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Governmental Affairs

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CONFIDENTIAL

Governmental Affairs

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, MAY 2, 1973

Transcript of President's Broadcast Address to the Nation on the Watergate Affair

Following is a transcript of President Nixon's broadcast address in Washington Monday night, as recorded by The New York Times:

Good evening. I want to talk to you tonight from my heart on a subject of deep concern to every American.

In recent months members of my Administration and officials of the Committee for the Re-election of the President—including some of my closest friends and most trusted aides—have been charged with involvement in what has come to be known as the Watergate affair.

These include charges of illegal activity during and preceding the 1972 Presidential election and charges that responsible officials participated in efforts to cover up that illegal activity.

The inevitable result of these charges has been to raise serious questions about the integrity of the White House itself. Tonight I wish to address those questions.

Last June 17 while I was in Florida trying to get a few days' rest after my visit to Moscow, I first learned from news reports of the Watergate break-in. I was appalled at this senseless, illegal action, and I was shocked to learn that employees of the re-election committee were apparently among those guilty. I immediately ordered an investigation by appropriate Government authorities.

Seven Indicted in Case

On Sept. 15, as you will recall, indictments were brought against seven defendants in the case.

As the investigation went forward, I repeatedly asked those conducting the investigation whether there was any reason to believe that members of my Administration were in any way involved. I received repeated assurances that there were not. Because of these continuing reassurances, because I believed the reports I was getting, because I had faith in the persons from whom I was getting them, I discounted the stories in the press that appeared to implicate members of my Administration or other officials of the campaign committee.

Until March of this year, I remained convinced that the denials were true and that the charges of involvement by members of the White House staff were false.

The comments I made during this period, the comments made by my press secretary in my behalf, were based on the information provided to us at the time we made those comments.

However, new information then came to me which persuaded me that there was a real possibility that some of these charges were true and suggesting further that there had been an effort to conceal the facts both from the public—from you—and from me.

As a result, on March 21 I personally assumed the responsibility for coordinating intensive new inquiries into the matter and I personally ordered those

conducting the investigations to get all the facts and to report them directly to me right here in this office.

I again ordered that all persons in the Government or at the re-election committee should cooperate fully with the F.B.I., the prosecutors and the grand jury.

I also ordered that anyone who refused to cooperate in telling the truth, would be asked to resign from Government service.

And with ground rules adopted that would preserve the basic constitutional separation of powers between the Congress and the Presidency, I directed that members of the White House staff should appear and testify voluntarily under oath before the Senate committee which was investigating Watergate.

Full Truth Sought

I was determined that we should get to the bottom of the matter, and that the truth should be fully brought out no matter who was involved.

At the same time, I was determined not to take precipitous action and to avoid if at all possible any action that would appear to reflect on innocent people.

I wanted to be fair, but I knew that in the final analysis the integrity of this office—public faith in the integrity of this office—would have to take priority over all personal considerations.

Today, in one of the most difficult decisions of my Presidency, I accepted the resignations of two of my closest associates in the White House—Bob Halde- man, John Ehrlichman—two of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know.

I want to stress that in accepting these resignations I mean to leave no implication whatever of personal wrongdoing on their part, and I leave no implication tonight of implication on the part of others who have been charged in this matter.

But in matters as sensitive as guarding the integrity of our democratic process, it is essential not only that rigorous legal and ethical standards be observed, but also that the public, you, have total confidence that they are both being observed and enforced by those in authority, and particularly by the President of the United States.

Move Held Necessary

They agreed with me that this move was necessary in order to restore that confidence, because Attorney General Kleindienst—though a distinguished public servant, my personal friend for 20 years, with no personal involvement whatever in this matter—has been a close personal and professional associate of some of those who are involved in this case, he and I both felt that it was also necessary to name a new Attorney General.

The counsel to the President, John Dean, has also resigned.

As the new Attorney General, I have today named Elliot Richardson, a man of unimpeachable integrity and rigorously high principle. I have directed

him to do everything necessary to insure that the Department of Justice has the confidence and the trust of every law-abiding person in this country. I have given him absolute authority to make all decisions bearing upon the prosecution of the Watergate case and related matters. I have instructed him that if he should consider it appropriate, he has the authority to name a special supervising prosecutor for matters arising out of the case.

Pursuit of Justice Promised

Whatever may appear to have been the case before, whatever improper activities may yet be discovered in connection with this whole sordid affair, I want the American people, I want you, to know beyond the shadow of a doubt that during my term as President justice will be pursued fairly, fully and impartially, no matter who is involved.

This office is a sacred trust, and I am determined to be worthy of that trust.

Looking back at the history of this case, two questions arise:

How could it have happened—who is to blame?

Political commentators have correctly observed that during my 27 years in politics, I've always previously insisted on running my own campaigns for office.

In both domestic and foreign policy, 1972 was a year of crucially important decisions, of intense negotiations, of vital new directions, particularly in working toward the goal which has been my overriding concern throughout my political career—the goal of bringing peace to America, peace to the world.

And that is why I decided as the 1972 campaign approached that the Presidency should come first and politics second. To the maximum extent possible, therefore, I sought to delegate campaign operations, to remove the day-to-day campaign decisions from the President's office and from the White House.

Accepts Responsibility

I also, as you recall, severely limited the number of my own campaign appearances.

Who then is to blame for what happened in this case?

For specific criminal actions by specific individuals those who committed those actions must of course bear the liability and pay the penalty. For the fact that alleged improper actions took place within the White House or within my campaign organization, the easiest course would be for me to blame those to whom I delegated the responsibility to run the campaign. But that would be a cowardly thing to do.

I will not place the blame on subordinates, on people whose zeal exceeded their judgment and who may have done wrong in a cause they deeply believed to be right. In any organization the man at the top must bear the responsibility.

That responsibility, therefore, belongs here in this office. I accept it.

And I pledge to you tonight from this office that I will do everything in

my power to insure that the guilty are brought to justice and that such abuses are purged from our political processes in the years to come long after I have left this office.

Some people, quite properly appalled at the abuses that occurred, will say that Watergate demonstrates the bankruptcy of the American political system. I believe precisely the opposite is true.

Watergate represented a series of illegal acts and bad judgments by a number of individuals. It was the system that has brought the facts to light and that will bring those guilty to justice.

A system that in this case has included a determined grand jury, honest prosecutors, a courageous judge—John Sirica—and a vigorous free press.

It is essential now that we place our faith in that system, and especially in the judicial system.

It is essential that we let the judicial process go forward, respecting those safeguards that are established to protect the innocent as well as to convict the guilty.

It is essential that in reacting to the excesses of others, we not fall into excesses ourselves.

It is also essential that we not be so distracted by events such as this that we neglect the vital work before us, before this nation, before America at a time of critical importance to America and the world.

Turning to Larger Duties

Since March, when I first learned that the Watergate affair might in fact be far more serious than I had been led to believe, it has claimed far too much of my time and my attention. Whatever may now transpire in the case, whatever the actions of the grand jury, whatever the outcome of any eventual trials, I must now turn my full attention—and I shall do so—once again to the larger duties of this office.

I owe it to this great office that I hold, and I owe it to you, to my country.

I know that, as Attorney General, Elliot Richardson will be both fair and he will be fearless in pursuing this case wherever it leads. I am confident that with him in charge justice will be done.

There is vital work to be done toward our goal of a lasting structure of peace in the world—work that cannot wait, work that I must do.

Tomorrow, for example, Chancellor Brandt of West Germany will visit the White House for talks that are a vital element of the Year of Europe, as 1973 has been called.

We are already preparing for the next Soviet-American summit meeting later this year.

This is also a year in which we are seeking to negotiate a mutual and balanced reduction of armed forces in Europe which will reduce our defense budget and allow us to have funds for other purposes at home so desperately

needed.

It is the year when the United States and Soviet negotiators will seek to work out the second and even more important round of our talks on limiting nuclear arms, and of reducing the danger of a nuclear war that would destroy civilization as we know it.

It is a year in which we confront the difficult tasks of maintaining peace in Southeast Asia and in the potentially explosive Middle East.

There's also vital work to be done right here in America to insure prosperity—and that means a good job for everyone who wants to work; to control inflation that I know worries every housewife, everyone who tries to balance the family budget in America, to set in motion new and better ways of insuring progress toward a better life for all Americans.

When I think of this office, of what it means, I think of all the things that I want to accomplish for this nation, of all the things I want to accomplish for you.

Wrote Out Some Goals

On Christmas Eve, during my terrible personal ordeal of the renewed bombing of North Vietnam which, after 12 years of war, finally helped to bring America peace with honor, I sat down just before midnight. I wrote out some of my goals, for my second term as President. Let me read them to you.

To make this country be more than ever a land of opportunity—of equal opportunity, full opportunity—for every American; to provide jobs for all who can work and generous help for those who cannot; to establish a climate of decency and civility in which each person respects the feelings and the dignity in the God-given rights of his neighbor; to make this a land in which each person can dare to dream, can live his dreams not in fear but in hope, proud of his community, proud of his country, proud of what America has meant to himself, and to the world.

These are great goals. I believe we can, we must work for them, we can achieve them.

But we cannot achieve these goals unless we dedicate ourselves to another goal. We must maintain the integrity of the White House.

And that integrity must be real, not transparent.

There can be no whitewash at the White House.

We must reform our political process, ridding it, not only of the violations of the law but also of the ugly mob violence and other inexcusable campaign tactics that have been too often practiced and too readily accepted in the past including those that may have been a response by one side to the excesses or expected excesses of the other side.

Two wrongs do not make a right.

I've been in public life for more than a quarter of a century. Like any other calling, politics has good people and bad

people and let me tell you the great majority in politics, in the Congress, in the Federal Government, in the state government are good people.

I know that it can be very easy under the intensive pressures of a campaign for even well-intentioned people to fall into shady tactics, to rationalize this on the grounds that what is at stake is of such importance to the nation that the end justifies the means.

And both of our great parties have been guilty of such tactics.

In recent years, however, the campaign excesses that have occurred on all sides have provided a sobering demonstration of how far this false doctrine can take us.

Warns on Falling in Trap

The lesson is clear. America in its political campaigns must not again fall into the trap of letting the end, however great that end is, justify the means.

I urge the leaders of both political parties, I urge citizens—all of you everywhere—to join in working toward a new set of standards, new rules and procedures to insure that future elections will be as nearly free of such abuses as they possibly can be made. This is my goal. I ask you to join in making it America's goal.

When I was inaugurated for a second term this past January 20, I gave each member of my Cabinet and each member of my senior White House staff a special four-year calendar with each day marked to show the number of days remaining to the Administration.

In the inscription on each calendar I wrote these words:

"The Presidential term which begins today consists of 1,461 days, no more, no less. Each can be a day of strengthening and renewal for America. Each can add depth and dimension to the American experience.

"If we strive together, if we make the most of the challenge and the opportunity that these days offer us, they can stand out as great days for America, and great moments in the history of the world."

I looked at my own calendar this morning up at Camp David as I was working on this speech. It showed exactly 1,361 days remaining in my term.

I want these to be the best days in America's history because I love America. I deeply believe that America is the hope of the world, and I know that in the quality and wisdom of the leadership America gives lies the only hope for millions of people all over the world that they can live their lives in peace and freedom.

We must be worthy of that hope in every sense of the word.

Tonight, I ask for your prayers to help me in everything that I do throughout the days of my Presidency to be worthy of their hopes and of yours.

God bless America. And God bless each and every one of you.

NEW YORK TIMES
1 May 1973

Texts of Statement by Nixon and of Letters of Resignation of Three Aides

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 30—

Following are the texts of a statement by President Nixon today announcing staff resignations and other changes and of letters of resignation to the President from H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, White House aides, and Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst:

Nixon Statement

I have today received and accepted the resignation of Richard G. Kleindienst as Attorney General of the United States. I am appointing Elliot L. Richardson to succeed him as Attorney General and will submit Mr. Richardson's name to the Senate for confirmation immediately.

Mr. Kleindienst asked to be relieved as Attorney General because he felt that he could not appropriately continue as head of the Justice Department now that it appears its investigation of the Watergate and related cases may implicate individuals with whom he has had a close personal and professional association.

In making this decision, Mr. Kleindienst has acted in accordance with the highest standards of public service and legal ethics. I am accepting his resignation with regret and with deep appreciation for his dedicated service to this Administration.

Pending Secretary Richardson's confirmation as Attorney General, I have asked him to involve himself immediately in the investigative process surrounding the Watergate matter. As Attorney General, Mr. Richardson will assume full responsibility and authority for coordinating all Federal agencies in uncovering the whole truth about this matter and recommending appropriate changes in the law to prevent future campaign abuses of the sort recently uncovered. He will have total support from me in getting this job done.

In addition, I have today accepted the resignations of two of my closest friends and most trusted assistants in the White House, H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman.

I know that their decision to resign was difficult; my decision to accept it was difficult; but I respect and appreciate the attitude that led them to it.

I emphasize that neither the submission nor the acceptance of their resignations at this time should be seen by anyone as evidence of any wrongdoing by either one. Such an assumption would be both unfair and unfounded.

Throughout our association, each of these men has demonstrated a spirit of selflessness and dedication that I have seldom seen equaled. Their contributions to the work of this Administration have been enormous. I greatly regret their departure.

Finally, I have today requested and accepted the resignation of John W. Dean 3d from his position on the staff as White House counsel.

Effective immediately, Leonard Garment, special consultant to the President, will take on additional duties as counsel to the President, and will continue acting in this capacity until a permanent successor to Mr. Dean is named. Mr. Garment will represent the White House in all matters relating to the Watergate investigation and will report directly to me.

Resignation Letters

By Ehrlichman

For the past two weeks it has become increasingly evident that, regardless of the actual facts, I have been a target of public attack. The nature of my position on your staff has always demanded that my conduct be both apparently and actually beyond reproach. I have always felt that the appearance of honesty and integrity is every bit as important to such a position as the fact of one's honesty and integrity.

Unfortunately, such appearances are not always governed by facts. Realistically, they can be affected by repeated rumor, unfounded charges or implications and whatever else the media carries. For instance, this week totally unfounded stories appeared in The Los Angeles Times claiming I had asked our embassy in Lebanon to help the Vesco group in a banking deal. I not only did not do so but, in actual fact, I caused the State Department to cable the embassy that no one at the White House had any interest in the Vesco dealings.

Since I have already reported to you many of the facts in the Gray case, I need only say that at no time did I directly or indirectly suggest that Mr. Gray should do other than keep the Hunt documents, although there have been reports to the contrary. Equally without merit are the source stories about some alleged involvement in the Watergate matter.

As I analyze my situation, I have to conclude that my present usefulness to you and ability to discharge my duties have been impaired by these attacks, perhaps beyond repair.

It is not fair to you and my staff colleagues for me to try to do my job under these circumstances. Too much of my time and atten-

tion is and will be consumed in concern for and straightening our such allegations. At my request, I am going to have separate interviews this week with the district attorney and the Senate committee counsel.

Thus, I am looking forward to an early review of the facts and evidence with the appropriate authorities, and I should spend the time necessary in relation thereto.

One of the toughest problems we have in this life is in seeing the difference between the apparent and the real, and in basing our actions only on that which is real. We all must do that more than we do. I have confidence in the ultimate prevalence of truth; I intend to do what I can to speed truth's discovery.

Therefore, Mr. President, I submit to you my resignation. There are on the Domestic Council staff so many good people of ability that I am confident a transition of my responsibilities can be affected without loss of progress. I will do all I can to assist in accomplishing the transition.

By Haldeman

As you know, I had hoped and expected to have had an earlier opportunity to clear up various allegations and innuendos that have been raised in connection with matters related to the Watergate case. It now appears that this process may consume considerable time. Meanwhile, there is apparently to be no interruption in the flood of stories arising every day from all sorts of sources.

I fully agree with the importance of a complete investigation by the appropriate authorities of all the factors that may be involved; but am deeply concerned that, in the process, it has become virtually impossible under these circumstances for me to carry on my regular responsibilities in the White House.

It is imperative that the work of the Office of the President not be impeded and your staff must be in a position to focus their attention on the vital areas of domestic and international concern that face you, rather than being diverted by the daily rumors and developments in the Watergate case. For these reasons, I submit my resignation as Assistant to the President.

I intend to cooperate fully with the investigation — and will at my request be meeting this week for that purpose with the U.S. attorneys and with the counsel to the

Senate select committee.

I am convinced that, in due course, I will have the opportunity not just to clear up any allegations or implications of impropriety but also to demonstrate that I have always met the high and exacting standards of integrity which you have so clearly and properly demanded of all who serve on the White House staff.

I have full confidence that when the truth is known the American people will be totally justified in their pride in the Office of the President and in the conduct of that office by President Nixon.

By Kleindienst

It is with deep regret and after long and searching thought that I hereby submit my resignation as Attorney General, to take effect upon the appointment and qualification of my successor.

Even though, as you know, I had previously indicated a desire to leave the Government this year for family and financial reasons, the circumstances surrounding the disclosures made to me on Sunday, April 15, 1973 by Assistant Attorney General Petersen, United States Attorney Titus, and Assistant United States Attorney Silbert, dictate this decision at this time. Those disclosures informed me, for the first time, that persons with whom I had close personal and professional associations could be involved in conduct violative of the laws of the United States. Fair and impartial enforcement of the law requires that a person who has not had such intimate relationships be the Attorney General of the United States.

'Mindful of Your Charge'

It is not for me to comment now on the tragedy that has occurred. However, I will always be mindful of your charge to me from the very beginning that the entire matter be fully investigated and that the full effect of the law be administered no matter who it might involve or affect. You can be proud of the Department of Justice for the manner in which it, from the beginning, has responded to that charge.

Finally, let me express my deep personal appreciation to you for having appointed me the 68th Attorney General of the United States. It is the greatest honor I shall ever have. I shall always be humbly proud to have been a part of the Department of Justice and to have had the opportunity to serve my country as a part of your Administration.

NEW YORK TIMES
2 May 1973

Richardson, Formally Nominated as Attorney General, Takes On Watergate Inquiry

By WALTER RUGABER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 1—Secretary of Defense Elliot L. Richardson was nominated formally today as Attorney General while moving into over-all control of the Justice Department's investigation of the Watergate scandal.

Mr. Richardson, who was assigned "absolute authority to make all decisions" on the case by President Nixon in his television address to the nation last night, remained at his Pentagon office today.

But he discussed the case again with the outgoing chief law enforcement officer, Richard G. Kleindienst. Mr. Kleindienst's resignation was announced yesterday.

Mr. Richardson has also conferred by telephone on the Watergate affair with Henry E. Petersen, the Assistant Attorney General, and William D. Ruckelshaus, the new acting director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

A Defense Department

spokesman said Mr. Richardson would remain at the Pentagon until he is confirmed by the Senate and would "concentrate more" on National Security affairs for the time being.

Kleindienst Stays On

Attorney General Kleindienst is expected to remain in the office until Mr. Richardson's nomination is confirmed, but it was understood that he would make no more broad policy decisions in the department.

If a "critical problem" regarding the Watergate inquiry arises, one source said today, Mr. Petersen or the Government prosecutors would consult directly with Mr. Richardson.

President Nixon's nomination of Mr. Richardson to be attorney General reached the Senate Judiciary Committee this morning, and the panel tentatively scheduled hearings on it for May 9.

The Attorney General-designate was expected to encounter close questioning from committee members on the

appointment of a special prosecutor to handle the balance of the department's Watergate investigation.

Such an appointment, which the President said he would leave up to Mr. Richardson, would be unpopular at the Justice Department. Mr. Kleindienst has opined it since last June, when the investigation began.

But there are continuing pressures for such a move, from Capitol Hill and elsewhere. A number of Senators and Bar Association officials have recommended an independent prosecutor.

While some Judiciary Committee sources held out the possibility that the issue could hold up Mr. Richardson's confirmation, there was no immediate strong opposition. Mr. Richardson has previously been confirmed in two cabinet posts.

Panel Meets Today

The select Senate Watergate committee, under Sam J. Ervin Jr. of North Carolina, is scheduled to meet tomorrow for a discussion of public hearings

on the break-in, set to begin May 15.

A committee source said today that two former ranking officials at the White House, H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, have arranged to meet privately with the panel's staff on Thursday in a building near the White House.

Meanwhile, Mr. Kleindienst disregarded the prepared text of a Law Day speech here and referred to the Watergate case as "this tragedy."

"There is evidence that justice is going to be heeded," he added. "We can take great heart and renew our faith in the vitality of the role of law in the United States."

The Attorney General first excused himself from the Watergate inquiry and then resigned his Cabinet post because of the possibility that friends and associates would be indicted by a Federal grand jury here.

Mr. Kleindienst spoke at length with his successor, Mr. Richardson, on Sunday night. They also talked by telephone about the Watergate case on several occasions yesterday.

WASHINGTON POST
2 May 1973

Prosecutor Decision Is Left to Richardson

By George Laird Jr. and Sanford J. Ungar
Washington Post Staff Writers

The White House emphasized yesterday that it is taking a hands-off attitude towards appointment of a special prosecutor in the Watergate scandal.

President Nixon said at his Cabinet meeting yesterday afternoon, according to several present, that he was leaving the decision entirely up to Attorney General-designate Elliot L. Richardson.

The powers of any such prosecutor, presidential press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler told newsmen earlier, would also be up to Richardson to determine.

Richardson, who is winding up his affairs as Defense Secretary at the Pentagon, gave no hint of his plans. Former Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird, who spoke with Richardson on Monday, told reporters that he felt a special prosecutor would be appointed, but stressed that his hunch was not based on anything Richardson told him explicitly.

"I think it's what he's going to be doing, but . . . he didn't tell me," Laird said. He called the decision "a tough one to put on Elliot. It looks like he doesn't feel he's capable and competent to make the investigation, but Elliot thinks he is."

Laird said he was sure, in any event, that Richardson would make a full public report on the results of the broadening investigation. "As the attorney for the President, (Richardson) has to bring this thing out now," Laird said.

Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.), one of the first to demand appointment of a prosecutor from outside the administration's ranks, said he supposed that even a thoroughly independent lawyer-investigator would remain tied to the Attorney General in a limited way, for example, in seeking permission to propose immunity for any suspects whose testimony is deemed essential.

Reuss said, however, that he foresees no problems on that score. "I can't imagine

the Attorney General, specifically Elliot Richardson, thinking more than 10 seconds before agreeing to an immunity request from a special prosecutor in this case," Reuss said.

The actual grant of immunity must come from the courts, but under the laws governing it, a Justice Department spokesman said yesterday, the request must be authorized by either the Attorney General, the deputy attorney general, "or a designated assistant attorney general," a lineup that would seem to exclude delegation of that power to a special prosecutor.

In the Watergate investigation, Mr. Nixon said April 17 that he did not want immunity granted anyone "holding in the past or at present, a position of major importance in the administration. . . ." Since then, however, White House counsel John W. Dean III, who was fired Monday has reportedly been pressing for immunity in return for telling all he knows.

Immunity aside, it remained unclear just what

the President meant in his Monday night address when he said he was giving Richardson authority to name "a special supervising prosecutor for matters arising out of the case."

Departing Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst, in an appearance at the U.S. Courthouse for Law Day ceremonies, told The Washington Post that he had no idea precisely what Mr. Nixon had in mind. Robert G. Dixon, assistant attorney general for the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel, added in a telephone interview that his office has not yet been asked to draw up any charter for a special Watergate prosecutor. Dixon and his staff would normally be assigned that chore.

"We haven't thought down the road that far," Dixon said. "Each one of these situations is *sui generis*" (one of a kind), he said of such appointments.

The government has often resorted to outside lawyers and jurists to handle major controversies and scandals involving potential conflicts of interest.

During the Teapot Dome scandal of the 1920s, the Coolidge administration, after several nominations that proved unsatisfactory, named two outside prosecutors, Republican Owen J. Roberts and former Ohio Democratic Sen. Atlee W. Pomerene, under a congress-

sional resolution calling for Senate approval of the choices.

Coolidge said at the time that employment of outside counsel was "in accord with former precedents."

Former Interior Secretary Albert Fall was subsequently convicted of taking a bribe, to lease government oil lands, but oil magnates Harry Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny were acquitted of all charges except for a pair of contempt citations, one of the Senate and another of the courts, involving Sinclair.

Special prosecutor Roberts, who was later named to the Supreme Court, also headed a special five-man board of inquiry named by President Roosevelt on Dec. 16, 1941, to investigate the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. The board, reporting the next month, accused Adm. H.E. Kimmel and Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short of

"dereliction of duty," charges that both officers disputed until their deaths. Adm. Kimmel maintained he had taken "a bum rap" and blamed President Roosevelt and other high U.S. officials, saying they withheld vital information that would have alerted him and Short.

Charges of corruption in the Truman administration also brought appointment of an outside prosecutor although his tenure was short-lived. President Truman named New York attorney Newbold Morris to direct a probe of government corruption early in 1952, but he lasted only two months. Friction developed between Morris and Attorney General Howard McGrath over a questionnaire Morris circulated inquiring into the outside sources of income of various federal officials. McGrath fired Morris and Mr. Truman then announced the resignation of McGrath.

many favorable telephone responses to the address.

Mr. Nixon began and ended his long day with meetings with West German Chancellor Willy Brandt. They conferred in the Oval Office in the morning and at a dinner the President and Mrs. Nixon gave for their guest last night.

But Mr. Nixon's chief attention was centered on Watergate even though he said in his Monday address that he would "now turn my full attention once again to the larger duties of this office."

At the Cabinet meeting, Mr. Nixon told his colleagues that Haldeman's aides would continue to perform administration chores at the White House and that Kenneth R. Cole Jr., head of the Domestic Council, would be the proper person to discuss domestic issues with instead of Ehrlichman.

Apparently bristling over the fact that FBI guards were in the White House corridors and thus suggesting that Ehrlichman and Haldeman could not be trusted, the President reportedly ordered the agents inside the offices they were protecting.

Similarly, the President referred "rather bitingly," one source said, to what he called the "political play" by Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.) in demanding the appointment of a special prosecutor to conduct the Watergate investigation.

Percy should not be making that decision either for the President or for Attorney General-designate Elliot L. Richardson, Mr. Nixon observed. He noted that he had given Richardson full authority to appoint such an investigator if he should deem it advisable.

Percy's resolution asking the President to name a special prosecutor was approved by the Senate without dissent. It is not binding but puts pressure on the administration.

Despite the talk about Watergate, the President "was not looking backward, but forward," one person present reported.

At Ziegler's briefing, Baltimore Sun correspondent Adam Clymer asked whether, in view of the President's praise in his speech of "a vigorous free press," he was ready to apologize to The Washington Post for a number of attacks he made on it in the course of the developing Watergate story.

"We would all have to say that mistakes were made in terms of comments," Ziegler replied. "I was overly enthusiastic in my comments about The Post, particularly if you look at them in the

context of developments that have taken place."

Describing his criticisms as an "overstatement," Ziegler said: "I would apologize to The Post and to Mr. Woodward and Mr. Bernstein." Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward are The Post reporters who did the bulk of the paper's investigative work on the Watergate case.

They have "pursued the story" and "deserve credit" for their work, Ziegler said.

"When we are wrong, we are wrong, as we were in that case," the press secretary said.

He emphasized that he did not necessarily agree with all that Bernstein and Woodward wrote and was not prejudging the individuals mentioned in The Post stories.

Katharine Graham, publisher of The Washington Post, said she accepted the apology "with pleasure."

"The administration was trying to undermine the credibility of the press for the last 10 months," she said in New York. "It is a very great satisfaction to find that the press's credibility has been proven to the whole world and I hope that this will be remembered."

"We could never, never have reported the Watergate without the use of anonymous sources and yet the courts, the grand juries, and the government are subpoenaing such sources."

In another development, former Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird told reporters in a meeting here that Mr. Nixon never asked him to become involved in the Watergate investigation "in any way." Friends in the Cabinet and in Congress did approach him, he said, but they were not speaking for the President.

Laird said he had told Mr. Nixon some time ago that he would not be available for any full-time assignment before July 1.

"I have a commitment to him to talk to him before I take on any other full-time job," Laird said.

In an interview with CBS, Haldeman said he was convinced that when the truth is known "I will be seen as totally clear of any of the implications or allegations that have been made."

Discussing the decision to place FBI agents on guard in the Ehrlichman-Haldeman-Dean offices, Ziegler said the order by Acting FBI Director William D. Ruckelshaus was made after a conference between Attorney General-designate Richardson and Leonard Garment, acting counsel to the President.

"This procedure is not to

WASHINGTON POST

2 May 1973

FBI Guards Files Of Resigned Aides

By Carroll Kilpatrick
Washington Post Staff Writer

FBI agents moved into the White House on a 24-hour basis yesterday to safeguard files in the offices of three presidential aides whose resignations President Nixon accepted Monday.

Later, at a Cabinet meeting, the President reportedly spoke with irritation about the way the agents were standing around in the corridors in full view of visitors.

At a news conference prior to the Cabinet meeting, press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said that the FBI men were put into the offices of former aides John D. Ehrlichman, H. R. Haldeman and John W. Dean III "to physically protect the files to make sure that access and removal of any files were supervised in accordance with very strict procedure."

Ehrlichman and Haldeman, who are still in their offices but are not conducting official business, "wanted this to take place" and are "fully cooperating," Ziegler said.

Dean, whom the President fired, was not in his office, and Ziegler said he knew of no letter of resignation from Dean.

In other developments in the wake of Mr. Nixon's

Monday night television report to the nation on Watergate:

- The President followed the hastily-called Cabinet meeting with an hour-long meeting with Vice President Agnew, described as an "important" conference. The White House will make an announcement about the meeting today, official sources said, suggesting that the Vice President will be given a major new assignment.

- Ziegler apologized to The Washington Post for charging last fall that its Watergate stories were based on "hearsay, character assassination, and innuendo."

- Mr. Nixon hinted strongly at new action to curb inflation. He promised a statement today on the economy after he holds a morning meeting with his chief economic advisers and an afternoon meeting with the Labor-Management Advisory Committee.

- Editorial reaction from the nation's press to the President's speech on Watergate generally applauded what was described as his limited action to restore public confidence but said he failed to remove all suspicions. Ziegler reported

cast any aspersions but to make sure that a strict procedure is followed in relation to the security of White House papers," Ziegler commented.

The Associated Press reported that Haldeman and Ehrlichman had culled through their files to document their claim of innocence.

The two former aides were seen leaving the White House together in a car with what appeared to be papers on their laps. A spokesman said any papers removed would have been with the approval of the FBI agents.

NEW YORK TIMES
2 May 1973

6 MAY BE INDICTED

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 1—Government investigators say they now have evidence that high-ranking officials of the White House and the Committee for the Re-election of the President conspired after the June, 1972, Watergate break-in to arrange a careful cover story designed to obstruct the Federal investigation.

The investigators also say the evidence shows that the obstruction of Justice was coordinated by President Nixon's two closest advisers, H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, who resigned yesterday, and former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who headed the re-election committee at the time.

Three other former White House aides, Job Stuart Magruder, a special assistant to Mr. Nixon, Frederick C. LaRue, another special assistant, and John W. Dean 3d, the president's counsel, were also involved in the initial cover-up attempt, investigators said.

The cover-up was formulated during some planned secret meetings held at the re-election headquarters here in late June, according to investigators.

The basic scheme was said to have called for all of those involved in the operation to deny any knowledge of it, and for the re-election committee to issue public statements to that effect. In essence, investigators said, everyone involved in the operation repeatedly lied to Federal investigators, prosecutors, other White House officials, and finally, to President Nixon.

All six men are expected to be indicted by the Federal grand jury now hearing testimony on the Watergate inci-

dent, sources close to the case today.

At least four other persons were also involved in the cover-up, and are now under investigation by the grand jury, the sources said. They are Dwight L. Chapin, the President's former appointments secretary, Gordon Strachan, a Haldeman assistant, Herbert L. Porter, who worked for Herbert Klein's information office, and Kenneth W. Parkinson. The last is a Washington lawyer who was hired by the re-election committee shortly after the June 17 break-in.

In addition, investigators said, there were many others who were—in the words of one source—"seduced by the operation." The grand jury and Senate investigating committee are now trying to determine, among other things, whether those persons knew the full implications of their roles in the cover-up.

The scheme, as allegedly worked out by Mr. Ehrlichman, Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Dean, included payments to the arrested defendants, promises of executive clemency, a series of public denials, and arrangements with Mr. Magruder and Mr. Porter to perjure themselves during the trial of the seven Watergate defendants.

The additional funds needed for the payoffs, sources said, were collected by Herbert W. Kalmbach, President Nixon's personal lawyer, who also served as a chief campaign money raiser. Although Mr. Kalmbach made a special effort to raise the cash after the men were arrested, the source added, it has not been determined whether he was aware of its ultimate use. He, too, is now under investigation by the grand jury. The White House said today that the lawyer is no longer handling legal matters for Mr. Nixon.

"This is the thing which absolutely blows my mind," one investigator said in an interview.

The account of the cover-up provided to The New York Times was confirmed and corroborated in interviews during the last 24 hours with a variety of officials and attorneys involved in the case.

Perhaps the grossest fabrication, sources said, was the coordinated account provided to the Federal prosecutors, and used by them as a bulwark in the subsequent Watergate trial, of the initial rationale behind the cash payments to G. Gordon Liddy, one of those convicted of the bugging of the Democratic National Committee.

The Government was told by a number of re-elected committee officials that the \$100,000

given to Liddy was to pay 10 intelligence agents \$1,000 a month each for 10 months in 1972 to find out if anti-Republican demonstrations were planned.

"That was a complete fabrication," one investigator said. "Just a complete lie."

Hugh W. Sloan Jr., treasurer of the re-election committee, who gave the cash to Liddy, according to investigators, was the only key official who apparently chose not to participate in the cover-up, causing his superiors to alter some details of the agreed-upon story.

Mr. Sloan had been urged to commit perjury during the Watergate trial by testifying that he gave Liddy and his associates only \$40,000 in 100 bills rather than the \$235,000 that was actually provided, informed sources said. On at least three occasions, Mr. Sloan has told investigators that Mr. Magruder and Mr. LaRue attempted to pressure him into changing his story.

Mr. Sloan confirmed the account in a telephone interview last night from his father's home, but refused to discuss the matter, saying that he would talk only to the appropriate officials.

Investigators said, however, that Mr. Sloan had unsuccessfully attempted, in the days following the first public disclosure of the Watergate break-in, to tell both Mr. Ehrlichman and Mr. Haldeman of his concern over the re-election committee's role in the bugging.

"Sloan made incredible efforts to get word to the President or somebody about what he knew was wrong," one source noted. "They all told him to go back to the committee."

His first attempt to tell higher-ups of the impending scandal, investigators said, came six days after the break-in, during an evening party aboard a chartered vessel in the Potomac River. The party was in honor of Col. Vernon C. Coffey of the Army, a White House military aide who was being reassigned to the National War College, and many White House and re-election committee officials attended.

By this time, one source said, Mr. Sloan "had begun to read this stuff in newspapers about \$100 bills floating around and he really began to get scared."

"He thought his fingerprints might be on the bills and he also thought that if the White House didn't deal with the problem quickly it could hurt the President," the source said.

According to investigators, Mr. Sloan approached Mr. Chapin, who was then Mr. Nixon's appointments secretary and a Haldeman protégé, and asked for an appointment with the White House chief of staff. Investigators also say that he sought out Kenneth R. Cole Jr., then a member of Mr. Ehrlichman's staff and arranged an appointment the next day with Mr. Ehrlichman, the President's domestic adviser.

According to the investigators, Mr. Sloan said that the following conversation, using

roughly these words, took place during his White House meeting with Mr. Ehrlichman:

Sloan: "I think we've got some real problems at the committee in connection with this bugging of the Democrats."

Ehrlichman: "That's problem you have over there. I don't want to know any facts; it's none of my business. If you have a personal problem about it, get a lawyer."

Sloan: "Let me tell you what I think may be going on over there."

Ehrlichman: "I don't want to be told any details."

Mr. Sloan, sources said, never did get an appointment with Mr. Haldeman, and he was, in effect, told by Mr. Chapin to mind his own business.

But according to investigators, at precisely the moment when Mr. Ehrlichman was telling Mr. Sloan he wanted no "details," and Mr. Haldeman was refusing to see him, both men were already involved in developing the initial cover-up story.

Later, sources said, when Mr. Sloan told Mr. Parkinson, the re-election committee attorney, about the effort to force him to testify to smaller payments to Liddy than had been granted, Mr. Sloan said he would not do so. The sources said that this apparently forced Mr. Parkinson to go to Mr. Mitchell and urge him "and the others to tell the true story."

Nonetheless, investigators now suspect that both Mr. Parkinson, and one of his associates, Paul L. O'Brien, had reason to suspect that a cover-up was taking place in connection with the re-election committee's cash outlays, although the men apparently did not know for what use the Watergate team was using the funds.

"Everybody knew that Sloan was the fly in the ointment," one investigator said. "Sloan kept them a little bit honest, to his undying credit."

A number of sources cautioned that the investigations have yet to turn up — as one put it — "a nice, tidy little meeting where they all sat down and planned how to do it." Instead, the sources said, some meetings involving committee officials were held in late June, with telephone consultations handled at a high level with Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman.

"Haldeman and Ehrlichman were running the cover-up," one investigator said during an interview. He added that it was not known whether the two Presidential aides were aware of the Watergate bugging operation before the arrests.

"We don't know whether Nixon to this day knows what really happened," the investigator added. "He really thinks they're clean."

In a statement he issued after accepting the resignations of the aides, Mr. Nixon emphasized that his action should not "be seen by anyone as evidence of any wrongdoing by either one." In their statements, Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlich-

WASHINGTON POST
2 May 1973

Law Has Prevailed, Kleindienst Asserts

By Lawrence Meyer and John P. MacKenzie

Washington Post Staff Writers

In one of his last acts as Attorney General of the United States, Richard G. Kleindienst told an audience of judges and lawyers yesterday that "these days ... so far as the law is concerned are days of sorrow, but they are not days of despair. The law has prevailed."

Discarding a prepared text as "not quite relevant, not quite appropriate," the man who resigned Monday as the nation's top law enforcement official because of the Watergate scandal said he wanted to "extemporaneously" and "from my heart say a few things about the circumstances we now find ourselves in."

But Kleindienst touched repeatedly on the theme of "his prepared text and the theme of the Law Day observance that inspired it—that this is a government of laws, not men."

"I'm proud that here in my country there is a chief judge named John J. Sirica—who, with great courage under most difficult circumstances, has assured the citizens of this country that justice will be done."

As Kleindienst spoke, Sirica—who presided at the trial of the seven convicted Watergate conspirators—sat a few feet away in the U.S. District Courthouse ceremonial courtroom.

With pride, Kleindienst again cited the statistics he referred to in the past when discussing the Justice Department's investigation of the Watergate affair—2,500 interviews conducted, 20,000 hours spent on the case, 500 agents involved and 53 of the FBI's 59 field offices.

Kleindienst resigned Monday, telling the President that "persons with whom I had had close personal and professional associations could be involved in conduct violative of the laws of the United States. Fair and impartial enforcement of the law requires that a person who has not had such intimate relationships be the Attorney General of the United States."

He continues to serve as Attorney General until his

successor, Elliot L. Richardson, is confirmed. Included in the prepared speech Kleindienst no longer found quite appropriate were the following expressions of pride in the Nixon administration's record:

"When men usurp the law, then government is subject to their whims, their personalities and their varying ethical standards."

"Beginning in the early 1960s, a wave of lawlessness swept across the United States. It showed itself in the increase of general crime, in mob disorders, and in such spectacular incidents as assassinations, bombings and hijackings."

"These trends showed that a relatively small but growing number of Americans, far from recognizing their duties as citizens, were putting themselves above the law."

"We saw this most dramatically in cases where witnesses to a crime refused to testify because they did not want to become involved—even to the point where they would not even call the police while a crime was being committed."

"I am pleased to point out that we are witnessing a reversal of this alarming trend ... In short, what seemed to be the growing popularity of lawlessness, where Americans put themselves above or outside the law, has been halted."

Those were the remarks that Kleindienst did not deliver. Instead, he concluded his off-the-cuff remarks by expressing another kind of pride.

"As I make this, my last Law Day speech as Attorney General of the United States, my belief rather than being lessened has been strengthened" in the promise of the United States. "There will be another Attorney General 200 years from now who can say we have prospered because we have been true to that promise."

Outside, where the television cameras waited for him, Kleindienst repeated his message again. "We are a country of law, not of men," he said. The events of the past few days "prove that the law prevails. It works its will."

man criticized the newspaper "rumors" and "innuendos" surrounding their roles in the Watergate inquiry and said a full inquiry would demonstrate that they were not guilty of any wrongdoing.

The investigators say that the cover-up publicly began within two days of the arrests inside the Democratic headquarters, after newspapers identified James W. McCord Jr., one of those arrested, as a "security coordinator" for the Republican re-election committee.

The committee issued a statement in Mr. Mitchell's name declaring that "we want to emphasize that this man [McCord] and the other people involved were not operating either in our behalf or with our consent."

The Mitchell statement added: "The person involved is the proprietor of a private security firm which was employed by our committee months ago to assist with the installation of our security system. He has, as we understand it, a number of business clients and interests, and we have no knowledge of those relationships . . . There is no place in our campaign or in the electoral process for this type of activity and we will not permit it nor condone it."

That press release, investigators say, was the first stage of the conspiracy just beginning to unfold. "The original strategy was to blame it on McCord," one source said, and Liddy—who officially was a counsel for the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President—was among those advocating that strategy.

"There was a bunch of little meetings in C.R.P. [the Committee for Re-election of the President]," the source went on, and Liddy was quoted by one witness as saying "That's just McCord, always doing something like that."

Liddy himself was dismissed on June 28, 11 days after the break-in, after a newspaper reports linked the \$100 bills found on the Watergate team to the finance committee, but the news did not come out until nearly one month later. By the time he was dismissed, for refusing to discuss the operation with agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he had agreed to become a focal point of the cover-up, investigators said.

"The strategy then became to blame it all on Liddy," the source added. "Everybody knew that Gordon knew how to keep his mouth shut, and they were right—he did."

During his closing argument at the end of the trial of the Watergate defendants, Earl J. Silbert, the principal Assistant United States Attorney trying the case, pointed his finger at Liddy and described him caustically and repeatedly as "the boss."

He depicted the Watergate team, led by Liddy and McCord, as being "off on an enterprise of their own." Mr. Liddy, a former F.B.I. agent and White House aide, "was the money man, the supervisor" of the group who had been "playing cops and robbers," Mr. Silbert said.

Liddy, who was jailed after his conviction in the bugging operation, is still withstanding pressure from the White House and the Federal prosecutors to give his account.

Sometime in late June, investigators said, President Nixon assigned Mr. Dean to investigate the possibility of White House involvement in the bugging operation. In his speech last night Mr. Nixon implied that his own investigators had lied to him.

"I don't think Dean had any prior knowledge of the bugging," one investigator said. "He agreed to go along with the cover-up. Once he found out how many people would be hurt, he was convinced that the scandal would really damage the country."

The investigator gave this paraphrase of what he said was the approach used by the

two high-level Presidential aides to the counsel when the question of the bugging was initially discussed:

"Now, John, we know that the President is asking you to do this investigation. But the President doesn't know anything about all of this, and we do. Consider in your mind the consequences of the whole story coming out, and what it would do to the country."

The investigator said that after listening to the explanation from his superiors, "Dean went into the bag and falsified his report to the President."

Mr. Dean's subsequent release of information to various newspapers in the last two weeks about the involvement of higher-ups was based in part on his anger, the investigator said, upon learning that Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman had "given him all this bull about wanting to protect the Presidency, when really they were just protecting their necks."

