15,000 at one time plus an additional amount of \$8,500 that I mentioned several days ago in my Journal. In addition, stories have been written about

some of his campaign contributions that he accepted long after his election.

The Louisville-Courier Journal, of course, is correct in carrying a story such as this one because the people are entitled to know. However, when Common Cause released its long winded story about all of the money that Members of the House and Senate had accepted in 1972, the Courier Journal was one of the papers that carried the Common Cause story and failed to correct that portion of the story concerning me and the two campaign contributions that I did not accept. I called them and explained to them what had transpired but this, of course, would have to be in the form of a correction and the Louisville-Courier Journal hates to make them. Time after time this paper has carried articles that I have boasted and the word is always boasted, of the fact that I do not accept campaign contributions but when the occasion arose for them to say that they had made a mistake this was just too much for the Bingham family. The Bingham's by the way, in Kentucky are not liked and in fact, a great many people in our state have said that the reason Louisville, Kentucky is still just Louisville, Kentucky, is because of the Bingham family and the Louisville-Courier Journal.

June 25, 1974

We passed the Agriculture Appropriations Bill on Friday of last week and before it was over, we had quite a battle. This bill now contains over \$13 billion because we have the Environmental Protection Agency, The Consumer Council, Federal Trade Commission and Pure Food and Drug Administration in the bill.

An amendment was offered by Representative Van Deerlin of California which if adopted, would have destroyed the tobacco program. I spoke against the amendment and we succeeded in defeating this amendment overwhelmingly. With cancer on the rampage, it becomes exceedingly more difficult each year to defend tobacco. I presented the District of Columbia Appropriation bill to the full committee yesterday. The headlines in this morning's paper state that the Committee cuts the District of Columbia Budget by \$17.2 million. We really cut the D.C. budget by \$39,970,000. Over \$700 million of the entire amount to be used by the District government for fiscal year 1975 comes from the federal government. The federal payment that we recommend in the bill is \$221,200,000. The district receives \$30 million in revenue sharing, over \$300 million in federal grants and borrows from the federal government

in the capital outlay program over \$200 million under this bill. There are only 748,000 people in the District. The District will have \$1,382,937,000 for fiscal year 1975. This is probably the highest per capita expenditure anywhere in the world for 748,000 people.

Secretary Kissinger is still on the hot seat. Yesterday, he denied and said it was totally false in every detail, published charges that he had made secret agreements giving the Soviet Union an edge in the number of strategic missiles allowed under a 1972 agreement.

The only bright light in the Nixon Administration is this man Kissinger and the media has decided that in order to still get Nixon, they must knock Kissinger off of his perch.

June 26, 1974

Every so often the Supreme Court comes up with a decision that really establishes a milestone. Yesterday a unanimous Supreme Court decision struck down a Florida right to reply law that gave political candidates access to newspapers to respond to editorial attacks. Arguments were made in the case that citizens of this country have a constitutional right of access to news media to get their message across in their own way.



The Court held that such laws violate the First Amendment freedom of publishers to decide what to print. This case had stirred up considerable interest in the communications industry and certainly is a decisive victory for the right of newspapers to make editorial judgments without fear of being forced to devote future news space to the views of people dissatisfied with the editorial comment. This decision, to some extent, answers certain legal scholars who now for some time have insisted that news monopolies deny full participation in government to struggling candidates and the average citizen who is ignored by mass media. This decision was one that a great many of us believed would come on a divided vote on the Court instead of a unanimous Court decision. This is not the strongest Supreme Court that we have had in this country and two or three of the men on the Court have really changed their philosophy according to this decision.

The House Judiciary Committee voted 22-16 yesterday to release, during the next couple of weeks, most of the more than 7,000 pages of evidence presented by its staff on whether President Nixon should or should not be impeached. Another vote that the Committee took pertained

to contributions from the milk co-ops. Some \$2 million was involved and hundreds of thousands of dollars were sent to President Nixon in his campaign for re-election. Several of the Members of the House Judiciary Committee accepted contributions from the co-ops and the Committee is investigating that part of the contributions issue insofar as the President is concerned but not as to the Members on the Committee. One of the Members received approximately \$30,000 in contributions in his campaign and on a straight party line vote, it was agreed not to open up the matter of contributions from the milk co-ops insofar as Members of Congress are concerned. The Republicans in the Committee insisted that if Nixon was to be investigated, then all Members of Congress should be investigated who also accepted contributions from the co-ops.

In my race two years ago, one of the co-op officials called me from Louisville, Kentucky informing me that he had my check for \$2700 and wanted to know if he should mail it or send it down to Bowling Green by messenger. I told this gentleman that I did not accept campaign contributions and he, in a very nice way, said that I was the only Member of Congress that had turned down a contribution from the co-ops.

Yesterday, during the general debate on the Treasury and Post Office Appropriation Bill, a number of amendments were offered reducing the staff and the funding for the Office of Management and Budget. In addition, an amendment was offered by Representative Dingell of Michigan which would have denied any funds to any federal official for staff who ignored a subpoena issued by the Legislative Branch of the Government. Dingell cited the subpoenas issued by the Judiciary Committee for Presidential tapes and documents and maintained that he was attempting to sustain the Houses right to make a proper inquiry into impeachment. His amendment was overwhelmingly defeated and I voted against the amendment. Dingell was not at all surprised at the outcome and seemed right satisfied with himself even after being overwhelmingly defeated. His father was a Member of Congress when I was first elected and was a small, very quiet man. This Dingell is a large man and with his size is quite noisy and loud.

June 27, 1974

For many years, Presidents of banks in this country have been, as a general rule, right sound men,

carefully selected and only in very rare cases have they entered into schemes that cost our banks millions of dollars. This certainly does not apply today because we have too many Presidents of banks who were selected by virtue only of being bank examiners or men with all of the PR characteristics. Recently, several Virginia banks and a number of bank officials were taken in on a wine fraud scheme. The Presidents of the United Virginia National Bank in Alexandria and the McLean Bank borrowed money to enter into this scheme and the money borrowed by the United Virginia National Bank president was borrowed from the McLean Bank and the McLean Bank President borrowed his from the United Virginia Bank. Each made loans to customers totalling several million dollars so that they could enter into this wine scheme. In addition to the bank Presidents and others who engaged in this proposition, Senator Randolph of West Virginia and several other members of the Senate also decided to get rich, with all of them losing their money. One of the Presidents has resigned and the other is on his way out. It seems that a man by the name of Robert D. Johnson of McLean, Virginia, who has been right successful down through the years with different kinds of shady propositions maintained that he had cornered the wine market

in Portugal and that hundreds of millions of dollars would be made on the wine that he would export from Portugal to this country.

The next day after the wine scheme made the headlines throughout the United States, we had the \$100 million oil investment scandal. In this instance, some of the nation's leading financiers, wealthiest celebrities and shrewdest lawyers were investors. The list was headed by Walter B. Wriston, Chairman of the First National City Bank of New York and Fred J. Borch, former Chairman of General Electric Company. This scheme took in a great many unusual people. Jack Benny of radio and television fame, who prides himself on his Scotch characteristics lost \$300,000 Barbra Streisand and a great many others lost hundreds of thousands of dollars in this scheme. A Washington attorney who is a very careful practitioner and a successful businessman, invested more than \$100,000. This oil scheme was carried out by the Home Stake Production Company of Tulsa, Oklahoma. At the heart of the Home Stake scandal is the federal income tax loophole which permits dollar for dollar tax deductions for intangible drilling costs. In addition to Jack Benny, Jack Cassidy, Alan Alda, Bobbie Gentry, Walter Matthau, Liza Minnelli and others were in on the scheme.

Senator Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina was in for \$19,000 and Senator Jacob K. Javits was in for \$28,500. Some of the most famous lawyers in this country are listed along with a great list of successful businessmen.

We apparently are living in a society now where everyone wants to get rich quick.

Laos, which has been engaged in a severe war for years now is slowly coming under full control of the communists. The communist forces are moving in to take over nearly every key element of the government, villages, leadership and the press.

President Nixon is now in Belgium on his way to Moscow and is suffering from a mild attack of phlebitis in his left leg. In traveling across the Atlantic, the President is shown in pictures with his leg propped up but according to his doctor has refused his recommendations for treating the phlebitis other than keeping his leg elevated when he can. He was troubled while in Austria but did not say anything about it because he said that he did not want it referred to and continue having other Heads of State inquiring about his phlebitis.

One of the nicest things that has happened to me since I have been a Member of Congress is my service with Lewis Deschler, the Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives. On a number of occasions he has commended me on my service as chairman during general debate on bills before the House. In fact, several years ago, he wrote me one of the nicest letters that I have ever received. Today, Lewis Deschler, after 50 years of service in the House of Representatives, tendered his resignation. In a beautiful letter addressed to the Speaker, he advised that he was submitting his resignation as Parliamentarian. This letter is as follows:

"Dear Mr. Speaker:

I hereby submit my resignation as Parliamentarian of the United States House of Representatives effective at the close of June 30, 1974.

I am in my fiftieth year of service for the House of Representatives, having come originally to this body as an employee in 1925. In 1927, I became Assistant Parliamentarian and in January, 1928, I began my service as Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives,

service which has covered a period of more than forty-six years.

This has been a wonderful experience, and I consider it to be one of the great privileges which God has granted me that I have served with nine Speakers:

Honorable Nicholas Longworth  
Honorable John Garner  
Honorable Henry Rainey  
Honorable Joseph Byrns  
Honorable William Bankhead  
Honorable Sam Rayburn  
Honorable Joseph Martin  
Honorable John McCormack  
Honorable Carl Albert

No one ever becomes Speaker of the House of Representatives unless he has great intelligence and ability and high probity, and unless he commands the respect of his colleagues. All of these nine Speakers were eminently qualified to follow and enhance the traditions of the House of Representatives. Their wisdom, fairness, and nonpartisanship in filling the high post of Speaker is shown by the fact that from the beginning of the 70th Congress, in 1927, there have been only eight appeals from decisions of the Speaker, and in seven of these eight cases the decision of the Speaker was sustained by the House of Representatives. On the one occasion when



the Speaker was overruled (on February 21, 1931) the House was actually following the wishes of Speaker Longworth, for he in effect appealed to the House to overrule him in order to correct what he regarded as an erroneous precedent.

The challenges presented by my work as Parliamentarian have been heightened by the caliber of the men and women who have served in the House of Representatives while I have been associated with it. Truly representing all parts of the country and all their constituents, their individual and collective wisdom and their unceasing dedication to this country and its Constitution have always been a source of inspiration to me. I shall always treasure the many deep and abiding friendships which have developed through my associations with the Members over these years.

Along the way too it has been a pleasure to associate with the talented and loyal officers and employees of this body, and I am deeply grateful for the close friendships and wonderful working relationships which we have had.

I shall cherish the firm and lasting friendships I have had, Mr. Speaker, with the ladies and gentlemen

of the media. In my almost daily associations with them over many years, I have come to know and respect their diligent efforts to report the news. I am particularly grateful for the way in which they honored my requests to protect my anonymity on those many occasions when they discussed with me some of the complicated legislative problems which confronted us from time to time.

The time comes in each man's life when he must determine what his future may be under God's guidance and direction. I am approaching my seventieth year, and my doctors have strongly suggested that I retire from my duties as Parliamentarian. It is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that in your good judgment you will find a position where I may continue to advise and consult with you and with the new Parliamentarian, as well as continuing the important work in which I am presently engaged of compiling the Precedents of the House of Representatives.

I wish to thank you, Mr. Speaker, and through you all the Members of this great body present and past, for your many kindnesses and considerations.

Most respectfully submitted,  
/s/ Lewis Deschler  
Lewis Deschler  
Parliamentarian  
United States House of  
Representatives"

June 28, 1974

It seems that life was much safer when traveling potentates dispensed ivory apes and peacocks and not nuclear reactors. The President is being severely criticized for his promise to turn over to Egypt and Israel nuclear reactors. The President maintains that it would be a number of years before such a reactor could produce enough plutonium for nuclear weapons. This answer does not satisfy the majority of the people in this country. Egypt, for a number of years, has had a power shortage because the Aswan Dam is producing only 5 billion kilowatts which is half of its original projected capacity. Improvements to the Dam would probably cost less than the approximately half billion dollars the reactor would cost.

Our old friend, Senator Ernest H. Gruening, the Alaska Democrat died on Wednesday at the age of 87. I remember him best for the fight that he made to bring about Statehood for Alaska and for his early opposition to the American involvement in the war in Indochina. He was first appointed Governor of Alaska and during his tenure was instrumental in the development of the Alcan Highway. When the battle for the admission

of Alaska was finally won in 1958 he went back to Alaska and was elected as one of Alaska's first two Senators. He next turned his attention to the Statehood of Hawaii and helped bring about admission of this state. He was a right unusual man and a very determined man, full of spirit and will be remembered in Alaska for many years.

President Nixon is now all over the front pages in stories of his visit, which is now taking place, to Moscow. The President, in his pictures, looks quite well and I hope that he is not suffering any more from phlebitis.

The President's attorney, James D. St.Clair, is now presenting his rebuttal to the House Judiciary Committee which is designed to show that the President had no advance knowledge of the Watergate break-in and no involvement in its cover-up.

I will present the District of Columbia budget for fiscal year 1975 to the House today. It is a little unusual to have an appropriation bill before the House on Friday and this, of course, was done in order to keep the House Judiciary Committee in session. Every attempt is being made to speed up the hearings before this Committee so

that some action will be taken during the latter part of next month.

June 29, 1974

We had quite a battle in presenting the District of Columbia Budget for Fiscal Year 1975. With 748,000 people, we will have 107,000 on welfare. The school budget will contain about \$200 million and this represents \$1506 per capita. This is considerably higher than the national average. Before the bill was voted upon, Representative Kenneth Gray of Illinois, who for some reason wants to build buildings all over Washington, as a Member of the Public Works Committee, decided to offer an amendment to bring into the bill the authority to proceed immediately with the construction of the Eisenhower Civic Center. Our Committee has turned this project down because at the time the organic law passed authorizing the structure, the House was advised that the total cost would be \$65 million with the building constructed by entrepreneurs who would turn over the building to the city and the rentals from the building would pay the entrepreneurs the cost of the construction plus a reasonable interest payment. This, of course,

could not be accomplished and the city joined with Gray and asked that the city be permitted to issue bonds and the overall cost for a period of 30 years when the last bond would be retired would amount to \$165 million. We objected and at the time Gray offered his amendment, I made a point of order against the amendment and my point of order was sustained. His amendment simply was legislation on an appropriations bill.

Before we concluded general debate on the District of Columbia Budget, the Speaker, by pre-arrangement, had agreed to permit Representative Peter Rodino, the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee to make a statement to the House concerning a story which appeared in the Los Angeles Times, written by a man by the name of Jack Nelson. It seems that one day this week Nelson along with Sam Donaldson of ABC television and other representatives of the media were in Rodino's office discussing generally the impeachment proceedings now underway before the Committee on Judiciary. Nelson, in a story in his paper quoted Rodino as stating unequivocally and categorically that all 21 democrats and about 5 republicans were ready now to vote for an impeachment resolution. Rodino

took the floor and said it was not true and that he had not prejudged the case and if he had certainly he should step down as Chairman. He went on at great length to deny the charge but judging from the way he handled himself and from his reaction to other statements that were immediately made on the floor by some of the republican members, I assume that Rodino was talking too much in his office and thought that he was off the record and that no one would take advantage of his statement. In fact, Sam Donaldson said that he was present when Rodino made the remarks and generally agreed with the Los Angeles Time story but Rodino did not state that he had specific knowledge that all of the democrats would vote for impeachment, but did state it was his sense of the mood of the way members were reacting to the evidence that he presented, all 21 democrats would most likely reach that conclusion.

My old friend, Rodino, was probably just talking a little too much.

July 1, 1974

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s mother was slain in the Atlanta church where her husband has been the pastor for four decades. Mrs. Alberta Williams King was shot in the church, while

playing the organ, by a young black gunman identified as Marcus W. Chenault of Dayton, Ohio. During the service, Chenault jumped up and started firing two pistols. Mrs. King was killed, one of the deacons and one of the women who was attending services in the church was seriously wounded. After firing every shot in the handguns, the assailant was wrestled to the floor by churchgoers and held for arrest. When this man jumped up, he started shouting and cursing and upon checking his room at Columbus, Ohio, a list was found of ten civil rights leaders and all of these were apparently marked for assassination. According to police, they have no evidence that anyone else was working with Chenault in the killing of Mrs. King. Mrs. King was 69 years old and, of course, was no stranger to tragedy. Her son, Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated and another son who was a young minister drowned while swimming several years ago. This is another tragedy that can hardly be explained.

When I first heard about the assassination of Mrs. King, I wondered if it was brought about as the result of the trouble that has been brewing in Atlanta, Georgia now for several months. The Mayor of Atlanta



is a black man by the name of Maynard Jackson and Atlanta's reputation for racial harmony was never brighter than when Jackson was first inaugurated six months ago as its first black mayor. Shortly after being inaugurated the Mayor fired the city's white police chief, John Inman and appointed another white man as chief. The chief appointed by the previous Mayor so far has out maneuvered Mr. Jackson in a series of legal tests of the new Mayor's right to fire him. The issue is now headed for the Georgia Supreme Court. Blacks, who number more than half of Atlanta's population of 515,000 accused the police chief of running a racist force and last week one of the police officers fatally wounded a young black man and this has brought about protests and demonstrations. During the demonstrations, Reverend Hosea Williams, head of the Atlanta Southern Christian Leadership Conference was arrested and this man's name appeared on the list that was found in Chenault's room in Columbus, Ohio. Mayor Jackson contends that there is a plot underway by a small group of wealthy whites to regain control of the city and that the police chief is part of it. The Atlanta Constitution, which by the way has been right liberal all along, is constantly warning the people in Atlanta that industrialists

everywhere are beginning to wonder as to Atlanta's ability to solve its racial problems and unless the problems are solved, the paper goes on to state that this could prove a disaster for Atlanta. Now we have the assassination of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr.

Vice President Ford has joined the ranks. While playing golf recently in Minnesota, he sliced his shot and it went into a crowd with a boy some 15 or 16 years old struck in the head but with the exception of a large bump, apparently is alright. Spiro Agnew was noted for this. A little later on in the same tournament that Ford was playing in, his ball bounced off a golf cart. I do hope that Ford is not following along too much in the footsteps of Agnew.

The strategy now from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue seems to be a plan where every effort will be made to divide the House Judiciary Committee and considerable time will be given to cultivating the proposal that the resolution reported by the committee be a censor resolution only and not an impeachment resolution.

One of the main questions in my mind today is if the committee votes out an impeachment resolution, will the democratic majority in the

38-member committee be joined by enough republicans to give the recommendation a bi-partisan character when it reaches the House. In placing Delbert Latta of Ohio on the committee to fill a vacancy several months ago, the White House now has an astute, hard-nosed fighter who is passing the word every day to the republicans on the committee to stay together.

The Watergate investigating committee of the Senate will release its report on the hearings this week and over the weekend, Senator Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., a republican member of the committee from Connecticut issued his report which charges that members of President Nixon's Administration and campaign organization have been responsible for some 370 abuses of the law or of the Constitution in the course of the Watergate scandals. Senator Weicker issued a personal 146-page report declaring that the evidence presented to the committee during its inquiries demonstrated that every major substantive part of the Constitution was violated, abused and undermined during the Watergate period. The Senator's report carries out the views that he has expressed all along while serving on the committee. No awards will be made by President Nixon at any time in the future to Senator Weicker.

The new energy administrator, John C. Sawhill this week accused 15 major companies of foot dragging and calculated resistance to the government's plan for the major companies to share their relatively cheap crude oil supplies with independent refineries. During the gasoline shortage a great many independent gasoline stations had to go out of business and this, of course, not with the approval of some of the large oil companies. Now, if during this energy crisis the big oil companies are able to knock off the small oil refineries, then it will be a one-sided proposition and certainly not to the best interest of our people.

Going back to the Watergate matter, the partisan conflicts that have recently split the House Judiciary Committee and brought about the White House's request for the committee chairman's ouster may erupt in the House generally and could get out of hand.

The Shah of Iran, along with the King of Saudi Arabia has more money than he knows how to invest. In fact, if conditions exist as they are today, the King of Saudi Arabia will have control of the largest amount of money of any country in the world

that is unencumbered if the energy crisis continues on and the sale of oil remains as it is. The Shah of Iran recently announced that he would buy five nuclear reactors from France which cost \$1.1 billion. Cash will be paid for these nuclear reactors.

The President is having quite a field day in the Soviet Union. Some sort of an agreement has been entered into concerning trade and President Nixon and Soviet Leader Brezhnev agreed this week to a further limitation of defensive anti-ballistic missiles in their countries and are bargaining over the far more complex problem of permanent limits on offensive weapons. The agreements entered into by the President will not be too important but at least he is on the front pages of all the newspapers and is using the media all he can to take the people away from the Watergate matter.

Within the next 10 days, we will receive a campaign funding bill which will provide for a dollar check off on income tax reports for presidential primaries and campaigns. The House version will not contain the Senate version of \$125,000 of public funding for Senatorial candidates and \$93,000 for House candidates.

The Government this week said that it has new evidence that cigarette smoking is the major cause of lung cancer, chronic bronchitis and emphysema and is a major factor in coronary heart disease. The Department of HEW, in a report to Congress ten years after the U.S. Surgeon General's first report on smoking and health said that the evidence is clear that people who stopped smoking cigarettes have lower death rates from smoking-related diseases than those who continue smoking. The battle continues on.

July 2, 1974

At times, I cast the vote of my people and when it is all over, I am right proud of the way that I voted. Yesterday, the leadership on both sides decided that in order to expedite the Watergate hearings before the Judiciary Committee in the House, a resolution would be prepared and without any hearings whatsoever submitted immediately to the House which would provide that the Committee on Judiciary was authorized to proceed without regard to the second sentence of Clause 27(f)(4) of Rule 11 of the Rules of the House. The resolution was introduced yesterday morning, brought up at noon and waived the sentence in the Rules which provides

that all committees which provide in their rules of procedure for the application of the five-minute rule in the interrogation of witnesses until such time as each member of the committee who so desires has had an opportunity to question the witness.

This seemed right simple and in fact, was so simple that some of the members did not understand really what was taking place. The witnesses that are to be called before the Judiciary Committee in the next three weeks are major witnesses in the Watergate affair and if the House had introduced this simple little change in the rules which would have meant that the counsel for the committee would have asked all the questions and if any member had a question he would have to write it down quickly and pass it down to the counsel to be asked. This might be two or three minutes after the point where the question should have been propounded. In other words, members of the committee would not be permitted to ask questions except through the counsel of the committee who would be in complete charge. Why have elected Members of Congress if they are not permitted to question witnesses before the committees that they serve on. I can see some opponent down the road

take after a lot of members who voted for this resolution and simply say that this particular Member of Congress was willing to give up the right of his people to speak out and to ask questions and simply was willing to sit there as a figure-head and watch the proceedings take place. I was amazed that the Speaker would get out of the Chair and in the well of the House request the Members to adopt this resolution and the same applies to John Rhodes, the Republican Minority Leader in the House who also asked those on his side of the aisle to waive the rules and join this move.

This resolution was under suspension and required 2/3 in the affirmative for passage. The final vote was 207 for and 140 against. Two-thirds not having voted in the affirmative, the resolution failed. Some 87 members were absent and in going over the list of those not voting, I found a great many names of Members who were on the floor just immediately before the vote took place. To me, this was the most assinine request that has been made of the House of Representatives in many years. Certainly we want to conclude the Watergate hearings and get this matter behind us, but according to my people, not in the manner requested by the leadership of the House of Representatives.



Argentine President, Juan D. Peron died yesterday. He was 78 years of age and just before he died, his wife, who is Vice President was sworn in to carry on for her husband who has been reported as gravely ill for a number of days. Mrs. Peron assumed the powers of Chief Executive three days ago and the government reported that Peron, who was suffering from influenza and heart trouble, died of a heart attack. This man Peron was elected President twice before being ousted in a 1955 military coup and returned to Argentina last year after nearly 18 years in exile. We will probably have more trouble in Argentina within the next few months.

The assassin of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr., apparently is a mental case. When confronted with the fact that he had killed Mrs. King and a Deacon of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, he admitted that he did and said that he was a Hebrew and he was Jacob. He said he had accomplished part of his mission and after denouncing his own immediate family said that he had no earthly family and said that as Servant Jacob, he was sent by his God to carry out the mission.

July 3, 1974

We recess today and return on Tuesday of next week. If I am real

lucky, I will have an opportunity to go fishing for a day or two down on Kentucky Lake and since we know where to go when we arrive at the Lake, it is possible that we will catch some real nice bass.

My mother is 86 years old and recently has had a right severe upset. She was in the hospital for several days and is back home now apparently feeling real good. I will have an opportunity to visit with her over the weekend. My mother weighs 98 pounds but can still talk up a storm and enjoys talking about what is going on in this world.

For several years, I have wondered about my old friend, Gerald Ford. We have been in a number of battles together and as this Journal shows on some occasions we were unable to win. On one occasion, President Nixon very casually had his White House staff running up and down the corridor outside of the House Chamber corralling the Republican Members and we lost this fight as a result of a plain old fashioned double cross. I could not understand at that time why the President would do Jerry Ford that way since he was Minority Leader and was attempting to uphold the Nixon program in the House. This is the fight that Carl Albert, Jerry Ford and I were on the same side and ended

up short about 11 votes.

Recently an article appeared in the *Crawdaddy*, a magazine published in New York City concerning our Vice President, Gerald Ford and the article states the facts concerning Jerry's career and gives a real good picture of his background. I learned quite a bit from reading this article that I did not know about Gerald Ford. According to the article, Gerald Ford, Jr., was born Leslie King in Omaha, Nebraska and when he was two years old his parents were divorced. He was later renamed after his stepfather, a paint salesman, and grew up in a very comfortable home in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He married Betty Bloomer, who had been a modern dancer and a graduate of the Martha Graham School. His stepfather was the local Republican Chairman and he advised Jerry to run for Congress. Ford managed to unseat isolationist Bartel Jonkman. Ford's first ten years in the House were right uneventful and then later on he started out in the leadership on his side and was elected Minority Leader. After reading the life story of Gerald Ford, you can understand better some of the events that have taken place during his political career. He was center on the Michigan football team and the

last year was All-American. By virtue of his football prowess, he was named Assistant Football Coach at Yale and here, he studied law. Early childhood and environment really plays a part in a great many instances in the life of people who later become right famous and at the same time have a tendency of only reaching a certain point as far as courage is concerned. I still like Jerry Ford and wish him well.

For a number of years, the environmentalists in this country have fought vigorously to stop all public works projects on our streams and especially flood control reservoirs and watershed projects. Since I have been a Member of Congress and on the Appropriations Committee for over 19 years, I have taken a leading part in programs which have brought about adequate water supplies, more recreation and flood control prevention. This placed me on the environmentalist list at one time, I think with a rating of only 11%. This was carried throughout the United States and in fact I was just about on their "Dirty Dozen" list. The "Dirty Dozen" list contains the names of Members of the House and the Senate who are against everything concerning the environment according to the environ-

mentalists. In today's Washington Post appears an editorial entitled "The Dirty Dozen". The editorial goes on to state that the term "Dirty Dozen" has become a part of the political language and specifically it refers to the by-annual list of 12 House Members whose legislative records in such environmental areas as clean air, mass transit, alternative energy sources, toxic substances and clean water suggest that they prefer a befouled, polluted and dirtied America. The editorial goes on to state that this year's Dirty Dozen list has already been reduced to 11. Representative Frank Stubblefield, (D-Ky) suffered a recent primary defeat in his district and the editorial states that it is not known how many votes were swayed by the fact that Mr. Stubblefield was a Member of the Dirty Dozen. The editorial does state that his opponent said if elected to the Congress he would never be listed on the Dirty Dozen. The list this year, in addition to my friend, Frank A. Stubblefield, included Sam Steiger (R.Ariz); Samuel Devine (R.Ohio); Glenn Davis (R.Wis.); William Hudnut (R.Ind.); John Hunt (R.N.J.); Earl Landgrebe (R.Ind.); Robert Mathias (R.Calif.); Dale Milford (D.Tex); William Scherle (R.Iowa); Burt Talcott (R.Calif.) and Roger Zion (R.Ind.). The editorial further

states that in having the list six months in advance of the election, the voters have ample time to make decisions at the polls and Members of the "Dirty Dozen" also have time to explain their voting records.

The President's former White House Assistant, John D. Ehrlichman is now being tried here in Washington, charged with being a conspirator in the break-in of the psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg. Yesterday, White House plumbers chief, Egil (Bud) Krogh, Jr., testified that he informed White House Advisor, John D. Ehrlichman that since a psychiatrist would not give the FBI confidential information about Pentagon Papers figure, Daniel Ellsberg, the unit would have to become operational. The term break-in was not used but Krogh maintains that Ehrlichman understood what was taking place and was a conspirator. My guess is that Ehrlichman will be found guilty and will have to serve. I sure would hate to be tried here in Washington before the juries that are panelled. If I was, I would want somebody like Marion Berry who by the way is not a lawyer, but one of the leaders in this city of ours today to be an advisor or something and sit at the table with me during the trial. This

might make some impression on those who serve on the juries here in Washington. At least Ehrlichman has one right astute black attorney serving with the other attorneys who were employed to defend him.

From time to time, the ten most eligible bachelors list is published. The list at this time contains the name of U.S. Senator, John Tunney (D. Calif.); U.S. Senator Joseph Biden (D. Del); basketball stars Wilt Chamberlain and Walt Frazier; consumer advocate Ralph Nader; football star Joe Namath; film star Ryan O'Neal; TV performer David Frost; Playboy magazine founder Hugh Hefner; heir to General Motors fortune, Stewart Mott.

