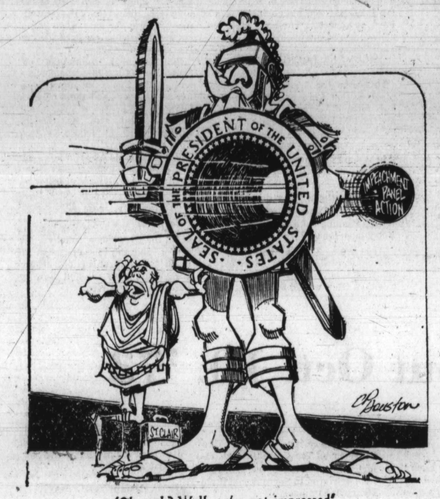
A cartoonist's field day



'Oh yeah? Well, we're not impressed'

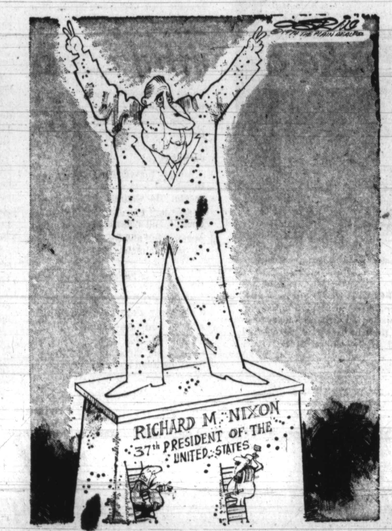
"OH YEAH? Well, we're not impressed" (Houston Chronicle, July 30)

'Remember, Not a Word to Him About Sordid Political Activities'

"REMEMBER, not a word to him about sordid political activities." (Newsweek, July 1973)

"...GOTTA KEEP UP THE OL' IMAGE!..." (Arkansas Gazette, July 30)

NEW DEAL, FAIR DEAL, SHADY DEAL (News and Courier —Charleston, S.C., July 2)



"How about, 'He kept us out of Ireland'?" (Plum Dealer — Cleveland, Ohio, July 30)

(The State, Columbia, S.C., Aug. 1)

(Commercial Appeal — Memphis, Tenn., July 29)

"I wish I could share your optimism, Jim, but to me it all looks rather hopeless — the NFL will never settle this strike by fall!"

"I wish I could share your optimism, Jim, but to me it all looks rather hopeless — the NFL will never settle this strike by fall!" (Commercial Appeal — Memphis, Tenn., July 29)

My Faith In The Constitution Is Whole

By Cong. Barbara Jordan

Rep. Jordan, a Democrat, is the U.S. Representative from Texas' 18th District. This article is excerpted from her statement during the House Judiciary Committee debate on impeachment July 25, 1974.

"We, the people"—it is a very eloquent beginning. But when the Constitution of the United States was completed on the 17th of September in 1787, I was not included in that "We, the people." I felt for many years that somehow George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake. But through the process of amendment, interpretation and court decision I have finally been included in "We, the people."

Today I am an inquisitor. I believe hyperbole would not be fictional and would not overstate the solemness that I feel right now. My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total. I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the diminution, the subversion, the destruction of the Constitution.

Public Trust Violated

"Who can so properly be the inquisitors for the nation as the representatives of the nation themselves?" (The Federalist Papers, No. 65). The subject of its jurisdiction are those offenses which proceed from the misconduct of public men. In other words the jurisdiction comes from the abuse or violation of some public trust.

It is wrong, I suggest, it is a misreading of the Constitution for any member here to assert that for a member to vote for an Article of Impeachment means that that member must be convinced that the President should be removed from office.

The Constitution doesn't say that. The powers relating to impeachment are an essential check in the hands of this body, the legislature, against and upon the encroachment of the Executive. In establishing the division between the two branches of the legislature, the House and the Senate, assigning to the one of the right to accuse and to the other the right to judge—the framers of this Constitution were very astute. They did not make the accusers and the judges the same persons.

Bridle the Executive

We know the nature of impeachment. We have been talking about it awhile now. "It is chiefly designed for the President and his high ministers" to somehow be called into account. It is designed to "bridle" the Executive if he engages in excesses. "It is designed as a method of national 'inquest' into the conduct of public men" (Federalist, No. 65).

The framers confined in the Congress the power, if need be, to remove the President in order to strike a delicate balance between a President swollen with power and grown tyrannical and preservation of the indpendence of the Executive.