Federal sources have since acknowledged that it was Mr. Dean who first told investigators earlier this month about the meeting at which L. Patrick Gray 3d, acting director of the F.B.I., was in effect told to destroy White files belonging to one of the Watergate participants. Also at the meeting, along with Mr. Dean, was Mr. Ehrlichman.

The overall effect of the initial cover-up was so complete, sources said, that the prosecutors ignored a number of vital clues pointing toward a conspiracy during their initial investigation and the trial.

The most significant of these, sources said, was provided by Mr. Sloan himself, who went to Mr. Silbert and Seymour Glanzer and Donald E. Campbell, his deputies, and told them that pressure was being placed upon him by Mr. Magruder and Mr. LaRue to commit perjury.

Mr. Sloan acknowledged the meeting with Mr. Silbert during the brief telephone interview, but the prosecutors, as has been their practice, refused to discuss grand jury matters with a reporter.

WASHINGTON POST
29 April 1973

Who's Who in Watergate: Names Include Top Nixon Aides

The unfolding story of the Watergate affair, which initially involved little-known individuals, has now reached into the uppermost reaches of the Nixon administration.

The following glossary of names, along with the accompanying diagram, sketches the principals involved in recent developments and their relationship to each other.

President Richard M. NIXON—The most important question, as yet unanswered, in the Watergate affair is how much, if anything, the President knew about the bugging of the Watergate, other acts of election campaign espionage and sabotage, and the effort to cover up the scandal—before his announcement April 17 that his own inquiry, begun March 21, had turned up "major developments" in the case.

According to highly reliable sources in the executive branch, the President was told as early as last December that former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and White House counsel John W. Dean III were probably deeply involved in both the illegal electronic surveillance and the coverup.

Charles W. Colson, among other White House staff members, was reliably reported to have told the President that persons in his administration were obstructing justice and that action should be taken. Colson has denied giving Mr. Nixon any such warning, and Gerald Warren, deputy presidential press secretary, said the White House would have no comment on the reports.

The President is officially reported by the White House to be conducting his own independent investigation into the affair. Mr. Nixon also has had at least two meetings with John J. Wilson, the lawyer recently retained by top White House aides H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman.

John N. MITCHELL—Attorney General from 1969 until he resigned in March, 1972, to become the President's campaign manager, Mitchell was Mr. Nixon's law partner for two years, his 1968 presidential campaign manager and his closest adviser for some time before and after the 1968 election.

Mitchell resigned as manager of the President's 1972 campaign on July 1, 1972, citing personal reasons after his wife, Martha, publicly demanded that he quit. Subsequently, it was reported that Mitchell was one of a handful of top campaign and administration officials with access to a secret fund used to finance the Watergate and other espionage and sabotage activities.

Before the election, Mitchell repeatedly denied having any knowledge of the Watergate bugging. On April 20, 1973, after testifying before the federal grand jury here, Mitchell conceded that he had attended meetings where the bugging was discussed but insisted "I never approved any such plans."

However, Mitchell's deputy at the Committee for the Re-election of the President, Jeb Stuart Magruder, reportedly has told federal prosecutors

that Mitchell and White House counsel Dean approved the bugging and later approved the payment of funds to the men indicted for the Watergate conspiracy in an effort to buy their silence.

H.R. (Bob) HALDEMAN—President Nixon's White House chief of staff and, until the recent flood of Watergate revelations, the man to see for anyone who wanted to see or communicate with the President. Haldeman was considered generally to be the most powerful man on the White House staff and competed with Mitchell for power both within the administration and in political campaign matters.

Associates of White House Counsel Dean have said that he will testify under oath before the grand jury that Haldeman and other high White House officials actively participated in a cover-up to hide the involvement of presidential aides in the bugging. Haldeman has denied the charge.

The grand jury reportedly has already been told that the President's re-election committee, on Haldeman's orders, transferred \$350,000 to the White House before April 7, 1972, when a new campaign finance law became effective.

The grand jury was told that Haldeman ordered the money given to a re-

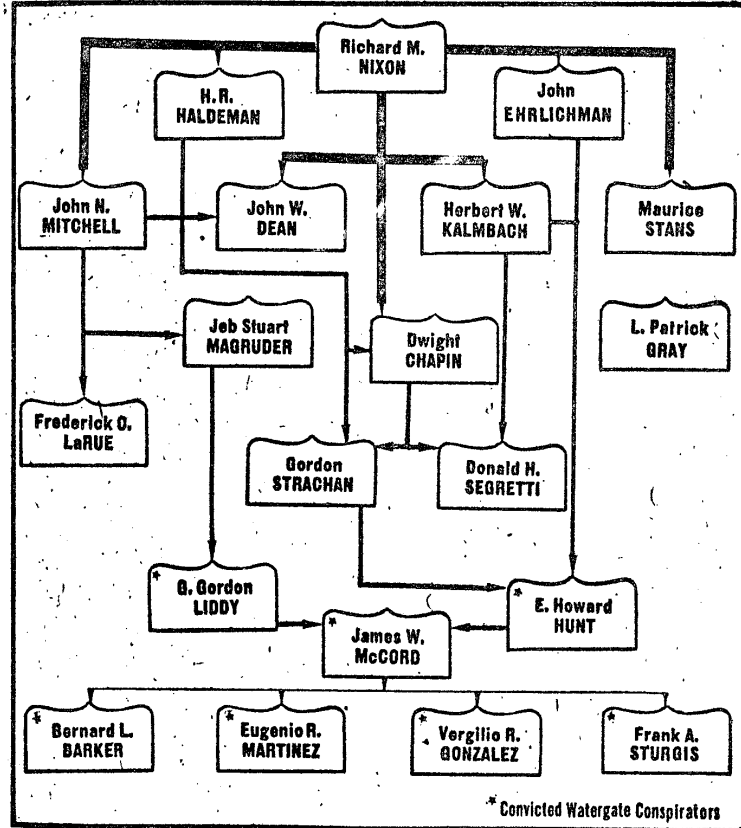
election committee official, Fred LaRue, who, sources close to the investigation have reported, paid large sums of money—"hush money"—to the Watergate conspirators to pay for their silence.

In the wake of recent revelations, Haldeman's White House influence reportedly has been drastically reduced, and there have been recurrent rumors within the White House staff that his resignation was imminent.

John D. EHRLICHMAN—Assistant to the President for domestic affairs, Ehrlichman remained relatively untouched by recent Watergate revelations until it was disclosed April 26 that Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray III, after meeting with Ehrlichman and White House counsel Dean, had destroyed documents taken from the White House office of Watergate conspiracy E. Howard Hunt Jr.

Ehrlichman said in a statement that he was present at a meeting with Gray and Dean at which the documents were discussed and turned over to Gray, "but neither then, nor at any other time, did I give Mr. Gray any request, suggestion or instruction regarding what should be done with the contents."

An associate of Dean's says that Dean was at the meeting but that "it was John Ehrlichman who ordered



By Joseph Mastrangelo—The Washington Post

Chart shows relationship of those mentioned in Watergate affair.

Gray to destroy the documents."

Herbert W. KALMBACH—President Nixon's personal lawyer, Kalmbach had control over a \$500,000 account that allegedly was used to finance the political campaign sabotage activities of Donald H. Segretti.

Kalmbach has testified before the grand jury investigating the Watergate affair, according to reliable sources.

Kalmbach is being investigated by the jury on possible charges involving obstruction of justice by providing some of the money used by others to buy the silence of the convicted Watergate conspirators, according to government sources.

Maurice STANS—Former Secretary of Commerce, Stans resigned to become finance director of President Nixon's re-election committee.

Stans kept between \$350,000 and \$700,000 from campaign contributions in cash in his office safe. According to testimony at the Watergate burglary trial, convicted Watergate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy was given \$235,000 from these funds. This money was used, among other things, to finance the break-in and bugging of the Democratic National committee.

The money came in cash campaign contributions from a variety of sources, including a \$100,000 contribution from Texas oil executive Robert H. Allen, who routed the money through Mexico, and \$200,000 from international financier Robert L. Vesco, under investigation by a federal grand jury in New York in connection with a Securities and Exchange Commission fraud inquiry. The Committee for the Re-election of the President says that both the Allen and Vesco contributions were returned.

John W. DEAN—Initially a remote figure in the Watergate affair, Dean has become a focal point in the recently renewed investigation. According to reports of what former deputy Nixon campaign manager Magruder has told federal prosecutors, Dean, along with Mitchell, helped plan and approved the Watergate bugging operation.

Magruder also has reportedly told prosecutors that Dean and Mitchell later arranged to buy the silence of the Watergate conspirators.

Former Acting FBI Director Gray has told a senate committee that he turned FBI Watergate investigation reports over to Dean.

Last week, it was learned that Dean was present at the meeting with Ehrlichman and Gray, after which Gray destroyed documents from E. Howard Hunt Jr.'s White House office. At the meeting, Dean told Gray that the documents should "never see the light of day," according to FBI and other sources.

Dean has also reportedly told the President that Dean, Haldeman and Ehrlichman would have to tell all they knew about the Watergate bugging case and face the possibility of going to jail "to save the presidency." On April 6, Dean reportedly told federal prosecutors all he knew about the bugging and subsequent cover-up, but he has not yet testified before the grand jury.

Dean left the Justice Department in

1970 to become White House counsel with the strong backing of Mitchell. As White House counsel, handling legal problems for the President, Dean worked closely with Haldeman.

L. Patrick GRAY III—Until his resignation Friday, the acting director of the FBI, Gray supervised the FBI investigation into the Watergate affair. Impeccable sources close to him have confirmed and Gray has not denied reports that he destroyed documents belonging to Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt Jr. after a meeting with White House aides Ehrlichman and Dean.

Gray is reported by an associate to be "just sick about all this" and anxious to appear before the grand jury.

Jeb Stuart MAGRUDER—A former merchandising executive in the cosmetics business, Magruder worked under Haldeman on the White House staff, which he left in May, 1971, to establish the President's re-election committee. Magruder ran the committee until Mitchell became its director in March, 1972. Magruder stayed on as Mitchell's deputy.

At the Watergate trial, Magruder testified that he hired Watergate conspirator Liddy on Dean's recommendation to handle committee legal problems. Magruder denied under oath, however, that he knew about or approved the Watergate bugging operation.

Associates of Magruder say that he has since told federal prosecutors that Mitchell and Dean both gave Magruder approval to conduct the bugging. Mitchell, who admits he heard a discussion of bugging but insists he refused to approve it, told the grand jury that he believes Magruder went over his head to unnamed White House officials for approval of the Watergate operation, according to a Mitchell associate.

Frederick C. LaRUE—One of Mitchell's most intimate assistants and a former White House aide, LaRue has been described by federal investigators as being one of the re-election committee officials who directed a "housecleaning" to destroy committee documents following the June 17, Watergate arrests. LaRue also was involved in paying the Watergate conspirators money to keep them silent, according to reliable sources.

Dwight CHAPIN—Now an airline executive, Chapin was appointments secretary to the President and his chief advance man for important trips, including the visit to China in 1972. A University of Southern California graduate, Chapin, with Haldeman aide Gordon Strachan, recruited Donald Segretti, a college classmate of both, for political sabotage activities during the 1972 campaign. Chapin left the White House staff after the 1972 election.

Gordon STRACHAN—A former White House aide on Haldeman's staff and now general counsel for the United States Information Agency, Strachan (pronounced Strawn) helped recruit Segretti. Strachan also reportedly took \$350,000 from Haldeman to LaRue to pay the conspirators after their arrests.

Strachan acted as the link between Segretti's missions and the intelligence gathering operations of Hunt and Liddy.

Donald H. SEGRETTI—A college classmate of Chapin and Strachan, Segretti was paid at least \$30,000 by Nixon lawyer Kalmbach to conduct political sabotage. Segretti reported directly to Chapin and also communicated with convicted Watergate conspirator Hunt.

G. Gordon LIDDY—Described by the prosecution during the Watergate trial as the brains and boss of the Watergate bugging operation, Liddy now emerges more clearly as the field commander in an extensive espionage bureaucracy.

Liddy is a former Treasury Department official, White House aide and ex-FBI agent who was hired, according to Magruder, to handle legal problems for the re-election committee. Magruder testified at the trial that he also authorized Liddy to spend \$250,000 to gather intelligence on demonstrations threatening security at the 1972 Republican convention and at appearances of speakers on behalf of the President during the 1972 spring primaries.

The latest revelation about Liddy is that he and his friend and fellow Watergate conspirator Hunt allegedly broke into the office of the psychiatrist for Daniel Ellsberg in order to obtain files. Ellsberg is standing trial in connection with the disclosure of the Pentagon Papers.

E. Howard HUNT Jr.—A former CIA agent and ex-White House aide, Hunt was brought into the White House by Ehrlichman and special counsel Charles W. Colson, purportedly to work on declassifying the Pentagon Papers. Hunt was used reportedly for a variety of missions, including gathering political intelligence that could be used against Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.).

According to convicted Watergate conspirator James W. McCord Jr., Hunt and Hunt's late wife, Dorothy, made vague offers of money and executive clemency to the Watergate conspirators to remain silent. Hunt's wife was killed in a Chicago plane crash Nov. 30. She was carrying \$10,000 in \$100 bills at the time.

James W. McCORD Jr.—Former security director for the President's re-election committee, McCord maintained his silence until March 21, when he delivered a letter to Chief U.S. District Judge John J. Sirica offering to tell what he knew about the Watergate affair. McCord's revelations to Senate investigators and the grand jury have played a major role in breaking open the conspiracy.

McCord was arrested inside the Democratic Party's Watergate headquarters in the early morning hours of June 17 along with four men from Miami who had been recruited by Hunt—Bernard L. Barker, Eugenio R. Martinez, Virgilio R. Gonzales and Frank A. Sturgis. The men from Miami all pleaded guilty to all charges against them.

—LAWRENCE MEYER

WASHINGTON POST
3 May 1973

Wiretaps Put On Phones of 2 Reporters

By Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein
Washington Post Staff Writers

The Nixon administration tapped the telephones of at least two newspaper reporters in 1971 as part of the investigation reportedly ordered by President Nixon into the leaks of the Pentagon Papers to the press, according to two highly placed sources in the executive branch.

The wiretapping was supervised by Watergate conspirators E. Howard Hunt Jr. and G. Gordon Liddy, who were then working in the White House, and it was authorized by John N. Mitchell while he was Attorney General, one of the sources said.

In this electronic surveillance, according to the same source, Hunt and Liddy supervised an independent team, or so-called "vigilante squad," of wiretappers not employed by the FBI—the agency that normally performs legal wiretapping.

That source named two reporters from The New York Times, which published the Pentagon Papers in June, 1971, as being among those whose phones were tapped. Another source confirmed that the telephones of Times reporters were tapped but could not identify those placed under surveillance.

The legality of such wiretapping is an unsettled question. The Supreme Court last year unanimously rejected Nixon administration claims to the right to conduct electronic surveillance without a court order in so-called "domestic subversion" cases. But the Court left open whether the executive branch has such power in national security cases involving "foreign subversion."

According to The Post's sources, the wiretapping connected with the Pentagon Papers followed earlier White House-ordered wiretaps of other reporters to discover the sources of leaks of information about the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) to the news media.

In addition, during the first Nixon administration, the office or home telephones of at least 10 White House staff members also were tapped in the course of investigations into news leaks, the sources said.

In late 1971 or early 1972, it was decided at a Nixon campaign strategy meeting that some members of the same vigilante squad responsible for the Pentagon Papers wiretapping would be used to wiretap the telephones of Democratic presidential candidates, according to one of the sources.

James W. McCord Jr., one of the convicted Watergate conspirators, reportedly has told a federal grand jury here that the Watergate bugging team had planned, but never carried out, the installation of wiretaps and eavesdropping devices in the campaign headquarters of Sens. George McGovern and Edmund S. Muskie.

Although the activities of the squad were authorized by then Attorney General Mitchell, the source said, they were more closely supervised by Assistant Attorney General Robert C. Mardian, who later became the political coordinator of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, the source said.

According to the sources, the wiretapping in the Pentagon Papers case began shortly after the Times started publication of the classified, multivolume history of the Vietnam War. The Times had obtained the documents from Daniel Ellsberg, the former Defense Department analyst now on trial in Los Angeles.

In June, 1971, the government moved unsuccessfully in court to permanently halt publication of the Pentagon papers on the grounds of national security.

At the time, a White House team known as "The Plumbers," whose members included Hunt and Liddy, was attempting to determine how The Times obtained the Papers.

The Los Angeles Times reported last year that Liddy had proposed to the Justice Department that

The New York Times be tapped in the Pentagon Papers investigation. However, at the time, the Los Angeles Times reported that the Justice Department turned down Liddy's suggestion.

The "plumbers" project was under the direction of former presidential counsel Charles W. Colson and John Ehrlichman, who until this week was President Nixon's principal domestic affairs adviser, according to a statement given to the FBI last week by Ehrlichman. The project was undertaken on orders from the President, Ehrlichman told the FBI.

According to Ehrlichman's statement, Hunt and Liddy broke into the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, after which Ehrlichman said he told them "not to do it again."

The statement by Ehrlichman, who resigned from his White House job Monday, makes no mention of the wiretapping conducted during the Pentagon Papers project.

According to The Post's sources, all records relating to the activities of the vigilante squad that conducted that wiretapping have been destroyed.

Only six to eight people had first-hand knowledge of the squad's activities, according to one source who said the June 17, 1972 arrest at the Watergate set those people "off the edge" with worry that the Watergate break-in would lead to discovery of the earlier wiretapping by the Nixon administration.

The Washington Post reported in February that Hunt and Liddy were regularly routed information obtained from national security wiretaps for several months in 1971 and 1972.

It could not be learned at that time exactly what wiretap information they received, though "presumably the reports from the taps of Times reporters would have gone to Hunt and Liddy because they were supervising the operation.

The information from national security wiretaps is among the most closely held and sensitive data collected by the U.S. intelligence community and had been traditionally supervised by the Justice Department Internal Security Division.

The division, which was headed by Mardian during the first Nixon administration, was abolished earlier this year.

Hunt's and Liddy's work as White House "plumbers" was supervised by David Young, a former staff member of the National Security

Council. Young resigned from the council staff about three weeks ago without explanation.

Former White House aide Egil Krogh Jr. was in overall charge of the "plumbers." Krogh, 33, presently undersecretary of the Department of Transportation, suddenly took leave yesterday from his post. He has refused to return a reporter's daily telephone calls for the last five days.

On March 12, Time magazine reported that the FBI had tapped the telephones of news reporters, first with the approval of its late director, J. Edgar Hoover, and then by his successor, former acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray. However, during the Senate confirmation hearings that led to the withdrawal of Gray's nomination to be permanent director of the FBI, Gray testified that he had no knowledge of such taps by the FBI.

According to Time's account, the White House asked Hoover to tap the telephones of reporters and White House officials suspected of leaking information about three years ago.

"Hoover balked, and demanded authorization from John Mitchell, then U.S. Attorney General," Time reported. "Mitchell sanctioned the surveillance . . . on grounds of domestic security, which sidestepped the necessity of getting a court order for each tap. The operation started with only one tap, but soon expanded to include surveillance of six or seven reporters, plus an undetermined number of White House aides."

"The wiretapping actually helped keep Hoover on the job until his death last year . . ." Time reported. "Richard Kleindienst, then deputy attorney general tried to force Hoover to step down, and in 1971 even gave his support to a proposed congressional investigation of the FBI. Enraged, Hoover indicated to Kleindienst that if he was called to testify on Capitol Hill, he might disclose the wiretaps."

The only wiretapping of reporters and White House aides known to The Post's sources was conducted by the vigilante squads of professional wiretappers and ex-CIA and ex-FBI agents—not by the FBI. "They were out of FBI channels," one source stressed.

Asked about the Time magazine report of FBI wiretaps, Gray said at his confirmation hearing:

"When I saw this particular article and checked the records and indices of the Federal Bureau of Investi-

BALTIMORE SUN
3 May 1973**Joseph Kraft**

We Still Await Full Watergate Story

igation, and I am told also that the Department of Justice checked the records of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice, and there is no record of any such business here of bugging news reporters and White House people."

Gray also testified: "If these acts were committed, certainly it is a felony, no question about it certainly."

NEW YORK TIMES
29 April 1973

MRS. HUNT'S MONEY SAID TO BE FOR MOTEL

CHICAGO, April 27 (UPI)—An accountant related by marriage to a Watergate conspirator, E. Howart Hunt Jr., quoted Mr. Hunt Friday as saying the \$10,000 his wife was carrying the night she was killed in an airline crash was to buy a Holiday Inn franchise.

The money was found in Mrs. Hunt's purse in the wreckage of the United Air Lines jet that crashed near Chicago's Midway Airport last December.

Harold C. Carlstead of suburban Flossmoor, whose wife was a cousin to Mrs. Hunt, said he had discussed the Holiday Inn franchise with Mrs. Hunt. Mr. Carlstead, a certified public accountant with motel investments, added that the price of the franchise when he talked with her by phone was \$10,000.

"By the time she was on her way out to Chicago it had gone up to \$15,000," he said. Carlstead said a theory that Mrs. Hunt wanted the franchise to cover for secret income she received during her husband's imprisonment was "ridiculous."

James W. McCord, another Watergate defendant, reportedly told a Federal grand jury that Mrs. Hunt was the courier for "silence" money paid to the seven defendants by the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

I watched the President's Watergate telecast with a Republican senator who had repeatedly proclaimed that full disclosure would vindicate Mr. Nixon. At the end of the speech, the senator called his press secretary to say he would issue no statement.

"I feel," he said, "like throwing up."

The reason for that feeling is that Mr. Nixon has once more decided against full disclosure on Watergate. Instead of telling it as it was, he has set up an adversary proceeding in which one group of former White House aides, praised by Mr. Nixon, will pit their stories against the version of another group whose reputations are now being blackened by the White House.

The best evidence of the nondisclosure policy lies in the recent events not mentioned by the President. Forget all about the crossing of the Watergate affair with the Ellsberg case.

Say nothing of the disclosure by L. Patrick Gray, the former acting head of the FBI, that he had burned papers taken from the office of men implicated in the Watergate break-in and given to him by John D. Ehrlichman and John W. Dean 3d of the White House staff.