We have heard the expression in the Congress on many occasions--Our country, right or wrong. Apparently, this expression originated and was used on a number of occasions by Congressman Carl Schurz back in the late 19th Century when he said, "Our country, right or wrong! when right, to be kept right; when wrong, to be put right!" This is not a bad expression and certainly applies in this good year of 1974.

July 9, 1974

I have just returned from Kentucky. Over the 4th of July, I had

an opportunity to go fishing down at Kentucky Lake and my three fishing partners, Dal Clark, Sonny Schow and Lloyd Cassady and I had a fine time. We did not catch many bass because the weather was too hot and they simply were right down in the bottom of the channel.

The Supreme Court yesterday held oral arguments on the question of executive privilege and the matter pertaining to delivery to the Justice Department of tapes and other material. The issue before the Court and the matter that the Court must pass on concerns 64 White House conversations that Mr. Jaworski maintains that he needs for the September trial of former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and the President's two assistants, H.R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman. The same evidence would be used against other cover-up conspirators. The President's attorney, James D. St. Clair argued before the Court that the President is not above the law but his attorney contended that the law applies to him in only one way. That way, he said, is through the impeachment process now underway and if the Court forced the President to deliver the evidence requested, Mr. Nixon would only be an 85% President and not a 100% President despite his election by voters



who naturally expected that he would have the powers of any other President. Mr. Jaworski and his associates stated to the Court that recognition of the President's claims of executive privilege would be a threat to our form of constitutional government and that the Justices should lay aside political worries and fully, explicitly and definitely uphold U.S. District Court Judge John J. Sirica's order to produce tapes that allegedly incriminate former Nixon associates who face trial in the Watergate cover-up.

While I was at home over the weekend, I had the privilege of eating beans out of Virginia's garden. Virginia had a part of our backyard set aside and had a new rock garden arrangement erected and in one portion of this strip which is about 65 feet long and some 15 feet wide, in addition to planting beautiful flowers and bulbs, planted a section of beans, radishes, carrots, lettuce and tomatoes. Virginia has really had a field day with this little garden and I very humbly thanked her for each bean that she permitted me to eat and they were delicious.

July 10, 1974

On Saturday of last week, Vice President Gerald Ford, while traveling in a motorcade in Dallas, Texas,

received quite a jolt when a window in one of the patrol cars in the motorcade suddenly crashed. The Secret Service maintains the window burst because of heat expansion. It was 92 degrees and the car's air-conditioner was on when the window on the drivers side shattered. The heat theory is discounted by the Dallas Department of Public Safety and this department believes the window was broken by a rock. This particular vehicle was five cars and a bus behind the limousine carrying the Vice President from the airport to a dedication ceremony near downtown Dallas. The incident apparently did not bother the Vice President and fortunately we did not have another Dallas incident such as the one when President Kennedy was assassinated.

In the papers throughout the United States appear ads calling upon the people to support the President. The ad contains a blank endorsement which must be filled in and mailed to the White House and in addition, carries statements to the effect that impeachment was not mentioned after Pearl Harbor during the Roosevelt Administration or after the Bay of Pigs Invasion during the Kennedy Administration. Further, the article states that President Johnson escalated the North Vietnamese war after the Tonkin Gulf incident which later proved to be completely false.

The article eulogizes President Nixon for his feat in returning 550,000 American boys and the POW's from Vietnam, his victory in the space program and the new relationship established with the Soviet Union and China.

In today's Washington Post, we find an article with headlines stating that the transcripts linked Nixon to cover-up. The article goes on to state that President Nixon, nine days after ruling that White House aides not disclose their involvement in the Watergate cover-up explicitly ordered on March 22, 1973 that the cover-up go on and the article cites these taperecorded words--I don't give a \_\_\_\_\_ what happens. I want you all to stonewall it, let them plead the Fifth Amendment, covering up or anything else if it will save it--save the plan. That's the whole point." It seems that this quote was omitted by the White House in the transcript of the conversation of that date that was released and the House Judiciary Committee, upon replaying the tapes discovered the wording set forth above. This makes quite a difference and even if the Watergate affair had never been disclosed, tapes such as this one and this short four-letter word which I omitted would sound right unusual a hundred years from now.

The House Judiciary Committee's transcript of the critical March 21, 1973 meeting between President Nixon and White House Counsel John W. Dean, III appears to connect the President directly with the cover-up.

I served for a period of 10 years on the Board of Visitors at West Point and from time to time we had to discuss matters concerning cheating at the military academy. This was always a sad part of the Board of Visitors investigation but apparently is still a serious problem at all of the academies. Yesterday, seven midshipmen were forced to resign from the United States Naval Academy because they cheated on an examination.

One of the most controversial figures of the past 30 years died yesterday. This man was Earl Warren, 83 years of age and the retired Chief Justice of the United States. Mr. Warren presided over the Supreme Court in an era of landmark decisions and great social change. In 1954, early in his 16-year tenure, Mr. Warren wrote for a unanimous court, the Brown v. Board of Education Opinion which struck down segregation in the public schools and led to the end of legally sanctioned segregation elsewhere. Mr. Warren also led the Court in enlarging the right of criminal suspects, particularly by extending to the state courts the constitutional provisions

guaranteed in federal courts. Mr. Warren said before his death that he always considered the most important decision during his tenure the one-man--one-vote ruling that required district lines for congressional and state elections be drawn to give city dwellers representation equal to that of rural residents who had, for many years, been the dominant sector. Many billboards were erected throughout this country calling upon the Congress to impeach Warren and many of these billboards remained up and very much in evidence during his entire tenure on the Supreme Court.

The elections in Canada apparently have suddenly offered a striking exception to the stalemated politics among the industrial nations. Prime Minister Trudeau's liberals won a smashing victory and apparently will no longer have to depend upon an awkward alliance with a socialist third party designated as the new democrats. One thing that impressed me about the Canadian vote was the apparent conviction of the people in Canada to unmistakably call for strong and able government in very difficult times by the manner in which they cast their votes. Canada is having the same troubles with inflation and economic disruptions and the Canadian economy is more dependent upon foreign markets than most of the countries.

The voters, by their action, evidently did not welcome the idea of continuing further under minority government and divided leadership. This vote may go a long way to correct a lot of problems that Canada has today and with all of our troubles in the United States of America, it would be right nice if we could suddenly call for a vote and make either a change in the national leadership or place the present leadership in a position where it can rule.

July 11, 1974

A number of our newspapers are now offering suggestions to the Members of the House as to how they should vote on an impeachment resolution. You would assume from reading the articles that the Members of the House will have very little understanding as to the political repercussions that may follow such a vote and just what would take place if the deep south and the border states join a united republican party on an impeachment vote. Admonitions are made that unless the Members vote according to the evidence submitted which will be conclusive, then political repercussions may take place in the November election. The media has simply spent so much time and money on the Watergate affair that I believe a number of editors and publishers will

simply keel over and die if the House refuses to vote an impeachment resolution.

Voting on such a resolution would be considerably easier if the Washington Post, the New York Times and a number of other newspapers would simply now retire from the stage and let the legislative process take over.

A number of organizations have sent out letters and memoranda to the Members of the House making suggestions as to what should be considered and what should be discarded when an impeachment resolution is brought before the House for action. These admonitions go on to inform the Members that they should refrain from trying the impeachment case through public statements to the media and should maintain vigilance in protecting the President's right to due process of law by means of a fair trial. The President's resignation should not be called for and the House Members should discontinue discussions of the impeachment vote in the House and speculation on just what the Senate would do if such a resolution is voted.

According to these organizations and groups, more positive action should be given to crimes committed by the President such as extension of the

Vietnam conflict for four extra years when he did not heed the mandate of the people and the bombing of North Vietnam with no congressional declaration of war. Further, he committed crimes in mining North Vietnamese harbors and bombing of Cambodia without congressional knowledge or consent. Further crimes that should be considered by the Congress according to these groups pertain to falsification of tax returns and use of public funds to enhance private holdings in Key Biscayne and San Clemente. Further, to the activities that must be considered when an impeachment resolution is passed upon concerning impoundment of congressional funds and withholding of witnesses, information and tapes from the investigative committee and the courts. Refusal to cooperate with Special Prosecutors Cox and Jaworski and condoning or permitting of illegal practices such as bribery and payoffs in the Cabinet and Staff categories and further, the accumulation of an enemies list. Crimes against the people must be considered such as cutting off public dissent by means of mass arrest during the Washington demonstrations. Massive use of illegal wiretapping and acceptance of ITT campaign contributions in exchange for favorable treatment in its anti-trust suit. Cover up of Watergate generally by the President and his staff must be considered.



These groups call upon Congress to restore respectability and public faith in government and to demonstrate congressional exercise of its constitutional authority to check the power of the President.

According to the Washington Post this morning, Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo used four bank accounts in his lawyers name to funnel more than \$50,000 including Presidential campaign funds which were used to pay previously undisclosed personal expenses of President and Mrs. Nixon. The report issued by the Senate Select Watergate Committee according to the Post states that \$4,562.38 originally derived from Nixon campaign contributions was used to pay most of the cost of a set of diamond studded platinum earrings given to Mrs. Nixon by the President for her birthday in 1972. Also, that campaign contributions were used to pay personal expenses and this, of course, all violates the law. Rebozo conceded when testifying before the Watergate committee that the \$4,562.38 of the money turned over to Nixon represented 1968 campaign funds, but Rebozo maintains the transaction was simply a proper reimbursement to the President for money he spent during the campaign. Rebozo, however, declined to list those expenses or to provide supporting records.

Pat Nixon must be really shaking her head this morning and I hope not so much that the earrings will become dislodged.

Just to show you how Nixon's people operated, the Watergate report shows that Presidential Advisor, John D. Ehrlichman admitted to the Senate Select Committee that he pressured the Internal Revenue Service to investigate Democratic Party Chairman, Lawrence F. O'Brien's taxes in 1972 because he wanted them to turn up something and send him to jail before the election.

Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, testified in the Ehrlichman trial yesterday, much against his wishes, and was asked only three questions by both sides and his answer to all three was "I did not do so". In addition, President Nixon testified at the Ehrlichman trial in the form of a sworn written statement.

Senator Edward J. Gurney, Republican of Florida and a member of the Senate Watergate committee was indicted yesterday on charges of taking bribes from Florida builders in return for favorite treatment from Federal Housing officials. This indictment was handed down by a Federal Grand Jury in Jacksonville, Florida. Gurney, a former

three-term Congressman who is seeking his second Senate term this fall vigorously denied the charges.

Well, I guess we'll have to stop drinking now. According to the Department of HEW, heavy drinkers run a far greater risk of getting certain kinds of cancers especially cancers of the mouth, throat region, esophagus and liver as a result of heavy drinking. This report issued yesterday stated that heavy smoking combined with heavy drinking multiplies the risk and this is the second report on alcohol and health and is entitled "New Knowledge". The report goes on to state that the American people and society generally must begin to exercise a sufficient measure of interest and social responsibility in the use of alcoholic beverages and serious consideration must be given to this action because at this time a responsibility for such action is seriously lacking.

I guess we go back to the old story that I have heard in Kentucky all of my life. The question was asked of an aggressive campaigner for office if he was against whiskey and after clearing his throat and adjusting his tie said in a very

melodious voice that if you were speaking of that beverage that brought about hunger in a number of families with little children and arrest of working husbands who then were unable to take care of their families, certainly he was against whiskey; but, if you were referring to that delicate beverage that is used at times by good friends and at gatherings where sociability was always present and where kindness and peace prevailed and the beverage was used in moderation, then certainly he was not against whiskey.

July 13, 1974

John D. Ehrlichman, who was President Nixon's top domestic advisor for nearly three years was convicted by a U.S. District Court jury here yesterday of four criminal charges growing out of the Ellsberg break-in. So far, Ehrlichman is the highest ranking aide to President Nixon to be convicted in the aftermath of Watergate. He was found guilty of conspiring to violate the civil rights of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist whose office was broken into in September of 1971 by three men working for the secret White House plumbers unit. These three men, Bernard L. Barker, Eugenio Martinez and former White House aide G. Gordon Liddy also were convicted yesterday. Ehrlichman

melodious voice that if you were speaking of that beverage that brought about hunger in a number of families with little children and arrest of working husbands who then were unable to take care of their families, certainly he was against whiskey; but, if you were referring to that delicate beverage that is used at times by good friends and at gatherings where sociability was always present and where kindness and peace prevailed and the beverage was used in moderation, then certainly he was not against whiskey.

July 13, 1974

John D. Ehrlichman, who was President Nixon's top domestic advisor for nearly three years was convicted by a U.S. District Court jury here yesterday of four criminal charges growing out of the Ellsberg break-in. So far, Ehrlichman is the highest ranking aide to President Nixon to be convicted in the aftermath of Watergate. He was found guilty of conspiring to violate the civil rights of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist whose office was broken into in September of 1971 by three men working for the secret White House plumbers unit. These three men, Bernard L. Barker, Eugenio Martinez and former White House aide G. Gordon Liddy also were convicted yesterday. Ehrlichman

immediately announced that he would appeal his case and if the conviction stands, can be sentenced to a maximum prison term totalling 25 years and fines totalling \$45,000.

So far, Ehrlichman is the first of the more prominent Nixon aides convicted and my guess is that all of the others who will be tried in Washington will also be convicted. The juries here in the city of Washington, although they, when qualified, know nothing about the case, have heard nothing else for several years now and I imagine that there will be very few acquittals.

General William C. Westmoreland, former superintendent of the military academy and Commanding General, upon his retirement, returned to his home in Greenville, South Carolina and is now a candidate for Governor in a hot republican primary. The democrats also have a hot primary and my old friend, William Jennings Bryan Dorn, gave up his safe House seat and the chairmanship of the Veterans Committee and is one of the democrats running in the primary for Governor.

July 15, 1974

Watergate is still with us and probably will be for some time.

We now have a long list of those who have either plead guilty or been tried and found guilty. The list consists of Agnew, the former Vice President; former Attorney General Kleindienst; Kalmbach, the President's personal attorney; Magruder, Chapin, Porter, Krogh, Colson and Ehrlichman. The original burglars of the Watergate have completed their terms and are now out and Gordon Liddy has been found guilty twice and is on appeal. Hunt has served one term and is on appeal. Haldeman will be tried later and Mitchell and Ehrlichman will be tried again on other charges. John Dean entered a plea of guilty and is cooperating with the prosecution with no sentence meted out up to this time.

One thing that has developed out of the Watergate affair is the fact that the press has become an issue and a source of controversy. Both from political sources and warnings from a few newspaper people, a warning has been given that when Mr. Nixon's case is disposed of, the press will come next. There are a number of conservatives in this country who are demanding that controls be put on the press. One ultra-liberal from New York State says that we will be fighting for our civil liberties for the rest of this Century.

Every President since I have been a Member of Congress has had a running

improving. He had just returned from trips to the Middle East and the Soviet Union that had earned him favorable headlines. The House Judiciary Committee, in its impeachment proceedings had really broken into partisan bickering and the public was more tired than ever of Watergate. Before the week was over, we had a series of new disclosures and new judicial developments that placed the President in a more embarrassing position than ever. John D. Ehrlichman, the former Presidential counselor was found guilty by a U.S. District Court jury. The House Judiciary Committee released a bundle of Presidential transcripts and other evidence which clearly shows that the transcript released by President Nixon with so much fanfare on April 30 had been edited to make the President's involvement appear less extensive than the full tape recording showed it to be. Some of the committee members said that this amounted to a cover up of the cover up. For instance, there was a 2,500 word segment of a March 22, 1973 conversation that the White House had left out entirely. The Watergate committee released its report and while refraining from making charges that would interfere with the impeachment procedure or the Watergate trials, the committee expressed alarm over indications that people in high



office were indifferent to public morality and operated on the belief that the end justified the means. The committee recommended broad legislative reforms to safeguard the electoral process and to provide the requisite checks against the abuse of executive power. The report went on to state that a part of the \$100,000 campaign contribution made by billionaire, Howard Hughes, to the President which was funneled through the President's old friend, Charles G. Rebozo showed that \$18,000 of this money was used by Nixon to build a swimming pool at his Key Biscayne home and \$4,562 was used to buy platinum and diamond earrings that Mr. Nixon gave to Mrs. Nixon as a birthday gift. This matter concerning the earrings really brought on a storm from the women in this country because to a great many of them, this was much more serious than any part of the Watergate affair up to this time.

The Sunday New York Times carries two top editorials entitled "Impeachable Offenses" and "One Trial". At great length, this newspaper goes on to state just how Congress should proceed and should immediately bring in an impeachment resolution. There will really be a mass funeral as I have said before with the editors and publishers of the Washington Post and

the New York Times first on the list if Nixon is not impeached. In the same issue, James Reston, the Vice President of the New York Times goes on at great length to show the closeness of Ehrlichman and Nixon and why one had to know what the other was doing and the acts were not only agreed upon, but were known by each party.

Our old friend, Sam Ervin, is dropping out of the Senate and he, of course, received considerable television coverage during the Watergate hearings. He was quoted in the Watergate report issued by his Senate committee as saying that he denied that the Constitution confers any autocratic power on the President or authorizes him to convert George Washington's America to gaius Caesar's Rome. He further said that the President's aides who perpetrated Watergate were instigated by a lust for political power and that Watergate was not invented by enemies of the Nixon Administration or even by the news media. The Watergate hearings before the Senate committee continued for 52 days in public session with 62 witnesses heard.

July 16, 1974

The world's first test tube babies, conceived in a laboratory

and then implanted in their mother's wombs have been born. The three babies are apparently doing well and one is 18 months of age with the other two still younger. One birth took place in England and the other two elsewhere in Europe. A British gynecologist and scientist made the announcement yesterday. To protect the babies privacy, he refused to disclose any information about them or their parents. This is an historic medical development.

It seems now that President Nixon has decided that he had better clear Henry A. Kissinger, his Secretary of State, of all charges and innuendos concerning the wiretapping of national security aides and newsmen which took place when Kissinger was in the White House serving as the President's Foreign Affairs advisor. The President, in a letter to J.W. Fulbright, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations stated that he made the request and that the Secretary of State had nothing to do with it. The letter was written in response to a request from Fulbright who has maintained from the very start that the only reason why his Committee is investigating the matter is due to the fact that Kissinger made the request that this be done.

July 17, 1974

According to the stories carried on the front pages in the Washington newspapers today, a Charleston, South Carolina oral surgeon defeated former Army Chief of Staff, William C. Westmoreland, who also served as Superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point for three years and also the Commanding General of our forces in Vietnam for a period of nearly five years. General Westmoreland, at one time, served as the Commanding General at Fort Campbell in Kentucky and I met him during this time. Later while serving on the Board of Visitors for a period of ten years, I served during the three-year period that General Westmoreland was the Superintendent of the Academy. I learned to like General Westmoreland and to understand why, as one of our young Generals, he had been promoted so fast. A graduate of West Point and a South Carolinian, after completing nearly 30 years in the service, he retired and returned to South Carolina. He decided that he wanted to run for Governor and was undecided as to which ticket he would run on. Finally, through the urging of our Vice President, Jerry Ford and other republican leaders, Westmoreland decided to run on the repub-

lican ticket. He did not expect to have any opposition in the republican primary but Dr. James Edwards filed and with 1249 of the 1604 precincts in, Dr. Edwards was leading General Westmoreland a little over 5,000 votes and Westmoreland has now conceded. William Jennings Bryan Dorn, Chairman of the Veterans Affairs Committee in the House and a fine member, is in the democratic primary for Governor of South Carolina and according to the reports this morning, there will be a runoff in the democratic primary and William Jennings Bryan Dorn who was running in second place may not make the runoff. Another candidate is so close to him in the number two position that he may make the runoff. Why Representative Dorn wanted to make this try, the Lord only knows.

A number of years ago, General Westmoreland was brought back from Vietnam to brief the Congress on several occasions. President Johnson brought him back to inform us in the House and those in the Senate that victory was just around the corner. This was to keep up the encouragement in the Congress and on several occasions, I listened to General Westmoreland and was amazed that as the Commanding General in Vietnam, he would attempt

to tell us that victory was just around the corner time after time when we knew that they were kicking the very hell out of us almost daily. The Tet campaign followed one of the briefings where General Westmoreland appeared and said that a great many North Vietnamese soldiers 14 and 15 years of age were captured and this clearly indicates that they were down to their last manpower supply and the war was nearly over. The Tet campaign took place about two weeks later and the North Vietnamese almost kicked us completely out of South Vietnam. At one of the briefings when I shook hands with the General, I very frankly said to him that I was surprised that he even at the urging of President Johnson would return to this country and give us reports such as the one he had given us that particular night. I know him well enough to say it to him and I felt better about telling him when I left the White House. He commented to me that of course, Congressman, you and I understand the facts of life and I am just trying to be a good soldier. I believed at that time and still believe that a good soldier did not have to permit himself to be placed in that kind of a position even by a man like Lyndon Johnson, the President of the United States. The Vietnam war drove Lyndon Johnson

out of office and gave him a low rating in the books of future historians. I was sorry that General Westmoreland, after a brilliant career in World War II and at the Academy would permit himself to be placed in such a position.

In conceding his defeat last night, he said to his followers that apparently he was not cut out to be a politician.

July 18, 1974

Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus barely escaped with his life this week at the time of the coup which unseated him. He was flown to Great Britain in a British plane after taking refuge in a Presidential military reservation on Cyprus. Turkey immediately alerted its military forces and were reported in a high state of readiness to invade Cyprus to protect the Turks who reside there. Demands were made that the 650 Greek Army Officers who command the Cyprus National Guard which overtook the President, be removed immediately. Turkey is very much concerned for the future of the Turkish minority on the island amid signs that leaders of the coup favor the union of Cyprus and Greece. Immediately after landing in Great Britain, Archbishop Makarios met with Prime Minister Harold Wilson and then will come to this country for an address before

the United Nations.

In speaking of Prime Minister Harold Wilson, the Social Secretary at the British Embassy really has his problems when this Prime Minister comes to this country for conferences with our officials. It seems that Mr. Wilson always brings his wife and in addition, brings his mistress, to stay at the British Embassy and the Social Secretary is under great strain and stress each visit because he wants to please the Prime Minister and in arranging for the sleeping quarters, I understand he has his problems. Of course, a master bedroom is set aside for the Prime Minister and Mrs. Wilson and a bedroom comparable in size and close enough, but not too close is set aside for the mistress. The Social Secretary has explained confidentially to some of his close friends that he does not want the mistress too close to the room occupied by Mr. Wilson, but close enough so that the Prime Minister will not have to travel too far.

We have before the House now a strip mining bill. This is one of the important pieces of legislation that will come before the 93rd Congress. Large coal interests have just about gutted a number of counties



in Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Iowa. Shaft mining is not too bad but the stripping where the strip mine provisions concerning restoration of the land are not complied with is terrible. A number of states have strip mining laws such as Kentucky has, but it just so happens that the Governors do not enforce the provisions of the law. I intend to vote for a strip mining bill and after some 100 amendments which will be offered today and Monday of next week, a roll call vote will be requested. I have some strip mining in the Second Congressional District but not nearly as much as I had when I represented Webster, Hopkins, Muhlenberg and Henderson Counties. Muhlenberg County is just about destroyed.

July 19, 1974

One of the famous characters in baseball during this Century was Dizzy Dean who played for years with the St. Louis Cardinals. He was a free spirit and had a fast ball. His hometown twang and quick wit won him a place in baseball's Hall of Fame and in the hearts of millions of Americans. He died last week at the age of 63. While pitching for the St. Louis Cardinals with his

brother Paul, he always was quoted as saying "me and Paul is all the St. Louis Cardinals need". After completing his baseball career, he was a radio announcer and his reporting of games made English teachers cringe all over this country because a man never slid into base, according to Dizzy Dean, he slud into the base. Further, he never threw a ball because whoever was pitching when Dean announced the game, the pitcher threwed the ball. He was quite a character and loved by everyone that ever saw him pitch.

Government statistics issued showed a continued decline in the economy's production indicating that we may be in a recession. The economists today are unable to tell us whether or not this is the situation. The Commerce Department reported that real gross national production declined at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 1.2% in the April-June quarter. This followed a 7% drop in the January-March quarter.

At this time, the seven senior democrats on the House Judiciary Committee are circulating seven proposed articles of impeachment against President Nixon, any one of which they contend warrants impeachment and trial for removal from office. The

list is wide ranging, including within its seven articles, obstruction of justice, conspiracy, misuse of federal funds and agencies, abuse of power, tax fraud, bribery, contempt of Congress, illegally revealing federal grand jury information, interference with citizen's civil rights and lying to the American people. These proposed articles of impeachment have simply been proposed as such and the authors are those Members of the Judiciary Committee that are very much in favor of impeaching the President.

The situation continues serious in Cyprus and I do hope that we simply advise and spend a little money, but do not take another Vietnamese step.

On Monday, we take up in the House a resolution which authorizes the Judiciary Committee if it so desires to televise the balance of the proceedings before the Committee on the impeachment investigation that is now underway. The witnesses have now completed their testimony and the committee will start next week with its consideration of all of the evidence that it has accumulated to determine if an impeachment resolution is in order. If the House votes

to permit the committee to televise its proceedings if it so desires the hearings will be televised then up until July 30 or 31 at which time the committee will vote on the question of bringing out an impeachment resolution.

I intend to vote to permit the committee to televise the balance of the proceedings if it so desires. Of course, we will next have a resolution introduced if an impeachment resolution is brought out by the committee which would then authorize the Speaker to have the impeachment resolution televised while it is under general debate in the House. I have my doubts about this second resolution because with 435 Members and with the House Rules providing that no Member can consume more than one hour on any bill up for consideration without obtaining unanimous consent to proceed further, it would simply mean that we could spend six or seven months trying to decide as to whether or not an impeachment resolution should be approved.

I have just returned from having lunch in the main dining room in the Capitol and sitting at our table we had a number of the Members of the House who go over on Fridays and automatically sit at one or two tables

that seat six or more Members. At our table today, we had John McFall, who sits with us on Fridays and John McFall is our Majority Democratic Whip from California. We were talking about the corridor on the first floor of the Capitol Building leading to the main dining room which has been named recently "Capitol Hall" and here we have all of our beautiful murals that Allyn Cox, a right famous painter is completing. As I pointed out in my Journal previously, the United States Capitol Historical Society raised \$90,000 and employed Mr. Cox to paint the murals that are now in the process of being completed. These murals are beautiful and this \$90,000 certainly was well spent. Allyn Cox by the way, is the same gentleman who was employed in 1953 to complete the frieze in the Rotunda of the Capitol Building. Constantino Brumidi was the man responsible for much of the Capitol's interior decoration. The main frescoes of the Rotunda, the President's Room, the Brumidi Corridors and the frieze circling the Rotunda are among the many works of this famous Italian artist who came to America from Rome, Italy in the year 1852. Mr. Brumidi spent over 25 years decorating the Capitol. At his death in 1880, the Rotunda frieze was one-third finished. A man by the name

Filippo Costaggini completed another 170 feet of the 300 foot frieze by 1888. The remainder was not completed until 1953. In 1888, one of the painters fell and was killed and this brought a halt to the frieze until the year 1953 when Allyn Cox the same gentleman who is now completing Capitol Hall was employed to finish the frieze.

Allyn Cox, at the age of 11 years was taken on a tour of the Capitol Building by his mother and this was in the year 1888, Shortly after the frieze section was completed by Costaggini and right after the death of one of the painters. Cox said to his mother when she pointed out the missing section of the frieze which had not been completed that he hoped someday that he might be able to paint the balance of the frieze. In 1953, he got his wish because this was the year that he was employed to complete the frieze. Of course, Mr. Cox will be given very little credit for the frieze because Brumidi will go down in history as the man responsible for the frieze and for its beauty, but Mr. Cox certainly will be given credit for Capitol Hall which is also a section in our Capitol Building now where we have modern and new murals that are magnificent.

July 22, 1974

We go back on to the strip mining bill today and I hope that we vote on this legislation sometime tomorrow or the next day. This bill has caused quite a bit of commotion and to me, is very much in order.

Generalissimo Franco, 81 years of age, transferred the power for the operation of the government to Prince Juan Carlos last week after being rushed to the hospital with an internal hemorrhage. Under the present Spanish Constitution, the Prince will act as Chief of State for as long as Franco is ill but he will not become King and Chief of State unless Franco dies or retires. Franco designated the Prince to be his successor nearly five years ago.

Turkey's troops landed in Cyprus and the battle continues. President Makarios is now in New York City before the United Nations organization and he is calling upon Turkey to remove its troops. A number have been killed and bombing takes place by the hour.

Special Counsel, John Doar abandoned his position of neutrality yesterday and presented the case for impeachment of President Nixon in strong words before the House Judiciary Committee. Reasonable men acting

reasonably would find the President guilty according to Doar. Doar did not recommend impeachment in so many words. On a number of occasions during the past seven months of the committee's impeachment inquiry, he has maintained that his job is to guide the committee through the evidence and not to tell the Members what to do. Minority Counsel, Albert Jenner joined with Doar much to the displeasure of the majority of the Republican Members on the Judiciary Committee. Beginning today and after the House votes as to whether or not the hearings are to be televised from this point on, the Committee will proceed to consider the evidence which will culminate in a vote sometime the latter part of this week or the first of next week.

According to Doar's statement to the Committee, President Nixon personally directed an ongoing cover-up and is guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. Doar, in his statement to the Committee, stated emphatically that the President directed, made the decision to cover up Watergate shortly after the break-in on June 17, 1972 and that he has been in charge of the cover-up from that day to this time.