The nature of impeachment is a narrowly channeled exception to the separation of powers maxim; the Federal Convention of 1787 said that. It limited impeachment to "high crimes and misdemeanors" and discounted and opposed the term, "maladministration." "It is to be used only for great misdemeanors," so it was said in the North Carolina ratification convention. And in the Virginia ratification convention: "We do not trust liberty to a particular branch. We need one branch to check the others."

"No one need be afraid" it was said in the North Carolina Ratification Convention: "No one need be afraid that officers who commit oppression will pass with immunity."

"Prosecutions of impeachments will seldom fail to agitate the passions of the whole community," said Hamilton in the Federalist Papers No. 65, "and to divide it into parties more or less friendly or inimical to the accused." I do not mean political parties in that sense.

HIGH CRIMES

The drawing of political lines goes to the motivation behind impeachment; but impeachment must proceed within the confines of the constitutional term, "high crimes and misdemeanors."

This morning, in a discussion of the evidence, we were told that the evidence which purports to support the allegations of missuse of the CIA by the President is thin. We are told that the evidence is insufficient. What that recital of the evidence this morning did not include is what the President did know on June 23, 1972.

The President did know that it was Republican money, that it was money from the Committee for the Re-election of the President, which was found in the possession of one of the burglars arrested on June 17.

THE PRESIDENT DID KNOW

What the President did know on the 23rd of June was the prior activities of E. Howard Hunt, which included his participation in the break-in of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, which included Howard Hunt's participation in the Dita Beard ITT affair, which included Howard Hunt's fabrication of cables designed to discredit the Kennedy administration.

We are further cautioned today that perhaps these proceedings ought to be delayed because certainly there would be new evidence forthcoming from the President of the United States. There has not even been an obfuscated indication that this committee would receive any additional materials from the President. The committee subpoena is outstanding and if the President wants to supply that material, the committee sits here.

The fact is that on yesterday, the American people waited with great anxiety for eight hours, not knowing whether their President would obey an order of the Supreme Court of the United States.

At this point I would like to juxtapose a few of the impeachment criteria with some of the President's actions.

We have heard time and time again that the evidence reflects payment to the defendants of money. The President had knowledge that these funds were being paid and that these were funds collected for the 1972 presidential campaign.

SUSPICIOUS MANNER

We know that the President met with (Assistant Attorney General) Henry Petersen 27 times to discuss matters related to Watergate and immediately thereafter met with the very persons who were implicated in the information Mr. Petersen was receiving, and transmitting to the President. Madison's words again: "If the President be connected in any suspicious manner with any person and there be grounds to believe that he will shelter that person, he may be impeached."

Justice Story: "Impeachment is intended for occasional and extraordinary cases where a superior power acting for the whole people is put into operation to protect their rights and rescue their liberties from violation."

We know about the Huston plan. We know about the break-in at the psychiatrist's office. We know that there was absolute complete direction in August 1971 when the President instructed Ehrlichman to "do whatever is necessary." This instruction led to a surreptitious entry into Dr. Fielding's office....

THE PUBLIC TRUST BETRAYED

The South Carolina Ratification Convention impeachment criteria: "Those are impeachable "who behave amiss or betray their public trust."

Beginning shortly after the Watergate break-in and continuing to the present time the President has engaged in a series of public statements and actions designed to thwart the lawful investigation by government prosecutors. Moreover, the President has made public announcements and assertions bearing on the Watergate case, which the evidence will show he knew to be false....

James Madison said, again at the Constitutional Convention: "A President is impeachable if he attempts to subvert the Constitution."

The Constitution charges the President with the task of taking care that the laws be faithfully executed, and yet the President has counselled his aides to commit perjury, willfully disregarded the secrecy of grand jury proceedings, concealed surreptitious entry attempted to compromise a federal judge while publicly displaying his cooperation with the processes of criminal justice.... If the impeachment provision in the Constitution of the United States will not reach the offenses charged here, then perhaps that 18th century Constitution should be abandoned to a 20th century paper shredder. Has the President committee offenses and planned and directed and acquiesced in a course of conduct which the Constitution will not tolerate? That is the question. We know that. We know the question. We should now forthwith proceed to answer the question. It is reason and not passion which must guide our deliberations, guide our debate, and guide our decision.