Overlook the fact that Mr. Dean had threatened to spill the beans if he were made a "scapegoat" for Watergate.

Think only of the behavior of John N. Mitchell, former attorney general. He had publicly acknowledged attending high-level meetings at which the project for bugging the Democrats had been discussed. Having heard of the plans in advance, Mr. Mitchell had to know what

was involved when the men breaking into Watergate were apprehended June 17.

Since he was then serving as head of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, it is hard to believe he would not have signaled some kind of word to his close friend in the White House.

But the President made no mention of that semi-confession as though it were a mere bagatelle — the kind of thing a former attorney general does every day of the week.

What Mr. Nixon said was almost as confusing as what he left unsaid. On the one hand, for example, he warmly praised the two top White House aides whose resignations were announced on the day of the speech.

He called Mr. Ehrlichman and H.R. (Bob) Haldeman, the White House chief of staff, "two of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know."

At the Cabinet meeting next day, Mr. Nixon pounded the table angrily and denounced as "a stupid act" the posting of FBI men in the offices of Mr. Ehrlichman and Mr. Haldeman.

In harsh contrast was the treatment accorded Mr. Dean and Mr. Gray. Mr. Dean was dropped without any praise in a way that made it seem clear he was fired.

Mr. Gray was pulled back from a resignation he was about to offer April 26 so Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary, could announce a resignation next day with the kind of winks and nudges and background hints which suggested that Mr. Gray had been fired.

The contrast in treatment coincides with different versions of Watergate. Mr.

Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman are insisting on their own innocence and that of the President. Hence, the White House has an interest in making them seem credible witnesses.

Mr. Dean and Mr. Gray, however, are telling stories that implicate the highest White House aides—hence, Mr. Nixon's interest in blackening their reputations.

In the end, I have no doubt that a large part of the story will come out. A grand jury is sitting. There will be indictments and a public trial. A Senate investigating committee will air the whole episode. The press is not exactly inactive.

Moreover, a new attorney general, Elliot L. Richardson, is looking into the whole business. Mr. Richardson fancies himself as President, and he has shown in past service at the departments of Defense and Health, Education and Welfare a willingness to front for Mr. Nixon's dirty work.

But Mr. Richardson is also a distinguished attorney with a deep respect for our history and our laws. He has the authority to appoint a special prosecutor. If he does not appoint a special prosecutor, he will be under the strongest possible pressure to do a thorough job.

So I doubt the President's TV statement will do much more than buy time before most of the full story emerges.

The big question is why Mr. Nixon uses so many stratagems to muddy the story and drag out its telling.

The answer that suggests itself is what made the senators feel like throwing up. It is that Mr. Nixon himself may not have clean hands.

WASHINGTON POST
26 April 1973

Nairobi Paper Cites Watergate

Reuter

NAIROBI, Kenya, April 25—The Watergate scandal is giving the United States a good name—at least in Nairobi.

Readers of the Nairobi Daily Nation were told today:

"It is going to be easy to say that a corrupt system exists in the United States. Yet . . . Americans have something to be proud of. They have a society in which scandals involving their chief executive are discussed in public. How many other countries can boast the same tradition?"

NEW YORK TIMES
3 May 1973

INVESTIGATORS TERM G.O.P. SPYING A WIDESPREAD ATTEMPT TO INSURE WEAK DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE IN 1972

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2—Government investigators say they now have evidence that Republican sabotage and espionage efforts in the election campaign last year were far more widespread than was previously known and were designed to help Senator George McGovern win the Democratic nomination for President.

Republicans viewed Senator McGovern, the eventual nominee, as the weakest candidate President Nixon could face, the investigators said. They added that there was no way of determining how much over-all impact the major Republican intelligence effort, organized at a cost not yet fully estimated, had upon the 1972 primaries.

The investigators said that the espionage program, initially authorized by H. R. Haldeman, the White House chief of staff, who resigned Monday, included at its peak three networks of agents controlled by the White House and the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

The Federal investigators said they had confirmed that at least some allegations about Republican disruption voiced last year by Democratic candidates were substantially correct.

These sources said, there is now evidence that a Nixon supporter was infiltrated into the campaign offices of Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine, in early 1972. Once there, he intercepted a variety of confidential documents that were subsequently leaked to the press.

The basic Republican strategy was worked out in early 1971, investigators said, when Mr. Nixon was running behind Senator Muskie in public opinion polls. The Harris survey, for example, showed that by early May, 1971, Mr. Muskie had a 47-to-39 per cent lead over the President, an increase of 3 percentage points in three months.

The investigators emphasized that there is no evidence thus far that Republican leaders had held a formal meeting at the White House or elsewhere in

which they discussed plans to defeat Senator Muskie so as to increase the chance of Senator McGovern, a South Dakota Democrat.

"Nonetheless," one source said, "there was a definite strategy worked out before the election. They tried to make sure that the Democrats nominated their weakest candidate."

In this context, the source said, the bugging of the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate complex here in June, 1972, was only a small part of the over-all effort.

"The Republicans had people in all of the campaigns," one investigator said, "but not at high levels. They had little people nobody would suspect."

"They started playing tricks with the avowed goal of heavily influencing the nomination of the Democratic candidate," he added.

Intelligence operations are commonplace in political campaigns and usually include efforts to collect all published information about an opponent along with occasional efforts to obtain advance copies of speeches, travel schedules and the like.

The Justice Department's fraud unit is known to be investigating the Republican espionage activities for possible violations of Federal law.

The prime espionage target throughout late 1971 and in early 1972, investigators said, was Mr. Muskie, whose campaign was repeatedly jarred by inexplicable incidents — such as the disappearance of vital polling data, the misrouting of the candidate's personal plane, and the anonymous "Canuck" letter in the New Hampshire primary that accused Mr. Muskie of casting ethnic slurs on French-Canadians.

"We do have evidence that there was infiltration of the Muskie campaign and that many documents were stolen or photographed," one investigator said.

He specifically cited a private staff letter to Senator Muskie calling on him to stage hearings on a proposed tax bill in California because it would get him "favorable publicity."

The letter, the investigator said, was stolen by an espionage agent and sent to an official in the Republican re-election headquarters who then sent it on to a Washington columnist. When a column about the letter was published a few days later, the source said, an embarrassed Mr. Mus-

kie canceled the proposed hearing.

In a private meeting with a group of Republican Congressmen a little more than a month ago, Mr. Haldeman was reported to have acknowledged being personally responsible for organizing a political intelligence operation in 1972. He was quoted as saying, however, that the project had involved no illegal activities.

The New York Times quoted Government investigators today as saying they had evidence that Mr. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, Mr. Nixon's chief domestic adviser who also resigned Monday, along with John N. Mitchell, former Attorney General, conspired with at least three other officials to arrange a cover-up story to obstruct a Federal investigation into the full ramifications of the Watergate break-in.

Mr. Mitchell issued the following denial today: "A tory appearing in today's New York Times alleging that I conspired with H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman and John Dean [the former White House counsel] to obstruct justice in the Watergate case is absolutely false and without factual foundation."

Mr. Ehrlichman and Mr. Haldeman, meanwhile, were scheduled to testify tomorrow before the Federal grand jury investigating the Watergate break-in and cover-up. Both men have denied any wrongdoing.

Investigators, cautioning that their inquiry was far from complete, provided the following account of how the Republican espionage and sabotage operation developed:

Officials around the President, believed to have been led by Mr. Haldeman, began to become concerned about the 1972 elections in early 1971. At some point, Mr. Haldeman decided that a well-planned and well-financed espionage campaign was needed to insure the nomination of the weakest Democrat candidate.

By that time, Hebert W. Kalmbach, Mr. Nixon's personal attorney, who was a chief campaign fund-raiser, was beginning to collect cash that would later be set aside for the espionage operation.

In June, 1971, when The New York Times began publishing the secret Pentagon papers on the history of the Vietnam war, a White House group, called the "plumbers," was assigned to discover who had made the papers available to the press. E. Howard Hunt Jr. and G. Gordon Liddy, two leading mem-

bers of the eventual Watergate team, were assigned to the operation.

Hunt, a former agent for the Central Intelligence Agency, is known to have begun researching the background of potential Democratic Presidential candidates and recruiting a number of former colleagues and associates for his political operation while working with the "plumbers," so named because their job was to stop leaks of information. Hunt coordinated his political activities with Charles W. Colson, a White House special counsel and its chief political operative.

At the same time, Dwight L. Chapin, a Haldeman protégé who was then Mr. Nixon's appointments secretary, got in touch with Mr. Kalmbach to arrange for payments to Donald H. Segretti, a former college classmate who was recruited to direct the espionage operation.

Over the next 10 months, Mr. Segretti made more than 20 known contacts in his attempt to recruit fellow informers and agents and established a loosely organized network of about 10 agents. Investigators have determined that many of those received substantial cash payments from Mr. Kalmbach. Others were apparently paid in cash by Mr. Segretti.

By early 1972, both Liddy and Hunt had been reassigned to the Republican re-election committee, where they continued to recruit fellow saboteurs, along with a string of informers and obstructionists who were assigned specific campaign targets, investigators said. One key operation was in Florida, where Miami-based anti-Castroites became involved in the state's primary.

In early February, Hunt and Liddy flew to Miami for a meeting with Mr. Segretti that was arranged by Gordon Strachan, another Haldeman aide who helped direct the Segretti operations in the field.

Mr. Haldeman, working through Mr. Strachan and Mr. Chapin, directly controlled the Segretti operation until the Miami meeting. Afterward, Hunt and Liddy both began to direct more of Mr. Segretti's movements, with Mr. Strachan reduced to a monitoring role.

The merging of the Hunt-Liddy operation with the Segretti-Kalmbach-Chapin group, each with its separate informers and agent provocateurs, was considered an important step, making the over-all operation more manageable, investigators said.

As the campaign picked up steam in 1972, hundreds of persons were added to the re-elec-

WASHINGTON POST
4 May 1973

Poll Says Half of People Believe Nixon Helped Cover Up Watergate

tion committee staff and massive infiltration of other campaigns began, using mostly the young.

At least 30, and possibly 40, paid informers were recruited by March by the re-election campaign and were assigned to various Democratic headquarters and offices. Their basic target initially was Senator Muskie, but after his setbacks in the early primaries the youths were assigned to infiltrate the campaigns of the other Democrats believed to be among the leading contenders for the nomination — Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Henry M. Jackson of Washington, investigators said.

Aim Is Changed

The over-all goal of attacking Senator Muskie was quickly revised; instead the new aim would be to do as much damage as possible to the other leading candidates so as to improve the position of Mr. McGovern.

The Times's sources said the Republicans believed that their biggest triumph came in the Florida primary in March, which was won by Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

A few days before the election, a flyer was distributed throughout the state on Muskie stationery accusing both Senator Humphrey and Senator Jackson of illicit sexual activity traced to the re-election effort, the sources said, although that aspect of the inquiry is still going on.

Half of those interviewed in a special Gallup Poll said they believe that President Nixon participated in a "cover-up" of the Watergate affair.

Four out of 10 said they thought Mr. Nixon knew in advance about the bugging of the Watergate last June. The same percentage did not believe that he told the "whole truth" in his address to the nation Monday night.

A large majority—74 per cent—said they think that someone outside the Nixon administration should be appointed to head the Watergate investigation.

The special survey consisted of telephone interviews with 456 persons Wednesday night. A normal Gallup Poll consists of about 1,600 personal interviews. The shorter, telephone poll was undertaken in an attempt to gauge the impact of the President's speech Monday, a Gallup organization official said.

One of the questions was, "Do you think President Nixon has participated in a cover-up of the Watergate situation?" Fifty per cent said "Yes," 35 per cent said "No," and 15 per cent said they had no opinion.

In answer to another question, 40 per cent said they thought Mr. Nixon knew in advance about the Watergate bugging. Forty-seven per cent said they did not think so, and 13 per cent had no opinion.

Asked if they felt the President "told the whole truth" in his speech, 30 per cent said "Yes," 40 per cent said "No," and 15 per cent had no opinion or were not aware of the Nixon speech.

Fifty-eight per cent said they believed there is little difference between the Nixon administration and previous administrations in the extent of corruption. Twenty-nine per cent thought there was more corruption in the Nixon administration, and 8 per cent thought there was less. Five per cent had no opinion.

A majority indicated that the Watergate affair had reduced to some degree their confidence in the federal government. Thirty-seven per cent said their confidence had been reduced "somewhat" and 21 per cent said their confidence had been reduced "a great deal."

Another 37 per cent said their confidence had not been reduced at all, and 5 per cent had no opinion.

Three-fourths favored appointment of an outside investigator.

NEW YORK TIMES
3 May 1973

F.B.I. MEN WARNED AGAINST DISCLOSURE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2—William D. Ruckelshaus, acting director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, warned the agents in charge of 59 field offices today against disclosing F.B.I. investigative information on the Watergate case to the mass media.

Mr. Ruckelshaus, who took over as acting director after L. Patrick Gray 3d resigned on Friday, summoned the agents to bureau headquarters here to review with them his role and

the current job of the F.B.I.

He cautioned the agents to be "extraordinarily careful" to protect the confidentiality of F.B.I. sources to avoid damaging the reputation of innocent persons and jeopardizing the ultimate prosecution of those who are guilty.

In his half-hour session with the agents, Mr. Ruckelshaus reassured them that he believed that someone who has "a broad background in law enforcement" should be named permanent F.B.I. director. Senior bureau officials sent a telegram to the White House Monday urging that the new director be selected from within the bureau.

NEW YORK TIMES
2 May 1973

Ziegler Apologizes to Washington Post on Watergate

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 1 — Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary, apologized to The Washington Post today for his earlier criticisms of the newspaper's coverage of the Watergate case.

Mr. Ziegler's apology to The Post and to its investigative reporters, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, who have made a number of important disclosures about the Watergate case, came in response to a question.

Several times in the last two weeks, Mr. Ziegler had refused to apologize when asked similar questions about his statements last October accusing The Post and its reporters of "shabby journalism" and "a blatant effort at character assassination."

"Mistakes were made during this period," Mr. Ziegler said today of the

Watergate case first broke. "I was overenthusiastic," he said.

His comments about The Post, the press secretary continued, were "an overstatement . . . particularly if you look at it in the context of developments that have taken place."

He said that Mr. Bernstein and Mr. Woodward had vigorously pursued the story, and deserved the credit they were receiving. "When we're wrong, we're wrong," Mr. Ziegler concluded, "and I would have to say I was in that case and other cases."

In New York, Mrs. Katharine Graham, publisher of The Post, said today she accepted the apology by Mr. Ziegler. "We appreciate it and accept it with pleasure," Mrs. Graham said, adding that "the Administration was trying to undermine the credibility of the press for the last 10 months."

Mr. Ziegler said he would address the Society of the Silurians. Following is a transcript of Mr. Ziegler's exchange with reporters about The Post: Q. Ron, a question in view of the President's comments when he came out and said a few words to the press last evening. Are you ready to apologize to The Washington Post for your comments of last October? Mr. Ziegler: I don't have the problem of the press giving me hell because that happens on a relatively frequent basis. I think we would all have to say, and I would be, I think, remiss if I did not say that mistakes were made during this period in terms of comments that were made, perhaps. I would say that I was overenthusiastic at the time in my comments about The Post, particularly if you

the developments that have taken place.

A press secretary, in this job, has to attempt to reflect the Presidency and the White House. He also finds himself speaking on his own from time to time, as I was doing on that occasion. It was an overstatement, I believe.

In thinking of it at this point in time, yes, I would apologize to The Post, and I would apologize to Mr. Woodward and Mr. Bernstein.

Now, having said that, I don't want to say that I agree with everything they write, and everything they have written. I think that would be a mistake, too. But they have vigorously pursued this story and they deserve the credit and are receiving the credit for it.

When we're wrong, we're wrong, and I would have to say I was in that case and

WASHINGTON POST
28 April 1973

Papers: *Conspirators Said to Burglarize Ellsberg Analyst, Trial Told*

By Sanford J. Ungar
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, April 27 —Watergate conspirators G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt allegedly burglarized the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist in order to obtain files concerning Ellsberg, according to information submitted to Justice Department investigators.

The information came to light in federal court here this morning, where Ellsberg and Anthony J. Russo Jr. are on trial on charges of conspiracy, espionage and theft of government property in connection with disclosure of the top-secret Pentagon Papers.

U.S. District Court Judge W. Matt Byrne Jr., stunned by the revelation in the final stages of the trial, ordered a comprehensive Justice Department investigation "forthwith."

Once he has the results, Byrne said, he will determine whether "the legal or constitutional rights of the defendants" may have been violated and whether any of the prosecution evidence in the case may have been tainted.

Legal observers here suggested that if this is so, or if the products of the alleged burglary contributed in any way to the government's case, the charges against Ellsberg and Russo could be dismissed or a mistrial declared. Meantime, Byrne allowed prosecutors to continue presenting rebuttal witnesses in the trial.

In Washington, the Justice Department stressed that it is not yet certain whether any burglary actually occurred and that it has made a preliminary determination that Ellsberg's and Russo's rights have not been prejudiced.

Defense attorneys for Ellsberg and Russo took the matter gravely, however, suggesting serious infringements of constitutional rights and the confidential doctor-patient relationship and contending that there may be substantial links between Republican political espionage and the Pentagon Papers prosecution.

Ellsberg insisted that he was not surprised.

"The message of the Watergate, as I read it, is the same as the message of the Pentagon Papers: that in the eyes of the people who work for the President, all

law stops at the White House fence, and they are all beyond the law," he said.

The name of the psychiatrist and the city where he practices were not revealed in court, and Ellsberg declined to provide that information to reporters.

"I believe very strongly that there are areas of individual privacy . . . and this is one of them," he said.

It was learned later, however, that the doctor in question is a male psychiatrist practicing in Los Angeles who Ellsberg consulted when he was working for the Rand Corp. in Santa Monica in the late 1960s.

Ellsberg complained that his dentist and "everybody related to me one way or another" had been contacted by the FBI during the Pentagon Papers investigation.

Russo, for his part, said that he did not feel the defense would have confidence that Byrne will receive full information on the alleged burglary from the Justice Department.

He pointed out that on at least two occasions, the chief prosecutor in the Pentagon Papers trial, David R. Nissen, had withheld evidence in apparent violation of court orders.

Details of the alleged burglary were not immediately available today.

The only information on the public record was a memorandum dated April 16, 1973, from Earl J. Silbert, principal assistant to the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia and chief Watergate investigator, to Assistant Attorney General Henry E. Petersen, head of the Justice Department's criminal division and the man who has been reporting directly to President Nixon on the renewed Watergate probe.

Labeled "Daniel Ellsberg Prosecution," it reads:

"This is to inform you that on Sunday, April 15, 1973, I received information that at a date unspecified, Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt burglarized the offices of a psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg to obtain the psychiatrist's files relating to Ellsberg. The source of the information did not know whether the files had any material information or whether any of the information or even the fact of the burglary had been communicated to anyone associated with the prosecution."

Defense sources said that during a court recess immediately after the revelation this morning, Ellsberg

placed a phone call to a psychiatrist he had consulted, in order to inquire about the alleged burglary.

The Justice Department said today that the Silbert-to-Petersen memo had been transmitted to Nissen by telecopier on Thursday, 10 days after it was written.

Department spokesman Horace Webb attributed the delay to the time necessary for Petersen "to examine the information (submitted to Silbert) and decide what to do."

The memo was part of a several-page, in-camera, or secret, filing that Nissen gave the court early Thursday afternoon, accompanied by a notice to the defense that he had submitted information "which the court may wish to examine in connection with the trial of this case."

In a development that was then regarded as mysterious, Byrne summoned lawyers for both sides to court later Thursday and told them he could not accept the document as a private filing, because it was not pursuant to any court order.

Byrne gave the prosecutor overnight to consult his superiors in Washington and to decide whether they would voluntarily turn the material accompanying the secret filing over to the defense. As court convened this morning, Nissen said, "They do not wish to do so."

The judge immediately ordered that the document be provided to Ellsberg and Russo anyway, but he agreed to Nissen's request that other parts of Thursday's secret filing—apparently dealing with internal communications at the Justice Department—be eliminated.

After reading the Silbert-to-Petersen memo aloud from the bench to a capacity courtroom audience, Byrne rattled off his instructions to the prosecution:

"I want to know all the facts that were obtained by Mr. Silbert and by anyone else regarding the alleged burglary. I also want to know the source of the information to Mr. Silbert and all the facts surrounding the occurrence of the burglary as to time, place and . . . whose office it was and what material, if any, is known to have been taken."

Byrne continued, "I also want the government to supply me with all facts regarding the status of the alleged perpetrators of the alleged burglary—that is, whether at the time of the alleged in-

cident they were employees of the government and, if they were not, who they were employees of at that time."

The judge said that he wanted the prosecutors' search for information to be comparable to earlier inquiries with government agencies about electronic surveillance in connection with the case.

"The government knows better than I what agencies or individuals might have such information," added Byrne, himself a former U.S. attorney here.

"It may well be, Mr. Nissen, that as I have an opportunity to reflect upon this to some greater length, I will have additional information that I will desire, but this will be a starting point," the judge said.

He said he was particularly concerned with determining whether the psychiatrist's files were used "in the preparation of the prosecution of the case, from the decision to prosecute, to presentment of indictments and through the trial of the case thus far."

Byrne warned that "I do not desire to have the government wait until they complete a somewhat large-scale investigation and then give me the information . . . what information you have, I would like it turned over as soon as you have it, and time is of the essence."

The judge said that as reports of the investigation come to him here, he will consider making them available to the Ellsberg-Russo defense and the public.

Hunt pleaded guilty to and Liddy was convicted of charges of conspiracy, burglary and illegal wiretapping and eavesdropping in connection with the break-in and bugging of the Democratic National Committee's Watergate headquarters.

Liddy, who was sentenced to a minimum of six years and eight months in jail, and Hunt, who has not yet received his final sentence, are being held for the time being in the D.C. Jail.