In speaking of Watergate, which by the way I have been doing now in this Journal for several months, I



was surprised to see the William F. Buckley, Jr. article in the Washington Star-News on Sunday calling upon Nixon for clemency for Ehrlichman. Buckley maintains that the President should have courage enough now to commute any sentence that Ehrlichman receives because he was simply carrying out Nixon's orders. I have maintained this from the beginning and have my doubts that Nixon has this kind of courage.

The proposed Articles of Impeachment now circulating before the Judiciary Committee are as follows:

"RESOLVED, that the House of Representatives does impeach Richard M. Nixon, of high crimes and misdemeanors in the conduct of his office, as set forth in the following articles, in violation of the sacred obligation of his constitutional oath, faithfully to execute the office of the President of the United States, and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, all in the manner marked by concealment and public deception, contrary to his trust as President, unmindful of the solemn duties of his high office, to the manifest injury of the confidence of the nation and the great prejudice

of the cause of law and justice,  
and subversive of constitutional  
government:

I

On May 27 and June 17, 1972,  
agents of the Committee to Re-elect  
the President, on behalf of Richard M.  
Nixon, and solely in his interest in  
preserving political power, at the  
direction of his political agents, in-  
cluding H.R. Haldeman, chief of staff  
to the President, John Mitchell, and  
Jeb Magruder, illegally committed  
burglary at the Watergate headquarters  
of the Democratic National Committee.  
This act was pursuant to authorization  
from the President's personal agents  
at the White House, including H.R.  
Haldeman, and was supervised by  
G. Gordon Liddy, an agent of the White  
House previously assigned to the Commi-  
ttee to Re-elect the President, for  
the purpose of conducting such unlaw-  
ful, covert activities, and E. Howard  
Hunt, an agent of the White House em-  
ployed by it for such purposes. Be-  
ginning almost immediately after the  
burglary, and continuing up to the  
present time, Richard M. Nixon, using  
the powers of his high office, acting  
directly and personally and through  
his personal agents at the seat of  
government and their immediate subor-  
dinates, has made it his policy to  
cover up and conceal responsibility  
for the burglary, the identity of

other participants, and the existence and scope of related unlawful covert activities. The means of implementing this policy have included the subornation of perjury, the purchase of silence of those directly participating in the burglary, the obstruction of justice, the destruction of evidence, improper and unlawful interference with the conduct of lawful investigation by the Department of Justice, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the office of the special prosecutor, improper and unlawful misuse of other agencies of the Executive branch, including the CIA, and the release of deliberately false and misleading statements from the White House and by the President. For all this Richard M. Nixon is personally and directly responsible. For his part in it he has been found by a duly constituted grand jury in the District of Columbia to have participated in a criminal conspiracy to obstruct justice, but not indicted solely by reason of his office as President, leaving the pursuit of justice no recourse but through the constitutional powers of impeachment and removal from office granted to the Congress, as set forth in Article I, Sections 2 and 3; Article II, Sections 2 and 4; Article III, Section 2.

## II

On September 3, 1971, agents of the White House, on behalf of Richard M.

Nixon and solely in the interest of obtaining information to be used by him and his agents in public defamation of Daniel Ellsberg, unlawfully committed burglary at the office of Dr. Lewis Fiélding, Ellsberg's psychiatrist in Los Angeles, California. The agents who committed this crime were part of a special unit established in the White House at the direction of Richard M. Nixon to engage in such unlawful covert activities; were supervised directly by John Ehrlichman, assistant to the President; and were financed in part by the unlawful conversion of funds raised for campaign purposes and controlled on behalf of the President by Special Counsel to the President Charles Colson. The burglary was part of a pattern of massive and persistent abuse of power for political purposes involving unlawful and unconstitutional invasion of the rights and privacy of individual citizens of the United States. The pattern has included the use and attempted use of the CIA and the Secret Service, as well as White House agents, for investigative intelligence work not authorized by law, unlawful FBI electronic surveillance of White House staff, newspaper reporters and private citizens in the political interests of the President, deliberate, concealment of records of the FBI, corrupt use of the IRS to obtain information for political purposes, improper effort by the President to influence Judge Byrne in the

criminal proceedings against Ellsberg and the release of misleading information by the White House in efforts to conceal and distort the true nature of these actions. The pattern of conduct has been at the direction of Richard M. Nixon and on his behalf, acting both personally and directly and through his personal agents at the seat of government and their immediate subordinates.

### III

In its investigation of the matters set forth in Articles I and II of this resolution, the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives has issued subpoenas to Richard M. Nixon for materials pertinent to its Watergate inquiry. These materials were necessary for a full record as is demonstrated by the record of the proceedings before the committee, and the assumption is justified that had they been exculpatory of Richard M. Nixon he would have produced them. The Judiciary Committee has also issued subpoenas to the President for materials relevant to allegations concerning:

- (1) Condonation of false testimony concerning the matter before the Senate Judiciary Committee in February and March, 1973, by former Attorney General John Mitchell and Attorney General designee Richard Kleindienst.

(2) The relationship between large political contributions from the American Milk Producers Institute (sic) and a contemporaneous political decision by the President to reverse a decision by the Secretary of Agriculture that an increase in milk price supports was not warranted by the statutory criteria.

Each of these subpoenas was duly authorized by vote of the committee, and under the resolution of the House of Representatives directing the committee to conduct the impeachment inquiry. Richard M. Nixon has refused without cause to comply with the subpoenas, in contempt of the Congress and of the cause of constitutional government, leaving the process with no recourse but through the exercise of the constitutional powers of impeachment and removal from office that are granted to the Congress.

#### IV

In his tax returns for the taxable years 1969 through 1972, Richard M. Nixon claimed deductions of approximately \$500,000 based on the claimed deed of his vice presidential papers to the United States. These claims constituted a fraud upon the United States because they were based on a deed prepared in March, 1970, but backdated to March, 1969, in order to appear

to be effective prior to the date set by statute, July, 1969, for disallowing such deductions for the future. The investigation of this fraud by the Internal Revenue Service and the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation remained incomplete and inconclusive, and a normal use of criminal process was rendered ineffective, solely by reason of the fact that Richard M. Nixon was President of the United States and that impeachment proceedings against him had been instituted, thus leaving the fair enforcement of the tax laws no recourse but through the exercise of the constitutional powers of impeachment and removal from office that are granted to the Congress of the United States."

The Arab countries are just running over with money. Saudi Arabia has decided to vest several hundred million dollars in United States Government bonds. Saudi Arabia has decided to invest also in American industry but inform us that we have nothing to fear insofar as control of industries in this country is concerned.

Samuel Garrison, III, is the Deputy GOP Counsel for the Republicans in the Judiciary Committee and

since the Minority Counsel has agreed to join with Doar in asking for impeachment, the majority of the Republicans on the Committee now say that Garrison will speak for them instead of their Minority Counsel.

Representative Ella T. Grasso was nominated for Governor at the convention held in Connecticut this weekend. Her opponents were unable to secure enough votes to bring about a primary so she is now all set for the November election. Mrs. Grasso refuses to wear stockings or to dress decently and really looks like a vagabond. She is a women's libber and I was amazed several months ago when I heard that she was being considered for Governor and have now decided definitely that the people in Connecticut are really all fouled up.

Former Senator Wayne Morse one time known as the "Tiger of the Senate" died today. He was 73 years of age and was the Democratic nominee in the senatorial campaign running against the present Senator, Bob Packwood, Republican. Senator Morse won the May primary and was campaigning for the November election when he became ill and had been hospitalized since last Wednesday.

Senator Morse, two years ago,



had won the Democratic nomination but lost to Republican Senator Mark Hatfield in the general election. If ever there was a maverick in the United States Senate it was Wayne Morse.

July 23, 1974

For years we heard the old adage that the sun never sets on the British empire. For many years one of the major countries in the world with colonies scattered throughout the world and now almost nothing left except a little island. Yesterday's newspaper announced that Iran would lend Great Britain \$1.2 billion to boost its ailing economy. The loan came less than a week after a revelation that Iran was buying a 25% interest in the Krupp Steel Firm in West Germany. The \$1.2 billion loan of earnings from Iran's oil exports is to be made in three separate yearly installments and the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey said it would be used to boost money-losing state industries. Great Britain is passing through a period when the monarchy may topple at any time and no longer can it carry its part of the load with the other major countries in the world.

The battle still continues in Cyprus and every effort is being made to bring about a cease-fire.

President Nixon's lawyer James D. St. Clair said that he advised the President in a two-hour meeting at the President's home in San Clemente that the evidence before the Judiciary Committee, in his judgment, would not sustain any of the impeachment articles and further said that the staff of the House Judiciary Committee, in preparing articles of impeachment abandoned its impartial role and assumed a position of prosecutor. In addition, the House Judiciary Committee heard the new Counsel for the Republican Members make his plea to the Committee in closed session that it should carefully consider the national interest issue of whether the need to impeach the President even if charges against him were clearly proved, outweighs the wrenching effect the process would have on the country. Garrison also urged the Committee, as a prudent prosecutor to be satisfied that the case for impeachment is compelling because if the House voted impeachment House Members would have to prosecute the case in a Senate trial.

The mayor's race is really underway in our Nation's Capital. This is the first time that a Mayor has been elected in over 100 years and

yesterday the non-voting delegate, Walter E. Fauntroy formally endorsed the candidacy of Clifford Alexander as a matter of conscience. Clifford Alexander is running against Walter E. Washington, the present appointed Mayor and up to this time, Washington has been way out in the lead. Fauntroy said that he could not support Washington because Washington simply represented the money interests and that a change was very much in order in our Nation's Capital. This makes the cheese more binding.

One of our Members in the House from Maryland, Larry Hogan, has announced his candidacy for the Office of Governor of Maryland. He is a Member of the Judiciary Committee that is now investigating impeachment charges against the President. In making his announcement for Governor today, he said unequivocally that President Nixon was guilty of committing impeachable crimes and that he should be removed from office.

Hogan is a Republican and this comes as a bombshell to a number of Members in the House who had expected Hogan to be one of the defenders of the President if an impeachment resolution was reported out by the committee.

In the House, we have the Democratic Study Group and a number of other small groups of Members who have about the same philosophy and who, from time to time hold meetings concerning legislation and matters concerning the House of Representatives. We have a group on the democratic side that calls itself the Moderate group. This group has some 60 odd members and meets about every two weeks. At their regular meeting this morning, which by the way was a breakfast meeting, they had as their Speaker, Peter Rodino, the Chairman of the Committee on Judiciary. He talked for a period of some 45 minutes on some of the evidence that has been presented before the Committee in its impeachment investigation. He surprised those in attendance at this meeting when he informed them that the Grand Jury records which were turned over to the Judiciary Committee by Mr. Jaworski contain the sworn testimony of Rose Mary Woods, the President's private secretary for many years. According to Mr. Rodino, Miss Woods testified under oath that in her office at the time she was transcribing the tapes, pursuant to the request of the President and especially that portion

that the President was considering turning over to the Grand Jury and to the Watergate Investigating Committee, the President himself used one of the machines that brought about the 18-minute erasure that has been so widely discussed in the newspapers. This is the erasure which contained a portion of the John Dean conversation with the President and the portion that experts were called in to testify as to just how such an erasure could have taken place. According to the press at the time Miss Woods first attempted to explain the erasure she said that she turned away from the machine to answer a question of the President and it was possible that she might have hit the wrong button, but not for any 18½ minute period. The momentary error in striking the button she said could have only been of a one or two-minute duration. This is what we have been reading in the paper and hearing on television but Rodino, in his speech this morning said that she testified under oath that the President himself asked her what would happen if he touched a certain button and she said an erasure would take place. She said that he touched the button that brought about the erasure of this, the most vital portion of all of the tapes concerning the payoff and the cover-up.

Rodino further stated to the moderate group that in all sincerity he had simply leaned over backwards from the very beginning, hoping that the facts would not justify an impeachment resolution. He said, time after time that he had used every system possible to develop all of the facts to give the President every benefit of the doubt but when matters such as the sworn testimony of Rose Mary Woods appeared, then it was beyond the point of no return and impeachment proceedings, of course, are very much in order and without saying what the exact outcome would be as far as his committee is concerned, clearly indicated that only one thing could be expected to take place.

July 24, 1974

I have sort of a premonition that if the Judiciary Committee brings out an impeachment resolution, I will be selected to preside over the House during the impeachment proceedings.

As I have said previously in my Journal, I started presiding during the days of my friend, Sam Rayburn. When Mr. Rayburn was Speaker, he would select either Tad Walter of Pennsylvania, Jere Cooper of Tennessee, Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, Natcher of Kentucky, Bolling of Kansas City,

Missouri or Oren Harris of Arkansas to preside when controversial bills were before the House. Before Mr. Rayburn died, he narrowed this list down to about three of us because Tad Walters and Jere Cooper died and Wilbur Mills' health was not too good and by the way, is considerably worse today.

It would be my opinion that if and when an impeachment resolution is reported out, it will take two or three weeks in the House to resolve this matter. Everything indicates today that a strong impeachment resolution will be reported out by the committee.

One of the new assistants to the President, Retired General Alexander Haig is entering the picture now in the Watergate affair. Haig's name turns up time after time when the dirtiest work is afoot. Apparently since joining the President at the time Haldeman was removed, Haig has decided that anything goes. The wiretapping to locate leaks in the White House seems to have been directly under the control of Haig pursuant to orders of the President.

Senator Edward J. Gurney, Republican of Florida announced yesterday that he will not seek reelection this year because of his

federal indictment in connection with an alleged influence-peddling scheme. A number of the state leaders in the Republican Party in Florida have threatened for days now to repudiate the 60-year old first-termer if he did not withdraw from the race.

Another colleague of mine seems to be in serious trouble. Frank Brasco of New York City was indicted in federal court, charged with conflict of interest and accepting money to have federal favors awarded and the first trial resulted in a hung jury. The day before yesterday, at the second trial, the jury found Brasco guilty and unless he seeks an appeal, will go to the federal reformatory. He has announced that he is withdrawing and is not running for re-election this year.

At this time, the House Judiciary Committee reportedly will start out considering three general charges against President Nixon when it begins public debate which is televised, beginning today. Each of the impeachment articles would include a number of specifications such as obstruction of justice in the Watergate case, abuse of power and failure to comply with subpoenas for evidence in the investi-



gation. The three proposed articles that are to be considered are from four areas the special counsel, John M. Doar singled out last week as warranting impeachment.

Supporters of President Nixon on the impeachment issue spent the night on the Capitol steps on the East Front side Monday night with some 300 of them sleeping on the steps. They will continue a three-day prayer vigil as the long debate nears its climax.

The Greek Cypriot who took over the Cyprus Presidency from the ousted Archbishop Makarios resigned yesterday and a prominent figure in the old regime was named to replace him. Named to take over the Presidency was Glafocs Clerides who was Speaker of the House before Makarios was overthrown on July 15.

There has been a change in Greece. The Greek Armed Forces announced yesterday that it was turning over power to a civilian government. We have had trouble in Greece since the King was forced to leave and Greece has been under the rigid control of the Greek Armed Forces.

The media is very much under trial in this country today and during

the past several days television officials are making every attempt to televise the Watergate matters in such a manner as to not be subject to charges of demanding impeachment and several of the leaders in the television field are instructing cameramen and program directors as to how to proceed now to build up a better image with the public. This is a subject that should have been up for discussion several years ago and certainly if any benefits are derived from this change in attitude, it will be all to the good.

By a vote of 8-0 the Supreme Court has just held that President Nixon must turn over the tapes. Justice Rehnquist disqualified due to his connection with the Nixon Administration. Now the question is what will the President do.

In coming over to my office on the little train, I had an opportunity to talk with Pete Rodino, the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He informs me that his Committee will not wait for the tapes that are to be turned over because this would take too much time and regardless of the contents of the tapes, his Committee will proceed on to a final conclusion within the next 10 days. As we used to say in the Navy, the

scuttlebutt is that the tapes will really crucify the President, but judging from the information that I have received from the Judiciary Committee and especially the Chairman, the tapes are no longer necessary. I presume that the President will, before the sun sets today, announce that he will turn over the tapes because if he refuses to turn them over, he will lose every semblance of support that he has on the Republican side in the House and the Senate. He still needs 1/3 of the Senators, plus one, to keep from being impeached and ousted from office.

Representative Lawrence J. Hogan announced today that he may drop out of the Maryland Republican Gubernatorial primary because of the protest raised by his historic announcement that he will vote for the impeachment of President Nixon. Hogan is a member of the House Judiciary Committee and after making his announcement that he would vote for an impeachment resolution, he made his official announcement for the Office of Governor. He said today that the phone in his office had been ringing off the hook with campaign workers who had been for him for years, now abandoning the ship and saying that they were going to work against him because of his announcement concerning his vote.

The only way republicans can win in a state-wide race in Maryland is to go into the general election with solid republican support and a great many democrats. Hogan very frankly now says that by virtue of his move, he doubts that he can get solid republican support in the general election. All of this has taken place within the last 50 hours and the reaction must have come as quite a surprise to Hogan.

In talking with the Members of the House today on the floor and throughout this building, as well as on the little train that takes us back and forth to the Capitol, I find that the drift toward impeachment of President Nixon is moving rapidly and that the Supreme Court verdict may cause a number of republicans to now decide to vote for an impeachment resolution.

I wonder just how President Nixon feels since four of the nine Justices on the Supreme Court are his appointees. Chief Justice Burger, Justice Blackmun and Justice Powell voted to order the President to surrender the 64 White House tape recordings. Rehnquist did not participate due to his connection with the Nixon Administration. The balance of the Members on the Supreme Court, Justices

Marshall, Stewart, White, Brennan and Douglas voted for delivery of the tapes. This decision will go down in history as a sweeping and historic check on Presidential authority. The Court, in its decision, held that the President does not have an absolute right of executive privilege which allows him to withhold the tapes. The tapes were sought by Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski. The Justices declined to decide if the Watergate Grand Jury acted properly when it named Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Watergate cover-up. This left the Grand Jury's action in tact. The 31-page Opinion of the eight Justices was authored by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and was strongly worded. The Court rejected flatly each of the President's reasons for refusing to yield the tapes. The Opinion went on to state that if the President were granted an absolute privilege to withhold the tapes, this would upset the constitutional balance of a workable government and gravely impair the role of the Courts said Chief Justice Burger in the Opinion.

President Nixon is still in San Clemente, which is designated as the Western White House and Nixon's Press

Secretary, Ronald L. Ziegler had no immediate comment on what the President's response would be. So far, Nixon has refused to say whether he would obey an adverse ruling by the Justices but he had said that he would comply with a definitive court decision. It seems to me that the Opinion handed down today is definitive enough and the President must comply. Under the Opinion, the Chief Justice said the ruling will take effect immediately and now clears the way for U.S. District Judge, John J. Sirica to conduct a hearing concerning the delivery of the tapes. The question of executive privilege was answered by the Court when it said that an assertion of this kind of doctrine cannot prevail over the fundamental demands of due process of law in the fair administration of criminal justice. The generalized assertion of privilege must yield to the demonstrated specific need for evidence in a pending criminal trial, the Chief Justice said in the Opinion.

After reading excerpts from the Opinion in the early issue of the Washington-Star News today, I am amazed at the direct unequivocal manner in which the Court acted. I believed for several days that there

might be some equivocation on the part of this Court but it seems that the Constitution and the country are prevailing and were upper most in the minds of the eight Justices in handing down this positive and correct ruling.

July 25, 1974

The hearings before the House Judiciary Committee were televised last night. Beginning at 7:45, Chairman Rodino made a preliminary statement and then recognized 11 of the Members for statements. With one or two exceptions, the Members recognized consumed the 15 minutes allotted to them and I thought generally speaking the Members on both sides handled themselves right well. Sandman of New Jersey was bitterly opposed to impeachment and emphatically stated as much in a very dramatic presentation. Railsback of Illinois, in a very emotional manner clearly indicated that he had not made up his mind and that as a Republican who is personally very fond of the President finds that the President has violated the oath of his office and a number of basic laws. Hungate of Missouri and Brooks of Texas were emphatically in favor of impeachment and so stated.

Broadcasting and televising of the hearings started again this morn-

ing at 10:00 a.m. and will continue until the Committee either votes out an Impeachment Resolution or refuses to do so. After the hearings had been underway last night for about two hours, Peter Rodino suddenly announced that it was imperative for the Committee to take a brief recess. I was watching the program on television and judging from the expression on his face and several of the other Members, I thought that it probably was the heat from the lighting system which was set up making the Committee room a ball of fire in order to have the television cameras working perfectly. After a brief recess, then the television commentators announced that some woman had called the Committee room stating that there was a bomb in the room and this was the reason for the quick recess. Everyone was requested to leave the Committee room and then a thorough and quick inspection was made with no bomb discovered. We may have more of this before the Committee concludes its hearings.

The papers today stated that the President would comply with the order of the Supreme Court and last night his attorney, Mr. St. Clair announced that the President would



comply fully by turning over to Mr. Jaworski and the federal courts the tapes requested. If this action had not been taken, of course, the President would have immediately lost what support he has left in the House and the Senate on the Republican side.

Developments during the past three days now clearly show that an impeachment resolution is certain to come out of the Committee and that the Senate in all probability will have to pass upon the impeachment of President Richard M. Nixon. For several days it appeared the vote in the House would be exceedingly close but if the Judiciary Committee divides as it now appears today with some six or seven Republican Members voting for impeachment along with the democrats, this will be a right important guideline for a number of Members in the House who are waivering from one side to the other.

President Nixon announced last night that he was disappointed with the Supreme Court's order but would repect and accept the Court's decision. He went on to say that he had instructed Mr. St. Clair, his attorney, to take whatever measures are necessary to comply with that decision in all respects.

The delivery time of the tapes is in doubt but as far as the House Judiciary Committee is concerned, this Committee does not intend to wait for the tapes and will proceed on to a final conclusion of the hearings.

After listening to the televised hearing last night I became more than ever convinced that the 38 men and women on the House Judiciary Committee, who now sit in judgement of the President of the United States of America, are a whole lot like their colleagues in the Congress, with each of the members being fully cognizant of the importance of the decision they have to make and politically alert.

The two women on the Committee are Elizabeth Holtzman, of New York, and Barbara Jordan of Houston, Texas. Both of course are lawyers and Barbara Jordan is probably the smartest black woman in the House and, if not the smartest, is at least equal to Shirley Chisholm of New York City. Barbara handles herself well and was a successful lawyer before she was elected to Congress. Elizabeth Holtzman is of course the lady that I have described from time to time in this journal who defeated Manny Cellar, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

The televised debate began only a few hours after the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the President must turn over taped conversations that he has tried to withhold from the Watergate prosecutors.

The Watergate prosecutors, according to word we received this afternoon on the Hill, intend to demand immediate surrender of at least the portion of the tape recordings that had been subpoenaed. Apparently there is no move underway at this time to turn any of the tapes over to the House Judiciary Committee even if they were received in time for delivery within the next four or five days. This is one of the reasons why the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee did not publicly answer Representative Hutchinson of Michigan and one or two other Republican Members last night when they requested that the hearings be suspended until the tapes were presented for examination by the Committee.

The good old Washington Post continues on its merry way. The two lead editorials in today's Post were: THE UNITED STATES vs RICHARD M. NIXON and IMPEACHMENT - the EX POST FACTO. I can see the Washington Post, especially the editorial page and the headlines across the front page when it reports the action of the Judiciary

Committee at the time it brings back to the House an impeachment resolution against Richard M. Nixon.

July 26, 1974

We have finally passed a Strip Mining Bill on a vote of 291 to 81. The House set environmental standards for mine operators and requires that the land be returned to its approximate original contour after stripping. The bill, as it finally passed, probably will not suit the environmentalists who wanted to end strip mining completely or the energy interests who wanted a much weaker bill. The bill that passed the Senate is a much stronger bill, for instance one provision of the Senate bill provides that there should be no strip mining on lands owned by the Federal government or on land where the Federal government owns the mineral rights. This matter of course will have to be resolved in conference and if the Senate bill is accepted it is possible that the President will veto this legislation. I voted for this bill and certainly believe that this legislation is very much in order at this time. I have seen Muhlenberg County in Kentucky and anyone in this country could understand why such legisla-

tion is necessary if it were possible to see just what has happened in this one county. At one time I represented the people in all of these counties in Southwestern Kentucky where the coal is located. There still remains some coal in the district that I represent but Muhlenberg, Logan, Hopkins, Webster, McLean, Henderson and Union counties are now in the First Congressional District by virtue of redistricting over the past 14 years.

I see by the morning paper that Senator Eagleton who, by the way, is one of the Senators that seems to be willing at all times to give federal funds away and request no additional tax from the people in the City of Washington. This of course is the position to be in to be wined and dined by all of the pressure groups in the Nation's Capitol but certainly is not in the best interests of the people in our Nation's Capitol or the people of our country. We passed a Home Rule Bill which authorizes a federal payment of \$230 million a year. We appropriated nearly all of this amount in our bill for fiscal year 1975 because we sincerely believed that the services and programs necessary in our city at this time demanded a higher federal payment. With a budget now over \$1,100,000,000 and with some \$650 million

of this amount being federal funds, the city certainly should be able to get along. A move has been under way for several weeks to give a 16 percent pay increase to the police, firemen, and teachers and this would entail an additional cost of \$32.2 million. We set aside in the budget for fiscal year 1975 the sum of \$18 million to be used for salary increases. This was based on an increase of 10 percent and is more than reasonable at this time. The "do-gooders" started out and now Senator Eagleton, the Chairman of the District of Columbia Committee in the Senate, wants to pass a special one-shot federal payment in the amount of \$14.2 million to help pay for the salary increases. This man apparently believes that all you have to do is to start up the printing presses and print more money. This would be an additional federal payment and certainly should not be approved at this time. The city sent us a budget with no tax increases because this is the first year that the Mayor and the City Council are elected by the people under the Home Rule Bill. After the submission of the budget article after article appeared in the local papers bragging on the Mayor and the City Council for their adroitness in asking for more federal money

but no increases in taxes for the people in the District of Columbia. A small tax increase would have placed Congress in a position of being willing to appropriate more money but this is not the system that the District of Columbia wants to use. An article appeared in today's Washington Post concerning this matter and the title of it is: "Mayor Backs Pay After Fund Pledge". The article is as follows:

Mayor Walter E. Washington switched his position yesterday and endorsed a \$32.2 million pay increase for D. C. police, firemen and teachers after obtaining assurances of a federal subsidy to help pay for the salary package.

Senate District Committee Chairman Thomas F. Eagleton (D.Mo.) hearing an appeal from the Mayor for financial help, promised to move for a special federal payment to the city of approximately \$14.2 million to help pay the salary increases.

The mayor earlier had proposed a 10 percent pay boost for the police, firemen and teachers. However, a bill approved by the House District Committee would give police and firemen a 16 percent Pay increase retroactive to July 1. The same bill would give the teachers a 10 percent

raise on September 1 and another 3 percent on January 1.

The House Committee, however, did not act to give the city revenue to finance the pay increases it approved. They would cost \$32.2 million a year. The city government has budgeted \$18 million for the increases.

"We're in a \$14 million plus shortfall. I'm willing to move from a position of 10 percent increases with some help," the mayor told Eagleton at a Senate Committee hearing on the pay measure.

The mayor said he was "left in a box" by the House committee "acting on one side (pay) and leaving me holding the bag on the other side (revenue)."

"I'm prepared to support the increases with some help from Congress," stated the mayor.

"The city is in a position to do only so much," the mayor explained. We have already tightened our belts. As you are well aware, our tax rates are already at about the same level and even above those of the surrounding jurisdictions."



"I share your position," responded Eagleton. "You'd like to go for the pay increases but as mayor you can't bankrupt the city."

Eagleton said he is confident the Senate and House will authorize a special subsidy to help pay for the salary increases. He also said he is confident the Senate will vote to appropriate the subsidy. "I can't speak for the House Appropriations Committee," he said.

Rep. William H. Natcher (D-Ky), chairman of the House DC Appropriations Subcommittee, was not available for comment on the matter.

Starting pay for DC police and firemen now is \$10,000 a year, lowest in the metropolitan area. Arlington now has the highest starting pay - \$11,454. The pending bill would make the starting DC pay \$11,600, highest in the area.

Starting teacher pay in DC is now \$8,770, for those with bachelor degrees. This was the highest starting teacher pay in the metropolitan area for the school year that just ended. The pay bill would start teachers in DC with bachelor degrees at \$9,347 a year on September 1 and increased that to \$9,440 January 1.

The special subsidy would be in addition to the city's regular federal payment now authorized at \$230 million a year. The regular federal payment is designed to compensate the city for being the national capital with much government property that yields no real estate tax revenue.

The House has voted to appropriate \$221.1 million of the authorized federal payment. The Senate has not yet acted on a DC Appropriations Bill.

- 30 -

-WASHINGTON POST  
July 26, 1974

The Supreme Court yesterday barred the busing of students between cities and suburbs to achieve school desegregation except in the rarest of cases. The court voted 5-4 against the crossing of district lines to bring about racial balance. Under this decision busing is prohibited except in the cases where children are to go from the city to the county, or from one neighboring district across boundary lines between a city and its suburbs or the county. The decision was handed down in the Detroit school case where the Detroit area and city school have 64 percent black children and the suburban schools are 90 percent white.