This Is Your Life, Mr. Nixon

By Sam Fogg
United Press International

When Richard Milhous Nixon wrote "Six Crises" he could not have foreseen that his greatest crisis lay ahead, a scandal of historic proportions that dragged him from the pinnacle of power and personal popularity and finally destroyed him politically.

Stretching over three decades, Nixon's political career was an amazing pattern of crests and troughs, of triumphs and defeats. Watergate was his nadir — the most precipitous fall from favor of any modern American politician.

From this fall there was no hope of the comeback Nixon had made his trademark in public life. Twice before, he seemed destined for the political scrap heap when he lost his first bid for the presidency in 1960 and then the governorship of California two years later. It was then he delivered the famous post-election line: "You won't have Nixon to kick around any more."

Yet six years later he was elected President and then went on to win a second term by one of the greatest landslides in American political history.

Cruel Irony

It seems cruel irony that the clumsy Watergate break-in in June, 1972, should have come at a time when Nixon's prospects for re-election were already so bright, promising four more years to achieve world peace and seek the "New American Revolution" at home.

But many politicians blame Nixon himself. They feel he could have deflected the entire scandal at the outset merely by declaring he would get to the bottom of the break-in at Democratic national committee headquarters and deal summarily with anyone in his administration who might be involved.

Nixon did not do this.

Instead, the White House dismissed the break-in as a "third-rate burglary" while Nixon, for more than two years, kept secret the fact that he was an active participant in a cover-up designed to insure that nothing interfered with his re-election.

Money was paid, allegedly to buy the silence of those who burglarized the Watergate. There were investigations of Nixon's federal tax returns, improvements made on his personal properties at taxpayers' expense and his campaign financing. Some of his aides resigned or were fired. Others were indicted, convicted and jailed.

Others still face trial in the cover-up, including H. R. Haldeman and Ehrlichman, the two men in the White House upon whom he depended most, and John N. Mitchell, Nixon's attorney general and briefly director of his 1972 campaign.

The house judiciary committee, after six days of nationally televised debate, approved three articles of impeachment against Nixon charging him with abuse of power, obstruction of justice and failure to comply with committee subpoenas. With some Republican members joining in, the panel recommended his conviction by the Senate and removal from office.

2nd Time in History

For only the second time in U.S. history, a President faced the threat of the ultimate disgrace provided by the constitution. In the only previous case, Andrew Johnson escaped conviction by a single vote in 1868, finished his term and left office an embittered man. He died a few years later.

The biggest single blow to Nixon's hope of containing the scandals was the Supreme Court's 8-0 ruling that he must surrender 64 White House tapes to the special Watergate prosecutor. Aware that defiance of the court would mean almost automatic impeachment, Nixon agreed to turn over the tapes.

And with that, he was forced to admit he had discussed the break-in with Haldeman six days after it occurred, and had directed that the FBI be ordered to curtr its investigation not only to avoid compromising CIA activities but to conceal the involvement of his re-election campaign committee.

The President conceded he had been wrong. But insisted that what he had done still did not warrant impeachment. The damage, however, was done. His supporters in Congress, including Republicans who defended him most strongly during the judiciary committee hearings, defected by the dozens.

Nixon acknowledged that impeachment by the House was a foregone conclusion but vowed to see his ordeal through despite a rising chorus of demands that he resign.

"Corny But Effective"

It was corny but effective. Eisenhower accepted Nixon's explanation and at Wheeling, W. Va., embraced his vice presidential candidate with the public assertion: "that's my boy."

The Eisenhower-Nixon ticket was elected by landslide proportions in 1952 and again in 1956. There were three main highlights of his eight years in the vice presidency.

In the Fall of 1955, Eisenhower suffered a serious heart attack and Nixon was in the limelight as an unofficial "acting president" during Ike's months of convalescence.

In 1958 during a good-will mission to Latin America, Nixon and his wife were threatened physically by a hostile communist mob in Caracas and drew general praise for meeting the situation with courage and coolness.

Kitchen Debate

In 1959, he and Soviet Premier Nikita Khruschev engaged in their widely publicized "kitchen debate" at a trade fair in Moscow and Nixon emerged as a firm and skillful defender of the free enterprise system.

At 47, Nixon captured the 1960 Republican presidential nomination without difficulty and entered the campaign as favorite over his Democratic rival, John F. Kennedy, for the first time his political fortunes faltered.

He was hampered in the campaign by a knee injury and a bout with flu. In the first of four televised debates, he clearly was outshined by the handsome, youthful Kennedy. At a news conference, Eisenhower left the impression it would take him a week to think of any contributions Nixon had made to his administration.