After a brief recess, Byrne then permitted the prosecution to continue its rebuttal case with witnesses from the Rand Corp., where Ellsberg and Russo once worked as defense researchers.

No sooner had assistant prosecutor Warren P. Reese

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1973

Burglary Proposal Laid to Hunt

By ANTHONY RIPLEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 27 —

A burglary venture that it was thought might produce information on Senator Edmund S. Muskie's Presidential campaign was discussed, but never carried out, by E. Howard Hunt Jr. a former Hunt business associate has told The New York Times.

Robert F. Bennett, president of a Washington Public relations firm that once employed Hunt, who is one of the Watergate conspirators, said Hunt in 1971 discussed with him possibly breaking into the safe of a Las Vegas, Nev., publisher in a search for papers that Hunt told him might be "very damaging" to Senator Muskie.

Hunt was a \$100-a-day White House consultant whose exact duties in the 1972 Presidential campaign have never been made clear.

He pleaded guilty in the Watergate break-in case and has been identified in Defense Department documents as possibly having broken into the office of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Dr. Ellsberg is accused of stealing the Pentagon papers.

Other Assignments

Hunt is also reported to have looked into the background of another potential Democratic Presidential nominee, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, to have worked on "narcotics intelligence" and studied how to prevent leaks of information from the State Department and Defense Department as a member of a group that called themselves "plumbers."

The 54-year-old former Central Intelligence Agency employe who has written 42 books, worked as vice president of the Robert R. Mullen Company and

He Is Said to Have Discussed a Plan Aimed at Muskie

was signed on to work for the White House as a part-time consultant in July, 1971.

Mr. Bennett, president of the company, who is a son of Senator Wallace F. Bennett, Republican of Utah, said that Hunt told him he heard through underground channels that Hank Greenspun, publisher of The Las Vegas Sun, had papers in his safe that would be "very damaging" to Senator Muskie.

He said the safe might also contain papers sought by a Las Vegas company and that the company might be interested in the break-in. Mr. Bennett said he checked it with the company involved and told him "No way."

"You've got to know about Hunt," Mr. Bennett said. "He made things up. He led me to believe he had instructions he didn't have. He said he'd never been near the Watergate that night."

"It was all very curious. 'Later when I asked Hunt if it came off, he said, 'Oh, no, but Muskie's not going to be the candidate, so it doesn't matter anyway.'"

Did TV Spots

Mr. Bennett said Hunt been working on salary for his company until he began to work part-time for the White House. His work with the company included producing spot television commercials and writing press releases for the Office of Education's Bureau of Education for the Handicapped.

In a sworn deposition made last week, in connection with the Democratic party damage

suit over the Watergate affair, Mr. Bennett said Hunt was paid \$125 a day after he went to work for the White House and was able to spend 17 to 20 days a month on company business. He worked for the White House evenings and weekends for the most part, Mr. Bennett said.

Charles W. Colson, former counsel to the President, has said he recommended hiring Hunt to John D. Ehrlichman, assistant to the President for domestic affairs, following the publication of the secret history of the Vietnam war, which has come to be known as the Pentagon papers.

Sought to Find Leak

Hunt's tasks involved investigating how the Pentagon papers were leaked to The New York Times, Mr. Colson said.

According to a former White House secretary, Kathleen Chenow, Hunt, David Young, Egil Krogh Jr. and G. Gordon Liddy shared a basement office in the old Executive Office Building and spent much of their time trying to plug the leaks of information. She said they called themselves "plumbers."

Liddy was convicted in the Watergate affair. Mr. Young and Mr. Krogh at the time were on Mr. Ehrlichman's staff.

Donald H. Segretti, a young California lawyer who headed a reported political sabotage organization on behalf of the Republican party in the 1972 Democratic primaries, made 19 telephone calls between March and June of that year to Hunt's office at the Mullen Company and two to his home in Rockville, Md.

Mr. Greenspun's office in Las Vegas said he was out of the country and that they had heard of no attempts to burglarize his office.

resumed questioning of Richard Best, Rand's corporate security officer, than he ran into trouble again for not providing full information on Best's prior statements to the defense.

Nissen took today's developments nonchalantly and waited two hours, until the court's luncheon recess, to call Washington and request the investigation ordered by Byrne.

Talking freely with reporters for almost the first time since the Pentagon Papers trial began in January, the prosecutor said "it would strain my credulity" to believe that any government evidence was derived from the alleged burglary.

"I don't see how (the alleged burglary) could have any legal bearing on the case," Nissen said, adding that it is "hard to know" how long the inquiry would take.

"There will be a lot of time spent looking for answers to the judge's questions," the prosecutor said, implying that the case would go to the jury before the incident is fully disclosed.

One immediate problem was whether the sensational developments could be kept from the jury of 10 women and two men, who are not sequestered.

Byrne had his law clerk escort the jurors from the federal courthouse this afternoon, and he warned them to have members of their family screen their newspapers for them over the weekend.

Before the jurors left, federal marshals had newspaper editions on sale removed from the courthouse entrances. The Los Angeles Times had a banner headline: "BLOCKBUSTER IN ELLSBERG TRIAL, Watergate Pair Linked To Analyst's Office Break-In."

This was the second time that Watergate conspiracy figures have been linked to alleged actions against Ellsberg.

Time magazine reported last fall that convicted conspirator Bernard Barker recruited nine Cuban exiles from Miami to attack Ellsberg physically during an antiwar demonstration on the steps of the Capitol last May.

Last weekend, The Miami Herald published an interview with two of the Cubans, Reinaldo Pico and Felipe Dediego, who said they assumed the mission was sponsored by the Central Intelligence Agency.

White House press secre-

tary Ronald Ziegler has previously said that Hunt was originally hired by the White House in 1971 to help investigate disclosure of the Pentagon Papers, which were published in newspapers that summer.

Disclosure of the alleged burglary and possible theft of material regarding Ellsberg poses a complicated legal problem here.

First it must be determined whether there was a crime or an illegal search and seizure in violation of the Fourth Amendment, and then whether material was

taken which could have contributed to the government evidence in this case.

If these facts are established, the evidence could be declared "fruit of a poisoned tree" and, at the least, a mistrial declared.

One mistrial was already declared last fall, after the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that it would be "foolish" to proceed to trial with the same jury that had waited three months for resolution of defense appeals concerning government wiretapping in the case.

WASHINGTON POST
27 April 1973

Gray Seen Destroying Hunt's Files

By Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein
Washington Post Staff Writers

Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray III last year destroyed documents belonging to Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt Jr. after being told by presidential aides John Ehrlichman and John W. Dean III that the documents should, "never see the light of day," FBI and other sources said last night.

The documents, in two folders, each an eighth of an inch thick, included phony State Department cables fabricated by Hunt to implicate the late President John F. Kennedy in the 1963 political assassination of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, the sources reported.

Gray also destroyed a dossier that Hunt had gathered on Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and his automobile accident at Chappaquiddick in 1969, the sources said. It has previously been reported that Hunt was assembling such a dossier during the period when Sen. Kennedy was considered a contender for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The documents, taken from Hunt's executive office building safe, were given to Gray during a White House meeting with Ehrlichman and Dean on June 28, 1972, the sources said.

On July 3, after keeping the documents in his apartment closet for nearly a week, Gray destroyed them by tearing them up and throwing them in a "burn bag" in his office, according to the sources. "Burn bags" are destroyed routinely at the FBI by security personnel.

The other sources reported that Gray is anxious to appear under oath before the Watergate grand jury and will testify that he was not specifically told to destroy the documents but understood that it was "absolutely clear" that Ehrlichman and Dean wanted him to destroy them.

The sources said Gray was told by Ehrlichman and Dean that the documents were "political dynamite" capable of "doing more damage than the Watergate bugging itself," in the words of one source.

Revelation of the document destruction is the latest in a series of almost daily explosions in the escalating Watergate affair, bringing into the circle of charges and countercharges nearly every one of President Nixon's top advisers.

Gray's actions were first reported last night in the New York Daily News, and subsequently verified by The Washington Post and other newspapers.

Gray, Ehrlichman and Dean are all now under investigation to see if the destruction of potential evidence was an obstruction of justice, according to government sources.

At a minimum the destruction of Hunt's papers shows that top Nixon advisers were involved in covering up at least some of the clandestine campaign activities of White House consultant Hunt.

In a statement issued through a White House spokesman last night, Ehrlichman confirmed that documents had been turned over to Gray at a meeting in June.

"I was present," Ehrlichman said in a statement, "but neither then, nor at any other time, did I give Mr. Gray any request, suggestion or instruction regarding what should be done with the contents. I do not know the nature of the contents. Up until April 15, I assumed the FBI director still had the contents."

An associate of Dean said last night: "John Dean was present at such a meeting, but it was John Ehrlichman who ordered Gray to destroy the documents."

Another source familiar with the situation said that Ehrlichman had earlier in the day of the June 28 meetings told Dean, "You go across the river every day. Why don't you drop the _____ things in the river?"

Gray was told by Ehrlichman and Dean that the documents were related to "national security matters," the sources said, but not that they included bogus State Department cables fabricated by Hunt. The sources said.

The acting FBI director has said he never examined the

papers and learned only this month what the documents actually were, when he was questioned about the matter by Assistant Attorney General Henry E. Petersen on April 16, 1973.

Petersen learned of the documents from Dean, who 10 days earlier went to the Justice Department and reportedly began telling all he knows about the Watergate case.

An associate of Gray's said that Gray now feels that he was "set up" by Dean and Ehrlichman. Gray disposed of the folders "because of the strong arguments by Mr. Dean and Mr. Ehrlichman that there were overriding factors into the case over which he was presiding and unknown to him until now, Byrne said, "There are some crucial legal issues to be raised. I intend to get the full story, to the bottom of this . . . This case is not going to any jury until I've had the opportunity to evaluate all the information."

In its formal written motion, the defense made a central issue of the San Clemente meeting between Byrne and Ehrlichman, attended for a few moments by the President himself.

"Given the extraordinary interest the White House has shown in this case," the motion states, "we would, were we to use blunt language, characterize this as an attempt to offer a bribe to the court—an attempt made in the virtual presence of the President . . . — which was frustrated only because the judge refused to listen to the offer."

Still, it added, "the conduct of the President (who made it clear yesterday that he takes responsibility for the actions of his subordinates) has compromised the judiciary to the point where a fair trial is impossible . . ."

Surely the defense should have been notified of the visit as soon as the connection between this case and Watergate became evident."

In arguing for dismissal, before filing the written motion, defense attorney Leonard Boudin charged that "the conduct from the White House is so shocking that no alternative, no investigation could palliate it. I really don't know of any parallel to the misbehavior involved. There are no precedents. We are not dealing with an individual prosecutor named David Nissen, or the FBI, we are dealing with the highest authority in the country, the President of the United States and his 'trusted' subordinates in whom, as he said last night, he still has confidence."

Boudin, and co-counsel Leonard Weinglass, made these points:

• Ehrlichman knew, apparently long in advance, about the burglary and the secret investigation, but made no attempt to make the information available to either the judge or the defense.

• Ehrlichman was present when the contents of Hunt's safe, containing several documents relating to the Pentagon Papers case, were removed at the White House after the Watergate break-in.

• Ehrlichman, having knowledge of the Hunt-Liddy investigation and the turn-over of Hunt's files, nonetheless summoned Judge Byrne to a meeting last month to discuss a future job (which Byrne said he refused to discuss).

• Ehrlichman knew on April 5 that he was part of an investigation involving the break-in. He also knew that you [Judge Byrne] were trying the case. It raised the question what was in Mr. Ehrlichman's mind," said Weinglass.

"This is just the tip of the iceberg," he added. "The court must first clean house and dismiss this case," and then investigate government misconduct.

Byrne responded, "The first priority is the investigation

into this misconduct we've heard today and any other possible misconduct."

Ehrlichman, who resigned his White House job Sunday, was questioned on Friday at the White House, after it became known that the Justice Department had information about the Hunt-Liddy burglary.

Judge Byrne announced the fact of the burglary in the courtroom and then ordered prosecutor Nissen to obtain full details about it. The interview of Ehrlichman was apparently in response to Byrne's order.

Mr. Nixon, in his televised Watergate speech Monday night, said that in accepting the resignations of Ehrlichman and White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman, "I mean to leave no implication whatever of personal wrongdoing on their part." He explained that their departure was considered necessary to persuade the public that national security reasons to suppress the documents," the associate said.

According to testimony during the Watergate trial, on June 19, 1972, two days after the Watergate arrests, Dean instructed White House staff secretary Bruce Kehrill to enter Hunt's former office in the Executive Office Building and to retrieve whatever documents were there.

Lacking the combination to a safe in Hunt's office, Kehrill asked the General Services Administration to move the safe to a storage area and drill it open. The contents, including what appeared to be classified materials, were taken to Kehrill's office and kept there for the night, according to Kehrill's testimony.

The contents were taken to Dean's office on June 20, according to Kehrill. Other testimony in the trial showed that Dean did not turn over the contents of the safe to the FBI until June 26 or 27. Besides an attache case containing electronic equipment useful in bugging, the FBI was given two cartons of materials, including some classified materials. But the two file folders were not turned over to the FBI at the time.

An associate of Gray said last night that "Mr. Gray is anxious to go to the grand jury. He is just sick about all this and thought Mr. Dean and Mr. Ehrlichman were his superiors and that he had to follow orders and could not believe anyone in the White House would act dishonestly."

Gray, who turned over 82 of the FBI's Watergate investigation files to Dean at Dean's request last year, learned for the first time Tuesday that Petersen and Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst had refused an earlier Dean request for those files.

Ehrlichman's statement was released by his own office, instead of through the White House press office. Gerald Warren, deputy White House press secretary, said, "It's a job

Hoover's permanent successor.

By that time, a cloud had begun to form over the manner in which Gray had directed the FBI's investigation into the Watergate affair. In addition, Gray came under heavy criticism for speeches he gave during the 1972 campaign that appeared to support Mr. Nixon's candidacy—thus involving the FBI in partisan politics.

At one point in his confirmation hearings, Gray testified that Dean "probably" lied to FBI agents on June 22, 1972 when he said he would "have to check" whether Hunt had an office in the White House. Gray's hope of being confirmed to replace Hoover was by then all but extinguished.

All but abandoned by the White House despite President Nixon's public reaffirmations of support, Gray was almost certain to be rejected by the Senate Judiciary Committee as well as the full Senate if the vote came up.

On April 5, Gray asked President Nixon to withdraw the nomination from consideration.

Hunt, a former CIA agent, was hired as a White House consultant in 1971 by Charles W. Colson, then special counsel to President Nixon, and Ehrlichman, the President's principal deputy for domestic affairs.

Within a week of his hiring, The Washington Post has reported, Hunt traveled to Rhode Island and attempted to obtain damaging information on the personal life of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, especially regarding his accident at Chappaquiddick.

According to the White House, Hunt worked as a consultant on a project under the joint supervision of Ehrlichman and Colson—examining the Pentagon Papers to see if they were authentic and attempting to determine how they were obtained by the New York Times and other newspapers.

One section of the Pentagon Papers deals with the coup in which South Vietnamese President Diem was assassinated. According to the Pentagon Papers, the United States knew of the impending coup and shared responsibility for the attempt to remove Diem from power.

However, the Pentagon Papers state that President Kennedy was deeply shaken by Diem's assassination, and most accounts say that the American President had thought Diem was to be given safe conduct out of Vietnam upon his overthrow.

The documents destroyed by acting FBI director Gray apparently were intended to portray Kennedy as having encouraged the assassination of the South Vietnamese president.

NEW YORK TIMES
28 April 1973

Text of Gray's Statement

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 27—Following is the text of a statement by L. Patrick Gray 3d announcing his resignation today as Acting Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

Serious allegations concerning certain acts of my own during the ongoing Watergate investigation are now a matter of public record. As a consequence, I have today tendered my resignation as Acting Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, effective immediately.

This action is required to preserve in both image and fact the reputation, the integrity and the effectiveness of the F.B.I.

This superb investigative agency has been in no way involved in any of those personal acts or judgments that may now be called into question—and my own continued presence at the helm must not be permitted to create even the hint or implication of involvement, false though it is.

The F.B.I. deserves the full trust of the American people: That is bedrock and must always remain so.

I depart from the F.B.I. with a clear conscience, the knowledge that I have done my duty as best I have been able to see that duty and with an admiration and respect for the men and women of the F.B.I. that only one who has led them and served with them can ever fully understand.

WASHINGTON POST
30 April 1973

Aides Say Colson Approved Bugging

By Carl Bernstein
and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

Charles W. Colson, former special counsel to President Nixon, knew of the Watergate bugging plans before they were executed and urged that the illegal electronic surveillance be expedited, federal prosecutors have been told by two top officials of President Nixon's re-election campaign.

The two officials, former White House aides Jeb Stuart Magruder and Frederick C. LaRue, both have told prosecutors in the Watergate case that Colson made a telephone call to Magruder in early 1972 expressing dissatisfaction that the bugging had not yet been carried out, according to highly reliable sources.

Colson, who resigned his White House post last month to enter private law practice, has repeatedly denied that he had advance knowledge of the bugging and recently said he had taken a lie detector test that supported that assertion.

Time magazine, in this week's edition, first reported that Colson had been implicated in the bugging through statements by Magruder, the deputy director of the Nixon re-election campaign. Additional details of Magruder's allegations, and those by LaRue, were subsequently obtained by The Washington Post.

Time also reported that Colson recruited young men during last year's presidential campaign to pose as homosexual supporters of Sen. George McGovern in an attempt to link the Democratic nominee with the Gay Liberation cause.

Federal investigators told The Washington Post last summer that Colson, on whose recommendation Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt Jr. was hired as a White House consultant, directed an extensive "dirty tricks" operation of political sabotage against Democratic candidates in the 1972 presidential campaign.

In the bugging case, accord-

ing to highly reliable sources, Magruder has told federal prosecutors that Colson telephoned him in February, 1972, and asked: "When the hell are we going to get this bugging plan approved and into operation?"

Following Magruder's meeting with the prosecutors, the sources reported, LaRue — a principal deputy to former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, the Nixon campaign manager—confirmed that Colson had made such a call to Magruder, but said that it came in March, not February.

LaRue reportedly told the prosecutors that he was in the same room when Magruder received the call and that Magruder afterward described the conversation to him.

According to earlier reports of Magruder's allegations, the former White House aide told prosecutors that the bugging plans had been approved by former Attorney General Mitchell, presidential counsel John W. Dean III and himself during a series of three meetings in February and March of 1972.

Mitchell has since acknowledged discussing the bugging plans at the three meetings, two of them held while he was still the nation's highest law enforcement officer, but maintains that he vetoed the idea of employing electronic surveillance all three times.

Following his appearance before the Watergate grand jury on April 20, Mitchell told reporters that the bugging plans had "always been cut off by me at all times, and I would like to know who it was that kept bringing them back and back and back."

An associate of Mitchell said yesterday that the former Attorney General was implicitly referring to Colson in that remark, as well as when he told the grand jury that he did not believe Magruder could have gone ahead with the bugging plans unless he went over Mitchell's head to unnamed officials at the White House.

Magruder, according to reliable sources, told the Watergate prosecutors that he interpreted Colson's phone call to him in early 1972 as a sign of

impatience that the Watergate bugging plans had not yet been implemented.

The call, Magruder reportedly told the prosecutors, was made before the third meeting, held in Key Biscayne at which the bugging was discussed.

LaRue, however, reportedly told the prosecutors that Colson's call came after the Key Biscayne meeting, at which both LaRue and Mitchell insist the bugging plans were vetoed for a final time.

The timing of such a phone call could be of legal importance in either supporting or refuting Mitchell's contention that he vetoed the bugging plans.

If such a call came after the Key Biscayne meeting, one person involved in the federal investigation said yesterday, it might lend support to Mitchell's assertion that the bugging was ordered by White House officials—namely Colson and perhaps others—after Mitchell had turned down the plans.

Colson, one of the men closest to President Nixon, and John Ehrlichman, the President's domestic affairs adviser, originally hired convicted Watergate conspirator Hunt as a White House consultant in July, 1971.

Last winter, a close associate of Hunt told The Post that Hunt had complained about Ehrlichman because the latter had briefly delayed approval of what Hunt described as "my espionage budget." The associate added: "But Hunt said Colson approved it because he is an operator and realized these things are necessary."

Early this year, a witness in the Watergate bugging trial told The Washington Post that Watergate conspirator Hunt had made statements to him that "Colson knew about the entire Watergate operation" and that "typed reports were going to Mitchell."

Another convicted Watergate conspirator, James W. McCord Jr., has testified under oath that, on the basis of his conversations with Hunt, he received the impression that Colson had advance knowledge of the plans to bug Democratic headquarters.

Hunt also told the four Miami men arrested in the Watergate that "the mission reported to Colson and Mitchell," a person close to the four told The Post in January.

According to federal investigators, Hunt reported directly to Colson on numerous undercover activities undertaken by the Watergate bugging team—separate from the bugging—as well as on aspects of a nationwide campaign of political espionage and sabotage directed at Democratic presidential candidates.

Among the projects involving some or all of the conspirators were the infiltration of radical student groups and the Vietnam Veterans Against the war; infiltration of campaign staffs of several Democratic presidential candidates; an investigation by Hunt of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's personal life; an attempt to organize radicals to storm the headquarters of the Republican National Convention—in the name of supporters of the Democratic presidential nominee; and a physical attack by several of the Watergate conspirators on Daniel Ellsberg, the former Defense Department analyst who leaked the Pentagon Papers to the press.

Last week, it was revealed at Ellsberg's trial in Los Angeles that Hunt and another Watergate conspirator, G. Gordon Liddy, had broken into the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

Time magazine yesterday identified the psychiatrist as Lewis Fielding and said the break-in occurred on Sept. 3, 1971, while Hunt and Liddy were both on the White House payroll.

Time said the break-in followed the psychiatrist's refusal to divulge information on Ellsberg to the FBI. On the night of the break-in, Time reported, "a janitor reported that he had found two men who spoke Cuban-style Spanish, dressed as mailmen, in Fielding's waiting room. They explained that they were leaving a suitcase for Fielding. Then they left. Fielding later told police that the suitcase, which had disappeared, did not belong to him."