Televised hearing begin again at 11:00 before the Judiciary Committee. The Committee will begin this morning considering impeachment under a resolution presented to the committee which contains two impeachment articles. The articles are as follows:

#### ARTICLE I

In his conduct of the office of President, Richard M. Nixon, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of the President and to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has prevented, obstructed and impeded the administration of justice in that:

On June 17, 1972, and prior thereto, agents of the Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP) committed illegal entry of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in Washington for the purpose of securing political intelligence. Subsequent thereto, Richard M. Nixon, using the powers of his high office, has made it his continuing policy to act, and in furtherance of that policy, did act, directly and personally and through

his close subordinates and agents to delay, impede, and obstruct the investigation of such illegal entry; to cover up and to conceal the identity of those responsible; and, to cover up and to conceal the existence and scope of related unlawful covert activities.

The means used to implement this policy have included one or more of the following or others:

(1) Making false or misleading statements to lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the government of the United States or in duly instituted judicial proceedings.

(2) Approving, condoning, acquiescing in, and counseling witnesses to give false or misleading statements to investigative officers or false or misleading testimony in duly instituted judicial and congressional proceedings.

(3) Interfering with the conduct of investigations by the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Water-gate Special Prosecution Force.

(4) Approving and concealing the payment of money for the purpose of obtaining the silence of participants in the illegal entry into the headquarters of the DNC and other illegal activities.

(5) Endeavoring to misuse the Cen-

tral Intelligence Agency (CIA)

(6) Suppressing, withholding and concealing relevant and material evidence.

(7) Endeavoring to cause prospective defendants and persons duly tried and convicted, to expect favored treatment in return for their silence or false testimony.

(8) Disseminating information received from officers of the United States Department of Justice to subjects of the investigations for the purpose of aiding and assisting their avoidance of criminal liability.

(9) Making false or misleading public statements in his capacity as President for the purpose of deceiving the people of the United States into believing that a thorough and complete investigation had been conducted into the allegations of misconduct at the White House and the CRP and that there was no involvement of personnel from the White House or the CRP in such misconduct.

All of this has been carried on by Richard M. Nixon in a manner contrary to his trust as President, to the manifest injury of the confidence of the nation and to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice, and to the subversion of constitutional government.

WHEREFORE, Richard M. Nixon by

such conduct warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

## ARTICLE II

In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, contrary to his oath faithfully to execute the office and to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has abused the powers vested in him as President by one or more of the following, either directly or through his subordinates or agents:

(1) He has used the executive power to authorize illegal surveillance and investigations of individuals by the FBI, the Secret Service, and agents of the office of the President and the use and dissemination of information obtained thereby in violation of the constitutional rights of citizens.

(2) He has used the executive power to unlawfully establish a special investigative unit within the White House to engage in unlawful covert activities. This special investigative unit was supervised by one of the presidential assistant's and was financed in part by the unlawful conversion of funds raised for campaign

purposes and controlled on behalf of Richard M. Nixon by one of his assistants. On September 3, 1971, agents of the special investigative unit, in order to obtain information to be used by Richard M. Nixon and his subordinates in public defamation of Daniel Ellsberg, unlawfully committed burglary at the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Ellsberg's psychiatrist, in the State of California.

(3) He has endeavored to use the executive power to obtain confidential tax return information from the Internal Revenue Service and to cause tax investigation to be initiated and conducted in a discriminatory manner.

(4) He has endeavored to use the executive power to interfere with the proper administration of the FBI.

(A) By directing that the FBI not maintain regular indices of electronic surveillance records of individuals who were wire-tapped pursuant to his authorization and that such records of this surveillance as were kept be removed from the FBI and concealed at the White House to prevent revelation of the electronic surveillance.

(B) By pursuing a policy of concealing the activities of those involved in the illegal entry into the headquarters of the DNC pursuant to

which policy certain documents were delivered to the acting director of the FBI contrary to normal FBI procedures and the acting director instructed to conceal these documents.

By obstructing and impeding, and causing his subordinates to obstruct and impede pursuant to his policy, the investigation by the FBI, of the illegal entry into the headquarters of the DNC and related matters.

(5) He has endeavored to use the executive power to interfere with the conduct of Justice Department investigations of the illegal entry into the headquarters of the DNC and related matters through misrepresentations, concealment of information, and other means, including the removal from office of the first Watergate special prosecutor; by revealing information he obtained from the Justice Department by virtue of his official position to targets of the investigation to enable them to prepare their testimony and tactics; by directing that targets of the investigation be assured that they might receive executive clemency if they continued to withhold certain information or testimony; by instructing his official subordinates to testify untruthfully or incompletely; and by commanding and



furthering a policy of concealment.

(6) He has used the executive power to induce the CIA to provide assistance for unlawful covert activities for his political benefit and to impede and delay the FBI investigation of the illegal entry into the headquarters of the DNC.

(7) He has used the executive power to impede lawful inquiries into the conduct of his office by suppressing, withholding, and concealing evidence relevant to duly authorized investigations; by furnishing documents and things to agencies of the executive branch and committees of Congress in a manner calculated to mislead; by publicly releasing edited transcripts of tape recordings instead of complying with the subpoenas of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives; by making false and deceptive statements to the American people regarding his knowledge and actions concerning matters under investigation; and by attempting personally and through his agents to undermine the legitimacy of these inquiries in the eyes of the American people.

(8) He has failed without lawful cause or excuse to produce information and materials as directed by duly authorized subpoenas issued by the House Judiciary Committee on April 11, 1974, May 15, 1974, May 30,

1974 and June 24, 1974, and willfully disobeyed such subpoenas. These subpoenas were issued under the authority of the House of Representatives, in order to assist its investigation into whether sufficient grounds exist for the impeachment of Richard M. Nixon. In refusing to produce them, he has acted in contempt of the House of Representatives and in defiance of the power of impeachment, vested solely in the House of Representatives.

All of this has been carried on by Richard M. Nixon in a manner contrary to his trust as President, to the manifest injury of the confidence of the nation and to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice, and to the subversion of constitutional government.

July 29, 1974

The House Judiciary Committee voted 27-11 Saturday night to ask the House to impeach President Nixon on a charge of obstruction of justice in the Watergate case. In a bipartisan vote, the Committee recommended that the 37th President be impeached. Six Republicans joined the 21 Democrats on the Committee in adopting one Article of Impeachment containing nine specific allegations of wrongdoing by Nixon.

The Committee then adjourned until Monday when Article II will be considered. Immediately after the vote on Article I, the Chairman ordered that Article I be immediately presented to the House of Representatives for action. This means that regardless of the action of the Committee from now on, the House has before it the impeachment of Richard M. Nixon.

The text of the first Article of Impeachment is as follows:

"ARTICLE I

In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has prevented, obstructed, and impeded the administration of justice, in that:

On June 17, 1972, and prior thereto, agents of the Committee for the Re-election of the President committed unlawful entry of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in Washington, District of Columbia, for the purpose of securing political in-

telligence. Subsequent thereto, Richard M. Nixon, using the powers of his high office, engaged, personally and through his subordinates and agents, in a course of conduct or plan designed to delay, impede, and obstruct the investigation of such unlawful entry; to cover up, conceal and protect those responsible, and to conceal the existence and scope of other unlawful covert activities.

The means used to implement this course of conduct or plan included one or more of the following:

1. Making or causing to be made false or misleading statements to lawfully authorized investigative officers and employes of the United States;
2. Withholding relevant and material evidence or information from lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States;
3. Approving, condoning, acquiescing in, and counseling witnesses with respect to the giving on false or misleading statements to lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States and false or misleading testimony in duly instituted judicial and congressional proceedings.

4. Interfering or endeavoring to interfere with the conduct of investigations by the Department of Justice of the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force, and Congressional committees;

5. Approving, condoning, and acquiescing in, the surreptitious payment of substantial sums of money for the purpose of obtaining the silence or influencing the testimony of witnesses, potential witnesses or individuals who participated in such unlawful entry and other illegal activities;

6. Endeavoring to misuse the Central Intelligence Agency, an agency of the United States;

7. Disseminating information received from officers of the Department of Justice of the United States to subjects of investigations conducted by lawfully authorized investigative officers and employes of the United States, for the purpose of aiding and assisting such subjects in their attempts to avoid criminal liability;

8. Making false or misleading public statements for the purpose of deceiving the people of the United States into believing that a thorough and complete investigation had been

conducted with respect to allegations of misconduct on the part of personnel of the executive branch of the United States and personnel of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, and that there was no involvement of such personnel in such misconduct; or

9. Endeavoring to cause prospective defendants, and individuals duly tried and convicted, to expect favored treatment and consideration in return for their silence or false testimony, or rewarding individuals for their silence or false testimony.

In all of this, Richard M. Nixon has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office."

On Thursday night, President Nixon made a speech on the economy from his San Clemente, California home and you could tell clearly from his speech that the Administration is completely out of ideas concerning inflation and his request that the American people stop buying and start

saving and his budget be reduced are simply the same old ideas. Inflation is serious today and unless something is done, will become more serious.

The newspapers are now calling upon Jerry Ford to stay out of the Watergate affair and stop attempting to defend Nixon. Certainly, if anyone needs a friend, it is the President but the media is calling upon Ford to keep his own counsel on Watergate, his eyes and ears open and his mouth shut.

All 21 Democrats voted for the impeachment article and they were joined by Railsback, Fish, Cohen, Hogan, Butler and Froehlich, six of the Republican Members.

House Minority Leader, John J. Rhodes of Arizona suggested yesterday that President Nixon has only one chance of avoiding impeachment and that is for him to take his case to the people on television. This suggestion was made following the prediction by House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill, House Deputy Whip John Brademas, and Senate Majority Whip Robert C. Byrd that the House would vote for impeachment. O'Neill is predicting a 60 majority vote in the House and Senator Mansfield, who has flitted back and forth for months now on this issue, running to and from the

Capitol and the White House finally said this weekend that it now appears that the line of demarcation had passed and that the Senate should proceed immediately to make plans for an impeachment trial. He said that he would meet with Senate Minority Leader Scott of Pennsylvania today to begin formulating plans for the trial. Rhodes said yesterday that he would take his first formal headcount of the House Republicans on impeachment this week, but he conceded that Saturday's 27 to 11 Judiciary Committee vote for the first count of impeachment in which six Republicans joined with 21 Democrats is certainly going to have some affect on the balance of the Republicans in the House. The question is, according to Rhodes, of just how much affect this will have.

July 30, 1974

Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke was found guilty here in Washington of perjury. He was one of the Nixon leaders in making a deal with ITT for campaign contributions with the considerations being location of the Republican National Nominating Convention at a certain site in California. Reinecke denied emphatically that he had perjured himself and was confident that he would be acquitted. He will appeal his case and the odds seem to be that



he will have to serve a sentence in one of the federal reformatories. This is either 22 or 23 convictions now resulting from the Watergate affair and yesterday former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally was indicted here in Washington by a Watergate Federal Grand Jury on charges of bribery, conspiracy and lying to a grand jury. The indictment charges that Connally illegally accepted two sums of \$5,000 in cash from a former lawyer, Jake Jacobsen of the nation's largest milk producing co-operative in 1971 in exchange for attempting to increase the federal milk price support payments. The indictment names Connally in two counts of accepting a bribe, one of conspiracy and another of giving false testimony to a grand jury and committing perjury. You can just imagine how this man's family feels about him now. A man who is a millionaire and former Governor of Texas. He was riding in the car with President Kennedy when President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas and received several gunshot wounds himself. About a year ago, he joined forces with Nixon and changed his party affiliation from Democrat to Republican, hoping to be the Republican nominee for President in 1976. Now, he is under indictment and will probably be found guilty.

Late last night, Article II was adopted by the House Judiciary Committee

and the vote was 28 to 10. Seven Republicans joined with 21 Democrats in voting out this impeachment article. Representative Robert McClory of Illinois who had been waivering for days voted with the Democrats and this brought about the total of 28 for the Impeachment Resolution.

It seems that President Nixon is pinning his hope on Senator Barry Goldwater in the Senate and the House Members from the deep south. The White House is slowly developing an anti-impeachment strategy that relies heavily on the south and Senator Goldwater who so far has been one of Nixon's defenders. The name of the game, according to sources from the White House is getting a decision after the November election when Republicans in the Senate will then be free to vote as they please. The Senators up for re-election would be right well pleased if the vote followed the November election.

The Article adopted last night by the House is the abuse of power article and is as follows:

"Using the powers of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and

defend the Constitution of the United States, and in disregard of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has repeatedly engaged in conduct violating the constitutional rights of citizens, impairing the due and proper administration of justice and the conduct of lawful inquiries, or contravening the laws governing agencies of the executive branch and the purposes of these agencies.

This conduct has included one or more of the following:

1. He has, acting personally and through his subordinates and agents, endeavored to obtain from the Internal Revenue Service, in violation of the constitutional rights of citizens, confidential information contained in income tax returns for purposes not authorized by law, and to cause, in violation of the constitutional rights of citizens, income tax audits or other income tax investigations to be initiated or conducted in a discriminatory manner.

2. He misused the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service, and other executive personnel, in violation or disregard of the constitutional rights of citizens, by directing, or authorizing such agencies or per-

sonnel to conduct or continue electronic surveillance or other investigations for purposes unrelated to national security, the enforcement of laws, or any other lawful function of his office; and he did direct the concealment of certain records made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of electronic surveillance.

3. He has, acting personally and through his subordinates and agents, in violation or disregard of the constitutional rights of citizens, authorized and permitted to be maintained a secret investigative unit within the office of the President, financed in part with money derived from campaign contributions which unlawfully utilized the resources of the Central Intelligence Agency, engaged in covert and unlawful activities, and attempted to prejudice the constitutional rights of an accused to a fair trial.

4. He has failed to take care that the laws were faithfully executed by failing to act when he knew or had reason to know that his close subordinates endeavored to impede and frustrate lawful inquiries by duly constituted executive, judicial, and legislative entities concerning the unlawful entry into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee, and concerning other matters.

5. In disregard of the rule of law, he knowingly misused the executive power by interfering with agencies of the executive branch, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Criminal Division, and the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force, of the Department of Justice, and the Central Intelligence Agency, in violation of his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

In all of this, Richard M. Nixon has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office."

The Judiciary Committee will meet again today and consider a third article which charges Mr. Nixon with contempt of Congress for defying committee subpoenas seeking material needed for the inquiry. Some Members of the Committee do not feel that contempt rises to the level of an impeachable offense. Others feel strongly that it must be included but my guess is this will be a right close vote on this particular article. Following the hearings on Article III, another proposed Article which charges

the President with tax evasion and unconstitutionally receiving emoluments beyond his salary from federal spending on his private homes does not appear to have much support. The Article will be considered and its sponsors hope that a majority of the Committee will accept it. A fifth Article accusing the President of misleading Congress and the country with false statements about secret bombing of Cambodia probably will not be adopted.

There is a move underway in the House at this time to have the impeachment proceedings televised in the House. Representative Sidney R. Yates (D-Ill.) and a Member of the Committee on Appropriations has co-sponsors of his Resolution which provides for televising of the hearings from 29 states and Guam. Some 103 Members are co-sponsors of H. Res. 802 which provides for the televising of the general debate and the procedure in the House. The Chairman of the Rules Committee, Representative Ray Madden of Gary, Indiana, who by the way is 82 years of age and one of my good friends informed the sponsors of this Resolution that they would receive a hearing before the Rules Committee this week.

We had quite a battle in the House yesterday over five District of Columbia bills. The legislative Committee on the District of Columbia brought

in bills which provided for a 6% additional pay increase for policemen, firemen and teachers. Another bill provided for consolidation of the three colleges, Federal City College, Washington Technical Institute and the District of Columbia Teachers College into one University which will be known as the University of the District of Columbia. Two minor bills providing for amendments to existing laws pertaining to self-government and mental and dental manpower act extensions were also presented. A bill providing for a District of Columbia Community Development and Finance Corporation which would borrow \$5 million from the city to start and then have the right to issue \$75 million in bonds was proposed. In our regular bill for fiscal year 1975, we included \$18 million for a 10% increase in salaries for firemen, teachers and policemen and yesterday, after quite a bloody battle, succeeded in defeating proposals for additional federal payment for a 6% additional increase which then would have made a total of \$32,200,000 for the increases. The city fathers sent us a political budget this year with no increases of taxes of any nature but demands for many additional services to be funded by the federal government. I succeeded in amending the University Act to bring it back

under the Appropriations Committee for re-programming and appropriation of funds. In addition, an amendment was offered and adopted which provided if the 6% increase additional should be paid for salaries, the District of Columbia would have to increase taxes. The heat was so terrific that the Community Development and Finance Corporation Act was withdrawn.

July 31, 1974

The House Judiciary Committee completed its televised hearings late last night after refusing to accept Articles IV and V. Article IV pertained to the President's order to bomb Cambodia and Article 5 was drafted to impeach on the ground that the President had fraudulently handled his income tax returns. By taking a little over \$500,000 deduction for his Vice Presidential papers, several Members of the Committee maintained that failure to execute the deed of gift and the transaction generally was fraudulent. The Committee, I think, was wise in turning down this Article as well as Article IV.

Article III was adopted by the Committee and will be presented to the House for action. This Article is as follows:



"In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, contrary to his oath faithfully to execute the office of president of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has failed without lawful cause or excuse to produce papers and things as directed by duly authorized subpoenas issued by the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives on April 11, 1974, May 15, 1974, May 30, 1974, and June 24, 1974, and willfully disobeyed such subpoenas.

"The subpoenaed papers and things were deemed necessary by the committee in order to resolve by direct evidence fundamental, factual questions relating to presidential direction, knowledge or approval of actions demonstrated by other evidence to be substantial grounds for impeachment of the president.

"In refusing to produce these papers and things, Richard M. Nixon, substituting his judgment as to what materials were necessary for the inquiry, interposed the powers of the presidency against the lawful subpoenas of the House of Representatives,

thereby assuming to himself functions and judgments necessary to the exercise of the sole power of impeachment vested by the Constitution in the House of Representatives.'

In all of this, Richard M. Nixon has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as president and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice, and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office."

The House Republicans are making every effort to formulate a plan whereby the impeachment vote in the House can be held without extended debate and would be considered simply as a vehicle to get the impeachment charges to the Senate. No general debate of any time would be spent as far as the House is concerned and the President and his Administration would simply say that they expected the House to adopt an impeachment resolution and in order to get on with the business, the vote would be considered automatic and then the trial could start in the Senate. Under this plan, the President would publicly urge the House to forego debate on the merits

of the impeachment case against him so that he could seek a speedy resolution of the issue in the Senate. The advantage to the President according to some of the Republican proponents of the plan, would be that impeachment would reach the Senate without the added impetus of an overwhelming House vote against the President which could take place whereby placing the Senators in a position of voting to impeach by virtue of the political wave that such a vote would bring about. This strategy if adopted, would also eliminate televised debate on the House floor that might accelerate the trend in the public opinion polls in favor of impeachment and removal of the President from office. The televised hearings of the House Judiciary Committee's work cleared up a great many matters in the minds of many people in this country and was so conducted as to present to the American people the importance of operating under the Constitution and making every effort to solve the impeachment problem finally so that we can move on in this country with the many problems that are confronting us today.

This new House Republican strategy of course, would permit the Republicans to cast a vote that would not be politically damaging and would simply get them off the hook. So far, there is

no sign of any movement at the White House to accept such a strategy and my guess is that the President will refuse to go along.

Going back to the John Connally indictment, it is right distressing to think that a man of his stature would be charged with a crime which is as crude as it can be. Acceptance of \$10,000 for his influence in obtaining higher prices for milk. According to a great many people in this country, Connally is qualified for the highest office in the land and now he is trapped in the Watergate quicksand that has trapped so many of the President's other associates. John Connally was considered a strong governor of Texas and a right good Secretary of the Navy under President Kennedy and also was the protege and political confidant of President Johnson. While serving as Secretary of the Treasury under President Nixon, he handled himself right well and at one time while serving in this capacity had more clout in the Nixon Administration than anyone else. I have often heard Connally described as a man who really thought he probably should be President of the United States someday. Now he stands charged with five serious charges and regardless of the outcome of the trial in federal court, will be tainted for the balance of his life.

Connally can be described probably as the biggest fish hooked so far by Watergate investigators. Three other Cabinet Officers, the President's two top aides in the White House and the former Vice President were brought down with corruption charges relating directly to Watergate but none of these men had the political stature equal to Connally's. We have had Mitchell, Stans, Kleindienst, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Colson and so on, with the name Connally now added to the list.

I was glad that the Judiciary Committee completed its hearings last night and will now proceed to prepare the Impeachment Resolution and all of the reports that will be submitted to the House. A drive will now start with letters and telegrams coming in to the Members of Congress. Some will be sincere and some will be in the other category.

The political pot continues to boil in Kentucky and news articles during the past week relate the general accounting story with its findings of failure to comply with the election campaign laws in the 1972 campaign. The \$200,000 interest free loan made to help Senator Walter "Dee" Huddleston and failure to report certain contributions are all set forth

in the general accounting report that was turned over to the Department of Justice for action.

The House of Representatives is a right noisy body. For years it has almost fulfilled the title of one of the books that have recently been written entitled "A House Out of Order". With 435 men and women and at times most of them are on the floor, with some talking and some walking around it is right difficult to hear the Speaker when you are right close to him on the floor and those in the gallery simply cannot hear what is going on. Today we had up a right controversial conference report shortly after the noon hour and with Watergate being on the minds of most of the Members, there were a great many of them talking, some standing and some seated and all of a sudden from the gallery in the rear of the Chamber, a man jumped up and yelled as loud as he could, "Hey--if you want to talk, get out of here, because I'm trying to listen". Quiet immediately prevailed throughout the Chamber and the Doorkeeper rushed down and removed the offender. You could tell by the way his feet operated in going up the steps that he had had either one or two too many but at least, drunk or sober, he was expressing the sentiments of a lot of people who sit in the gallery from time to time trying

to hear what is going on in the House of Representatives. Some of the Members kid me quite a bit when I preside due to the fact that I attempt to maintain order. I have always believed that our visitors in the gallery should have a right to hear what is going on on the House floor and this man apparently just simply became completely exasperated and before he thought, expressed himself. The Speaker did not become alarmed or unduly excited about the occasion and while the offender was being ejected, rapped the gavel and said "You know, I am inclined to agree with our visitor".

I had my lunch in the main dining room today with some visitors from Kentucky. Ordinarily, unless I have visitors or there is some special reason, I eat in the Members private dining room where we sit around and laugh and talk and tell big stories. Today, I observed at the big round table where the Republicans sit at the rear of the room, my old friend, Mel Laird, and every seat around the table was occupied. I understand that Mel Laird is working overtime to bring about a solution of the Watergate affair whereby Nixon will be out and Jerry Ford will be in. For a number of years, Mel Laird, Jerry Ford, Glen Lipscomb and Alan Smith, along with a number of other Republican Members in the House were in a little club known

as the Chowder Club. They had all been friends for years and were real close. The Chowder Club does not meet anymore apparently and there seems to be dissension among the Members. Mel Laird maneuvered Jerry Ford into the Vice Presidency and then he and Nixon disagreed over Mel Laird's statements to his friends in the House that they should not go too far out on the limb with Agnew and later on made the same admonition as to Nixon. The President became very much incensed over Laird's attitude and Laird, after resigning as Secretary of Defense, spent a short time in the White House as one of the advisors and then said that it was impossible for him to see the President so it was time for him to leave the White House. Laird and others are making every effort possible to save as many Republican Members in the House as they can and are trying to develop some plan whereby the vote for impeachment in the House insofar as the Republican Members are concerned will not be a life and death matter. As to what takes place in the Senate, Laird and his crowd could care less.

August 1, 1974

Former Presidential Assistant

John D. Ehrlichman was sentenced yes-



terday to 20 months to 5 years in prison for his part in the Ellsberg break-in. U.S. District Judge Gerhard A. Gesell refused Ehrlichman's plea of innocence in spite of the jury's guilty verdict on July 12 and in sentencing him said that the Constitution was ignored and the rights of the citizens in this country were abused. He further said that Ehrlichman was guilty of falsehood and concealment and that his acts could not be defended. This is either 23 or 24 and it seems that everyone of those indicted and tried in the District of Columbia will be found guilty.

The rumor has been floating around all week now that President Nixon is considering a plan to concede impeachment by the House and go directly to a trial in the Senate has fallen like a lead balloon in the House. Under no circumstances would the House permit such action and President Nixon must now devise another plan to help bail him out. Unless the President makes some move between now and Saturday of this week, he will be impeached without any question. The Republican Members in the House and the Senate are waiting to see what he does and unless he comes up with some sort of strategy that will place a great many of them in a position where

they will not be crucified, he will lose their support completely. This will automatically bring him to a point where he will be impeached or else be forced to resign.

Gerald Ford, the man who many Americans now expect will be the next President of the United States is out traveling throughout the country speaking at fund raising dinners and campaigning for Republican candidates for re-election. His absence from Washington has been right noticeable but when confronted with this matter simply says that all of his engagements were made prior to the action of the House Judiciary Committee and that he has other engagements that will keep him out of Washington for about 22 days during the time the House is considering the Impeachment Resolution. Jerry Ford has been advised time after time by his close friends to keep his mouth shut now and to sit on the sidelines during this critical period. If he were in Washington during the Impeachment Resolution consideration by the House, of course, Nixon would demand that he contact all of the Republican Members in the House and make every effort to see that they stay in line. The Vice President's standing with the House Republicans is good and might be of some service to the President at this time.

Several days ago Jerry Ford signed first-day cover envelopes for me that I will later pass along to my little granddaughter and my grandsons.

The leader of the dairy lobbies 1971 drive for higher federal milk price supports pleaded guilty yesterday here in Washington to conspiring to pay off the former Secretary of the Treasury, John B. Connally for his help in securing higher milk prices. Harold S. Nelson former General Manager of Associated Milk Producers, Inc. admitted authorizing a \$10,000 bribe for Connally in 1971 from the giant co-ops corporate funds. In appearing before U.S. District Court Chief Judge, George L. Hart, Jr., Nelson also pleaded guilty to conspiring to make illegal political contributions totalling more than \$330,000 over the past six years. Over \$2 million was contributed to President Nixon's campaign fund for the 1972 election and when the President ordered higher price supports, the White House denied that this action was taken as a result of the \$2 million contribution.

Fighting in Cyprus has just about subsided and under the cease fire efforts are being made to work out some solution by the United Nations

officials that will bring about peace with Turkey and Greece and with the Greek and Turkish people who live on the Island of Cyprus.

By a vote of 323 to 83, the House yesterday adopted the Conference Report that extends the Elementary and Secondary Education legislation. The authorization is nearly \$22 billion and contains a right strong anti-bussing provision. The recent decision of the Supreme Court placed the House and Senate conferees in a position that they could finally resolve this one point which had held up agreement by the conferees for many weeks.

August 2, 1974

Our Minority Leader John Rhodes of Arizona is really in a predicament. For several weeks now, he has said that he has not made up his mind as to whether or not President Nixon should be impeached. I understand that he has political troubles back in his District in Arizona and in fact, a poll was taken recently in the State of Arizona and the majority of the people in all three Congressional Districts that were interviewed said that Mr. Nixon should be impeached. I understand that the poll clearly showed that John Rhodes' district was in favor of impeachment. As the Rep-

Republican leader in the House, he knows that if he cast his vote for impeachment this will place him in a position where regardless of the outcome in the Senate, he will have difficulty leading his party in the House. His position reminds me somewhat of a man driving an automobile at high speed and the parts start flying off of the car. John Rhodes knows that after the impeachment proceedings are over, his major duty will be to try to put the wheels back on the Republican Party. Even if President Nixon is not impeached by the Senate a majority vote for impeachment in the Senate will weaken the Republican Party to such an extent that it will take several years to build it back. John Rhodes knows that in order to be a convincing national leader of his party, casting a vote for impeachment will immediately remove all power that he has as one of those who would be responsible in building back the Party. On the other hand, Rhodes is in trouble in his District and the majority of the people in his District, which is a Republican District, are demanding that he vote for impeachment. Yesterday, he said that he would hold a press conference today and explain his position. He also said that if he decided to vote for impeachment,

he would step down as minority leader until the Watergate affair was finally settled and then he would take back over his duties as the leader. My guess is if he steps down, he will never be able to step up again. We are passing through one of the most crucial periods in the history of this country and the moves that John Rhodes makes will decide as to whether or not he can continue as one of the Republican leaders and also as to whether or not his chances of staying in Congress are good.

Yesterday, Carl Albert, our Speaker, met with a number of the leaders in the House and it was tentatively agreed that impeachment proceedings would begin in the House on August 19. The proceedings would be televised and the Rules Committee would be requested to grant a Rule setting the time for general debate at 55 hours. Tentatively it was agreed that there would be six hours on each article and then the House would vote. The Rule would be open to the extent that Motions to Strike any Article or any portion thereof would be in order, but it would not be in order to add additional Articles or additional provisions to any of the Articles to be presented to the

House by the Judiciary Committee. The Republicans are insisting that in addition to the Articles presented by the Committee that the House have an opportunity to vote on a censure motion. The Republican Leaders and some on the Republican side on the Committee on Judiciary are insisting that in addition to the Articles, that the House have the right to vote on a censure motion.

The last censure motion was in the Senate when Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin was censured. I was sitting down at the rear of the Senate Chamber when Senator Flanders offered his censure motion and listened to all of the general debate. We have had other Senators censured down through the years but so far no Presidents.

Representative Lawrence Hogan of Maryland has now announced that he will continue in his race for Governor of Maryland, notwithstanding the fact that he has been severely criticized for his stand concerning impeachment of President Nixon. Hogan announced his impeachment views several days before the House Judiciary Committee vote and as a Member of this Committee took an active part in the adoption of the Articles which are to be presented to the House.