Lost Election

On Nov. 8, 1960, Nixon lost an election for the first time. Kennedy won by an electoral college margin of 303 to 219 but by only 118,550 votes in the actual polling.

In 1962, Nixon's fortunes took a drastic downward turn when he was defeated for the California governorship by incombent Democrat Edmund G. (Pat) Brown. At a post-election news conference, he told reporters: "You won't have Nixon to kick around anymore, because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference...

A disheartened Nixon moved to New York City in 1963 to practice law. He confided to a friend: "Anybody who thinks I could be a candidate for anything in any year is off his rocker." A network ran a documentary "The Political Obituary of Richard M. Nixon."

Seemingly, Nixon had gone down the political drain but events were in store that would thrust him upward again. Kennedy was assassinated and his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, scored a landslide triumph over conservative GOP Sen. Barry M. Goldwater in 1964 that left the Republican Party shattered and leaderless.

By 1965, a less confident but more mature Nixon initiatively returned to the public scene. In the Hinterlands, he spoke at local party meetings in school gyms attended by 40 or 50 people. In the mid-term elections of 1966, he was in full swing, campaigning on behalf of congressional candidates in 82 districts.

The Republicans picked up 47 house seats and Nixon won the gratitude of GOP leaders in almost every area of the country.

What had been a brushfire operation in Vietnam became a full-scale war that grew increasingly unpopular. It was responsible for Johnson's decision early in 1968 that he would not run again for the Presidency.

Romney Brainwashed

The leading active Republican, Michigan Gov. George Romney, blundered by saying he had been "brainwashed" on Vietnam and took himself out of contention even before the New Hampshire primary.

Another rival, New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, wound up announcing himself not a candidate, then became a candidate, and succeeded in alienating a fellow governor from Maryland, Spiro T. Agnew.

With no active opposition, Nixon shed his loser's image in the primaries, particularly in Oregon against California Gov. Ronald Reagan. At the Miami Beach convention, he thwarted a Rockefeller-Reagan bid to stop him and won the nomination on the first ballot.

Nixon surprised virtually everyone by selecting Agnew as his vice presidential candidate. It was part of a "southern strategy" worked out with such advisers as John N. Mitchell and Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and aimed at limiting possible election inroads by third party candidate George C. Wallace of Alabama.

He campaigned against Wallace and Democratic nominee Hubert H. Humphrey in cool, unflappable fashion — sounding the themes of "law and order" at home and "peace with honor" in Vietnam.

He avoided the mistakes of his previous campaign and benefitted by an eruption of violence at the Democratic convention in Chicago, fears of crime in the streets, anger over campus revolts and dissatisfaction with the war.

Insurmountable Task

With his own party turned against him and his popularity at it lowest ebb in the public opinion polls, he faced a seemingly insurmountable task.

Nixon emerged on the political scene in 1946 as a scarcely noticed house member from California's 12th district after an election in which Republicans won control of Congress for the first time since the days of Herbert Hoover.

He had had no previous public service except for a brief stint as an acting city attorney. He was a World War II veteran but his Navy service as a supply officer in the Pacific was unglamorous. His selection by a group of local GOP leaders to run for Congress was almost haphazard. He was recommended by a former Whittier College professor who had been offered first chance at the nomination.

But the young local lawyer campaigned energetically, capitalized on voter discontent with wartime controls and shortages, and unseated his five-term Democratic opponent, Jerry Voorhis, by 15,592 votes.

In Washington, he was given two relatively unimportant committee assignments. On the House Labor and Education Committee he served with a much-better known freshman — Rep. John F. Kennedy, D-Mass.

It was his post on the house committee on un-American activities that provided Nixon with his chance to move into the limelight.

First Crisis

The committee attracted heavy press attention and liberal criticism for its handling of its anti-communist hearings. In August, 1948, the Alger Hiss-Whittaker Chambers case surfaced and Nixon faced the first of his crises.

At issue was which of two men was telling the truth: Chambers, a Time magazine editor, who swore that he had known Hiss, a former state department official, as a communist party member of an espionage operation in the early New Deal days; or Hiss who indignantly denied the charge under oath.

At the outset, most committee members believed Hiss, head of the prestigious Carnegie endowment. But Nixon, helped by a top Washington newsman, the late Bert Andrews, dug into the background of the two men and became convinced Hiss was lying.