At the time, Hunt and Liddy were working for the White House "plumbers," a group as-

NEW YORK TIMES
26 April 1973

AGNEW CONFIRMS HIS FAITH IN NIXON ABOUT WATERGATE

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 25—Vice President Agnew reiterated his faith in President Nixon today but conceded for the first time that some of the speculation on the Watergate scandal might eventually be substantiated.

"We are inundated with rumor, hearsay, grand jury leaks, speculation and statements from undisclosed sources," he said at a brief, hastily arranged appearance before reporters and television cameras. "It is entirely possible that some of this may be proven later to be accurate. And, if it is, it must be confronted forthrightly at that time."

It was the Vice President's first public utterance on the subject since the 1972 campaign. When he finished, he declined to answer questions and simply left the newsmen with copies of his remarks.

Displeasure Was Rumored

In the last few days, several news reports have suggested that Mr. Agnew was displeased with the way the White House had dealt with the growing scandal and was being advised to dissociate himself from the people now identified with it.

Nevertheless, the Vice President said today that he had "full confidence in the integrity of President Nixon and in his determination and ability to resolve the Watergate matter to the full satisfaction of the American people."

The usually jovial Mr. Agnew was stern and unsmiling as he addressed reporters jammed into his tiny conference room in the old Executive Office Building next door to the White House.

Pressure Conceded

He stepped quickly from an adjoining office to a lectern studded with dozens of microphones, read his 314-word statement in just under 90 seconds, turned and disappeared into the room from which he had entered.

"Why isn't he answering questions?" a reporter shouted. "Because he doesn't want to," replied J. Marsh Thompson, Mr. Agnew's press secretary.

His prepared remarks did little to illuminate what the 54-year-old Vice President thinks

about the scandal that many believe will have a substantial impact on his own political future.

He did concede, however, that he and other Republican leaders had been under some pressure to comment publicly on the matter. "And there is great temptation to comment," he said, "if only to make certain that the public understands that one does not condone illegal conduct."

Yet, he added, such comment would be unfair to the individuals being questioned by a Federal grand jury here and could threaten any defendant's right to a fair trial.

That was a position he took throughout his travels last year as the chief surrogate of the Republican Presidential campaign and as its major messenger of the premise that Senator George McGovern, the Democratic candidate, was a man the American people could not trust.

Earlier Statements Cited

The fact that he did entertain the possibility that some of the "rumor, hearsay, grand jury leaks, speculation and statements from undisclosed sources" might be proven later to be accurate represented a departure from his previous positions on the subject.

Last September, for instance, he told reporters in Minneapolis that the apprehension of five men in the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee was a "set-up" designed to embarrass the Republicans and damage their Presidential campaign.

Later, he called it a "calculated attempt to prove corruption on the part of the Administration" and said it had "fallen flat as a pancake in the eyes of the American people."

In Chicago in October he said he was not bothered by questions of political morality "because I know they do not extend to the White House."

A reporter asked how he knew.

"Because an investigation has been made by the President and he has made the statement that it doesn't," Mr. Agnew responded.

Moreover, throughout the entire campaign, the Vice President, both in public and private, seemed rather uninterested in the subject of Watergate, telling one reporter on his campaign plane that he did not want to discuss it "because there are so many more important things to talk about."

Today, however, he dealt entirely with the scandal, and concluded by saying that he might have more to say on it later.

As usual, the Vice President was dressed immaculately, and his face was deeply tanned from an Easter holiday in Palm Springs, Calif. But missing from his left lapel was the tiny American flag he had worn in public appearances for years.

Coincidentally, when Presi-

dent Nixon last week to make his statement on recent Watergate developments, the little flag that he too had worn so long was also missing from his lapel.

TEXT OF STATEMENT

Recently I have noticed a number of reports that unnamed "associates" and "advisers" of mine have commented about my reaction to the Watergate matter. Let me emphasize that I do not speak through such unidentified sources. Whenever I have something to say, I will say it directly — just as I am doing now.

At the outset, I want to make it very clear that I have full confidence in the integrity of President Nixon and in his determination and ability to resolve the Watergate matter to the full satisfaction of the American people.

As to the case itself, beyond the fact that seven men were indicted, tried and convicted of criminal acts, not much reliable information is currently available. We are

inundated with rumor, hearsay, grand jury leaks, speculation and statements from undisclosed sources. It is entirely possible that some of this may be proven later to be accurate. And if it is, it must be confronted forthrightly at that time. But the problem is that presently it is virtually impossible to separate fact from fiction. Jumping to conclusions before the evidence is all in can adversely affect the integrity of our criminal investigative processes.

I am aware that pressure is being brought to bear on Republican office holders from the President on down to comment on this matter. And there is a great temptation to comment — if only to make certain that the public understands that one does not condone illegal conduct. However, to speculate for such a self-serving purpose would be unfair to those under investigation who may be subsequently discharged by the grand jury. Equally important, careless comment might easily compromise the prosecution's position by prejudicing the right of a defendant to a fair trial. For these reasons I will have nothing further to say on the substance of the matter at this time. I may have more to say later.

signed to determine the source of news leaks. The group was headed by Egil (Bud) Krogh, then a White House aide and now undersecretary of the Department of Transportation.

Also working with the "plumbers" was White House aide David Young, who resigned abruptly three weeks ago. A White House spokesman said this week that Young's resignation was unrelated to the Watergate or other allegations of political spying.

The "Plumbers" project was under the general jurisdiction of Ehrlichman, with Colson initially supervising the work to determine who leaked the Pentagon Papers, according to White House sources.

Colson's role in the Watergate bugging has been unclear for 10 months. The hard-nosed, 41-year-old attorney said in a memo to some members of the White House staff before last year's election that he would "walk over my grandmother if necessary" to re-elect the President.

Last Monday, The Washington Post reported that Colson was one of several presidential aides who warned the President as early as December, 1972, that some White House officials were deeply involved in the Watergate bugging and a subsequent cover-up.

If Colson had known about and pushed for the bugging, as Magruder and LaRue have told prosecutors, it is unclear why he would have urged the President to find out more about the conspiracy.

Colson publicly denied last week that he had warned the President, adding that he would not reveal any communications between himself and the President. But an associate of Colson's reaffirmed that he had warned the President.

Associates of Colson have, however, repeatedly said that Colson knows the law and would not violate it. Immediately after the Watergate arrest last June 17, many officials in the White House and President's re-election committee asserted that the electronic surveillance had the appearance of a Colson operation particularly because of Hunt's involvement.

David I. Shapiro, Colson's attorney and law partner, said yesterday that he would have no comment to a reporter from The Washington Post about the allegations by Magruder and LaRue.

Concerning the allegation about hiring young men to pose as homosexual supporters of McGovern, Shapiro said: "That's almost too funny." Time magazine quoted Colson as saying: "Good God, these rumors are typical of the sickness in this town. The stories are untrue." Colson could not be reached for comment yesterday.

NEW YORK TIMES
21 April 1973

Transcript of Mitchell's News Conference

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 20— Following is a transcript of the news conference held today by former Attorney General John N. Mitchell after his appearance before a Federal grand jury investigating the Watergate Case:

Q. Mr. Mitchell, did you swear under oath before the grand jury that you had no prior knowledge of the bugging incident? A. I have done that twice and I did today. I testified fully and freely and openly and that's about the story.

Q. Mr. Mitchell, can you tell us, were bugging plans, that is to say, to bug the Watergate, or any other place during the campaign, ever discussed in your presence? A. I don't think we ought to get into the specifics of those questions. That's the testimony for the grand jury.

Q. Well, without getting specific, were bugging plans ever brought up in your presence? A. Let me put it this way for you: that I never

approved any bugging plans during any period during the campaign.

Q. Well, when did you learn about them, sir? A. Bugging? When I got to be Attorney General in the Justice Department.

First Heard June 17

Q. With reference to the Democratic campaign, when did you first hear? A. On June 17 [the date of the Watergate burglary].

Q. Were discussions of bugging ever held in your presence with G. Gordon Liddy or Jeb Stuart Magruder? A. Let me say what I said before. No such operations were ever approved by me at any time under any circumstances.

Q. Mr. Mitchell, The New York Times says this morning that friends of yours said that you did attend three meetings in January, February and March of 1972 at which plans for bugging were discussed and that you didn't approve such plans. Could you state just exactly what

your connection was with the bugging discussions? A. Yes. They were just an absolute, final disapproval.

Q. Have you heard discussions of bugging plans? A. I have heard discussions of such things. They've always been out cut off at all times and I would like to know who it was that kept bringing them back, and back, and back.

Q. Was it February, 1972, or March, 1972, that you first heard about this in connection with the campaign? A. Would you also like to try for January, February and March?

Q. Well, if it was January or February then I don't understand because in the I.T.T. or the Kleindienst confirmation hearings last year you said under oath that you hadn't taken part in any campaign activities until March 1. A. I don't think you're reading your record correctly. You go back and that referred to a prior year.

Q. It is also alleged that

you had some connection with paying money to the seven Watergate defendants, either to procure their silence or for other reasons. Had you anything to do with money that went to the defendants? A. I have never met any of the defendants. I've never met any of their counsel and I've never handled any money.

Q. Are you saying you never met James McCord? A. Not after June 17.

Q. Do you think the Administration is trying to make you into a scapegoat? A. I would certainly hope not.

Q. Once again, did you have any connection with payment of money? A. I answered your question fully and completely.

Q. Why did you wait until now to talk about having listened to discussions? Why didn't you tell about that months ago? A. Well, that involves a large number of subject matters that are being investigated by the grand jury and I think I'll leave it right there.

WASHINGTON POST
22 April 1973

Jury Leaks Probed

By Lawrence Meyer
and Timothy S. Robinson
Washington Post Staff Writers

The full 15-judge U.S. District Court here ordered the United States attorney yesterday to conduct a grand jury investigation "into the unauthorized disclosure" of verbatim secret testimony before the Watergate grand jury.

The unusual action was taken by the judges after a special hour-long executive session called yesterday to discuss leaks of testimony heard by the grand jury. Columnist Jack Anderson has been printing excerpts of testimony for about the past 10 days. In his column, Prosecution sources have confirmed that Anderson's excerpts are authentic.

It could not be determined whether the grand jury, which was expected to hear testimony from White House counsel John W. Dean III and former deputy Nixon campaign director Jeb Stuart Magruder, met at all yesterday. Reporters maintaining a watch inside the courthouse were unable to locate the grand jury. Principal Assistant U.S. Attorney Earl J. Silbert, who has been directing the grand jury investigation into the Watergate conspiracy, declined to answer questions about the grand jury.

Prosecution sources have acknowledged that Anderson's revelations about the grand jury sessions, which began appearing on April 18, have hampered the investigation but would not comment when asked whether they had halted grand jury testimony because of the leaks.

In a related development yesterday, one of the two lawyers for convicted Water-

gate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy filed a motion asking to withdraw as Liddy's lawyer because Liddy has refused to answer questions before the grand jury.

In addition, it was learned that Martha Mitchell, wife of former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, was reliably reported to be scheduled to appear before the grand jury this week.

The brief statement by the judges did not mention Anderson or any other publication. Anderson, however, has been the only member of the media to obtain and quote verbatim testimony from the secret grand jury proceedings.

In expressing their "concern" over the release of testimony, the judges said grand jury proceedings "must remain" secret. "Secrecy during actual inquiry preserves the integrity of the grand jury by protecting the innocent and encouraging free disclosure by persons who have information with respect to possible commission of crimes."

The judges directed the U.S. attorney "to conduct a grand jury investigation into the unauthorized disclosure of transcript that has apparently taken place. Any person having knowledge of the circumstances of such unauthorized disclosure is requested to communicate directly with the United States attorney."

The federal rules of criminal procedure prohibit grand jurors, attorneys, interpreters and any person transcribing or recording testimony before the grand jury from disclosing testimony heard without court permission. Witnesses are not barred, however, from revealing their testimony.

The Watergate grand jury, which consists of 23 members, was called back into session by Silbert March 26 to resume hearing testimony after the revelation by convicted Watergate conspirator James W. McCord Jr. that others, besides the seven men originally indicted and convicted, were involved. Since then, the grand jury has met several times a week in one of the grand jury rooms on the third floor of the U.S. courthouse here.

Anderson's columns have contained excerpts from testimony by McCord and his convicted co-conspirator E. Howard Hunt Jr., Silvia Panarites and Sally Harmony, both former secretaries to Liddy, and Robert Reischer, assistant to Magruder.

Anyone violating the federal rules of criminal procedure by revealing grand jury testimony is subject to a contempt of court citation and a jail sentence. Persons who encourage the unlawful disclosure of grand jury testimony also are subject to citation for contempt and a jail term.

Silbert declined to say yesterday whether the

Watergate grand jury would investigate the leaks or if another grand jury would look into the matter.

Anderson issued a statement yesterday evening saying: "Reporters have been scrambling all over one another to find out what is happening in the secret sessions. The government is upset, apparently, because we nailed down the testimony precisely rather than relying on hearsay."

"It is significant that we began publishing excerpts from the grand jury proceedings on April 18. The next day President Nixon announced his dramatic turnabout on Watergate. One factor that persuaded the President to throw open the Watergate investigation, say White House sources, was our access to the grand jury findings."

"Under our Constitution we are free to publish any and all news generated by the White House, the Congress or the courts. No federal rule of criminal procedure supercedes the Constitution, which grants freedom of the press," Anderson said.

In a telephone interview, Anderson said that "no law has been violated by myself or my staff. I have always advised sources of mine never to violate the law." Anderson said if he were called before the grand jury and asked where he obtained the transcripts, "I cannot divulge my sources. I hate to think there is any

WASHINGTON POST
26 April 1973

Anderson to Give Jury Transcripts to Sirica

"newspaperman in this country who would divulge his sources."

The motion by Thomas A. Kennelly, one of the lawyers for Liddy, to withdraw from the case was presented to Chief U.S. District Judge John J. Sirica.

"In view of our total disagreement as to the course of action he should follow," Kennelly said in his brief motion, "I do not think it is in his best interests for me to continue."

Kennelly confirmed in a telephone interview that he had advised Liddy, through Liddy's other lawyer, Peter L. Maroulis, to answer questions put to him by the prosecution before the grand jury.

Liddy, who was given immunity from prosecution and ordered to testify by Sirica, has refused to answer questions in grand jury testimony. Sirica cited Liddy for contempt of court on April 3 and gave him eight months in jail in addition to the six years and eight months Liddy already is serving for his role in the Watergate conspiracy.

Kennelly said he and Maroulis "haven't disagreed" on Kennelly's advice that Liddy should answer questions put to him before the grand jury. "He's accepted my advice through Maroulis, thanked me, but this is his decision," Kennelly said of Liddy.

"He is a man who is willing to accept the judgment rendered on him. He is willing to go to jail. But he is not willing to involve anyone else, and this is not to say that anyone else is involved. Gordon Liddy is a man to accept his punishment and accept it alone," Kennelly said. "I just don't see that there's much I can do for Liddy anymore. At this point, the guy's got to help himself."

Prosecution lawyers say Liddy's testimony is important since, according to sources, has been described by McCord as the link between the six others who were convicted and "high-ups" in the administration and re-election committee. Liddy's testimony could corroborate statements given to the prosecution and the grand jury reportedly implicating others in the conspiracy.

Liddy's refusal to testify now has puzzled many persons, including Kennelly, since others above Liddy in the hierarchy have indicated that they intend to reveal what they know. The New York Times reported yesterday that Liddy believes President Nixon wants him to testify and is pleased that

By Lawrence Meyer
Washington Post Staff Writer
Columnist Jack Anderson told federal prosecutors yesterday that he will voluntarily turn over his copies of secret Watergate grand jury testimony to Chief U.S. District Judge John J. Sirica.

After an almost two-hour meeting with the Watergate prosecution team, Anderson said the prosecutors had convinced him that his publishing of verbatim excerpts of the testimony has hampered their investigation.

Anderson said it was "unlikely" that he would publish any more verbatim testimony. But he added that he made no binding agreement to refrain from ever doing so in the future.

Yesterday's meeting, according to Anderson, was arranged at his initiation through his lawyers. Anderson said United States Attorney Harold H. Titus Jr., principal Assistant U.S. Attorney Earl J. Silbert and Assistant U.S. Attorneys Seymour Glanzer and Donald Campbell met with him yesterday afternoon.

Beginning on April 16 and in subsequent columns, Anderson has published verbatim extracts of testimony heard by the Watergate grand jury. Anderson's col-

umns have included testimony by convicted Watergate conspirators James W. McCord Jr. and E. Howard Hunt Jr.; Sylvia Panarites and Sally Harmony, both former secretaries to convicted Watergate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy; former White House aide Dwight Chapin, and Robert Reisner, assistant to former White House aide Jeb Stuart Magruder.

Reporters covering the Watergate grand jury, which normally meets on the third floor of the U.S. District Courthouse here, have been unable to locate the grand jury this week or to determine whether it has met. Although Silbert refused to say whether the grand jury has met this week, he said in a telephone interview that Anderson's publication of verbatim extracts of the grand jury testimony had not stopped the investigation. "We did not stop hearing testimony because of that," Silbert said. "It did not stop us."

Neither White House counsel John W. Dean III, nor Magruder, both of whom were reportedly prepared to testify before the grand jury about the Watergate affair, has testified, according to informed sources. Silbert, who has been directing the Watergate investigation, also declined to say whether Anderson's intention to turn over the copies of transcripts to Sirica was a satisfactory settlement. The prosecution team has been accused by Justice Department officials of leaking the transcripts to Anderson. "I have assured them the leaks were not in the prosecutor's office," Anderson said after the meeting. Anderson said his source was a "man with high connections in the administration. I didn't ask and he didn't say where he got his information from."

Anderson described the one-hour, 45-minute meeting as "just a cordial conversation with both of us taking strong positions from time to time." Ultimately, Anderson said, he was convinced

that publication of the transcript excerpts was hurting the investigation. "I don't want to hamper their investigation," Anderson said. "They made such a passionate point of it."

Anderson said the prosecutors told him that people were calling them anonymously, "saying, 'We have information but we're afraid to come in' " because of the columns. In addition, Anderson said he was told that the testimony of some government witnesses "will be terribly restrained because they're afraid their bosses will read about it in the column the next morning."

Because of his "great respect for Judge Sirica," Anderson said he would voluntarily turn over the transcript copies to him and not publish anything more from them.

Following an extraordinary executive session of all 15 U.S. District Court judges here Monday, Sirica ordered Titus to conduct an investigation into the leaks. Silbert declined to say whether the investigation would proceed in the face of Anderson's intention to give the transcript copies to Sirica.

Anderson said that Titus was "most persuasive. I came away most impressed with his sincerity. I think he's trying to get to the bottom of this. I told them, 'I'm convinced now that you're trying to get to the bottom of this.' They took offense at the word 'now,' but I didn't retract it."

The prosecutors made no threats, Anderson said. He, in turn, told them that he will not give up "digging into the grand jury" proceedings. Although Anderson said it is "unlikely" he will again use verbatim quotes from the grand jury, he added, "I can't ever say in advance what I will do. If it is information that will hamper the investigation," he said he would not use it.

Silbert agreed that Anderson had made no firm commitment. "He hasn't obligated himself to do anything," Silbert said. "It isn't like a contract."

WASHINGTON POST
21 April 1973

Nixon Alerted To Cover-Up In December

By Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

As early as last December, President Nixon was warned by members of his own staff that presidential aides were deeply involved in the Watergate bugging and subsequent cover-up, according to highly placed sources in the executive branch.

On several occasions from last winter to early spring, the President was specifically told that former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and White House counsel John W. Dean III were probably deeply involved in both the illegal electronic surveillance and the cover-up, the sources reported.

On each occasion, the President said he was anxious to learn the truth but maintained that Mitchell and Dean had denied any involvement in the Watergate affair, the sources said. "Give me some evidence," one quoted the President as saying.

The President did not make a public statement on the possible involvement of his aides until last Tuesday, at least four months after he had reportedly been warned of the problem.

In the week before the President's announcement, the Watergate prosecutors had informed Assistant Attorney General Henry E. Petersen that they were on the verge of indicting several Nixon administration officials, according to several sources.

The prosecutors insisted that Mr. Nixon personally be told of the impending indictments and that the President be asked to order members of his staff to cooperate in the continuing investigation, the sources said.

Gerald Warren, deputy White House press secretary, said last night that there would be no comment on the contents of The Washington Post story.

The sources, all of them men long considered deeply loyal to the President, said that in January special presidential counsel Charles W. Colson as well as other White House officials told Mr. Nixon that persons in his administration were obstructing justice and that action should be taken.

On three separate occasions, the sources said, Colson personally recommended to the

President that he "get rid of some people." An associate of Colson gave The Washington Post an almost identical account yesterday.

This was learned as some of those allegedly involved in the bugging and cover-up tried to explain their own roles at the expense of others. The statements came in a proliferating gush of charges and countercharges, some of them self-serving and many of them made privately and then denied publicly.

Despite the differing details, all of the accounts were consistent on one essential point: that the President had been warned months ago that members of his staff probably had acted illegally before the Watergate arrests and thereafter in seeking to hide the administration involvement in the bugging.

Reached for comment yesterday, Colson denied that he had warned the President, adding that he would not discuss private communications between himself and the President with anyone — including the press, the federal grand jury investigating the Watergate affair, or a Senate investigating committee.

A Colson associate, however, confirmed that Colson had warned the President, but said that Colson would deny it.

According to the associate, Colson's denial was issued for two purposes: to avoid any acknowledgement that the President was forewarned of his aides' involvement in the bugging and cover-up, and fear that Dean might "retaliate" by implicating Colson before the grand jury.

Colson has denied any involvement in the Watergate bugging and last week supplied the prosecution in the case with documentary evidence of a White House cover-up in the case. One independent source described the evidence as self-serving but

said it nonetheless is convincing in its allegations that others participated in a cover-up.