From time to time, we have Members in the House who simply talk too much. We have a freshman Representative from Oklahoma by the name of James R. Jones who was one of the assistants in the White House during the last year that Lyndon B. Johnson was President. The Watergate Investigating Committee report shows a memorandum from Representative Jones which stated that while serving in the White House he was instrumental in having President Johnson increase the milk support price and the memorandum also shows that he was retained as a lawyer by the milk lobby after leaving the White House with his salary being \$40,000 per year. In 1972, the Congressman issued a memorandum taking credit for the Johnson approval and he now says that this was sheer puffery. Jones said he wrote it while he had influenza and was dizzy from medication. He now denies that he had any role in decisions on milk price supports. Representative Jones succeeded Page Belcher who was one of the able men in the House.

August 3, 1974

Former White House Counsel, John W. Dean, III the only man to accuse President Nixon from first hand knowledge of involvement in the Watergate cover-up was sentenced



yesterday to a prison term of one to four years for his own part in the plot. He entered a plea of guilty and since being indicted, has cooperated with the authorities. He could have received twenty months to five years and a \$10,000 fine. Before being sentenced by Judge John J. Sirica, Dean in a statement to the court said that he realized that what he did was wrong but what bothered him the most was his involvement in the corruption of government and the misuse of a high office. He said further, that he was sorry and during the last eighteen months had done everthing that he could to right the wrongs and he asked for leniency of the court.

The U.S. Court of Appeals reversed the bribery conviction of former Maryland Senator, Daniel B. Brewster and ordered that he be re-tried. This was a unanimous verdict and was based on the fact that the trial judge failed to properly instruct the jury as to the difference between a bribe and the usual legal, normal campaign contribution. I have always believed that this man did no more than any of the other Senators have done because when you accept campaign contributions, you are expected to be of assistance whenever possible.

A Presidential spokesman conceded for the first time yesterday, that President Nixon faces an uphill struggle in his battle to avoid impeachment in the House of Representatives. Deputy Press Secretary, Gerald L. Warren, who made the comment using carefully chosen words said, that if one had to make odds you would have to put the President in the role of the underdog. He also said that the contest in the House is a political struggle and history has told us that anytime you are occupied with a political situation or political struggle, you have a chance to win.

House Republicans continue their efforts to avoid an up or down vote on impeachment by promoting a proposal to censure the President for negligence and maladministration.

The Senate may already be only seven to nine votes short of the sixty-seven needed to oust President Nixon from office if the House sends over a bill of impeachment. This is the view of some of my friends in the Senate who are considered good vote counters.

August 5, 1974

The question now is what will

Mr. Nixon do. The avalanche is rapidly overtaking him and judging from comments from the White House, he is now reconciled to the fact that the House will vote an impeachment resolution.

President Nixon called his top aides, defense lawyer, and speech writers to Camp David yesterday, which indicates that some statement will be forthcoming. Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren cautioned the press that they should not speculate too much along the line that anything of great importance would result from the meeting. There are some in the House and in the Senate who still believe that the President will, at the last minute, resign, but so far I am not among this group.

For days now, the President has been in his offices in the Executive Office Building listening to the tapes which must be turned over to the Federal Court pursuant to the order of the Supreme Court. It is now rumored that unreleased White House tape recordings contain information potentially damaging to President Nixon, and that in order to save the Presidency he must immediately, according to the rumor, devise a new strategy that takes into account the contents and tone of the 64 recorded conversations. The President in reviewing

the tapes has been somewhat discouraged at what appears on the tapes that will have to be delivered. As a result, the President is now being urged by some of his assistants to adopt a new defense posture in which he would acknowledge some degree of participation in the Watergate cover-up while stressing that he had no intention of breaking the law. According to the rumor, all hell will break loose when these tapes are released.

Representative John Rhodes, the Minority Leader, was to hold a press conference today at which time he intended to state what position he would take in regard to impeachment of the President. The poll taken in Arizona shows all three Congressional Districts in favor of impeachment and Rhodes has been wavering back and forth now for several weeks. There was every indication that in his press conference today he would state that he would be in favor of impeachment but would step aside temporarily as Minority Leader since he intended to vote to impeach the President. Late last night one of Rhode's assistants announced that he was sick and would not hold the press conference today, but would indicate his position sometime later on this week or next week. There must have been much pulling and tugging from Arizona and from here in Washington. With the Minority Leader

announcing that he would vote for impeachment this would just about have destroyed the dike, and the avalanche in the House which now appears to be underway would have been considerably larger insofar as the final vote is concerned.

I sincerely believe that if the vote were held today in the House, with the developments of the last two weeks, the House would vote impeachment by at least 260 - 165.

The date of August 19 has been definitely set as the beginning date for the impeachment proceedings in the House. The odds are that the proceedings will last for at least two weeks and could go on for as many as three weeks.

The White House for weeks now, has attempted to brand the proceedings before the Judiciary Committee as politically partisan. With seven Republicans joining on one Resolution and six on the others, this certainly removes it from the partisan category. Only 10 Republicans held firm for the President on the Committee.

President Nixon has just returned from a 16 day visit to San Clemente. Since returning to Washington, he has not called in Congressional leaders as he has done in the past. He has

spent long hours listening to the tapes and on Thursday night, his old friend, Charles G. Rebozo, dropped by for a visit and he and the President have cruised up and down the Potomac River in the Presidential yacht, Sequoia, several times. Mr. Rebozo was with the President at Camp David yesterday when he called in some of his speech writers and advisors from the White House.

Everything indicates now that the President is ready to concede defeat in the House and that he will make a determined effort to obtain 34 votes in the Senate.

Speaking of voting in the Senate, if this vote does not take place until the November election, the odds I think, will be very much in favor of the President. There are several Republican Senators who are voting to impeach before the election but in my opinion would not do so after the election. For instance, Milt Young, who is an old man, is running for reelection on the Republican ticket from North Dakota. If he wins, this certainly will be his last term. Before the election I believe Senator Young would vote to impeach but after the election, win lose or draw, he would not vote to impeach his old friend, Richard Nixon.

This may be the only thing that saves the President. Some four months were required in the Johnson impeachment and I do not believe that the Senate will be able to vote prior to the November election. During the trial in the Senate, tapes will be played back, hundreds of witnesses heard and thousands of documents presented in evidence.

Some of my Republican friends believe that Nixon will ride the tiger to the end. The end now is a Senate trial and there is no way of knowing if he will ride that far.

The snowball started insofar as the President is concerned, when the Judiciary Committee approved three articles of impeachment and the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that Nixon must turn over the tapes.

Representative Latta, a member of the Judiciary Committee and also a member of the Rules Committee will make every effort to force the Rules Committee to issue a rule providing for a motion of censure and if this fails, says that he will make the fight on the adoption of the rule on nationwide television and this threat, he believes, is just enough to force the Democrats to agree to such a motion.

At this time, of the 278 Democratic Members in the House, only about two dozen southerners and a dozen others appear determined to stand by Mr. Nixon.

It seems now that the liberal block on the Republican side consisting of some 35 Members, are ready to abandon Mr. Nixon. Several of the Members who consider themselves moderates on the Republican side, such as McClory and Railsback, will also vote to impeach.

This will be a crucial period in our history. For the second time in nearly two centuries we will have an impeachment proceeding against a President. When the three Articles are presented to the House, Article II, which charges abuse of power, will probably be much easier to establish.

With all of our problems concerning Watergate, inflation becomes more serious. Instead of slowing down it is now increasing at an annual rate of about 7 percent. With wage controls gone pay, per man-hour, has been rising at an annual rate of nearly 14 percent. In addition, farm prices after declining for 4 months, suddenly leaped upward by 6 percent.

Our Vice President Jerry Ford



now says that the situation in the House has eroded significantly, and that the President may be impeached unless there is some change. For weeks now the Vice President has been making speeches saying that the House in his opinion, would not impeach but he now says that the odds have changed. In making this statement he always hastens to add that he still believes that the President is not guilty of any impeachable offense.

The Harris Poll shows a plurality of 1972 Nixon voters favoring impeachment, 49 - 43 percent. In the whole electorate the Polls show 66 percent favoring impeachment. The President now, according to some members of his staff, concedes that he faces an uphill struggle but that it is a political struggle. We hear more talk on the Hill now about resignation than we did three weeks ago.

On Wednesday of last week, Mr. St. Clair, the President's attorney, attended a meeting of the Chowder and Marching Society, the elite group of GOP conservatives in Congress, and the group that President Nixon has been a member of for many years. Mr. St. Clair was interrogated to such an extent that the meeting became a little unruly and finally,

Representative Railsback of Illinois, who is a member of the society and one of those who has voted for impeachment, had to come to the assistance of Mr. St. Clair.

The fact that the President is not confiding in anyone on the Hill to any great extent or to any of his political friends clearly indicates that he believes it would be useless to do so. The main reason why is because he has put too many people out on a limb too many times. Some of the Senators simply state that there is no friendship left in the Senate that he can call on.

From time to time I talk to my Republican friends in the House about Watergate and the present situation, and without a single exception each one of the Members that I talked to say that before we finish, if the President wanted to listen to them he would have done so earlier. So far he has listened to none of them, notwithstanding the fact that some have begged and pleaded with him to listen.

One thing that the impeachment proceedings have done is to delay a number of right important bills that should be acted upon before we finish this session of Congress. We

are meeting early and late to get all the Appropriation Bills under the wire and as much of the impending legislation out of the way as possible. Today we have 19 bills under suspension. We will meet every day this week, including Friday, the same as last week, and Friday of every week up until the time impeachment proceedings begin in the House. Friday sessions are unusual and displease the Tuesday to Thursday group of Members neighboring states.

Changing just a little from Watergate, and this seems to be about all my Journal is composed of at this time, we do have certain matters concerning the District of Columbia that have caused a little difficulty. In yesterday's Washington Star-News there appeared an editorial entitled "Home Rule: A Partnership". The editorial goes on to state that the District of Columbia Committee, and Natcher in particular who is a member of the Appropriations Committee, should agree that the Federal government in a one-shot federal payment, will take care of the additional salary increase for the police, firemen and teachers. This editorial comes as close as some others in stating the facts as they actually exist.

August 6, 1974

During our full committee meeting on Appropriations yesterday afternoon, we received word that the President would make a very important announcement at 3:30. We of course were all very much concerned about what the announcement would pertain to since the President now for days has been examining the tapes that must be released pursuant to the order of the Supreme Court. For weeks friends of mine have informed me that these particular tapes would simply be devastating as far as the President is concerned.

At 3:30 it was announced that Mr. Warren, the Assistant Press Secretary, would make an announcement at 4:00 and then at 4:00 it was announced that the statement would come sometime after that hour. Along about 4:30 Mr. Warren presented to the press a prepared statement from the President in which the President stated that the tapes to be released might convey the impression that six days after the break-in at Watergate he directed Haldeman to inform the FBI that they should discontinue their investigation because it might involve some of those connected with the Committee to Reelect the President. The President further stated that apparently this tape would conflict with

the statements that he has been making in his speeches on television and to groups around the country, but that he would take full responsibility for the differences in his previous statements and the actual conversation on the tapes should not be blamed on his attorney or anyone else.

Article I, to be presented by the Judiciary Committee, pertains to the obstruction of justice and this includes the cover-up. In other words, the President yesterday admitted that he had lied, but that he took full responsibility and that this was still not enough for impeachment. Since his statement was released, the Republicans in the House just seem to have collapsed. Several Republican Members on the Judiciary Committee who had vigorously defended the President's position during the hearings immediately announced that their position would change. I had a number of Members on that side of the aisle say to me before we adjourned last night that an impeachment resolution should be called up immediately, and without any debate the resolution should be approved. The expressions on the faces of the Republican Members in the House clearly showed their concern over the President's admission that he lied, and

has continued misrepresenting the facts since shortly after the break-in at Watergate.

Several hours before the Nixon statement, we had a statement from Senator Robert P. Griffin, the Minority Whip in the Senate. Senator Griffin demanded that the President resign.

According to the White House, the President seriously considered resigning and rejected this move on Sunday while spending the day at Camp David. The President also discussed with his aides at this meeting the possibility of letting Vice President Ford take over temporarily under the provisions of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution. According to rumor during the discussion at Camp David, Presidential Assistant, Patrick J. Buchanan and White House defense lawyer, James D. St. Clair pictured Mr. Nixon's situation as virtually unsalvageable. It seems that they now believe that the President will be impeached and removed or must resign. Before the President's statement was issued, Presidential Assistant Alexander M. Haig, Jr., the White House Chief of Staff, in talking with the White House Staff Members, informed them ahead of time that the President intended to make available to the House Judiciary Committee material

that would be extremely damaging. In other words, he was trying to tell the staff that now they had a completely new ball game.

It now appears that the bottom simply has fallen out of any effort to save President Nixon from impeachment. This is really a tidal wave and unless there is some change there will be no more than 50 votes cast against impeachment of the President, out of the 435 Members of the House. A number of Republican leaders indicated that they are now ready to vote for impeachment. Representative Charles E. Wiggins, Republican of California and a leading defender of the President on the Judiciary Committee said Mr. Nixon should resign or be impeached. Representative Wiley Mayne Republican of Iowa, also announced a shift in favor of impeachment. Representative Edward Hutchinson, Republican of Michigan, the ranking Minority Member on the Committee on Judiciary along with Representative Charles W. Sandman, Republican of New Jersey and Delbert Latta, Republican of Ohio, expressed doubts about their position in support of the President. One of the Republicans on the floor after the President's statement said that "its like a mutiny on a ship" and that "a sort of madness" has set in. The Republicans seems to be in a state of semi-shock. Wiggins said

that the President should meet immediately with the Vice-President, the Chief Justice, and the leaders of Congress and discuss the orderly transition of power from Richard Nixon to Gerald Ford.

In this morning's Washington Post which now carries a masthead on the editorial page stating that it is an independent newspaper, carried a lead editorial entitled "A Guilty Plea". This editorial is as follows:

### A Guilty Plea

President Nixon has for all practical purposes pleaded guilty. His astonishing announcement yesterday that he was prepared to release highly damaging evidence that he had withheld from the House Judiciary Committee has made his impeachment by the House, as he himself suggested, a virtual certainty. His explanation of what he described as an earlier "omission" of this evidence was not particularly persuasive. Nor did Mr. Nixon's characterization of the material itself do justice to its explosive impact on the main line of defense he has been arguing for well over a year.

For months now, the President has been assuring first the public and then the Judiciary Committee - especially those prepared to argue his case



that he had nothing to do with the Watergate cover-up, that he heard about it for the first time from John Dean on March 21, 1973, nearly a year after it began, and that he had furnished various investigators with all they needed to know about this whole affair. Some very skilled and dedicated advocates of his cause including Rep. Charles E. Wiggins of California, took him at his word. Yesterday they learned from the President himself, and from the three transcripts that were released from the White House, that once again Mr. Nixon's word with respect to Watergate was not to be relied upon. For what they new transcripts tell us is that Mr. Nixon, in three conversations with H. R. Haldeman less than a week after the Watergate break-in, knowingly conspired in the beginnings of a cover-up - and not for the sake of national security interests but for their own political purposes.

So it is all over. And surely the best evidence that this is so may be found in the response of Congressman Wiggins whose defense of the President throughout the Judiciary Committee hearings rested on a strict reading of the evidence and the law. Presumably applying the same strict tests to yesterday's disclosures, Mr. Wiggins called upon the President to resign. The congressman stated that

he would vote for impeachment if Mr. Nixon declined to step down. There was a sufficient amount of similar sentiment expressed by Mr. Nixon's supporters to indicate that the President's conviction and removal from office by a two-thirds vote of the Senate is almost as certain as his impeachment by an overwhelming majority in the House. Therefore it is plain that one way or another the President is going to leave office before his term is up and what is important now is that this happen in a way that serves the interests of the nation.

Over the past many months we have argued in this space that a presidential resignation unaccompanied by a body of material demonstrating his guilt beyond serious challenge would invite public suspicion and damaging divisions in this country. And we have also argued that only by virtue of the availability of such a record of wrongdoing would Mr. Nixon's own constituency be able to accept such a result. Now those conditions appear to have been fulfilled. The case has been made. The record is there. And that record has been widely accepted as a justification for his departure from office. All that would seem to be lacking - at least in the public record -

is the President's own acknowledgement that this is so.

It is now, above all, up to the President. Basically, he has a choice concerning only one matter and that is the manner in which he will depart the office of the presidency and the degree of effort he will make to salvage its dignity and his own. Congressman Wiggins has suggested that Vice President Ford and Chief Justice Burger and the leaders of Congress should meet to "discuss the orderly transition of power from Richard Nixon to Gerald Ford." That is a responsible recommendation to which we would add, at this point, merely the thought that in arranging the terms of this transition some consideration be given to the President's welfare as well as the nation's. This is a time for accommodation all around. The question is how accommodating and how responsible the President intends to be.

- 30 -

THE WASHINGTON POST  
August 6, 1974

It now appears without any question of doubt that President Nixon personally ordered a cover-up of the facts of Watergate within six days after the illegal entry into the Democratic National Headquarters on June 17, 1972. According to the three

new transcripts of Mr. Nixon's conversations released by the White House yesterday, the conversation with H. R. Haldeman, who was his Chief of Staff at the time, completely undermines the President's previous statements that he was not involved in the cover-up. Specifically the transcripts show that on June 23, 1972 the President had been informed by Haldeman that presidential campaign funds could be traced through Mexico and elsewhere to one of the Watergate burglars. In addition, Haldeman informed the President that he believed former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who was serving at that time as the President's reelection campaign manager knew in advance of the break-in. The transcripts, according to what we now know, show that Mr. Nixon approved of a plan to have the Central Intelligence Agency falsely claim that a full FBI investigation into Watergate would expose operations of the CIA. Previously the President had insisted that he approved such a plan only in the interests of national security and that political considerations played no role in his decision.

The transcripts released yesterday demonstrated clearly that the opposite was the case. According to the released transcripts, Haldeman first proposed the cover-up in a morning meeting with Mr. Nixon and suggested

that Acting Director of the FBI, L. Patrick Gray, did not know how to control the situation and Haldeman suggested to the President that he should direct CIA Deputy Director Vernon Walters to insist that Gray immediately get out of the Watergate investigation. In this meeting, Haldeman informed the President that a \$25,000 check from a Minnesota businessman by the name of Kenneth E. Dalhberg and a campaign contribution from Texas could be traced through Mexican banks to the Watergate burglars. Haldeman, according to the transcripts, then asked the President how he should handle the FBI investigation and asked him if he did not think that the FBI should be directed to stop its investigation. The transcripts show that the President said that would be the thing to do.

Vice President Ford announced last night that he intends to stay out of the impeachment debate and while standing by his statement that he believes Mr. Nixon is innocent, will stop repeating his statement. He said that he had come to the conclusion that the public interest would no longer be served by repetition of his statement previously made on many occasions. Furthermore he said that inasmuch as additional evidence is about to be forthcoming from the President, which he admits

may be damaging, this further justifies him to discontinue any public discussion of the impeachment debate at this time. The Ford statement apparently was prepared before Mr. Nixon released the transcripts, although it was not released until later.

Ford further said that since the Vice Presidency was vacant in 1868 when President Andrew Johnson was impeached, there are no precedents to guide him except his own common sense and conscience.

In the statement that he released yesterday the President emphatically said that it is virtually a foregone conclusion that the House will vote impeachment. He also said that the record does not justify the extreme step of impeachment and the removal of a President from office.

According to my Republican friends in the House, Mr. St. Clair, the President's attorney, threatened to resign unless the President made it absolutely clear that Mr. St. Clair did not know that the additional transcripts would show the variances between the President's original statements and the facts set forth in the transcripts that are now to be released.

This man, St. Clair, appears to be an able lawyer and certainly he had the right to accept the President's word that he was telling the truth, and then, when the 64 tapes that were released showed that the President had lied to him, certainly Mr. St. Clair was not willing to carry the President's misrepresentations any longer. Last night when one of the reporters asked Mr. St. Clair if he intended to resign as the President's attorney, he simply said that he had "no comment."

It is easy to understand now why Mr. Nixon has refused to release the tapes that are covered by the order of the Supreme Court. These tapes destroy the President's defense insofar as the cover-up is concerned and certainly establishes Article I, which applies to obstruction of justice.

The statement that the President issued yesterday is as follows:

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have today instructed my attorney to make available to the House Judiciary Committee, and I am making public, the transcripts of three conversations with H. R. Haldeman on June 23, 1972. I have also turned over the tapes of these conversations

to Judge Sirica, as part of the process of my compliance with the Supreme Court tuling.

On April 29, in announcing my decision to make public the original set of White House transcripts, I stated that "as far as what the President personally knew and did with regard to Watergate and the cover-up is concerned, these materials - together with those already made available - will tell it all."

Shortly after that, in May, I made a preliminary review of some of the 64 taped conversations subpoenaed by the special prosecutor.

Among the conversations I listened to at that time were two of those of June 23. Although I recognized that these presented potential problems, I did not inform my staff or my counsel of it, or those arguing my case, nor did I amend my submission to the Judiciary Committee in order to include and reflect it. At the time, I did not realize the extent of the implications which these conversations might now appear to have. As a result, those arguing my case, as well as those passing judgment on the case, did so with information that was incomplete and in some cases erroneous. This was a serious act of ommission for which I



take full responsibility and which I deeply regret.

Since the Supreme Court's decision 12 days ago, I have ordered my counsel to analyze the 64 tapes, and I have listened to a number of them myself. This process has made it clear that portions of the tapes of these June 23 conversations are at variance with certain of my previous statements. Therefore, I have ordered the transcripts made available immediately to the Judiciary Committee so that they can be reflected in the committee's report, and included in the record to be considered by the House and Senate.

In a formal written statement on May 22 of last year, I said that shortly after the Watergate break-in I became concerned about the possibility that the FBI investigation might lead to the exposure either of unrelated covert activities of the CIA, or of sensitive national security matters that the so-called "plumbers" unit at the White House had been working on, because of the CIA and plumbers connections of some of those involved. I said that I therefore gave instructions that the FBI should be alerted to coordinate with the CIA, and to ensure that the investigation not expose these sensitive national security matters.

This statement was based on my recollection at the time - some 11 months later - plus documentary materials and relevant public testimony of those involved.

The June 23 tapes clearly show, however, that at the time I gave those instructions I also discussed the political aspects of the situation, and that I was aware of the advantages this course of action would have with respect to limiting possible public exposure of involvement by persons connected with the re-election committee.

My review of the additional tapes has, so far, shown no other major inconsistencies with what I have previously submitted. While I have no way at this stage of being certain that there will not be others, I have no reason to believe that there will be. In any case, the tapes in their entirety are now in the process of being furnished Judge Sirica. He has begun what may be a rather lengthy process of reviewing the tapes, passing on specific claims of executive privilege on portions of them and forwarding to the special prosecutor those tapes or those portions that are relevant to the Watergate investigation.

It is highly unlikely that this review will be completed in time for the House debate. It appears at this stage, however, that a House vote on impeachment is, as a practical matter, virtually a foregone conclusion, and that the issue will therefore go to trial in the Senate. In order to ensure that no other significant relevant materials are withheld, I shall voluntarily furnish to the Senate everything from these tapes that Judge Sirica rules should go to the special prosecutor.

I recognize that this additional material I am now furnishing may further damage my case, especially because attention will be drawn separately to it rather than to the evidence in its entirety. In considering its implications, therefore, I urge that two points be borne in mind.

The first of these points is to remember what actually happened as a result of the instructions I gave on June 23. Acting Director Gray of the FBI did coordinate with Director Helms and Deputy Director Walters of the CIA. The CIA did undertake an extensive check to see whether any of its covert activities would be compromised by a full FBI investigation of Watergate. Deputy Director Walters then reported back

to Mr. Gray that they would not be compromised. On July 6 when I called Mr. Gray, and when he expressed concern about improper attempts to limit his investigation, as the record shows, I told him to press ahead vigorously with his investigation - which he did.

The second point I would urge is that the evidence be looked at in its entirety, and the events be looked at in perspective. Whatever mistakes I made in the handling of Watergate, the basic truth remains that when all the facts were brought to my attention, I insisted on a full investigation and prosecution of those guilty. I am firmly convinced that the record, in its entirety, does not justify the extreme step of impeachment and removal of a President. I trust that as the constitutional process goes forward, this perspective will prevail.

---

August 7, 1974

I have just returned from the House Chamber. Conferences are being held throughout all of the corridors with Members being interviewed by the press, television and radio, and Members are huddled together back in the cloakrooms on both sides of the aisle. Nine out of ten Republican Members on the Judiciary Committee

who refused to vote in favor of the impeachment articles are now issuing statement that the President should either resign or they will vote for Article I which charges obstruction of justice. The tenth Member who has been loyal to the President all throughout the hearings is Trent Lott of Mississippi. Some of the Mississippi Members now say that Lott is preparing a statement which he will release to the press before the day is over to the effect that he will also vote for Article I unless the President resigns. The tailgate is down, and the Members are really jumping on the wagon.

I understand that the President has had a Cabinet meeting this morning, and all kinds of rumors are now afloat. Suggestions are being made by some of the older Republican Members in the House that the President should take advantage of the 25th Amendment of the Constitution and simply issue a statement that he is physically unable to continue with the duties of the Presidency and that the medication that he has been forced to take has placed him in a position where he can no longer carry out the duties of this office. This statement would be confirmed by his doctor and he would step aside with the Vice President taking over the duties of the office.

In fact all kinds of suggestions are being made today which would ultimately bring about the resignation of the President or a speedy hearing in the House with very little general debate, and with a vote to take place on the impeachment resolution. I also understand that the President has called Senator Stennis, of Mississippi, one of his old loyal friends to the White House to advise with him concerning the situation.

There is no question about what will take place in the House and with Republicans like Broyhill of North Carolina and Broyhill of Virginia issuing statements today that they will vote for impeachment there could be a landslide. Instead of being a 95 percent majority as I thought several days ago, there may be only a very few to vote against impeachment if we reach that point.

In his book, the President cites the different crises that he has had to confront since he has been in politics, and I am wondering this afternoon just how he will get around this one. My old friend, Carl D. Perkins, of the 7th District of Kentucky, is Chairman of the Education and Labor Committee. At one time Richard M. Nixon and John F. Kennedy served on this committee with my friend, Carl Perkins, and back in those days,

Richard Nixon was an alert active member of the committee. According to Perkins, John F. Kennedy rarely ever attended any of the meetings of the committee, and for months at a time Perkins carried Kennedy's proxy in his pocket and used it at subcommittee and full committee meetings. In discussing the matter of impeachment and resignation yesterday, Carl said to me that Richard Nixon was a sick man and that he had been taking all kinds of harsh drugs for many, many months and that this, along with considerably more drinking that anyone knew about had placed him in a position where he was not physically or mentally qualified to govern. Carl Perkins says that he has been to the White House on a number of occasions during the past several months and it was obvious that the President was just not well because he was unable to remember names and was confused as to long term Members in the House who served on the Committee on Education and Labor at the time he was a member and was still in the Congress and on the Committee. This may be one of the reasons why the President continues to make mistake after mistake.

I still say that if the vote is held in the Senate after the November election the President may be able to

hold 34 votes. I will be surprised if I hear this afternoon that he has resigned, but certainly everything indicates that this may take place.

August 7, 1974

Support for the President has almost completely collapsed in the House. Minority Leader John J. Rhodes, Republican of Arizona, announced yesterday that he will vote for impeachment and the leaders in the House met yesterday with Representative Rodino and Representative Hutchinson to agree upon the procedure to be followed in the impeachment debate which is scheduled to begin on August 19th. Our Speaker, Carl Albert, together with Rhodes and the others, agreed informally to cut in half the time for the debate on the House Floor. The debate, which the Rules Committee recommended yesterday to be opened to live television, would be completed in one week instead of two weeks. The tidal wave of pro-impeachment sentiment in the House which followed the release of the new damaging transcripts now takes most of the fight and all of the suspense out of the impeachment issue. Rhodes said yesterday that only one Republican Member on his side voiced support of the President and this supporter is Earl F. Langrebe, Republican of Indiana, a



conservative, who often casts a lone opposition vote on House roll calls on Appropriations Bills. Langrebe yesterday said that he was sticking to his President even if he and the President had to be taken out of the building and shot.

The move that took place yesterday that may mean more than everything that has happened in the last five days was the announcement of Senator Tower of Texas, the chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, that he and a number of other Republican Senators would in the next few days go to the White House and inform Mr. Nixon that the jig was up and that he must either resign or be impeached. Among those reported supporting resignation are Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican of Arizona, the acknowledged leader of the conservative block in the Senate. At a noon luncheon yesterday, Goldwater told the Senate Republican Policy Committee that he now favors resignation. One Senator who quoted Goldwater said that Goldwater in making the statement informed the committee that if his position became known to the press he would deny it. After the media received this information, Goldwater's office was contacted and the office denied he had made such a statement. Tower said after the policy committee

meeting that the majority sentiment among Republican Senators is that Nixon should retire from office. This may be the blow that finally brings about retirement.

During the meeting of the Cabinet which lasted from 10 o'clock to 1 o'clock yesterday, President Nixon informed his Cabinet members that he does not intend to resign and believes that the constitutional process should be allowed to run its course. He knows that as far as the House is concerned it is a foregone conclusion that the House now, by a majority of 150 to 200, or more, will vote for impeachment. Some of the President's close supporters here in Washington believe that in spite of the President's statement to the Cabinet that resignation is a possibility if not now, sometime before a Senate trial. Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren now confirms that at Camp David this past weekend, President Nixon considered the possibility of resignation and Warren said that the President obviously did not choose that course.

After the Cabinet meeting, members started leaving the White House and Kissinger was stopped by the reporters. He said that the foreign policy of this country was bi-partisan and that it would not be affected at

all by a trial in the Senate. This has worried a great many people in this country, almost as much as the problem of inflation which is more serious today than at any time during the past twenty years.