He staked his fledgling reputation on that belief and a jury ultimately convicted Hiss of perjury.

Nixon acknowledged in "Six Crises" that the case brought him the national attention that led to his later career, but he also wrote that "it left a residue of hatred and hostility toward me ... among substantial segments of the press and the intellectual community."

1950 Senate Seat

His next step up the political ladder was a successful 1950 race for the Senate seat in California against Helen Gahagan Douglas, a staunch new deal Democrat.

Nixon won by 680,947 votes but incurred the bitterness of leading Democrats who claimed he had conducted a smear campaign against Mrs. Douglas Nixon insisted that his lieutenants had only asserted that she was "soft" on the anti-communist issues of the day.

His Senate service was brief and Nixon's star was still ascending when Dwight D. Eisenhower picked him as his vice presidential running mate in 1952. At that point, the "checkers" crisis occurred and almost finished off Nixon.

Checkers

In the midst of the campaign, news stories broke that a group of wealthy Californians had raised $18,235 for a special fund to help underwrite Nixon's expenses as Senator. Eisenhower declared his young running-mate would have to come "as clean as a hound's tooth." Some influential Republicans advocated that he get off the ticket.

Nixon responded with a counter-offensive — a technique to became his political hallmark. He quickly arranged a national television appearance and from a Los Angeles studio delivered this defense:

He never had been influenced to do special favors for his fund contributors. He listed his assets and bank holdings down to the penny. He emphasized that his wife, Pat, wore only "a respectable Republican cloth coat."

He told of receiving a personal gift from an admirer — a black-and-white cocker spaniel puppy which his daughter named Checkers — and which was prominently displayed for television cameras.

Elected President

On Nov. 5, 1968, Richard M. Nixon was elected President of the United States by a heavy electoral college majority but with only 43.4 per cent of the popular vote. He was given a Democratic-controlled Congress to work with.

He pledged in his inaugural address to "bring us together" but his first term was marked by four years of domestic political strife.

Nixon sustained major setbacks when the Senate rejected his nominations of two southerners to the Supreme Court — Clement F. Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell. He bitterly berated the Senate for what he described as an anti-southern attitude.

As chief executive, he accused the Democratic Congress of extravagence, and impounded funds for authorized programs he disliked. Congress refused to let him go ahead with a U.S. supersonic transport plane.

Hickel Fired

Interior Secretary Walter M. Hickel was fired after he said publicly that the President was insensitive to youth after the fatal shooting of four students at Kent State and the invasion of Cambodia.

But Nixon succeeded in bringing into his cabinet a politically powerful Texas Democrat, John B. Connally who later switched his party allegiance to the Republicans. Nixon also appealed to what he termed "the silent majority" and won the support of the "hard hat" rank-and-file of organized labor.

plause for his dramatic visits to China and the Soviet Union. He initiated a series of troop withdrawals from Vietnam and succeeded in beginning peace negotiations in Paris.

Economically, the President switched signals in 1971 to impose controls to deal with rapidly accelerating inflation. He obtained from Congress legislation for revenue sharing with the states and localities — a precept he deemed a keystone of his "New Federalism."

Most Admired American

In year-end Gallup Polls for 1970 and 1971, Nixon was listed as the man most admired by the American people. His performance as President registered nearly 70 per cent approval.

On Nov. 7, 1972, Nixon and Agnew swept to re-election on a tidal wave of votes that carried 49 states and won 60.7 per cent of the total vote. Nixon overwhelmed Democrat George S. McGovern by nearly 18 million votes — the greatest in electoral history — and had the endorsement of 47,167,319 Americans.

Even though the Republicans failed to make significant gains in Congress and had suffered setbacks at the governorship level, Nixon in his final election contest had reached his pinnacle of popularity and authority.

It enabled him — almost with impunity — to bomb Hanoi and nine Haiphong in an effort to force North Vietnam to yield. It let him undertake sweeping reorganization of the executive branch of the government and positioned him for an anticipated series of fights with the Democratic Congress.

Watergate Debate

But then began the astonishing events known as Watergate — and Nixon's greatest crisis was upon him.

The arrest of seven men for the burglary and bugging of Democratic National Headquarters in the plush Watergate apartment complex on June 17, 1972, had stirred relatively little public interest during the election year.

AS VICE-PRESIDENT, Spiro Agnew, was once a part of the life of U.S. President Richard M. Nixon. Here Agnew shown in happier days taking the oath of office.