The sources said the documentary evidence includes some relevant information that Colson provided to Dean but which was not in turn passed on by Dean to the prosecutors as Colson thought it should have been.

The sources said that Colson has told associates that the President has been betrayed by some of his aides.

There was general agreement this weekend among the sources that the President had been urged for months to take action on the Watergate.

One source said that John Ehrlichman, the President's chief domestic adviser, was a leading force in urging the President to intensify efforts to clear up the Watergate. Another source, however, said that Ehrlichman had played no such role until late last month.

It is known that at least one attorney for the President's re-election committee visited Ehrlichman early this month to warn him that the Watergate case was about to explode.

Ehrlichman could not be reached for comment yesterday.

In a related development, White House sources said yesterday that the President had removed his counsel, Dean, from any responsibility in the Watergate investigation about six weeks ago.

This was two weeks before March 26, when the President denied that Dean had any prior knowledge of the Watergate bugging. At that time, the President also expressed "absolute and total confidence" in Dean.

Last week this confidence apparently was lacking as White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler refused to reiterate the President's earlier statements.

Dean issued a statement last week without approval of his superiors saying that he would not become a "scapegoat" in the Watergate.

Dean, who has already met privately with the prosecutors in the case, is scheduled to appear before the Watergate grand jury today.

Associates of Dean said that Dean is ready to implicate other persons in the case, including White House chief of staff H.R. (Bob) Haldeman and Ehrlichman. John J. Wilson, attorney for Haldeman and Ehrlichman, has declined to comment on the case.

Dean's associates contend he too eventually tried to tell the President how deeply his aides were involved in the bugging and cover-up, but maintain that Haldeman and Ehrlichman blocked the White House counsel from telling Mr. Nixon all he knows. Dean's role in the bugging and cover-up, his associates insist, was ordered by superiors. Finally, the associates said, Dean met with the President on March 20 and, in the words of one, "spilled his guts out."

In his announcement last Tuesday that "real progress had been made in finding the truth" in the Watergate affair, the President said he personally began intensive new inquiries into this whole matter" on March 21, "as a result of serious charges which came to my attention, some of which were publicly reported . . ."

WASHINGTON POST
25 April 1973

Jury Told of 'Bug' Shield for Mitchell

So Links Could Be Denied

By John Hanrahan
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Nixon's chief legal counsel, John W. Dean, III, said prior to the bugging of the Watergate that the operation would have to be carried out in such a manner that then-Attorney General John N. Mitchell would be able to deny his own involvement in it at a future date, according to information provided a federal grand jury here.

The allegation was made in a memorandum from convicted Watergate conspirator James W. McCord Jr. to the grand jury. McCord said, he was told about Dean's statement by his fellow Watergate conspirator, G. Gordon Liddy.

McCord also told the grand jury that his fellow conspirator, E. Howard Hunt Jr., and Hunt's late wife, Dorothy, conveyed to him the message late last year that he could obtain clemency from President Nixon after serving a short time in jail if he remained silent at his trial and did not implicate others in the Watergate plot.

McCord said he assumed the offer was arranged by attorneys for the Committee for the Re-election of the President. The White House yesterday denied any knowledge of any deal for clemency for McCord.

A copy of McCord's memo was obtained by columnist Jack Anderson who yesterday permitted reporters to examine it and copies of grand jury transcripts he has obtained. Anderson recently has been publishing columns based on the grand jury transcripts.

In the memo, dated March 28, McCord said that the Watergate bugging was planned sometime after mid-February of last year at a meeting that included Mitchell, Dean, Liddy and Jeb Stuart Magruder, former White House aide and later deputy campaign chief. McCord said Liddy told him that Magruder contacted Mitchell to arrange the meeting.

McCord said Liddy told him that the discussion at the meeting "covered the pros and cons of various bugging-type operations." No decision was made at the meeting about proceeding with the operation, McCord said, "but the impression Liddy had seems to be that the operation would be approved."

"A few days later," McCord said, "Dean told Liddy that a way would have to be worked out to undertake the operation without directly involving the Attorney General so that he would have deniability about it at a future date.

"Dean told Liddy at this time that the funding for the operation would subsequently come to him through other than (the) regular committee for the re-election funding mechanism so that there would be no record of it. This was not further explained to me."

McCord said that about 30 days after the meeting in Mitchell's office in the Justice Department, "Liddy told me that the operation 'had been approved' and that the funding for it would be through shortly. My impression was that this word of approval came from Dean, although this was not specifically stated by Liddy. Dean was Liddy's legal counterpart at the White House."

Dean last year conducted the in-house investigation of the Watergate bugging—an effort that investigators say was a cover-up because of Dean's alleged advance knowledge of the bugging. Dean last week made his only public comment, saying he did not intend to be a "scapegoat" in the Watergate investigation. Dean's role in the bugging and cover-up, some of his associates insist, was ordered by superiors.

McCord told the grand jury the memo was a copy of the one he previously had given to investigators for

the Senate select committee that is conducting its own probe into the Watergate bugging and other acts of political espionage and sabotage during last year's presidential campaign.

In his memo, McCord left open the possibility that some key evidence pertaining to the February, 1972, meeting may still exist.

McCord said that Liddy, in preparing for the meeting, had an unnamed firm prepare large charts at a cost of \$7,000. He did not disclose specifically what was on the charts. McCord said Liddy told him that Dean told him to destroy the charts after the meeting, "but Liddy said that he had paid so much for them that he did not plan to do so."

Also in preparation for the

meeting, McCord said, Liddy "had drafted out in long-hand budget figures for various items of expense, and had discussed this and certain details of the overall operation with Jeb Magruder, so Liddy told me."

In direct testimony to the grand jury April 7, McCord also said:

• Mitchell "arranged for me to have access to FBI files on material or data," especially in regard to demonstrations that were being planned by various radical groups at the Republican convention in Miami.

• Robert C. Mardian, former deputy attorney general in charge of the Internal Security Division, arranged for McCord to meet regularly with John Martin, chief of the division.

• Mrs. Hunt, as has been previously reported, served as the conduit for funds to pay the defendants before the trial. McCord said Mrs. Hunt never made clear the source of the funds and suggested to him that the payments, rather than being "altruistic," may have been "intended as a means of keeping us quiet."

• McCord said he accepted his first payment of \$13,000 after the election and later received from Mrs. Hunt two more payments of \$3,000 each for "salary" and \$11,000 more for "legal fees."

In previously reported grand jury testimony, Gordon Strachan, former chief political aide to White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman, said that after the election, Haldeman ordered him to give \$350,000 in cash to Frederick C. LaRue, a top campaign aide to Mitchell.

It was also reported by The Washington Post that \$350,000 from President Nixon's campaign fund was set aside for payments to the seven Watergate conspirators after their arrest last June. It was not known if the \$350,000 about which Strachan testified was the same as was used to pay the defendants.

On the matter of execu-

tive clemency raised in McCord's memo, White House deputy press secretary Gerald L. Warren said yesterday: "There was absolutely no discussion with the President on this matter. Nor was there any offer from the President." Warren said he was speaking only for the President, and not for anyone else in the White House.

McCord, according to the grand jury transcript, testified that the alleged offer of executive clemency was first raised in mid-September by Hunt. Under the law, only the President can grant clemency for a federal prison term.

McCord said he had gone to the office of attorney William O. Bittman to meet with the lawyer and his fellow defendants, Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy.

"At that point in time, he (Hunt) said, 'Things are not looking towards executive clemency.' It said, 'What are you talking about?' And he said, well, he said, 'They are talking about our going off to jail for a period of time and they are taking care of our families while we're gone and then we'd be rehabilitated after we got out.'"

McCord said the subject of clemency was also raised by Mrs. Hunt when he talked with her last Nov. 30, shortly before she was killed in a Chicago plane crash.

"... It was again brought up and it seemed to me, at that time, that they were bargaining—that they were holding this as a tool or hatchet against us," McCord testified. "That, essentially, there wasn't going to be any more money unless you fellows agree to plead guilty and take executive clemency at a later time and keep your mouth shut..."

"... And she says... 'They want to know if more than one year is OK with you.'"

"And I said, 'what do you mean?' And she said, 'Well, staying in jail more than one year, and then executive clemency...'"

NEW YORK TIMES
29 April 1973

Haldeman and Ehrlichman

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 28—The basic assumption of the American political system is that parties will fight hard for power, but that there is a limit, beyond which the clash of personal and party strife cannot go without impairing the essential unity of the nation. This is the inponderable the Nixon Administration forgot.

Mr. Lincoln kept reminding his fellow countrymen that whatever the conflict of the moment, they would have to work with one another when the conflict was over. "We are not enemies but friends," he said. "We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection."

The British put the limitations of political skulduggery more simply: "It simply isn't done," they say. Thus it is taken for granted that you don't bug and burglarize your political opponents, try to steal the psychiatric records of your adversaries, forge and burn official documents, manhandle the wives of Cabinet officers to shut them up, put fake ads in the newspapers from bogus committees, send your chief thousands of congratulatory telegrams for bombing Hanoi and mining Haiphong, or refuse to answer ques-

WASHINGTON

tions about criminal activities when requested to do so by the political representatives of the people.

Now we are confronted by evidence that all these things were actually done, and that even men like Haldeman and Ehrlichman, who were supposed to be models of unusual probity, didn't know the difference between right and wrong, and even now don't know when to get out.

The American Constitution makes it very difficult to change a newly elected President when he loses the confidence of the people, but at least he can change his team and his approach to the common decencies of political behavior.

The courts will deal with the criminal activities eventually, but this will take a great deal of time and even if you assume that the President knew nothing about any of all this, and that Ehrlichman and Haldeman did not break the law, the fact is that they were in charge of the staff that entangled the Presidency in the worst political scandal of the century and on this alone should have the grace to resign.

The fact that they don't see it this way is only the latest bit of evidence that the President and his men have come to Washington with different assumptions about permissible personal and political activities and

NEW YORK TIMES
2 May 1973

Text of F.B.I.'s Report on Ehrlichman

LOS ANGELES, May 1 (UPI)—Following is a report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, disclosed at the Pentagon papers trial today, on an interview on April 27 with John D. Ehrlichman, then assistant to the President for domestic affairs:

John D. Ehrlichman, adviser to the President, was contacted in his office at the executive office of the President.

It was explained to Mr. Ehrlichman that this interview was being conducted at the specific request of the Justice Department. He was told that information had been received alleging that on an unspecified date the offices of an unnamed psychiatrist retained by Daniel Ellsberg had been burglarized apparently to secure information relating to Ellsberg. Mr. Ehrlichman was advised that the purpose of this interview was to learn what knowledge he might have concerning this alleged burglary.

Mr. Ehrlichman recalled that sometime in 1971 the President had expressed interest in the problem of unau-

thorized disclosure of classified Government information and asked him to make inquiries independent of concurrent F.B.I. investigation which had been made relating to the leak of the Pentagon papers.

Mr. Ehrlichman assumed this responsibility and was assisted in this endeavor by Egil Krogh, a White House assistant, and David Young of the National Security Agency.

A decision was made by them to conduct some investigation in the Pentagon papers leak matter "directly out of the White House." G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt were "designated to conduct this investigation."

Mr. Ehrlichman knew that Liddy and Hunt conducted investigation in the Washington, D. C., area and during the inquiries were going to the West Coast to follow up on leads.

There was information available that Ellsberg had emotional and moral problems and Liddy and Hunt sought to determine full facts relating to these conduct traits. Hunt endeavored to prepare a "psychiatric profile" relating to Ellsberg. The efforts of Liddy and Hunt

were directed toward an "in-depth investigation of Ellsberg to determine his habits, mental attitudes, motives, etc."

Although Mr. Ehrlichman knew that Liddy and Hunt had gone to California in connection with the above inquiries being made by them, he was not told that these two individuals had broken into the premises of the psychiatrist for Ellsberg until after this incident had taken place.

Such activity was not authorized by him, he did not know about this burglary until after it had happened. He did "not agree with this method of investigation and when he learned about the burglary he instructed them "not to do this again."

Mr. Ehrlichman does not recall who specifically reported to him about the above mentioned burglary but it was verbally mentioned to him. He does not know the name of the psychiatrist involved nor the location of this individual. He does not know whose idea it was to commit this burglary. Mr. Ehrlichman has no knowledge whether anything was obtained as a result of this activity.

isn't done, where the line lies between fair and unfair political activity, how far the President can go in waging war without the approval of the Congress, and where a staff officer's first loyalty lies—to his chief or to his oath of office under the Constitution.

If you think things are mixed up here now as a result of all this moral confusion, imagine where we'd be if the Nixon Administration's views on the Congress, the courts and the press had been in operation when the scandal broke.

In the last four years, the President and his colleagues have insisted that Congressional committees have been too demanding, the courts too liberal, the press too inquisitive, and radio and television too quick with "instant analysis" of Presidential activity.

The Administration didn't just talk about readjusting the balance of powers in the Republic, but acted to establish the authority of the White House, and suggested and threatened new ways to restore the moral integrity of the people under the guidance of the President and his advisers.

They proposed new legislation under which any Government official who passed classified documents to a reporter, or any reporter who received such documents, would be liable to a whopping fine and/or years in the pokey.

sisted that nobody who worked for the Federal Government could be called to Capitol Hill for questioning, even about suspected crimes, if the President forbade them to appear.

Local commercial broadcasters were put on notice that if they kept on distributing the negative news and liberal criticisms of the small but powerful network establishment, without striking a balance of their own, they might lose their licenses. And public broadcasting, funded by Government money, has been under relentless pressure to submit to Government influence over its programs or risk the loss of Government financial support.

Finally—and this in the end may be the most enduring influence of the Nixon Administration—the President, who has already appointed four of the nine Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, has promised that he will continue in the next three and a half years to appoint to the bench men of his own judicial philosophy.

Nevertheless, there is the consolation that the Congress, the courts and the press were not working under the Nixon philosophy when the scandals broke. But the problem will remain even if Haldeman and Ehrlichman get lost.

For the President is still not acting under the unwritten rules that require moderation, candor and cooperation in American political life, and that has started.

NEW YORK TIMES
4 May 1973

ELLSBERG JUDGE ORDERS HUNT DATA

By MARTIN ARNOLD

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, May 3

The judge in the Pentagon papers trial ordered today that the grand jury testimony of E. Howard Hunt Jr. given yesterday in the Watergate case be turned over to him immediately.

Hunt reportedly testified that he and G. Gordon Liddy, convicted in the burglary at national Democratic headquarters last June, personally took part in the break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist the night of Sept. 3-4, 1971.

In Washington, Federal District Judge John J. Sirica ordered that 37 pages of testimony by Hunt be sent to Federal District Judge William Matthew Byrne Jr., who is presiding at the trial here of Dr. Ellsberg and Anthony J. Russo Jr.

Judge Byrne reiterated today, with some anger, that "the burden is on the Government" to prove that neither the Justice Department nor the White House nor the Watergate conspirators had interfered with the constitutional rights of Dr. Ellsberg and Mr. Russo and therefore "tainted" this case.

The two are charged with six counts of theft and one of conspiracy stemming from the disclosure of the secret Pentagon study of the Vietnam war.

In another development, Judge Byrne disclosed that a number of former high-ranking Government officials had refused to be interviewed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the court-ordered inquiry into the link between the Watergate affair and the Pentagon papers trial. He declined to give their names to the defense at this time, saying he would if he decided to hold a court hearing on the matter.

But he did turn over to the defense a statement by Earl J. Silbert, the Watergate prosecutor, in which Mr. Silbert declined to make public the name of the person who told him on April 15 that Hunt and Liddy had broken into the psychiatrist's office.

He also turned over an F.B.I. interview, conducted on April 30 in Phoenix, Ariz., with Robert C. Mardian, former Assistant Attorney General, in which Mr. Mardian said that, in his own words, "At no time while I was Assistant Attorney General of the United States did I acquire any knowledge of the alleged burglary by Liddy or Hunt or anyone else."

He did say, however, that he did have knowledge acquired

after he left public office to become the political coordinator of the Committee for the Re-election of the President. This knowledge, he told the F.B.I. pertained to an "attorney-client" relationship, which, he added, he would be willing to explain in the judge's chambers. At one time Mr. Mardian said that he gave Maurice H. Stans, some legal advice.

Judge Byrne said that "in general let me make it clear again—the burden is on the Government" to show that the defendants' constitutional rights have not been violated "and the Government is going to have to meet that burden."

In cold tones he continued: "There are holes in the investigation. I'm not going to, day after day, make mention of this to the Government, make it clear the burden is on the Government to find out what did occur."

The defense attorneys believe that the judge is adopting a strategy of trying to put pressure on the Government to ask for a dismissal of the case or, if that fails, of being able to dismiss it himself with the onus falling on the Government—for failing to comply with his repeated orders for an investigation into the connection between Watergate and the trial here.

Judge Byrne said, for instance, that the Mardian interview could be developed, if the defense investigated its implication, into proof of possible "taint" of evidence in this case.

He also said that he had received in his chambers an inventory of Hunt's former White House office, and that from the looks of the inventory there would be more information to be turned over to the defendants when the Hunt material arrives.

He mentioned, for example, a "legal-size folder marked time and pay records" and said he would probably turn that over to the defense, presumably because it will show where Hunt and Liddy were each day and how much they were paid for their services.

Judge Byrne told the prosecutor, David R. Nissen, that he did not know what "other investigations were going on in the Federal system or the country system."

"When I order the turnover," he said, "it's up to the Government to determine what effect [the material] has on this and other cases."

The implication was that the Government should perhaps bring in other criminal cases as a result of the information gathered in this investigation.

As an example, the judge said he wanted to know about a voucher found in Hunt's office for payment for three men to spend the night of Sept. 13, 1971, in a Los Angeles hotel.

The inventory list also showed that Hunt had "one tan folder marked 'ELLSBERG'" containing the following material:

"Three typewritten copies, on legal size white paper of a 28 page document reporting a

chronology of ELLSBERG from birth, April 7, 1931, through Nov. 12, 1971, insofar as it relates to the Pentagon papers."

The inventory list says that page 26 of the document shows that Dr. Ellsberg occupied a room in the Bel Air, an expensive hotel here, from Dec. 30, 1970, to Jan. 4, 1971, and that during that period he made a telephone call from his room to Dr. Lewis J. Fielding, the psychiatrist whose office was broken into.

According to the Ellsberg file, Dr. Ellsberg twice saw a Cambridge, Mass., psychiatrist—once on Jan. 29, 1971, and once on Feb. 2, 1971. Dr. Ellsberg had previously denied ever seeing a psychiatrist in Cambridge.

Further, the inventory list shows that during the period of Sept. 1 through Sept. 6, 1971, Hunt billed the White House for work of eight hours a day, but the list does not show where the work took place. It also shows that the former White House counsel, Charles W. Colson, authorized payment to Hunt on Sept. 13, 1971.

While all this was going on in the courtroom, before the jury was called in to hear further testimony, the Los Angeles County district attorney, Joseph P. Busch, announced that he was conducting an investigation into the break-in at the psychiatrist's office.

He said that he had already flown to Washington to discuss the inquiry with Henry E. Petersen, Assistant Attorney General, and that "we will audit the Federal Court to receive immediately all data" released by Judge Byrne.

There were these further developments in the case today:

The defense read in open court an article in The Washington Post saying that President Nixon had been consulted before the report of the break-in at Dr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist's was turned over to the judge, and that Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst made the decision to consult the President had to be consulted, the article said there was a 1-day delay between

the time the Justice Department admitted to learning of the break-in until it was finally reported to the judge.

Another Post article was read saying that Hunt and Liddy supervised the wiretapping of at least two New York Times reporters in 1971 as part of their investigation of the publication of the Pentagon papers, and that this wiretapping had been authorized by John N. Mitchell, then Attorney General.

The defense said that Hunt and Liddy were part of what was called an ex-office "vigilante" team, operating from the White House, that was put together to conduct wiretapping operations that the F.B.I. apparently declined to carry out.

Asked about rumors that legal papers were being drawn up to drop the prosecution of Dr. Ellsberg, Mr. Petersen said in Washington that the reports were untrue, "based on information available to the Department of Justice at this time, the case is clean and untainted," he said.

Ex-Rand Head Questioned

Once the jury was called back into court today, the cross-examination of Harry Rowen, former president of the Rand Corporation, was continued by the defense.

Mr. Rowen said that the set of the Pentagon papers that Mr. Ellsberg and Mr. Russo are accused of Xeroxing were not logged into the Rand Corporation's top secret control system until Dec. 31, 1970, long after it arrived at Rand, from where Dr. Ellsberg is accused of stealing it.

This would tend to prove Dr. Ellsberg's contention that the papers had been given special treatment at Rand and that he had been given special access to them.

Mr. Rowen also said that it was unusual to transport top secret documents from Rand's Washington office to its Santa Monica office by the armed forces courier team, but that the Pentagon papers had been transferred by Dr. Ellsberg on a special courier pass. This, too, would tend to prove the defendants' contention that Rand purposely got the papers out of its own system.

WASHINGTON STAR
1 May 1973

Hunt Paid on Break-in Day

By JAMES R. POLK
Star-News Staff Writer

Convicted Watergate spy E. Howard Hunt billed the White House for a consultant's fee for the day of the break-in at the Beverly Hills, Calif., office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

A source close to the Watergate case said the U.S. attorneys here have time-and-pay records for Hunt showing that he was paid by the White House for four hours work on Sept. 3, 1971. That was the date of the burglary at the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, who was treating Ellsberg, now on trial for disclosing the Pentagon Papers.

Watergate prosecutors, collecting evidence on the California break-in, now have airline tickets showing Hunt and co-conspirator G. Gordon Liddy were in Los Angeles at the time. They used assumed names of "Hamilton" and "Larimer" when they flew back the next day.

ELLSBERG'S trial in Los Angeles was rocked last Friday by the disclosure the Justice Department has information that Hunt and Liddy

broke into a psychiatrist's office to obtain Ellsberg's treatment records.

Hunt's time-and-pay records show that he submitted bills to the White House for work on Sept. 2, 3 and 4 in 1971.