It now appears from information that I received from my friends in the House on the Republican side that the same Republican forces that persuaded President Nixon to choose Gerald R. Ford as the replacement for Spiro T. Agnew are now working to have Vice President Ford, when he takes over as President, name Nelson A. Rockefeller as Vice President. Melvin R. Laird, one of the closest friends Ford has, and Ford's chief supporter at the time he was named Vice President, said yesterday that he was for Rockefeller. The former New York governor also has considerable support in the Senate and would be a popular choice among the Republican Congressmen in the House. If Nixon resigns, my guess is that Rockefeller's name will be sent up by Ford as provided for under the 27th Amendment to the Constitution.

So many things are happening so fast that it is almost impossible to keep my Journal up to date. I do not intend to just simply have pages in this Journal, but do hope that I am able to fully record the events that

are now taking place so that my children and grandchildren may someday enjoy reading the record as I have recorded it in this Journal.

If the President decides to resign, under the law he must submit his resignation to the Secretary of State. Title III, Section 20, of the United States Code, provides that the resignation of the Office of the President must be made to the Secretary of State.

During the meeting of the House leaders and the Chairman and the ranking Minority Member of the Judiciary Committee, the question arose as to whom would preside over the House during the debate on the impeachment resolution. The Speaker informed those present that he had made a selection and had discussed this matter with the Parliamentarian and together with a number of the senior Members in the House, and that the Member that he would name would be able to do the job.

August 8, 1974

It now appears that the President will take some action within the next 48 hours. Rumors

are floating all around and according to news reporters the President had dinner with his wife, two daughters and two son-in-laws last night and everything indicates, at 8 o'clock this morning, that within the next 48 hours he will resign. This comes notwithstanding his speeches and his statements to the contrary. It appears that the President will resign. There has been no official confirmation from the White House and the fact that the Minority leader in the House, John J. Rhodes, of Arizona, the Minority Leader in the Senate, Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, and Senator Barry Goldwater were requested to go to the White House yesterday afternoon to talk with the President still does not give us a clear picture that the President will resign, but these three men on television after their meeting with the President, said that they informed him of the situation in the House and in the Senate. They painted a very gloomy picture for the President. Early this morning one Presidential assistant said that a resignation statement could come today, or at any time within the next five days, or the President might change his mind again tomorrow and say that he intends to fight impeachment all the way.

We also heard in the House yesterday that Vice President Ford has directed his speech writers to begin preparing a State of the Union message and is being briefed on the take-over on the office of President. Rabbi Baruch Corff, who has led a nationwide anti-impeachment campaign for weeks now, said yesterday that unless millions of Americans urge the President to remain in office he may resign for the national interest. Despite all of these indications of resignation, Rosemary Woods, the President's long-time personal secretary, told staff members late yesterday afternoon that the President would not quit. A New York paper this morning, and one of the Chicago papers carried stories that the President will resign within the next twenty-four hours.

The three Republican Congressional leaders in meeting the press yesterday after their meeting said that the President informed them that he would act in the best interests of our country.

Acting in the best interests of our country up to this time to me has simply meant that President Nixon intended to fight impeachment all the way. Releasing the tapes which then made his previous statements false

of course started an avalanche.

With all of the rumors concerning resignation the question was raised late yesterday afternoon as to whether or not we would continue on in the House with impeachment proceedings. Senator Mansfield's statement that impeachment proceedings should continue even if the President resigns received cool treatment in the House. House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. Democrat of Massachusetts, consulted with House Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Democrat of New Jersey, and both said they would be opposed to such a move if the President resigned. This, according to O'Neill, would be overkill.

Time will tell, and I still am of the opinion that if he does not resign between now and Saturday of this week he will have again changed his mind and will start preparing for a long impeachment procedure.

If I were in the President's shoes I would not resign. Assuming that everything that has been said and all of the evidence of guilt on his part, I still would not quit and walk away. Violations of the law have taken place and they are serious

but they all resulted from the 1972 election and the moves that were made to elect Richard M. Nixon President. I would much rather have my great grandchildren read in the history books that their great grandfather fought it all the way. With the President appearing in his own behalf before the Senate, assisting in the presentation of evidence and requesting a closing statement in which he would fully show all of the moves that were made, to me is much better than turning away with a resignation. Admitting guilt of all of the many charges and then through lack of courage resigning is the easy way out. I know that from the standpoint of our country a long impeachment trial would not be good, but from the standpoint of Richard M. Nixon's family and what the Historians will say about him will make him much more of a man regardless of guilt if he fought a good battle and demonstrated that in addition to making serious mistakes he was not a liar again when he emphatically stated for months that he would fight and not run.

It is now 12 o'clock noon in Washington, D. C. An announcement has just been made by the White House that the President will address the nation tonight at 9 p.m.



According to the word received by our Committee on Appropriations the President will announce that he will resign effective sometime during the day tomorrow and the Vice President Gerald Ford will be sworn in at 6 o'clock tomorrow evening.

I understand from one of my Republican friends that a Vice President has been agreed upon and Gerald Ford will submit the name within the next few days. Most of the Republican Members in the House believe that Rockefeller's name will be submitted, but others have their doubts since Rockefeller will be a candidate for President in 1976 and might not want to play second fiddle to Ford between now and then.

With all of our problems concerning the resignation of President Nixon and the swearing-in of a new President, we have on the floor at this time the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments Bill which is quite controversial and with a great many amendments being offered. We have just adopted one amendment which sets a limit of \$60,000 for each candidate in the primary and with the same amount applying to the November election. The House Bill provides for public financing only for the office of President and not for the House or the Senate.

The Senate Bill provides for public financing for both the House and Senate and this provision is opposed by a number of organizations such as Common Cause, and this organization will be right unhappy when the House bill passes. Common Cause wants every incumbent to have opposition every election, if possible, and wants to remove from incumbents any advantages they might have by virtue of occupancy of the office and which might be used during a campaign for re-election. This is the same organization that listed me in one of their stories that went into all of our states as accepting a campaign contribution of \$1,000 from the Medical Association of Kentucky and \$300 from the Meat Cutters Union. I do not accept campaign contributions and sent copies of letters to Common Cause from the two organizations which emphatically stated that I did not receive the contributions listed to me. I asked for a correction and John Gardner of Common Cause has never answered my letter. This is the kind of an organization that will not admit mistakes and is in a constant fight with incumbent Members of the House and Senate.

August 9, 1974

President Richard M. Nixon announced last night in a televised speech to the country that he will resign as the 37th President of the United States at noon today.

Gerald Rudolph Ford, Jr., a Grand Rapids, Michigan lawyer who never aspired to national office but had it thrust upon him as a result of two of the greatest political scandals in American history, will become the 38th President of the United States at noon today.

On Monday, following the action of the Judiciary Committee, when Articles I, II, and III were adopted, Carl Albert, our Speaker, called me and asked me to meet him in his office. Upon meeting with him, he explained to me that he had talked with the Parliamentarian and a number of senior Members on both the Democratic and Republican sides and it was unanimous that I would be selected to preside over the House during the impeachment proceedings. Carl requested that I keep this information strictly confidential because he did not want any drives on to land someone else in the Chair. Heretofore in my journal I placed a short statement to the effect that I kind of had a premonition that I would be selected to

preside and, in fact, at that time I knew that I would be selected, but was simply treating the Speaker's statement as confidential until after the announcement was made. I have presided over a great many bills and resolutions since I have been a Member of Congress, and, in fact, the time that I sat for eleven days on the Legislative Reform Act of 1970 established the modern day record for time spend in the chair on any one piece of legislation. If the impeachment proceedings had started on August 19th, after the rule was adopted and the Speaker left the Chair, I would have assumed the Chair and remained until after the bill was fully debated and ready for a final vote. The fact that I was selected was one of the nicest things that has happened to me since I have been a Member of Congress, and, of course, if the impeachment proceedings had gone all the way it would have been quite an experience.

Shortly after the President announced his resignation, the media called all of the Members of the House and the Senate requesting statements. I said that "this is indeed a sad day for all Americans as we witness for the first time in our history the resignation of a President of the United States. Now it is time for all of us, and especially both parties in

the Congress, to join hands in support of our new President and to help him in any way we can to resolve the problems of inflation, the energy shortage, and the serious situation confronting the American farmer. Gerald Ford and I served together on the Committee on Appropriations for 14 years, and it is a great comfort to know that he is equal to the Constitutional responsibilities that now confront him."

The headlines in the Washington Post this morning, in huge letters, stated that NIXON RESIGNS. The article on the front page of this paper stated as follows:

Richard Milhous Nixon announced last night that he will resign as the 37th President of the United States at noon today.

Vice President Gerald R. Ford of Michigan will take the oath as the new President at noon to complete the remaining 2½ years of Mr. Nixon's term.

After two years of bitter public debate over the Watergate scandals, President Nixon bowed to pressures from the public and leaders of his party to become the first President in American history to resign.

'By taking this action,' he said

in a subdued yet dramatic television address from the Oval Office, "I hope that I will have hastened the start of the process of healing which is so desperately needed in America."

Vice President Ford, who spoke a short time later in front of his Alexandria home, announced that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger will remain in his Cabinet.

The President-to-be praised Mr. Nixon's sacrifice for the country and called it "one of the very saddest incidents that I've ever witnessed."

Mr. Nixon said he decided he must resign when he concluded that he no longer had a "strong enough political base in the Congress" to make it possible for him to complete his term of office.

Declaring that he has never been a quitter, Mr. Nixon said that to leave office before the end of his term "is abhorrent to every instinct in my body."

But "as President, I must put the interests of America first," he said.

While the President acknowledged that some of his judgments "were

wrong," he made no confession of the "high crimes and misdemeanors" with which the House Judiciary Committee charged him in its bill of impeachment.

Specifically, he did not refer to Judiciary Committee charges that in the cover-up of Watergate crimes he misused government agencies such as the FBI, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Internal Revenue Service.

After the President's address, Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski issued a statement declaring that "there has been no agreement or understanding of any sort between the President or his representatives and the special prosecutor relating in any way to the President's resignation."

Jaworski said that his office "was not asked for any such agreement or understanding and offered none."

His office was informed yesterday afternoon of the President's decision, Jaworski said, but "my office did not participate in any way in the President's decision to resign."

Mr. Nixon's brief speech was delivered in firm tones and he appeared

to be in complete control of his emotions. The absence of rancor contrasted sharply with the "farewell" he delivered in 1962 after being defeated for the governorship of California.

An hour before the speech, however, the President broke down during a meeting with old congressional friends and had to leave the room.

He had invited 20 senators and 26 representatives for a farewell meeting in the Cabinet room. Later, Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (R-Ariz.), one of those present, said Mr. Nixon said to them very much what he said in his speech.

"He just told us that the country couldn't operate with a half-time President," Goldwater reported. "Then he broke down and cried and he had to leave the room. Then the rest of us broke down and cried."

In his televised resignation, after thanking his friends for their support, the President concluded by saying he was leaving office "with this prayer: may God's grace be with you in all the days ahead."

As for his sharpest critics, the President said, "I leave with no bitterness toward those who have opposed



me." He called on all Americans to "join together ... in helping our new President succeed."

The President said he had thought it was his duty to persevere in office in face of the Watergate charges and to complete his term.

"In the past days, however, it has become evident to me that I no longer have a strong enough political base in the Congress to justify continuing that effort," Mr. Nixon said.

His family "unanimously urged" him to stay in office and fight the charges against him, he said. But he came to realize that he would not have the support needed to carry out the duties of his office in difficult times.

"America needs a full-time President and a full-time Congress," Mr. Nixon said. The resignation came with "a great sadness that I will not be here in this office" to complete work on the programs started, he said.

But praising Vice President Ford, Mr. Nixon said that "the leadership of America will be in good hands."

In his admission of error, the outgoing President said: "I deeply

regret any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision."

He emphasized that world peace had been the overriding concern of his years in the White House.

When he first took the oath, he said, he made a "sacred commitment" to "consecrate my office and wisdom to the cause of peace among nations."

"I have done my very best in all the days since to be true to that pledge," he said, adding that he is now confident that the world is a safer place for all peoples.

"This more than anything is what I hoped to achieve when I sought the presidency." Mr. Nixon said. "This more than anything is what I hope will be my legacy to you, to our country, as I leave the presidency."

Noting that he had lived through a turbulent period, he recalled a statement of Theodore Roosevelt about the man "in the arena whose face is marked by dust and sweat and blood" and who, if he fails "at least fails while daring greatly."

Mr. Nixon placed great emphasis on his successes in foreign affairs. He said his administration had

"unlocked the doors that for a quarter of a century stood between the United States and the People's Republic of China."

In the Mideast, he said, the United States must begin to build on the peace in that area. And with the Soviet Union, he said, the administration had begun the process of ending the nuclear arms race. The goal now, he said, is to reduce and finally destroy those arms "so that the threat of nuclear war will no longer hang over the world." The two countries, he added, "must live together in cooperation rather than in confrontation."

Mr. Nixon has served 2,026 days as the 37th President of the United States. He leaves office with 2½ years of his second term remaining to be carried out by the man he nominated to be Vice President last year.

Yesterday morning, the President conferred with his successor. He spent much of the day in his Executive Office Building hideaway working on his speech and attending to last-minute business.

At 7:30 p.m., Mr. Nixon again left the White House for the short walk to the Executive Office Building. The crowd outside the gates waved U.S.

flags and sang "America" as he walked slowly up the steps, his head bowed, alone.

At the EOB, Mr. Nixon met for a little over 20 minutes with the leaders of Congress - James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), president pro tem to the Senate; Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) Senate majority leader; Hugh Scott (R-Pa.), Senate minority leader; Carl Albert (D-Okla.), speaker of the House, and John Rhodes (R-Ariz.), House minority leader.

It was exactly six years ago yesterday that the 55-year-old Californian accepted the Republican nomination for President for the second time and went on to a narrow victory in November over Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey.

"I was ready. I was willing. And events were such that this seemed to be the time the party was willing for me to carry the standard," Nixon said after winning first-ballot nomination in the convention at Miami Beach.

In his acceptance speech on Aug. 8, 1968, the nominee appealed for victory to "make the American dream come true for millions of Americans."

"To the leaders of the Communist world we say, after an era of confrontation the time has come for an era of

negotiation," Nixon said.

The theme was repeated in his first inaugural address on Jan. 20, 1969, and became the basis for the foreign policy of his first administration.

Largely because of his breakthroughs in negotiations with China and the Soviet Union, and partly because of divisions in the Democratic Party, Mr. Nixon won a mammoth election victory in 1972, only to be brought down by scandals that grew out of an excessive zeal to make certain he would win re-election.

Mr. Nixon and his family are expected to fly to their home in San Clemente, Calif. early today. Press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler and Rose Mary Woods, Mr. Nixon's devoted personal secretary for more than two decades, will accompany the Nixons.

Alexander M. Haig, Jr., the former Army vice chief of staff who was brought into the White House as staff chief following the resignation of H. R. (Bob) Haldeman on April 30, 1973, has been asked by Mr. Ford to remain in his present position.

It is expected that Haig will continue in the position as staff chief to assure an orderly transfer

of responsibilities but not stay indefinitely.

The first firm indication yesterday that the President had reached a decision came when deputy press secretary Gerald L. Warren announced at 10:55 a.m. that the President was about to begin a meeting in the Oval Office with the Vice President.

"The President asked the Vice President to come over this morning for a private meeting - and that is all the information I have at this moment," Warren said.

He promised to post "some routine information, bill actions, and appointments" and to return with additional information "in an hour or so."

Warren's manner and the news he had to impart made it clear at last that resignation was a certainty. Reports already were circulating on Capitol Hill that the President would hold a reception for friends and staff members late in the day and a meeting with congressional leaders.

Shortly after noon, Warren announced over the loudspeaker in the press room that the meeting between the President and the Vice President had lasted for an hour and ten minutes.

- 3040 -

At 2:20 p.m., press secretary Ziegler walked into the press room and, struggling to control his emotions, read the following statement:

"I am aware of the intense interest of the American people and of you in this room concerning developments today and over the last few days. This has, of course, been a difficult time.

"The President of the United States will meet various members of the bipartisan leadership of Congress here at the White House early this evening.

"Tonight, at 9 o'clock, Eastern Daylight Time, the President of the United States will address the nation on radio and television from his Oval Office."

The room was packed with reporters, and Ziegler read the statement with difficulty. Although his voice shook, it did not break. As soon as he had finished, he turned on his heel and left the room, without so much as a glance at the men and women in the room who wanted to question him.

There were tears in the eyes of some of the secretaries in the press office. Others, who have been through

many crises in recent years and have become used to overwork, plowed ahead with their duties, with telephones ringing incessantly.

In other offices, loyal Nixon workers reacted with sadness but also with resignation and defeat. They were not surprised, and some showed a sense of relief that at last the battle was over.

Some commented bitterly about former aides H. R. (Bob) Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman. The President's loyal personal aide and valet, Manola Sanchez, a Spanish-born immigrant from Cuba whose independence and wit are widely admired, did not hide his feelings.

Speaking bluntly to some of his old friends, he castigated aides he said had betrayed the President. One longtime official, who heard about the Sanchez remarks, commented: "They (Haldeman and Ehrlichman) tried three times to fire him because they couldn't control him. Imagine, trying to fire someone like Manola."

But why did the President always rely on Ehrlichman and Haldeman? the official was asked. "Will we ever know?" he recalled, "he demanded that we never abuse the franking privilege.



If there was any doubt, we were to use stamps. Everything had to be above board.

"Surely his friendship with Ehrlichman and Haldeman was one of the most expensive in history."

But the President himself, said another long-time aide, must have been two persons, the one who was motivated by high ideals and another who connived and schemed with his favorite gut-fighters.

One man who worked through most of the first Nixon term said he saw the President angry only once. Often he would say, "That will be tough politically, but we must do the right thing."

When that official left his post after nearly four years of intimate association with the President, he told his wife: "I've never gotten to know what sort of man he is."

One official, who has known Mr. Nixon well for many years and remains a White House aide, commented: "He is obviously a bad judge of character. But a lot was accomplished. So much more could have been accomplished but for these fun and games. It was such a stupid thing to happen."

The march of events that brought about the President's downfall turned its last corner Monday when Mr. Nixon released the partial transcripts of three taped conversations he held on June 23, 1972, with Haldeman.

It seemed inevitable then that this would be his last week in office, yet he continued to fight back and to insist that he would not resign. On Tuesday, the President held a Cabinet meeting and told his official family that he would not resign.

On Wednesday, however, the end appeared near, for his support on Capitol Hill was disappearing at dizzying speed. There were demands from some of his staunchest supporters that he should resign at once.

Late Wednesday, the President met with Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott (R-Pa.), House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.) and Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (R-Ariz.).

They said afterward that the President had made no decision, but it was obvious later that for all intents and purposes the decision had been made despite what the leaders said. They obviously could not make the announcement for him, but it must have been apparent to them that the end was at hand.

Later Wednesday, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger twice conferred with Mr. Nixon, first in the early evening for half an hour and then from 9:30 p. m. until midnight.

It was not known whether the two men were alone or accompanied by Haig and others.

Yesterday, Kissinger met with principal deputies in the State Department to tell them what to expect and to assign tasks to different people. Messages will be sent to heads of state to notify them formally of the change.

A White House spokesman said more than 10,000 telephone calls were received in the past two days expressing "disbelief and the hope that the President would not resign."

Thursday was a wet, humid August day, but despite intermitten rain the crowds packed the sidewalks in front of the White House. It was an orderly crowd, resigned and curious, watching newsmen come and go and being a part of a dramatic moment in the life of the nation.

In the same paper on the editorial page is a cartoon by Herblock picturing a huge hand with a cufflink which has

U.S. on it and with the hand holding a piece of paper marked resignation. Another hand is signing Richard M. Nixon to the resignation. The publisher and editorial staff of this paper must be jubilant.

The top editorial is entitled "The Resignation of the President," and this editorial is as follows:

A President of the United States has resigned from office. It is a profoundly sad and profoundly heartening occasion. The sadness all but speaks for itself. Richard Nixon, a man whose entire adult professional life was dedicated to the quest for and exercise of the powers of the office of the presidency, leaves that office under a cloud of wrongdoing and shame. To respond to the tragedy that has now befallen him and his family is not to dismiss or minimize the terrible danger in which his wrongdoing put the nation for as long as it remained undiscovered and uncorrected. Nor is it to say that the wrongdoing was undistinctive or run-of-the-mill, even though some of the worst impulses to which he and his lieutenants yielded on such a massive scale may be impulses that are familiar both in certain presidential patterns of performance and as individual personal failings.

So the general sadness of the occasion can be said to transcend all partisan political feeling - and so, we would emphatically add, should be the sense of pride and reassurance to be gained from what has happened. For Mr. Nixon's particular constituency must know that it required the courage and ultimate decency and good sense of many of those who speak for them in public life to reaffirm those standards of public conduct against which he was judged and found wanting. Indeed, the role of these people - Southern Democrats as well as conservative Republicans in all branches of government and all walks of life - proved decisive.

Maybe too much has already been written - and written too sentimentally - about the marvels of the system and how it "worked." But it did. And it is important to be precise about how it worked. We do not, for example, subscribe to the Fluke Theory, although chance played its part. For in the end and most importantly, it was the conscience and pride and responsibility of innumerable people and numerous institutions that combined to assert that 1) there was (and is) a norm of official behavior that is recognized and respected by all Americans and 2) the President's departure from this norm was sufficiently gross and calculated to require an extraordinary and

unprecedented remedy.

Cataclysmic as it is, this denouncement and the events which led to it, can in no way be said to comprise the whole story of the Nixon presidency. There are many positive achievements to be noted and analyzed and there were also many substantive failures that have little to do with the particular failures that brought Mr. Nixon down. But there will be plenty of time to seek to balance the books on the Nixon administration and to assess the terms and manner of his leaving office. For the moment our thoughts, like those of most others, turn to the challenge now facing Gerald Ford and the transfer not just of authority but also of public attention to him.

In an important and wholly legitimate way, Mr. Ford is entitled to take as his mandate the continuation of that part of Mr. Nixon's policy and program which has not been discredited by the events and disclosures which led to Mr. Nixon's departure from office. That there has been an overwhelming public judgment against Richard Nixon is indisputable, even without the formal test of impeachment and Senate trial. His party leaders in Congress told him as much two days ago. But it will be important in the weeks and months ahead not to

confuse Mr. Nixon's repudiation with a repudiation of the electoral will he could have fulfilled had he been as faithful to the rule of law as he professed himself to be. Gerald Ford, of course, is free to be his own man and to make of his presidency what he will. But we would suggest that abruptly as he comes to the office, he also comes to it with a valuable legacy. At no time in the country's history has the standard of acceptable conduct of the presidency been so clearly defined or so widely subscribed to. This standard will now be Mr. Ford's to uphold and enforce. In this particular duty he will have unparalleled and unprecedented public support.

The second and last editorial is entitled "The Next President and Inflation," and this editorial is as follows:

Gerald Ford's first and most urgent concern, as President, will necessarily be the inflation. For most Americans, the real test of the new administration will be its success in restoring stability to our economy. The current surge of inflation, which has been running for nearly two years now, is affecting every family and diminishing the nation's general standard of living. Far from slacking off, as past forecasts kept suggesting

hopefully, the latest figures indicate that it may actually be accelerating. Its causes lie deep, and there is no magic that the new President can invoke to check it painlessly. There is no simple change in economic policy, or technical adjustment, that will automatically make prices stand still. But there is much that the incoming President can do, immediately, that will reassure the country and reduce the dangers now apparent.

Mr. Ford brings to the White House the tremendous advantage of being able to talk constructively with people who had lost all faith in the previous administration and had broken off relations with it. He has the second advantage of being able to address the American people candidly, without recourse to meretricious optimism, and being believed. The essential issues are perfectly comprehensible. The extraordinary rises in the costs of food and fuel have genuinely diminished the real income of most Americans. The solution lies in the traditional American response of increased productivity - a response that necessarily takes a certain amount of time. As this process goes forward, someone is going to have to make people throughout this country take account of each other's



concerns, and assure them that the misfortunes of an uncertain time are going to be fairly shared. Only a trusted President can do that.

A high and sustained rate of inflation, like the present one, is always a matter of much more than narrow economics. It is a public judgment on government, indicating insecurity and anxiety. It is a warning of a loosening of the glue that holds a society together. As people conclude, privately and individually, that they are going to have to save themselves as best they can, a bad trend gets steadily worse. The Federal Reserve Board fears that it will get no support from the rest of the government, and it takes the interest rates to the highest level in our modern history. Businessmen fear that their costs will keep soaring, and they try to protect themselves by price increases that anticipate the worst possibilities. Labor unions fear that the cost of living will keep going up and they lunge for steadily larger wage raises to cover it. Asked why they anticipate higher prices, the unions can reasonably point to the inordinate interest rates. The process is circular. The question for the new administration is how to break the circle.

The first move for Mr. Ford is to

open a conversation with the labor unions. The coming round of contract negotiations are going to have an effect far out of proportion to the numbers of workers directly involved. The dramatic upward swing in pay since April, when the controls expired, is an ominous forewarning of what will happen if matters are left to themselves. The next President might usefully ask the unions what it would take to keep the contract settlements down to a reasonable level. The answer is fairly clear. The AFL-CIO executive council, meeting earlier this week in Chicago, delivered a sharp and persuasive denunciation of the damage that the high interest rates are doing to the country. These rates are not only contributing directly to higher prices, the council argued, but depressing productivity and pushing the housing industry toward a severe depression.

If Mr. Ford can extract a conditional pledge from the unions to limit their wage demands, he can then go back to Dr. Arthur Burns at the Federal Reserve Board to talk seriously about lower rates. If interest rates begin to move down and there is evidence of moderation in wage settlements, it then becomes risky for businessmen to keep raising prices. In some cases - the oil industry, for instance - the

President will need to remind Congress of its neglected responsibilities to end the most notorious of the tax subsidies and demonstrate that a few lucky companies are not going to be permitted to enrich themselves at the expense of everyone else.

The American economy is now running sufficiently close to its limits that each new misfortune and setback sets off new waves of anxiety and inflation. In past years, the effects of a midwestern drought would have been largely absorbed by the nation's huge stocks of grain and corn. But now those stocks are very low, and the shortfall of rain this summer is registered in the daily rises in the prices of food. Mr. Ford cannot promise the country that there will be no further disappointments and reverses - nor should he try to promise anything of the sort. The time is long past for empty optimism. Americans are ready to carry great burdens in the public interest, if they believe that those burdens are fairly distributed. A President cannot say that inflation will be over tomorrow. He cannot say with any assurance when it will end. But he can offer to do his level best to see that its costs lie equitably throughout the country as it slowly

diminishes. That is now Mr. Ford's job.

President Nixon delivered his resignation speech in the Oval Office at the White House and this was the 37th speech that he has delivered from this office. He was the 37th President and Gerald R. Ford, of course, will be the 38th President.

This morning at 10:30 President Nixon made a speech to the members of his Cabinet and the White House staff. He became very emotional and just talked on and on and on. He said that mistakes were made but that no one in his Administration had acquired any worldly goods that he or she did not have at the time they started out. He then said his mother was a saint and described the ordeals she had in life and then talked about his father. At one point he put on his glasses, which I had never seen him do and read an excerpt out of a book concerning Theodore Roosevelt. Mrs. Nixon and the family were present and after the President rambled on and on he finally concluded and he and Mrs. Nixon along with Tricia and her husband boarded a helicopter on the White House lawn and they were taken to Andrews Air Force Base. Air Force I is now on the way with the family to San Clemente.

Jerry Ford became President of the United States at noon today.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger administered the oath in the East Room of the White House. Our new President invited the leadership on both sides of the aisle from the House to attend the ceremony and in addition invited the House Members that still remain who were sworn in with him in January of 1949. My friend and colleague from Kentucky, Carl D. Perkins was one of those along with Bennett, Boling, Gross, Hays, Rodino, Staggers, Steed, Widnall, and Zablocki. It is right unusual when you consider the fact that Rodino was also sworn in at the same time with Jerry Ford as a House Member and was Chairman of the Judiciary Committee which started the ball rolling that ended in resignation by President Nixon.

President Nixon, during his political career, made every effort to establish a first along many lines - first President to visit China, first to Russia, and also a first in a number of other instances. Sadly enough, he is also the first President to ever resign.

## NIXON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

Good evening. This will be the 37th time I will have spoken to you from this office where so many decisions have been made that shaped the history of this nation.

Each time I have done so to discuss with you some matters which I believed affected the national interest. In all the decisions I have made in my public life I have always tried to do what was best for the nation.

Throughout the long and difficult period of Watergate, I have felt it was my duty to persevere, to make every possible effort to complete the kind of office to which you elected me.

In the past few days, however, it has become evident to me that I no longer have a strong enough political base in the Congress to justify continuing that effort.

As long as there was such a base, I felt strongly that it was necessary to see the constitutional process through to its conclusion; to do otherwise would be unfaithful to the spirit of that deliberately difficult process, and a dangerously

destabilizing precedent for the future.

But with the disappearance of that base I now believe that the constitutional purpose has been served and there is no longer a need for the process to be prolonged.

I would have preferred to carry through to the finish no matter the personal agony that would have been involved. And my family unanimously urged me to do so.

But the interest of the nation must always come before any personal consideration.

From the discussions I have had with congressional and other leaders, I have concluded that because of the Watergate matter I might not have the support of the Congress that I would consider necessary to back the very difficult decisions and carry out the duties of this office in the way the interests of the nation will require.

I have never been a quitter. To leave office before my term is completed is abhorrent to every instinct in my body.

As President I must put the interests of America first. America needs a full-time president and a full-time Congress, particularly at this time with problems we face at home and abroad.

To continue to fight through the months ahead for my personal vindication would almost totally absorb the time and attention of both the President and the Congress in a period when our entire focus should be on the great issues of peace abroad and prosperity without inflation at home.

Therefore, I shall resign the presidency effective at noon tomorrow.

Vice President Ford will be sworn in as President at that hour in this office.

As I recall the high hopes for America with which we began this second term I feel a great sadness that I will not be here in this office working in your behalf to achieve those hopes in the next two and a half years.

But in turning over direction of the government to Vice President Ford, I know, as I told the nation when I nominated him for that office



10 months ago, that the leadership of America will be in good hands.

As he assumes that responsibility, he will deserve the help and the support of all of us. As we look to the future, the first essential is to begin healing the wounds of this nation; to put the bitterness and the divisions of the recent past behind us and to rediscover those shared ideals that lie at the heart of our strength and unity as a great and as a free people.

By taking this action, I hope that I will have hastened the start of that process of healing which is so desperately needed in America.

I regret deeply any injuries that have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision. I would say only that if some of my judgements were wrong, they were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interest of the nation.

To those who have stood with me during the past difficult months, to my family, my friends, to many others who joined in supporting my cause because they believed it was right, I will be eternally grateful for your support.

And to those who have not felt able to give me your support, let me say I leave with no bitterness toward those who have opposed me, because all of us, in the final analysis, have been concerned with the good of the country however our judgements might differ.

So, let us now join together in affirming that common commitment and in helping our new President succeed for the benefit of all Americans.

I shall leave this office with regret at not completing my term, but with gratitude for the privilege of serving as your President for the past 5½ years. These years have been a momentous time in the history of our nation and the world. They have been a time of achievement in which we can all be proud, achievements that represent the shared efforts of the administration, the Congress and the people.

But the challenges ahead are equally great, and they, too, will require the support and the efforts of the Congress and the people working in cooperation with the new administration

We have ended America's longest war, but in the work of securing a lasting peace in the world, the goals ahead are even more far-reaching and more difficult.

We must complete a structure of peace so that it will be said of this generation, our generation, of Americans, by the people of all nations, not only that we ended one war, but we prevented future wars.

We have unlocked the doors that for a quarter of a century stood between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

We must now insure that the one quarter of the world's people who live in the People's Republic of China will be and remain not our enemies but our friends.

In the Middle East, one hundred million people in the Arab countries, many of whom have considered us their enemy for nearly 20 years, now look on us as their friends. We must continue to build on that friendship so that peace can settle at last over the Middle East and so that the cradle of civilization will not become its grave.

Together with the Soviet Union we have made the crucial breakthroughs that have begun the process of limiting nuclear arms. But we must set as our goal not just limiting, but reducing and finally destroying these terrible weapons so that they cannot destroy our civilization and so that the threat of nuclear war will no longer hang over the world and the people.

We have opened the new relation with the Soviet Union. We must continue to develop and expand that new relationship so that the two strongest nations of the world will live together in cooperation rather than confrontation.

Around the world, in Asia, and Africa, in Latin America, in the Middle East, there are millions of people who live in terrible poverty, even starvation. We must keep as our goal turning away from production for war and expanding production for peace so that people everywhere on this earth can at least look forward in their children's time, if not in our own time to having the necessities for a decent life.

Here in America, we are fortunate that most of our people have not

only the blessings of liberty, but also the means to live full and good and by the world's standards, even abundant lives. We must press on, however, to a goal of not only more and better jobs, but of full opportunity for every American, and of what we are striving so hard right now to achieve, prosperity without inflation.

For more than a quarter of a century in public life I have shared in the turbulent history of this era. I have fought for what I believed in. I have tried to the best of my ability to discharge those duties and meet those responsibilities that were entrusted to me.

Sometimes I have succeeded and sometimes I have failed, but always I have taken heart from what Theodore Roosevelt once said about the man in the arena: "whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who strives valiantly, who errs and comes short again and again because there is not effort without error and shortcoming, but who does actually strive to do the deeds, who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, who spends himself in a worthy cause, who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high

achievements and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly."

I pledge to you tonight that as long as I have a breath of life in my body, I shall continue in that spirit. I shall continue to work for the great causes to which I have been dedicated throughout my years as a congressman, a senator, a vice president and president; the cause of peace not just for America but among all nations, prosperity, justice and opportunity for all of our people.

There is one cause above all to which I have been devoted and to which I shall always be devoted for as long as I live.

When I first took the oath of office as President five and one-half years ago, I made this sacred commitment: "to consecrate my office, my energies and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations."

I have done my very best in all the days since to be true to that pledge. As a result of these efforts, I am confident that the world is a

safer place today, not only for the people of America, but for the people of all nations, and that all of our children have a better chance than before of living in peace rather than dying in war.

This, more than anything, is what I hoped to achieve when I sought the presidency. This, more than anything, is what I hope will be my legacy to you, to our country, as I leave the presidency.

To have served in this office is to have felt a very personal sense of kinship with each and every American. In leaving it, I do so with this prayer: may God's grace be with you in all the days ahead.

Dr. Edward G. Latch, is the House Chaplain and from time to time we have visiting ministers, priests, and rabbis who offer our morning prayer. Dr. Latch presents the visitor to the Speaker and then the visitor offers the prayer. Today we had a visitor by the name of Jack P. Lowndes, of the Memorial Baptist Church, Arlington, Virginia, and he offered the following prayer:

'If any of you lacks wisdom, let him ask of God - and it will be given

him.' - James 1:5.

We are grateful, our Father, for the Founding Fathers of our Nation who sought and found wisdom from Thee and gave us the form of government that keeps us now.

Today we continue to need that wisdom beyond our own. We pray for the President leaving office and the President assuming office today. They both need Thy wisdom, strength, and the assurance of Thy love. Help our new President make the decisions that will bring reconciliation to our Nation and help bring peace to our world.

For the Speaker of this House and those who serve with him we pray. As they work together for the good of our Nation help them to have that divine wisdom needed.

We pray for the news media who have the responsibility of reporting to us the actions of our Government. Give them wisdom to report fairly and impartially the news upon which we all depend to make our judgments and decisions.

Lord, help all of us to have mercy and sympathy toward one another and to be good stewards of our national heritage.



'Grant us wisdom, grant us courage, for the facing of this hour.'

In Jesus' name. Amen.

Before the day was over the House adopted the Senate Con. Res. 108 which extended best wishes of the Congress to our new President Gerald R. Ford. This resolution is as follows:

Whereas Gerald R. Ford was a Member of Congress for twenty-five years; and

Whereas he is known to the Congress as a good and faithful friend; and

Whereas he assumes today the Office of President of the United States; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress extends to Gerald R. Ford its sincere best wishes, its assurances of firm cooperation and its fervent hopes for success in office.

Immediately after the adoption of this resolution, John Rhodes, the Minority Leader in the House, requested the yeas and nays and by electronic

vote 329 Members voted yea and no Members were recorded as voting no. However, 105 Members did not vote. In going over the list of 105 who did not vote, we have Members such as Chisholm of New York, Cederberg of Michigan, Conyers of Michigan, Dellums of California, Diggs of Michigan, our Catholic priest Drinan of Massachusetts, Grasso of Connecticut, the lady who was recently nominated for governor of her state, Hogan of Maryland, Reid of New York, Riegle of Michigan, Wiggins of California, Vander Jagt of Michigan, and Scherle of Iowa. These are just a few of the Members who for some reason or other did not cast a vote on the concurrent resolution.

Before we adjourned we also adopted a House concurrent resolution which provided that the two Houses of Congress would assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, August 12th at 9 p.m. for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make.

Jerry Ford will now make his first State of the Union speech and of course he will be well received.

In going back over the Watergate affair and the terrific ordeal that our country has gone through in the

last year and a half, I just wonder what would have happened if the President had simply made an open honest statement of the entire affair and sincerely moved to correct all of the mistakes that were made.

The President had completely shut himself off from the Congress since the middle of 1972 and the leaders in his party in the House and the Senate did not see him for months at a time. He made very profound statements concerning the domestic affairs of this country, but worked overtime to bring about accomplishments in foreign affairs.

The media continued pursuing Mr. Nixon following the break-in of Water-gate and as a number of Members of the House have said from time to time, the President simply painted us in and we, as Members of Congress, were up against the wall confronted with all of the horrible things that had transpired and action was necessary. If Mr. Nixon had destroyed his tapes, which of course would have been the action of former President Truman, then he would still be President. If the Supreme Court had not in a unanimous decision directed the President to turn over the 64 tapes, he would have still been President. In the end when the President reluctantly provided the evidence which clinched the case

against him with the missing tape which proved beyond any question of a doubt his role in the Watergate cover-up, he was through. In attempting to explain his misrepresentations in his speeches and in his press interviews concerning the cover-up after the tape was delivered, and the information released, he simply said that this was a serious action of omission for which he took full responsibility and which he deeply regretted. In other words, he admitted that he had been lying for months and that he had participated in the cover-up beginning about six days after the break-in at Watergate and when his plan failed and he was completely exposed he simply said that he assumed full responsibility.

Specification 8 of Article I of the impeachment charges approved by the House Judiciary Committee nailed the President to the wall after the tapes showed his full participation in the cover-up. This provision charged President Nixon with making false or misleading public statements for the purpose of deceiving the people of the United States into believing that a thorough and complete investigation had been conducted with respect to allegations of misconduct on the part of personnel of the Executive Branch.

- 30 -

In reminiscing and wondering what would have happened if the President had traveled a different road it is clearer today than ever before that Congress did not want the confrontation that finally took place. The President's strategy was that when the clash came he would simply stare down the House Judiciary Committee the way Presidents have so often prevailed in the past. He gambled wrong and after he had backed Congress into a corner it was a matter of full compliance with the provisions of the Constitution which provide that when certain charges are sustained impeachment must follow.

The President is now in his home at San Clemente, a tired, worried, confused man. A political animal all of his life who overlooked the fact that this country is still a country controlled by laws and not men. I was somewhat amused when he referred to his mother and said that she was a saint. I recall several years ago when he was running for President against Jack Kennedy that it developed an amount of money totaling some \$200,000 had been used to make certain investments for purposes that were never completely explained and at that time Richard M. Nixon said that this was a transaction of his mother and that he knew nothing about it. The poor old lady when confronted by

the press without being properly warned as to just what Nixon had said simply said that she did not know anything about the money or the purposes for which the media said it was used. Regardless of friends, family or anything else, this man pushed onward and certainly the old statement that we have heard in politics for many many years that a certain individual succeeded in going to the top of the political ladder by climbing over the dead bodies of his friends applied to this man Nixon. His dealings with his brothers and the members of his own family, including his mother, just simply could never be explained. Diamond earrings out of campaign funds for his wife, acceptance of large amount of money invested in the name of his daughter Tricia, investments made by his personal secretary who remained with him from the very beginning Rosemary Woods, of course, were never explained. I do understand that Miss Woods in her sworn testimony before the Federal grand jury indicated that no one else could have erased that famous tape except the President because he was present when the action took place and since she was under oath in Federal court decided she had better tell the whole truth.

When history records this era it of course will say that Nixon was

successful with the foreign affairs of this country and failed miserably in all matters with the exception of a few in the domestic affairs of our country.

Up to the very last, before he boarded a helicopter at the White House lawn to go to the Andrews Air Force Base he was still making moves that cannot be explained. For instance just before he left the White House he vetoed the Agriculture, Environmental and Consumer Protection Appropriations bill for fiscal year 1975. Roy Ash, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget notified us on the subcommittee that the veto action had been cleared with Vice President Ford who at noon would become President and that Nixon had carried out the veto action and the message would come to Congress today. We received the veto message shortly before we adjourned and the question now is whether we will try to override or simply reduce the bill some 300 to 500 million dollars. If this bill should have been vetoed the new President was the one to take the action because he is the one who now will have to work with the Congress on a new bill.

In going back to the President's emotional farewell to his staff and to the Cabinet, I still cannot understand this man. He of course stressed

the fact that we had brought the whole world closer to the dream of peace but he talked to his staff and the Cabinet in such a way as to make you believe that he is completing his term of office and going out with a record well established and one that history would favor. He had just signed a resignation statement which was addressed to the Secretary of State and provided only - Dear Mr. Secretary: I hereby resign the office of President of the United States. Sincerely, Richard Nixon. He gave all kinds of advice to the people who had assembled to say goodbye. He went on to say that they should give their best and never get discouraged and never be petty. In describing his mother and his father death seemed to be very much on Mr. Nixon's mind. The quote from T.R. pertained to a young man stricken by the death of his beautiful wife - this young man thought the light had gone from his life forever, but he went on, said Mr. Nixon, and he not only became President, but as an ex-President he served his country always in the arena, sometimes being wrong, sometimes right, but he was always a man. This speech to a certain extent was somewhat like the famous Checkers speech made 22 years ago when Richard Nixon tried to explain away a secret fund that had been collected in his behalf. In that



particular speech Mr. Nixon talked about his family, his patriotism, and his dog. Today in his speech he inferred that the accusations against him were of minor consequence because he had not acted out of the profit motive. He stressed that he had less worldly goods than before he was elected the last time and that all of his people around him had been honest and that no one had profited. This seemed to be on his mind, and he became more confused and was rambling on.

The picture that appeared in the papers of the President and Mrs. Nixon walking to the helicopter on the White House lawn together with Jerry Ford and Mrs. Ford, showed the President smiling and carrying himself as if he had just been the recipient of some great award. He flashed his customary double victory sign before entering the helicopter for the flight to Andrews Air Force Base and never by one word or gesture indicated any remorse for the many violations of the law that he had committed with his only statement along this line being that it was a matter of judgment and he had made mistakes. He said before he concluded his farewell statement that the man at the top always had to take the blame and as the man at the top he had never ducked. Nothing fitted the usual pattern of such a

errific blot on the history of this country and the future may produce events which go a long way to explaining just why this man acted as he did in ending his career, in disgrace and in disrepute. Financially, the president of course probably has a lot more money than anyone knows about, and, in addition, he will be able to sell his memoirs for a tremendous amount of money. His statement that he would be back and that he was not through and would continue his work to save the world was just about too much.

Again the advice of his wife and two daughters might have been much better when they suggested that he stay on and fight it out to the bitter end. If his actions were proper as he attempted to make people believe then of course he could have taken advantage of the 25th Amendment and stepped aside momentarily with Jerry Ford taking over during the impeachment battle. The additional tapes released this week which are a part of the 54, may of course contain evidence making him more guilty than ever and this of course was known only to the President and those around him.

August 10, 1974

This is the next day after the resignation of Richard M. Nixon as

President of the United States of America.

Jerry Ford took the oath of office as the 38th President at noon yesterday and in his short speech following the awearing-in ceremony assured a nation, torn by the ravages of the Watergate scandal, that our long national nightmare is over. He alluded to the fact that he of course was the first American President not elected to national office by the people and he asked the people of this country to confirm him as their President with their prayers. He pledged that he would be the President of all of the people and that he would make every effort to bind up the national wounds of Watergate which were more painful and more poisonous than those of foreign wars. He said that we should restore the golden rule in our political process and let brotherly love purge our hearts of suspicion and hate. Before concluding his speech he asked for the nation to pray for the departing President Richard M. Nixon and the members of his family. His statement was - May our former President who brought peace to millions find it for himself; may God bless and comfort his wonderful wife and daughters whose love and loyalty will forever be a shining legacy to all who bear the lonely burdens of the White House.

In taking the oath of office he looked directly at Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and carefully repeated after him the oath of office without making any bobbles. In the swearing-in ceremony for Vice President with Richard Nixon standing by his side in the House Chamber he made one bobble and then smiled real quick and mumbled a few words to that portion of the oath being administered by the Chief Justice. I was delighted that he did not bobble in taking the oath of office as President.

This journal will disclose many events concerning Richard M. Nixon and also some of his dealings with Jerry Ford and me. It may be that John Mitchell planned and assisted in the Watergate and carried the President along in the wave of cover-up and deceit, but this is hard for me to believe when I know what Nixon and Mitchell did insofar as the rapid transit system that is now under construction in our Nation's Capital. The matter concerning the attorneys who now represent the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority and the sale of bonds along with other matters are simply events which showed the harshness, dishonesty, and meanness of these two particular men. I recall the President looking me squarely in the eye in the Oval Office with John

Volpe sitting at the desk along with Glen Davis of Wisconsin, making his promises, knowing when he made them that he did not intend to carry them out. Letters to me from our new President and our former President bear out some of the transactions that I have just described.

President Ford was received by most of the world as an unknown personality who was welcomed because he was to take over American leadership where up to this time there certainly was a vacuum. The departure of President Nixon brought about sorrow from a number of capitals around the world and especially in the Middle East. North Vietnam and Cuba were jubilant.

The Nixon Administration will do down in history in my opinion as the most corrupt up to this time. When you consider corrupt administrations in the past you have two others where we had Republican Presidents. These Administrations were the Administrations of President Grant and President Warren G. Harding. The three Administrations were the most corrupt in the history of this country.

August 12, 1974

According to the Gallop Poll, 79% of Americans believe that Richard

Nixon did the right thing in resigning the Presidency. 55% do not want an investigation for criminal charges against Nixon, and 37% would like to have the charges investigated.

Our new President announced on Saturday that within the next two weeks he would submit to the Congress his choice for Vice President. Just to think that this will be a second time since I have been a Member of Congress that I will cast a vote to elect a Vice President in the House as provided for under the new Constitutional provision. A great many names have been submitted and at this time I do not believe that President Ford will nominate Rockefeller or Goldwater. He will submit a name of a candidate who is from another section of the United States away from Michigan and one that he believes that Congress will elect and will make a good Vice Presidential candidate in 1976. A man younger than President Ford probably and one that will have no trouble from the standpoint of an FBI clearance check. The President's wife says that she shudders at the idea of Jerry's being President with all of the many responsibilities that go with this office. She wanted him to get out of politics at the end of his term for Vice President, but in my opinion he will definitely be a candidate for election to the office

in 1976. Mrs. Ford frankly states that her psychiatrist advises her to spend more time away from the usual routine family affairs and to take better care of herself.

Since the President resigned we are now obtaining a full story of just what transpired starting on Monday, August 5th and continuing through Thursday night August 8th. After the tapes were released and especially the one showing the President's conversation on June 23, 1972, six days after the break-in at Watergate with H. R. Haldeman, his former Chief of Staff, Alexander Haig the Chief of Staff at the White House, along with President Nixon's two attorneys, Fred Buzhardt and James S. St. Clair, made up their minds that the President must himself make a statement concerning the disclosure of this tape since it made all of his previous statements falsehoods. The two attorneys threatened to resign immediately unless the President made his statement. Especially did this apply to Mr. St. Clair who had maintained before the Federal courts and the House Judiciary Committee that Mr. Nixon was telling the truth. Haig arranged for Goldwater, Rhodes and Scott to come to the White House and before they arrived discussed with them in detail what they should say to the President since the

President must resign. It became clear at that time that Nixon's own men were forcing a final decision which would bring about the resignation of the President. They talked to Kissinger in addition to the three members from Congress and they also conferred at great length with the President. It was obvious to them that the President no longer had any support in the House and in the Senate and that the tape would absolutely bring about impeachment. Many moves were made starting on Monday, August 5th, and continued up to the time that the President resigned. Up to Wednesday night the President had not made up his mind that he was going to resign and his family were insisting that he stay and fight impeachment. With the last three close advisors in the White House and the members and the leaders from Congress advising the President that he no longer had any support and that he had completely lost the power to govern, the President then decided to resign. He held out to the bitter end and his actions from the time that he made up his mind to resign on until he finally arrived in San Clemente clearly showed that he was a destroyed broken man.

President Ford will address a Joint Session of Congress tonight at



9 p.m. Virginia is looking forward to attending this session because she knows of my association with Jerry Ford all down through the years.

August 13, 1974

Virginia and I attended our new President's first State of the Union speech ceremony and both of us enjoyed the speech and had a good time.

The President delivered an excellent down-to-earth speech stressing the importance of bringing inflation under control and pledging to continue our commitments to our friends abroad. As a former Member of our Committee on Appropriations he understands the need for compromise with Congress in all matters concerning the budget and will in my opinion receive full cooperation from both the House and the Senate.

Virginia has a front row seat in Gallery No. 2, in seat No. 7. She has had this seat for years and it is an excellent one. Before the President arrived, Julie Nixon Eisenhower and her husband David Eisenhower, arrived in that section of the gallery occupied by the President's family and assistants and she and her husband received a standing ovation that lasted almost as long as the one given our new President when he first

entered the Chamber. She looked just like she had been crying for days, but each time when they flashed the camera on her she held her head erect and never ducked. She believed in her father probably more than any member of the family and for months and months defended him throughout this country.

The Ford family appeared and they were dressed just like all of us good Americans, especially Mrs. Ford. This made quite an impression on me because as a Member I have been used to the purple and the pinks and the fireplug reds that have been used by Mrs. Nixon and Mrs. Johnson. Last night Mrs. Ford had a beautiful yellow dress that was just a nice dress. She was dressed like the wife of a President should be dressed and both she and her husband made a wonderful impression not only to the Members of Congress but I know to all of those who witnessed this program on television.

I was there last night and I hope my mother saw me. She will be 87 her birthday and when she doesn't see me on television at the State of the Union Address she says, William you must not have been there. I explain to her that there are some 800 people on the Floor when the Senate and the House and the Cabinet

and Diplomatic Corps appear and it makes it difficult to pick me out of this tremendous crowd. When she sees me then she says, you were there last night because I saw you.

For the first time in many years the Supreme Court did not march down the center aisle and occupy the nine front row seats along with their clerk. Instead they were dressed in business suits rather than their robes and occupied the back rows in the Presidential section of the gallery. I only saw three of the members present and I presume that the balance did not attend.

The 8 to 0 decision was one of the major moves that completely released the avalanche on our former President and I guess that it was good that they did not march in last night because there probably would have been some boos and this would not have been good.

The meeting at the Capitol last night was in the nature of a family reunion. Jerry Ford is still one of us and he came back last night to see his old friends. One of the statements that received quite a bit of applause was when he said that his office door has always been open and that is how it is going to be at the White House. He said of course

Congress will be welcome if they just don't overdo it. The laughter was spontaneous and one other statement that he made that received quite a bit of laughter was when he said that "God willing, I will have at least three more chances to make State of the Union speeches." This certainly meant that my old friend Jerry would be giving State of the Union speeches at least through 1977. Shortly after he was elected Vice President by the Congress, he said that he had no desire to run for the Office of President. After serving in the office of President, of course that Presidential bug finally bites you. In his message he turned to the Diplomatic Corps and pledged continuity in American foreign policy. He said it was his intention to deal openly with allies and adversaries and I noticed just for a change that a number - not all by any means - of the diplomats applauded. This is something that I have never seen and especially from the Russian ambassador and several of the others.

For some time to come now we will hear complaints concerning the drive that was made by the media to oust President Nixon. In "Letters to the Editor" on the Washington papers we find letters every day, pro and con, as to what actually took place. Letters entitled

"Cruxifiction" - "Hounded Out of Office" - "Thanks to the Press" - and "Goodbye to the Press". One letter entitled "Cruxifiction" is as follows:

### Cruxifiction

May The Washington Post congratulate itself with a pat on the back for its completion of the cruxifiction of President Nixon. I hope you are satisfied.

Tami Powstenko

Bethany Beach, Delaware

A second letter entitled "Let Us Not Forget What We Have So Bitterly Learned" reads:

President Nixon's farewell address threatens to cause the American people to lose sight of the meaning of this tragic event. Mr. Nixon attributed his resignation to the erosion of his political base (without ever suggesting why this happened); he devoted the major portion of his speech to claims of great ideals and achievements of his ill-starred presidency. The television comment which followed incredibly eulogized the former President in heroic terms.

What a colossal loss of perspective! Mr. Nixon was driven from office because it had become the near unanimous consensus that he was guilty of high crimes justifying the disgrace

of impeachment. Resignation was the form, not the substance of his departure. His great "courage" in resigning, as some characterized it, served to preserve his financial estate. President Ford's reference to Mr. Nixon's "sacrifice" in resigning is ludicrous. If he didn't resign, it is clear the Senate would have convicted him.

These mischaracterizations, this unthinking and sloppy sentimentality, dangerously confuse us. It has become apparent from the evidence, so tenaciously withheld by Mr. Nixon for more than a year (even from his own counsel) that he has consistently deceived those involved in the legal process and the American people. His administration verged on a tyrannical misuse of power. He was faithless to this trust, and he misserved his country. The "errors of judgment" he so cautiously conceded in his address, were undertaken with a view to preserve his political life, not to further the national interest. For us to accept Mr. Nixon's farewell deceit that he acted only in the national interest, is to condemn us to the risk of seeing it all happen again.

Mr. Nixon leaves office, having demanded it. He is an unindicted co-conspirator. He villified our democratic institutions, which fortunately, were stronger than he calculated. He sought to squelch a

free press, particularly The Post, which, too, was more vigorous than he suspected. It is foolhardy to allow our understandable sentiment and longing to surmount the Watergate travail to obscure the facts.

Of course, there is a large element of personal tragedy in Mr. Nixon's demise. There is no reason to intensify that; he is entitled to be spared any vindictiveness. But let us not, in our personal generosity to the man and his family, forget what we have so bitterly learned and endured these last two cruel years. It was a sense of decency on the part of the American people that became outraged at high crimes and tyranny in the highest office that compelled this forced resignation. Let not that same sense of decency be exploited to convert this exorcism into a hero's farewell.

Donald E. Schwartz  
Professor of Law  
Georgetown University  
Law Center

Washington, D. C.

August 14, 1974

Leon Jaworski, the Watergate special prosecutor, announced that he will observe a short cooling-off

period of at least several weeks before deciding whether to press criminal cover-up charges against former President Nixon. President Nixon, by the way, is very much secluded at this time in San Clemente and we certainly have a different ballgame here in Washington. The tension and pressure that we have had for months now is off and we are now in a position to move along and try to solve some of the serious matters such as inflation.

I have believed now for several days that Nelson Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater would not be seriously considered by the President for nomination for Vice President. A real drive is underway by backers of George Bush, the Republican National Committee Chairman and also by those who believe that Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee would make a good Vice President. I now believe that Rockefeller should be seriously considered because Jerry Ford will need the kind of influence that Rockefeller can bring to Washington if he is given this assignment. My friend, Jerry Ford, is not the smartest man that has ever held this office, but his personality and frankness will go a long way at this time toward solving many of the wounds that we have had with us for years. If I had to guess today, I would say that



the nomination now will either be made for Rockefeller or for Bush. As far as the President is concerned, it probably would be better if Bush or Baker were elected by the Congress because neither one of these two would overshadow the President. This is one of the matters that would have to be considered if Rockefeller is elected.

In his State of the Union message Jerry Ford said that he was not for wage and price controls at this time but that the Cost of Living Council should be reestablished. Legislation was immediately introduced yesterday by the proper committees and a bill should be approved within the next few days.

Fighting has again broken out on the island of Cypress. Turkish war planes bombed near Nicosia, the capital of Cypress, early yesterday and hostilities erupted just a few hours after the peace talks at Geneva collapsed.

President Ford may not believe in fortune cookies but his wife and children do. The family was in Vail, Colorado several months ago at a Chinese restaurant. Mrs. Ford and the children wanted to see what his fortune cookie said and Mrs. Ford told a television reporter in a phone

interview this week that the fortune cookie message read - you are about to have a change in address.

President Ford said yesterday that he intends to put his own imprint on the government, and that while he can promise no Utopia he will preside over an open, honest government. A number of Jerry's friends have requested since he was sworn in that he talk more freely to the American people and to Congress. This is a real fine suggestion.

August 15, 1974

You learn something everyday in the House of Representatives.

We have a Member by the name of Earl F. Landgrebe from Indiana who now has the seat that Charlie Halleck held for years. This man Landgrebe was very close to President Nixon and, according to him, President Nixon could do no wrong. He maintained to the bitter end that the President should not resign, and that if there was only one Member in the Congress who would stay with him all the way he would be that Member and, in fact, said that he would occupy this position even though he was lifted bodily out of the Chamber protesting that he was still right.

John M. Ashbrook is from the state of Ohio and was never a close supporter of President Nixon: Both he and Landgrebe are Republicans. Ashbrook contested President Nixon in the Presidential Primary in a number of states in 1972. Ashbrook is a very conservative Member of the House and so is Landgrebe.

Under our present system, Members can extend their remarks in the Congressional Record providing the material complies with the rules of the House and is not derogatory to any member of the other body and does not exceed the space requirement. Members go to the Well when the House first convenes and request permission to extend their remarks. In some instances they send over their remarks and they are inserted by the Acting Majority Leader just before the House adjourns. Sometimes the extensions are sent over and appear in the box where the bills are dropped. In fact, there are so many systems that we have used when the Member cannot actually be present to make the request that it is easy for someone to have an extension inserted in the Record in a Member's name when the Member knows nothing about the request.

In the August 14 Record appears an extension entitled "Rectifying the Untimely Removal of President Nixon," and according to the Record the Honorable Earl F. Landgrebe of Indiana offered the extension. This appears on page E5502 of the Daily Record and on page E5505 appears an extension entitled "The Chile Fiasco" and was placed in the Record, according to the extension that the printer received by the Honorable John M. Ashbrook of Ohio.

Today it appears that neither one of these extensions were prepared and offered by the two Members indicated above and although in part both of the extensions are right humerous, but serious to the extent that statements were made which are very humiliating to the two Members. I will not set forth the Ashbrook extension in its entirety, but state only that the Ashbrook extension includes a list of names of people that Ashbrook in the extension said were enemies of this country because they were in the list of signatories of a petition entitled "For Chileans Imprisoned by the Juanta." Among this list appear the names of John C. Bennett, Julian Bond, Cesar Chavez and others. Of course, Ashbrook did not extend this remark and make this statement.

The extension supposedly made by Landgrebe is as follows:

Mr. Speaker, former President Nixon's mother was a saint, by his own admission in his farewell message to the White House staff. But he omitted mention of his own saintly qualities in that wonderful and touching address. Richard Nixon was profane, but more often he was simply unintelligible or irrelevant. He bombed Indochina back to the stone age, but he owned and loved a beautiful Irish setter, King Timahoe. He impounded funds intended for basic human needs, but he could play three different songs on the piano.

A terrible mistake has been made. The bloodthirsty media has wrought a heinous crime on the American people by viciously distorting the harmless tale of Watergate. Mr. Nixon is no criminal, but a patriot, loyal to his friends, determined not to embarrass his country. Who, after all, he was bugging at the DNC? Leftist fellow-travelers, Mr. Speaker. By God, I should hope he listened closely.

Fortunately, our Constitution is a resilient document; the country can recover like it was injected with a miracle drug, rebound like it

hit a trampoline. I refer to the justly renowned 25th amendment, that recent addition to this historic corpuscle of laws which provided the means by which Gerald Ford rather than Carl Albert is President today. Despite the understandable joy evinced in my dear colleague, Mr. Roman Hruska's heart, in having a man of Mr. Ford's caliber in the highest office of the land, the recent tragic error of Richard Nixon's untimely abdication must be corrected.

As you know, I was a faithful supporter of our embattled President to the bitter, sour end, stating even that I would be shot with him if necessary. Many wonderful people wrote me recommending this course. I hope you will join me in reaffirming such faith right now. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ford must choose a Vice President. To restore to a Nation cheated of its rightful, right-thinking, and right-leaning leadership, an act of great statesmanship, compassion, and wisdom by Mr. Ford would be the appointment of Richard Nixon as his Vice President, and his own subsequent resignation of the Presidency. By this act our 38th President will leave office with a spotless record and will have courageously taken one remarkable action for which he shall never be forgotten.

Both of these Members are very much incensed today and called this to the attention of the Speaker and the Members of the House asking unanimous consent that the two extensions be expunged from the daily and the permanent Record. The Speaker announced that each Member in the future must sign his name to each extension offered to the Record and, in addition, notified the House that this matter has been turned over to the FBI for investigation and prosecution. The word floating around the House today is that these two extensions must have been prepared by some intern or some employee of a Congressional office. Certainly no Member would participate and be a party to extending the remarks of other Members knowing that the rules of the House absolutely forbid such procedure, and if apprehended the Member of course would be subject to removal by the House and further, be prosecuted.

If you knew the philosophy of Landgrebe and his enthusiasm for Richard M. Nixon, then you would understand why the extension could not have been prepared by Landgrebe or anyone in his office.

August 16, 1974

From time to time we have requests that are right difficult

to turn down. Sam Rayburn was one of my good friends and certainly he was of great assistance to me because in the very beginning if it had not been for him I would have waited several years before I would have succeeded in being elected a Member of the Committee on Appropriations. I presided many times when he was Speaker and each time he was very complimentary of the manner in which I presided. In fact, on more than one occasion he would name five of us and say that we were the best presiding officers in the House and he hoped that time would be good to all of us so that we could all serve at one time or another as Speaker of the House. He never asked me to vote on any bill or do anything that was not exactly according to the rules of the House and for the best interests of our country. He was this kind of a man.

Two years ago we had a bill before the House authorizing the minting of the Eisenhower proof dollar. All of the Members in the House and the Senate were for this legislation but when it appeared before the House some of the Republican Members, including my friend Jerry Ford, offered an amendment that provided that the Eisenhower College in New York State would receive 5% of the



profit obtained from the sale of the dollars and then my old friend Wright Patman, Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee placed an amendment before the House providing that the Rayburn Library would receive 5%. The Eisenhower College is just about ready to go under and the cost of maintaining the Rayburn Library increases each year. Here we had the Republicans strong for one amendment and the Democrats placed in a position of where they might be strong for the other amendment. There were enough of us in the House to vote down both amendments. This, of course, is special legislation granting use of Federal money that does not comply with any statute on the books and simply prefers these two institutions. It was a hard vote for me to cast because I was so fond of Mr. Rayburn. I believed then that if it was possible for Mr. Rayburn to speak out on this kind of an amendment he would have said "No", that it should be defeated. Within the next few weeks we will again be called upon to cast a vote on the question of appropriating up to \$9 million to the Eisenhower College and the same amount for the Sam Rayburn Library at Bonham, Texas. In this morning's mail I received a letter from George Meany, President

of the AFL-CIO stating that the AFL-CIO has long supported legislation to appropriate additional amounts to the Eisenhower College and to the Sam Rayburn Library. The sum of \$470 million is the amount expected to be realized in the sale of the proof Eisenhower silver dollars. In the same mail with the Meany letter I received a letter from H. G. Delaney, Director of the Sam Rayburn Library informing me that my old friend Wright Patman has placed the same Rayburn provision in the bill that authorizes 9% of the total amount received from the Eisenhower dollars with said amount to go to the Sam Rayburn Library. This bill, by the way, has passed the Senate.

Here we have Democrats on one side knowing that such legislation should not pass and that the Sam Rayburn Library should be placed in the same category with any and all libraries and institutions from the standpoint of grants and loans. On the other side we have the Republicans knowing full well that the Eisenhower College is about ready to go under with very few people making substantial contributions at this time to keep this college afloat.

I failed to state that the bill H. R. 16032 in addition provides for

changing the composition of the penny and then authorizes grants to the Eisenhower College and the Rayburn Library. In changing the composition of the penny the bill provides that most of the copper comes out of the penny since copper is so scarce. Just as soon as this bill is enacted our copper pennies will suddenly disappear because all of the collectors and the people will gather them up as quickly as possible.

In my opinion this legislation will probably pass this time, and this is the kind of legislation that brings about a great deal of criticism that we receive from time to time.

August 17, 1974

Another cease-fire took place on Cyprus yesterday following 3 days of rugged fighting. Turkey now controls over 1/3 of the island and our offer to mediate between Turkey and Greece was declined yesterday by the Greek Prime Minister. Our State Department, along with British diplomats, are in agreement that there will have to be a cooling-off period after this new cease-fire before anyone can entice Greece into new negotiations. So far Greece has made no indication that they will

negotiate, but there is no alternative other than negotiation. Greece feels that we have let her down and is very much aggrieved over our actions.

The question concerning the delivery of the balance of tapes and files in the White House is now up for consideration by the new President. Yesterday President Ford deferred shipment of White House recordings and documents to former President Nixon until the matter is researched to determine whether there is any legal basis for turning over the tapes to Mr. Nixon, or any legal basis for withholding the tapes.

Fred Buzzhardt, President Nixon's attorney in the White House, along with Mr. St. Claire, held the other day that the tapes and documents must be turned over to Mr. Nixon. Now President Ford has named his former law partner as his attorney and the matter will be researched further.

We are really surprised on the House side at the action the Senate has taken during the past few weeks on Appropriations Bills. For years the Senate always added additional amounts to our bills and now the Senate Appropriations Committee is chopping more off the bills than we

do on the House side. This week the Senate Committee chopped off \$5 billion from the Pentagon budget and is in the process of chopping off more money from the Labor-HEW bill which we passed in the House a few weeks ago. This budget cutting on the part of the Senate comes as a great surprise to us on the House side.

President Ford is doing right well so far and is making a good impression with the people. There has been so much bitterness and controversy up to this time that the people are delighted with the lull that has taken place and this, in my opinion, will bolster the Republicans in November.

We find more letters to the Editor concerning Nixon's resignation and the press. One short letter from McLean, Virginia in this morning's Washington Post inquired only - "Are You Satisfied?". Another letter from the City of Washington said - "now that you have run President Nixon out of office, what in the world will you find to print? Some other trash I presume." Another letter starts out by stating - "Congratulations on the fine job you did in breaking one of the finest Presidents we have ever had". Another letter inquires -

"Couldn't you have come up with bigger type than you used on your August 9th front page? A headline might have been - WE FINALLY WON!". Other letters commend the Post and run along the line of one letter which states in part - "you should take great pride in the painstaking work over the last two years in the Watergate affair and you and your staff made a contribution to America that will rank equally with or greater than many of our fighting men. The pen is mightier than the sword."

We will have this part of the Watergate aftermath now I presume for several weeks. Just before President Nixon resigned, a Jewish Rabbi from Boston took up the fight in defending the President and held several conferences with Mr. Nixon just before he resigned. Rabbi Baruch Korff, who was a steadfast supporter of President Nixon through the later stages of the Watergate affair now says he will tear up the Capital a bit in a campaign to impose curbs on the news media. He said that the news media has demeaned the Presidency by the persecution of Mr. Nixon. When the media asked as to what he wanted he said: "For those leftists and liberals to go to hell."

The question of immunity or

prosecution for Richard M. Nixon is so difficult that even the lawyers do not want to debate it publicly. That is the explanation given in a resolution that came out of the American Bar Association National Convention now being held in Honolulu.

August 19, 1974

Last week the Members of the United States Senate congratulated Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, for completing 13 years and 225 days as Democratic Leader in the Senate. We all know Mike Mansfield and realize full well that he is not the strongest Majority Leader that the Senate has had during the 20th Century but at least he is agreeable and easy to get along with. The previous record was held by Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Democrat of Arkansas, who was leader of his party from December 3, 1923 until July 14, 1937. Robinson's record was compiled partly as Minority Leader and Mike Mansfield's record is compiled entirely as Majority Leader.

Yesterday our new President had his first baptism as far as protesters are concerned. Some 20,000 to 22,000 protesters marched down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House, chanting all kinds of slogans and

demanding that President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger act immediately to rid Cyprus of the Turkish troops. Placards were carried that called for the removal of Secretary Kissinger and the wording on the placards indicated that he should be known as "Killer Kissinger". The march ended up in front of the White House and this is just a small baptism for our new President. This happens frequently and I presume that he will get used to it.

Last week, President Park Chung Lee, while addressing a meeting in South Korea was fired upon by an assassin. Mrs. Park was on the platform with her husband and one of the bullets struck her. She died 8 hours later after major surgery was performed. This is a sad case because Mrs. Park was a woman of high intelligence and compassion and she travelled throughout South Korea demonstrating a real concern for the common people. She was somewhat different from her husband and it is a shame that she was killed. Mr. Park is criticized for his lack of interest in his people and this event is not only a moment of personal tragedy but one of political crisis as well.

Our new President is moving along and I do hope that the honey-



moon continues for many months.

August 20, 1974

United States Ambassador Roger P. Davies was shot and killed yesterday in the American Embassy in Nicosia. The shooting took place during one of the quietest days of the past several weeks with the ceasefire which had been placed into effect generally holding throughout the island. Suddenly some 300 to 600 demonstrators appeared in front of the American Embassy and began hurling stones through the windows, overturning and burning automobiles and tearing down the American flag. Automatic weapon fire began and the Ambassador and one of the secretaries in the Embassy were killed.

We present our Conference Report on the District of Columbia Budget for fiscal year 1975 today. The Conference Report provides for a little over \$1,300,000,000 for the operation of our Capital city. With 746,000 people, this is a right large amount of money. The District of Columbia share for the cost of constructing the 98 mile rapid transit system is provided for in this Conference Report. Since 1966 I have said that the 98 mile rapid transit system would cost between four and

five billion dollars instead of the \$2.5 billion which is authorized by law. Some two years ago those in charge of constructing the rapid transit system finally admitted that instead of \$2.5 billion the cost was at that time up to \$2,980,000,000. Last week the officials of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority admitted the cost was then up to \$3,970,000,000. In my opinion the cost will be nearer \$5 billion than it is \$4 billion and this was generally known from the very beginning. The newspapers have quoted me as saying that those in charge have simply refused to tell the truth to the people. Several weeks ago General Jackson Graham, the manager of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, and his budget officer, Schuyler Lowe, who, by the way was connected with the District government for many years, appeared at my office and asked me if it would be possible for me to say that instead of not telling the truth, the authority had simply made mistakes and it was a matter of poor estimates and bad engineering. They said that this would sound better than the statement that they had not been telling the truth. Judgment Day will arrive before too long, and that will be the day when \$2.5 Billion has actually been paid out on

contracts and then the authority will have to appear again before Congress and ask for additional authorization and money to complete this 98 mile system. Contracts let to date are almost up to the \$2.5 billion and the total estimate for construction which was released several days ago is now nearly up to the \$4 billion figure. This is simply avoiding the inevitable and I presume that the entire burden for the additional cost will be aimed at the Federal government.

We are now in the process of formulating plans for a National Health Insurance Program, and yesterday the Ways and Means Committee produced the draft of a bill for use by members of the committee to start the overall program underway. This was simply a vehicle which will be added to and then a bill will be drafted and presented to the Congress. Under the provisions of this bill everyone in this country will be covered under the National Health Insurance Program.

August 21, 1974

Yesterday President Ford nominated Nelson A. Rockefeller, of New York, to be the 41st Vice President of the United States. This will be the second time that I will cast a

vote for the election of a Vice President. We are really operating under the 25th Amendment. Just to think that we now have a President who served as Vice President without being elected by the people and was elevated to the Office of President without being elected by the people.

After the Judiciary Committee makes its investigation concerning Rockefeller and goes into detail somewhat as to his financial holdings, his name will then be submitted to the House for a vote. Most of the Republicans indicated that Rockefeller was a good selection but some made statements on the floor of the House that Rockefeller was a big spender and, in fact, had increased the debt of New York State over 600 percent, and the State Budget during his administrations had increased over 300 percent. It may be that some Republicans will vote against this nomination. A number of Democrats probably will not vote at all, and some will vote against Mr. Rockefeller.

After everything is considered I believe that Jerry Ford made a good selection. Rockefeller can be of great assistance to him at this time and it seems to me that the Republican Party has settled on what

will probably be a Ford-Rockefeller ticket in 1976.

The House Judiciary Committee ended its historic impeachment inquiry of Richard M. Nixon yesterday and filed its report which the House accepted by a vote of 412 to 3. This report was printed in the Congressional Record so that it could be made a part of the permanent record of the Congress of the United States and of course will be used many times by those who write the history of this period.

Trouble continues in Cyprus and three gunmen who are accused of firing automatic rifles from a vacant building opposite the American Embassy are being held as suspects in the assassination of Ambassador Roger Davies.

When Pete Rodino filed the report of the Committee on the Judiciary and a Roll Call vote was requested by the Democratic Majority Leader, the three Members who voted "No" were Mr. Nixon's last ditch supporters, Earl F. Landgrebe, Republican of Indiana, Otto E. Passman, Democrat of Louisiana, and G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery, Democrat of Mississippi.

To the bitter end, Landgrebe and Passman maintained that they

would never vote for impeachment. The complete report, which will total some 300 to 400 pages when printed, will become the document which explains for posterity just why it was that Mr. Nixon was the first President in our nation's history to resign.

There was no explanation or debate on the motion to file and one of the Republican Members, R. E. Bauman, of Maryland, complained bitterly over the fact that the House was called upon to vote blindly on a report that no Members had had the opportunity to examine other than the members of the Judiciary Committee. The procedure was worked out by the leadership on both sides and the Majority Leader referred Mr. Bauman to his Minority Leader, John Rhodes, for a full explanation of why there was no debate or time consumed at the time the report was filed.

Following the report of the Judiciary Committee, I presented the Conference Report on the District of Columbia Appropriations Bill for fiscal year, 1975. Some of the facts that I developed in making my statement on the floor will be of concern to all of us later on and especially when those in charge of building the Rapid

Transit System come back to Congress for additional funding. The short statement that I made is as follows:

MR. SPEAKER, this Conference Report provides for a total of \$1,382,455,900 for fiscal year, 1975. \$663,273,900 of the total amount is District of Columbia funds. \$303,709,500 of the total amount is Federal grants, which will be received by the District of Columbia and \$5,103,500 represents the total for private grants and reimbursements to be received by the District of Columbia for fiscal year, 1975. The Federal payment provided for in this conference is \$221,200,000. The sum of \$30,969,000 in revenue sharing funds will be received by the District of Columbia for fiscal year 1975.

In our Capital City we have about 746,000 people. The total of \$1,382,455,900 is more than ample for fiscal year 1975. When you compare this amount with the amount expended by the fifty states in their annual budgets you will see that the District of Columbia receives considerably more per capita than nearly all of the states.

The amount contained in the House and Senate bill for the

Federal payment was \$221,200,000. This is \$8,8000,000 below the amount requested and \$33,750,000 above the 1974 fiscal year amount.

The conference total is \$481,100 below the House bill and \$3,469,000 below the Senate bill. The total conference amount, not including Federal and private grants, is \$40,451,100 below the amount requested in the budget. The total amount recommended in this Conference Report is \$100,516,300 above the 1974 fiscal year amount.

The total amount for Federal loans provided for in this Conference Report is \$152,600,000.

The Conference Report reflects the actions of both Houses in currently funding expiring Federal programs for the Office of Planning and Management; Manpower Planning System, certain grants for the public library and funds for expiring Federal grants in the Adult Education Demonstration Center program here in our Nation's Capital.

Both Houses provided for a 10 percent salary increase for teachers, firemen and police, with the total sum of \$18 million included in both bills. After the budget for fiscal year 1975 was passed in the House



and after hearings were held in the Senate, a proposal was made to increase the salaries by 16 percent instead of 10 percent. The Mayor requested \$18 million for a 10 percent increase and this was approved and the amount placed in both bills. No request was made of our Committee for a 16 percent increase during the budget hearings, and the deficit of \$14 million is not provided for in this Conference Report. Suggestions were made that an additional one-shot Federal payment of \$14 million should be approved to make up the deficit for salary increases. Mr. Speaker, of course this was refused. The budget submitted to the Congress was a political budget based on the premise that there was no increase in taxes on the part of the District Government, and the increases would come by way of a Federal payment and additional Federal grants and loans. The authorized Federal payment for fiscal year 1975 is \$230 million. This is provided for under the Home Rule legislation. Prior to this time the total authorized Federal payment was \$190 million.

Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding the fact that the District refused to increase taxes but still wanted additional programs and more money, we recommended a Federal payment of \$221,200,000. This is \$33,750,000

more than the amount we approved for fiscal year 1974.

Mr. Speaker, about 67 percent of increased costs requested for the operation of our city government in 1975 falls in the mandatory category.

We recommended and the House approved the restriction on the maximum number of positions authorized for any one month to the total of 39,619. This Conference Report provides for the funding of 38,467 employees.

The Conference Report provides for \$35,379,000 for the fiscal year 1975 District of Columbia share for constructing the Rapid Transit System. Beginning in 1966 I inquired as to whether or not the 98 mile system authorized could be constructed for the authorized amount of \$2.5 billion. The officials of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority informed me that there was no question but that the system could be constructed and would be within the amount authorized by law. At that time I stated that in my opinion this system would cost between \$4 billion and \$5 billion and each year since that time when the officials have appeared before our Committee I have informed them that I still was of

the opinion that the total cost would be between four and five billion. About three years ago, the officials in appearing before our Committee finally said that the amount had gone up to \$2,980,000,000 and that it was true that the system could not be constructed for the authorized amount. Again, Mr. Speaker, on August 8, 1974 the Metro officials raised their estimate for the cost of the 98 mile Metro rail system. The officials of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority then advised the Board that Metro's latest estimate is \$3,970,000,000. This is \$1.4 billion more than the original cost estimate.

Mr. Speaker, I have maintained from the very beginning that the people in the city of Washington and in the metropolitan area should be advised of all of the facts concerning the cost of the rapid rail transit system. In other words, Mr. Speaker, the officials should simply tell the truth. Now they say instead of telling the truth it is a matter of bad estimates and poor engineering. This sounds better to them than a statement to the effect that the truth has not been forthcoming down through the years concerning the total cost of this system.

Mr. Speaker, the total cost for constructing the 98 mile rapid transit system will be nearer the figure of \$5 billion than \$4 billion.

This Conference Report does not provide for the establishment of an Office of Business and Economic Development. The amount of \$148,600 was requested for eight new positions for this purpose. When questioned, we could not ascertain just what type of new industries and industrial plants the District officials had in mind. This of course is not an industrial city and should never be placed in that category.

This Conference Report provides for general operating expenses for the various departments, agencies, and activities of \$868,724,900. The amount includes \$49,067,000 for debt service.

This Conference Report provides for \$6 million for operating deficit for the Metro bus system. This amount now is predicted to go considerably higher and here again we have an instance of where a portion of our transportation system is in serious trouble. Certainly I did not agree that the system as operated under the D. C. Transit Company was the best but, Mr. Speaker, the present

day operation is certainly no better.

Mr. Speaker, this is a good Conference Report and we recommend it to the House.

- 30 -

William H. Natcher  
2nd District, Kentucky  
August 20, 1974

Just before completing general debate on the Export-Import Bank extension legislation, our new President, Gerald Ford, decided to make a visit to his old friends in the House Chamber. He called the Speaker and asked him if he could come up and of course the Speaker immediately agreed. The bells sounded recess and from 3 o'clock until five minutes after four, our President visited with all of his old friends in the House. He spoke for about fifteen minutes using as his subject the need for cooperation between the new President and the Legislative Branch of the government. He very frankly said to us that he needed our help and that he had just come up to visit with us and to tell us that he needed us more now since any time that he had been a public official. This man really has a way of getting right down to the basic facts and it is certainly a change from the Nixon Administration. He is placing himself

in a position where it will be extremely difficult for the House to have too many serious arguments with him for a great many months to come. In addition, he is establishing a good image with the people generally, and if he decides to travel in the Senatorial campaigns this November, in my opinion, he may change a number of close races.

August 22, 1974 -

The question of amnesty for deserters and those who refused to report for duty in the Vietnam War is one of the major issues now confronting our new President. Several thousand boys are in this category and a great many of them left the country and are living in Finland, Canada, and other places. In addressing the Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention in Chicago this week, President Ford said that each case should be carefully considered, not as a group, and in all fairness those who are in this category should be permitted to work their way back into our society. He did not explain what he meant by "working their way back" and his statement generally was not accepted by the VFW. A Resolution was adopted disapproving of the suggestion and the following day, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, who also spoke

before the Convention, said he thought that they were in error in rejecting President Ford's plea for leniency for men who refused to serve in Vietnam. A great many of the veterans jumped to their feet and shouted "No! No!". Senator Kennedy continued to discuss the question of amnesty and said that it was wrong to turn the President down without even hearing his proposal in full. With all veterans this is a right hard issue and I recall President Nixon's statement when he addressed the Congressional banquet held by the Veterans of Foreign Wars here in Washington earlier this year. Former President Nixon said he was against amnesty, period! and the great majority of the delegates jumped up and applauded for several minutes.

Our new President now says that he probably will be a candidate for reelection to office in 1976. All of his moves indicate such a race and one of his first moves along this line was to meet with the Congressional Black Caucus at the White House on Wednesday. The 16 black Members of the House met with the President and although he made no promises to these men and women he did inform them that his change

insofar as amnesty should be an indication to the Black Caucus of his flexibility and willingness to change with the changing times. He said that he would examine carefully the suggestions made by the Members of the Caucus and that his office would always be open to them to discuss any of the programs or problems that they had. This is a move that President Nixon always avoided and even though President Ford will be just as conservative, if not more so, the New President is more down to earth, and easier to see and talk to than the former President.

The Ways and Means Committee is unable to agree on a National Health Insurance Program and the vehicle presented to the Committee several days ago apparently was not sufficient. Wilbur Mills, the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, now says that when the House returns on September 11th this legislation will not be considered. This means that the legislation will go over until next year.

The Senate Appropriations Committee is now setting a good example for our Committee in the House. Yesterday the Senate accepted the report and recommendations of the Senate



Appropriations Committee and on a vote of 86 to 5, reduced the Department of Defense Appropriation Bill by nearly \$5 billion. On our side we reduced the Bill a little over \$3 billion and at that time the majority of us believed that our Chairman, George Mahon, of Texas, who is also chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations, should have requested a larger cut in this bill. We voted with our Chairman and now the Senate proceeds to teach us a right good lesson. The Senate action meets with the approval of the great majority of people in this country.

August 23, 1974

We recessed yesterday until Wednesday, September 11th. Virginia and I will go down home either tomorrow or Sunday and I hope to fish for a few days at Kentucky Lake and then travel in my District.

Those Members of the House and Senate on both side of the political aisle who have taken an active part in the impeachment proceedings before the Committee on the Judiciary and the Watergate investigation generally will be vulnerable to criticism for some time to come from those who do not concur with the action

that they took. This applies of course to my friend, Peter Rodino, the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. For several months now, rumors have circulated on the Hill concerning a trip that Rodino and several Members of his Committee made to Mexico back during the fall of last year. A front page story in the Evening Star-News yesterday detailed the allegations made by a former employee of the government who worked in the Immigration Department. This man was charged with violation of regulations and in defending his case on appeal and while he is being charged, gave a story to the press concerning Rodino's actions in Mexico. According to the story that appeared yesterday, which is one of many that have appeared in the papers during the past few weeks, at a honky-tonk bar in Mexico Rodino was supposed to have demanded that a prostitute be sent to his room located near the bar. This story was vigorously denied by Rodino yesterday and all such occasions since the rumors started. Those Members who took a real active part, such as Howard Baker, of Tennessee, Lowell Weicker, of Connecticut, Joseph Montoya, of New Mexico, Daniel Inouye, of Hawaii, Peter Rodino, of New Jersey, and others will be vulnerable for some time to come and may be accused of

deeds just to embarrass them when there is no substance whatever for such charges. This seems to be the system now used in politics, and it certainly is not good.

Our old friend, Karl Mundt, died this week. He was 74 years old and during the last 1½ years of his tenure in the Senate was attempting to recover from a severe stroke. The Republicans in South Dakota, after many months, attempted to convince Mrs. Mundt that she should have the Senator resign in order for South Dakota to have an active participant in the United States Senate. Mrs. Mundt became very much incensed over the request and said that her husband would fully recover and not only return to the Senate, but would be re-elected. He never recovered from his stroke. He was succeeded in the Senate by Representative James Abourezk. Senator Mundt was a college professor before he was elected to Congress and for a period of 25 years was a close advisor to the Republican Presidents. He served 5 terms in the House and was elected to 4 terms in the Senate. He served on the Appropriations Committee and in this way I got to know him real well.

In 1948 he and Congressman Richard M. Nixon assisted in the investi-

gation of Alger Hiss, the high-ranking State Department employee accused of giving secret documents to the Communists. This event, and the Joseph McCarthy fight between the Eisenhower-appointed Army officials and Senator McCarthy, were the two events that Senator Mundt will be remembered for more than all others. He was a small, heavy-set man, and right pompous. When he would decide to get mad, he would just kind of fluff up, like a little bantam rooster.

Going back again to the matter concerning the Judiciary Committee's trip to Mexico, before too many months, there will probably be a number of stories written about the way a great many of our Immigration requests have been handled down through the years. If the whole story was completely detailed concerning Immigration requests it would make right unusual reading.

September 10, 1974

On Sunday, September 8th, President Ford granted former President Nixon a full, free and absolute pardon for all federal crimes Mr. Nixon committed or may have committed during his terms in the White House.

This pardon covers the period from January, 1969 to the date President Nixon resigned.

Mr. Nixon promptly issued a statement from his home in California accepting the pardon and admitted he had made mistakes but did not acknowledge committing any crimes. One federal grand jury named Mr. Nixon an unindicted co-conspirator in the Watergate cover-up months ago when he was still President and at a time when there was less evidence of his involvement than is available at this time. The effect of this pardon is to immunize Mr. Nixon from federal prosecution for all offenses against the United States during his almost six years as President.

President Ford's statement, which he read in a televised report on Sunday morning is as follows:

"Richard Nixon became the thirty-seventh President of the United States on January 20, 1969, and was re-elected in 1972 for a second term by the electors of forty-nine of the fifty-states. His term in office continued until his resignation on August 9, 1974.

Pursuant to resolutions of the House of Representatives, its Committee on the Judiciary conducted an

inquiry and investigation on the impeachment of the President extending over more than eight months. The hearings of the committee and its deliberations, which received wide national publicity over television, radio, and in printed media, resulted in votes adverse to Richard Nixon on recommended articles of impeachment.

As a result of certain acts or omissions occurring before his resignation from the office of President, Richard Nixon has become liable to possible indictment and trial for offenses against the United States. Whether or not he shall be so prosecuted depends on findings of the appropriate grand jury and on the discretion of the authorized prosecutor. Should an indictment ensue, the accused shall then be entitled to a fair trial by an impartial jury, as guaranteed to every individual by the Constitution.

It is believed that a trial of Richard Nixon, if it became necessary, could not fairly begin until a year or more has elapsed. In the meantime, the tranquility to which this nation has been restored by the events of recent weeks could be irreparably lost by the prospects of bringing to trial a former President of the United States.

The prospects of such trial will cause prolonged and divisive debate over the propriety of exposing to further punishment and degradation a man who has already paid the unprecedented penalty of relinquishing the highest elective office in the United States.

Now therefore, I, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, pursuant to the pardon power conferred upon me by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, have granted and by these presents do grant a full, free, and absolute pardon unto Richard Nixon for all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in during the period from January 20, 1969, through August 9, 1974.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 8th day of September in the year of Our Lord Nineteen Hundred Seventy-Four, and of the independence of the United States of America the 199th."