At that time, Hunt and Liddy were both among the so-called "plumbers" in the White House assigned to trace the Pentagon Papers leak. Liddy was a full-time employe, Hunt a \$100-a-day consultant.

U.S. District Judge Matthew Byrne Jr. demanded the government find out whether this did indeed happen and, if so, for whom Hunt and Liddy were working.

The Hunt payments were routinely approved by former White House political aide Charles E. Colson, who resigned this year to become a Washington lawyer.

Colson, who had hired Hunt for the White House job earlier in 1971, signed all of his consultant billings as a normal bookkeeping procedure.

Beverly Hills Police Chief B. L. Cork said the break-in at Fielding's office was reported

on Sept. 4, 1971 and apparently had happened the previous night.

Airline tickets show Hunt and Liddy, posing as "Hamilton" and "Larimer," took a flight back from Los Angeles to New York on Sept. 4.

At one stage of the Watergate trial, the prosecution had planned to call an American Airlines stewardess on that flight to testify that Hunt and Liddy were traveling together under aliases then. However, the prosecution changed its plans after Hunt pleaded guilty.

THE STEWARDESS, who asked that her name not be used, told The Star-News that Hunt struck up a conversation with her and later sent her a book as a gift. She said Hunt wrote the accompanying letter on White House stationery, signing it as "Hamilton."

The White House time-and-pay records show Hunt turned in a slip for four hours of work on Thursday, Sept. 2; another four hours on the day of the break-in, and two hours on Sept. 4 when he was leaving Los Angeles.

Presumably, at his hourly

consulting rate, he would have been paid a total of only \$125.

Chief Cork said Beverly Hills police files show two break-ins reported Sept. 4 for Dr. Fielding's office and a physician's office in the same building.

"There was nothing taken out of either one," he said.

Cork said police later picked up a suspect in a purse theft and, when they showed him the two reports, the suspect said he broke in searching for narcotics. No charges were filed, however, and the suspect was prosecuted for parole violation on the purse theft, Cork said.

"It was possibly that there were two separate break-ins that weekend," Cork said. He noted the physician's office is on the first floor and Dr. Fielding's is on the second floor of the business building.

Defense attorneys said that a cleaning woman may have seen Liddy and Hunt in the psychiatrist's office taking photographs.

Dr. Fielding could not be reached for comment yesterday.

NEW YORK TIMES
3 May 1973

Ellsberg Judge Confirms 2 Talks With Ehrlichman

By MARTIN ARNOLD
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, May 2—The judge in the Pentagon papers trial confirmed today that twice during this trial he met directly with Jhon D. Ehrlichman to discuss the possibility of becoming director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The defense said it would use this latest disclosure to move again for an "immediate dismissal" of the charges against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony J. Russo Jr.

In another development, United States District Court Judge William Matthew Byrne Jr. also turned over to the defense more F.B.I. reports of interviews with former high officials of the Nixon Administration.

One of them was a second interview—conducted yesterday—with Mr. Ehrlichman in which he reportedly said that he had nothing to do with the special White House investigation of this case for more than a year, but that the inquiry was conducted by two of his aides.

In another interview, H. R. Haldeman is reported to have told the F.B.I. that he knew nothing about the White House investigation of this case. Bruce Kehrli, a staff secretary to the President, also denied to the F.B.I. that he knew anything about the investigation.

Mr. Ehrlichman, however, reportedly told the F.B.I. yesterday that on his orders David Young, a member of the National Security Council staff, and Egil Krogh, of the White House staff, headed the inquiry that led to the break-in at the office of Dr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist by G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt Jr., two convicted Watergate conspirators.

Mr. Young resigned today, and Mr. Krogh took a leave from the position he has held during the second Nixon Administration as Under Secretary of Transportation.

Mr. Ehrlichman reportedly told the F.B.I. that he had assumed the results of the investi-

psychiatric profile of Ellsberg" — were still in the White House offices of Mr. Young and Mr. Krogh, that he himself had not been involved in the investigation for more than a year, and that he had collected a newspaper clipping file on the case that was turned over to "the President's files" and is now apparently in the "archives."

The President's former top adviser for domestic affairs reportedly admitted in the F.B.I. interview that he had seen previous bureau investigative reports on Dr. Ellsberg's wife, Patricia, and on Neil Sheehan, The New York Times reporter who first disclosed the Pentagon papers on June 13, 1971, in The Times.

There were several other developments:

¶ Judge Byrne castigated the Government for the slowness with which it is conducting the investigation that he has ordered into the Watergate-Pentagon papers link.

¶ The judge also asked the defense to submit by tomorrow legal precedents and citations for both a mistrial and a dismissal—to be added to the motion the defense filed yesterday for a dismissal.

¶ Undoubtedly a key disclosure today was the one made by the judge of his meetings with Mr. Ehrlichman. Before the jury was impaneled in the case, Mr.

testimony, he said that he had met with Mr. Ehrlichman, first, on April 5 in San Clemente, Calif., and then again two days later in Santa Monica.

The judge said he had reiterated at the second meeting what he had said at the first meeting, "that I would not consider nor I would not in any way discuss the position of director of the F.B.I. while this case was pending." He did not say that the job was either directly offered to him or directly declined by him.

The judge also said, in answer to a question from Leonard I. Weinglass, a defense counsel, that on April Fool's Day he attended a dinner party at the home of Paul Ziffirin, a Democratic National Committeeman from California, at which Henry A. Kissinger, a Nixon aide, was also a guest, along with "about 100 people." He did not discuss the case nor a possible Federal job with Mr. Kissinger, the judge said.

Outside of court, Mr. Weinglass raised the question of a "second meeting with Mr. Ehrlichman, who evidently knew that he was to be involved in this case."

"We now have apparently a meeting by an official of the White House, an adviser to the President who evidently knew that his name was a bout to be implicated in this case, meeting with the presiding judge of this trial, offering him a very Government position,

and then following the meeting up with a second meeting," Mr. Weinglass said.

Weinglass Reaction

"The judge evidently said he discouraged any discussion the first time," Mr. Weinglass said. "But the judge then physically went to a second meeting." On Monday the judge said that he met with Mr. Ehrlichman once about "another assignment" in the Government and that they were in contact a second time. He did not at that time mention the F.B.I. and he left it vague as to whether the second occasion was a meeting or a telephone conversation.

During that first meeting he was introduced to the President, he said on Monday.

"Even if he [the judge] was all the time refusing to talk to them until the trial was over, that's (the meetings) enough of a taint of this case to end the trial," Mr. Weinglass said, adding that if a member of the defense staff had made similar gestures to the judge "we would all in jail."

"If this case cannot be dismissed with these facts now,

then I don't know what the law books mean when they talk about the possibility of a taint of the trial, of a compromise of a judge, of undermining the public's confidence that the judge that is trying a case did not have contact with either side," he went on, "There's never been a case where the extent of the contact and the deliberateness of the contact from the White House has risen to the risen to the level we now have in this trial."

Mr. Weinglass said that when the judge asked today for legal precedents for a mistrial or a dismissal, "he is asking us if it ever happened before in the history of America, that the judge has met with a representative of the White House, who is implicated in the trial."

'Never Happened Before'

"My answer to the judge is that we have no [legal] authorities; it's never happened before. There are no cases. This is the first one," the defense attorney said.

He was asking, he said, for an immediate dismissal, and then for a hearing "if the government received evidence by breaking" into the office of Dr. Ellsberg's doctor.

In Washington, the White House was asked to comment on the propriety of the offer to Judge Byrne. Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary, said he could not comment on matters before the court, a stand he has taken previously.

Meanwhile, the investigation into that incident and other Government operations in investigating this case was moving much too slowly, the judge said in court.

Before the turnover of the new Ehrlichman material today, David R. Nissen, the chief prosecutor, turned over as part of the court-ordered investigation a copy of an article in the Los Angeles Times in which Dr. Ellsberg refused to name his psychiatrist.

Leonard B. Boudin, a defense attorney, told the judge that this turnover "was a parody of an investigation."

Judge Byrne then said, "Mr. Nissen, as to the investigation Mr. Nissen, I want [all the] material that the Government now has in its possession; what was told to Liddy and Hunt; if there was an investigation

they were to perform, I want that material."

The judge said that he had "received nothing of the fruits of the investigation" conducted by Liddy and Hunt, nor did he receive the results of any "other improper acts performed" by the Government.

Judge Byrne said he was still waiting, for instance, for the inventory of Hunt's safe at the white house.

Mr. Nissen said that what the judge was ordering was "not a matter of snapping fingers" and getting the investigation completed.

"It's a matter of time," the judge retorted. "If at the time the evidence in this case is completed—I'm left with no facts, I'm going to have to decide what steps have to be taken. I don't want to have it wait until all the evidence is in."

After this exchange, Harr Rowen, former president of the Rand Corporation, continued his testimony as a Government rebuttal witness before the jury.

Dr. Ellsberg and Mr. Russ are charged with six counts of espionage, six counts of theft and one count of conspiracy.

Victor Zorza

Soviets Silent on Bugging Case

The Watergate affair illustrates, in Soviet eyes, many of the things the Moscow press has said about American politics — and it has said plenty. Moscow newspapers have described American elections as taking place "in an atmosphere of bribery and corruption, blackmail and violence," as well as "police terror."

The Mafia and Tammany Hall have been linked by the Soviet press with the Rockefeller millions and with the military-industrial complex to present to Russian readers a thoroughly corrupt system in which the meanest and most despicable tricks are habitually used to win elections.

But that was before the age of Nixon summity. The remarkable thing about the Watergate affair itself is that it gets hardly any attention in the Soviet press.

The official Soviet news agency Tass made only one reference to it in the crowded weeks before Mr. Nixon's acknowledgement of White House involvement. Even this was only a passing mention, in a two-paragraph report on the withdrawal of L. Patrick Gray's nomination as FBI Director.

Tass still has not mentioned Mr. Nixon's statement of last Tuesday nor any of the subsequent Watergate developments.

The Soviet press was obviously ordered to say nothing that might disturb Mr. Nixon or the new spirit of concord between Moscow and Washington. But while the Kremlin can censor the press, it could hardly afford to deprive itself of informed comment on the political significance of the affair.

The Soviet ambassador in Washington is sure to have sent home an analysis of the foreign policy implications of the Watergate affair, as every other ambassador in Washington must have done. This is what they are here for.

Embassy analysts in Washington would probably conclude that it may be some time before all White House staff members are cleared of any connection with the Watergate. They would note that this administration has come to rely increasingly on a few key members of the White House staff in getting its policies carried out.

The would argue that men who have been touched by the breath of scandal, even remotely or innocently, will find it difficult to influence Congress or the bureaucracy, both of which have been offering increasing resistance to White House innovations. The economy is in deep trouble. In Vietnam, "peace with honor" appears to be crumbling. And now Watergate.

This analysis would lead foreign observers to conclude that the Nixon administration will be looking for some quick and impressive successes in foreign policy, to be crowned by the visit which Soviet party secretary Leonid Brezhnev is to make to Washington in June. Could this be used to divert public attention from the domestic malaise? Summits make good television. International agreements make a good presidential image. Everybody is in favor of peace.

But at what price? Moscow could reason that Mr. Nixon, in his hour of need, may be more susceptible to pressure on the whole range of issues now under negotiation between the Kremlin and the White House—from the Mideast to strategic arms limitation, from trade to the emigration of Soviet Jews.

The Kremlin hardliners always took a dim view of the concessions Brezhnev made to Nixon to save last year's Moscow summit. In their view, the bombing and mining of North Vietnam on the very eve of the summit was a slap in the face—and they were forced

to turn the other cheek. They would now press Brezhnev to exact his revenge, and to collect a high price for the return visit to Washington—or to call it off.

Anatoly Dobrynin, the Soviet ambassador in Washington, would certainly assess all the opportunities for diplomatic gain in his dispatch to Moscow about the Watergate affair. But if Dobrynin is really as wise as Henry Kissinger believes, he would also warn his Kremlin masters against pushing Mr. Nixon into a corner.

He would tell them that this administration has still 3½ years to go and that, whatever happens in domestic politics, the President retains considerable powers in the foreign policy field. He would remind the Kremlin that last year Mr. Nixon rescued Brezhnev from a major domestic crisis with a huge shipment of grain, at some political cost to himself. He might point out that the Kremlin now had the opportunity to reciprocate—and to earn much credit for the future—so long as the hardliners did not push for a quick profit.

Since last year's pre-summit dealings, the White House and the Kremlin have been helping each other not only to carry out the grand design for a "generation of peace," but also to keep their respective enemies at bay. These arrangements were worked out largely between Kissinger and Dobrynin, often in the face of opposition from some of the other forces close to the centers of power in both countries.

The two master diplomats will, no doubt, try to preserve the grand design from too much damage. They deserve to succeed, but the blind forces of politics do not always support deserving causes.

WASHINGTON POST
22 April 1973

WASHINGTON POST
25 April 1973

Nixon Fund Used to Laud War Tactics

By Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Nixon's re-election committee conducted a campaign last May to give a distorted view of the American public's response to the mining of Haiphong harbor. It has been learned.

The campaign included paying for telegrams to be sent to the White House and the placing of a deceptive, apparently illegal, \$4,400 ad in the New York Times on May 17.

On May 10, White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said that telegrams, letters and telephone calls were running 5 or 6 to 1 in support of the President's action and cited them as an indication of "substantial support" of the mining in Congress and among voters.

One former Nixon campaign official said yesterday that the Committee for the Re-election of the President was "totally mobilized for the biggest piece of deception—we never do anything honestly. Imagine, the President sending himself telegrams, patting himself on the back."

Another former Nixon campaign official told a reporter yesterday that the Haiphong mining campaign "put the entire staff in overdrive for two weeks . . . the work included petition drives, organizing rallies, bringing people in buses to Washington, organizing calls to the White House, getting voters to call their congressmen."

"We felt the Haiphong decision could make or break the President," the official said.

Apparently among the participants in the drive were at least two of the Watergate conspirators, Frank Sturgis and Bernard Barker. The two men, according to sources in Miami, showed up uninvited at a Cuban exile meeting in May and attempted to take over plans for organizing a demonstration there in support of the mining. Sturgis later told a Washington Post reporter that he drove the lead truck in a convoy that participated in the demonstration.

At least \$8,400 in cash campaign funds, mostly in \$100 bills, was spent on the drive. The Washington Post has learned. This expenditure has not been reported to the General Accounting Office as required by law.

Government sources said yesterday that the GAO is expected to release a report this week citing the re-election committee's failure to disclose these expenses as an apparent violation of the law. (The GAO, the investigative arm of Congress, forwards its findings to the Justice Department where a decision on whether to prosecute is made.)

The expenditures were authorized by Jeb Stuart Magruder, who was deputy Nixon campaign manager under John N. Mitchell at the time, according to government sources. Magruder reportedly has told prosecutors that he, along with former Attorney General Mitchell and presidential counsel John W. Dean III, had approved the bugging of the Democrats' Watergate headquarters.

Last October, The Washington Post reported that the Watergate bugging was only one incident in a campaign of political sabotage and undercover activities conceived in the White House that included the placement of deceptive and misleading advertisements and bogus political mailings.

The ad in the New York Times, entitled "The People vs. The New York Times," criticized a Times editorial opposing the mining. The ad was signed by 10 people and gave the appearance of representing citizen support of the President's controversial decision.

Phillip Joanou, the former executive vice president of the November Group, which handled the Nixon committee's advertising, said yesterday that the ad was paid for with 44 \$100 bills sent from the Nixon committee in Washington.

The Times editorial had termed the President's action in mining the harbors as "counter to the will and conscience of a large segment of the American people." The advertisement, covering nearly half a page, cited polls showing that anywhere from 59 to 76 per cent of the people supported the President.

"Who can you believe—the New York Times or the American people?" the advertisement asked.

Joanou said yesterday that the November Group, which was set up exclusively to handle Nixon advertising, spent more than \$6 million for ads during the 1972 presidential campaign.

"But The New York Times ad is the only one I can recall in which we made it look like a citizens' effort," Joanou said.

Asked for comment yesterday, DeVan L. Shumway, a spokesman for the Nixon committee said: "There was a campaign to organize support, not to deceive. From what I knew it was a legitimate effort, and the polls show that a majority of the people supported the President."

On Jan. 29, 1973, at the Watergate trial, Robert C. Odle, the administrative officer of the Nixon re-election committee, testified that the committee had undertaken to promote public support for the Haiphong mining decision. He was not asked follow-up questions on details of how the drive was conducted.

The cash fund that financed the Haiphong campaign also supplied approximately \$750 that was paid to Theodore Brill, the head of the Republican organization at George Washington University. Brill received the money to disrupt and spy on antiwar demonstrators camping in front of the White House last year, according to reliable sources.

This fund consisted of about \$13,000, the sources said, and about \$3,300 of it was given to convicted Watergate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy for other espionage activities.

The \$13,000 came from a cash fund that was used for Watergate bugging and had

a fluctuating balance of \$350,000 to \$700,000. The original cash fund was kept in the office safe of former Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans, the chief Nixon fund-raiser.

President Nixon's May 8, 1972, order to mine the entrance to North Vietnam's harbors was regarded at the time as the riskiest international action he ever took in the Vietnamese war. It was a direct challenge to Soviet shipping on which North Vietnam was heavily dependent for its war supplies. The U.S. action came at an extremely sensitive point in American-Soviet relations, just two weeks before President Nixon's scheduled summit conference in Moscow.

After several days of high international suspense, the Soviet Union decided to swallow the affront and to proceed with the summit meeting. President Nixon subsequently publicly ridiculed those who expressed doubt that his mining gamble would succeed. During the Johnson administration, U.S. military leaders repeatedly proposed a similar mining order, only to be rebuffed on grounds that the international consequences posed too great a risk.

President Nixon and his present White House chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman, were both officially cited by a California court in 1964 for having personally approved a similarly deceptive—and illegal—campaign tactic in Mr. Nixon's 1962 campaign for governor there.

In that case, a dummy committee purporting to represent California Democrats mailed literature to Democratic voters that included attacks on Mr. Nixon's opponent, incumbent Gov. Pat Brown. Although the mailing said, "This is not a plea for any candidate," a San Francisco County Superior Court Judge ruled that its "paramount purpose . . . was to obtain from registered Democrats votes and money for the campaign of Richard M. Nixon."

The court held that "Mr. Nixon and Mr. Haldeman approved the plan and project . . . and agreed that the Nixon campaign committee would finance the project."

During the 1970 mid-term elections, the White House was responsible for another deceptive advertising campaign, this one aimed at Democratic senatorial candidates who were attacked in newspaper advertisements supposedly placed by an independent citizens committee.

The advertisements, repudiated by many of the Republican candidates they were intended to aid, were conceived by then presidential special counsel Charles W. Colson, who organized the "citizens committee" that placed them.

NEW YORK TIMES
2 May 1973

Watergate Appears to Have Damaged U.S. Abroad

By JOSEPH COLLINS
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, May 1—The Watergate scandal appears to have damaged the reputation of the United States abroad, but at the same time many see it as a demonstration of the basic honesty of a system that can expose skulduggery in high places.

Public interest in Watergate has intensified virtually throughout the world, but there was no indication that it would significantly affect America's foreign policy. Trade, monetary and defense policies, of abiding interest to European governments, are dealt with at technical levels, officials in London observed privately.

Today, May Day, is a public holiday in most European countries and newspapers do not publish. However, Watergate has had a great deal of radio and television coverage.

The British Broadcasting Corporation, in a rare program change, kept its television going until after 2:30 A.M. to carry President Nixon's speech live from Washington and then had a panel of comment on it. The French television gave excerpts from the telecast today.

Japanese Are Doubtful

From Tokyo, it was reported that Japanese seem sorry to see Mr. Nixon in trouble. Watergate has most certainly diluted Japanese confidence in America, reports said.

Japanese displeasure with Mr. Nixon goes back to July, 1971, when he announced, without advising the Japanese Government ahead of time, that he planned to visit China. That became known as the "Nixon shock."

Watergate appears to have increased Japanese skepticism about the United States. Because the Japanese were ruled by the Americans during the postwar occupation, they have tended to look to the United States as a model for demo-

cratic government. Now they wonder about Washington.

On a lower level, one Japanese observed, "I guess politics are dirty everywhere." And that cynicism is reflected in many parts of Europe too.

For instance in Greece, where there have been no newspapers for three days during the Orthodox Easter holiday, the state-run radio has carried nothing critical of President Nixon. An Athenian, asked what he thought about Watergate, confessed ignorance. When told about the bugging attempt and sequence of events he observed: "So it happens elsewhere too."

Italy, in the midst of a wire-tapping scandal of her own with political and international overtones, the press has drawn parallels that make Washington look cleaner than Rome.

Differing Views in Rome

Many Italian newspapers, including the Communist ones, point out that American newspapers, the judiciary branch and the Congress forced the Watergate affair into the open, whereas much of the Italian scandal remains cloaked in mystery.

The Italian scandal involves the widespread wiretapping. It is speculated the president of the republic had his telephone bugged. Some 30 telephone company employes and private investigators have been arrested. Nobody has been told who is behind all this, and there is scant chance that it will ever be known publicly.

Il Tempo of Rome, conservative and pro-American, said editorially today that Watergate was "a proof of democracy." On the other hand, Il Sole 24 Ore, a Milan daily, said: "All foreign offices in the world are not evaluating the risks of negotiating and concluding accords with an (United States) executive branch that has been so badly devalued." However, Italian officials do not see the likelihood of Watergate's affecting American foreign policy. A report from Bonn indicates

no great public excitement about Watergate in West Germany, although the newspapers have been raising the question of what would happen should Mr. Nixon himself become involved. The most important thing to the Germans seems to be that Mr. Nixon is the man they presumably will have to deal with for the next three years.

From Belgrade a correspondent reported that there was no sense of shock over Watergate in Eastern Europe, where hidden microphones and phone taps are not uncommon. The Yugoslav press has been reporting the developments but without dramatizing events or using them for propaganda.

Last week at the Serbian Communist Party conference, a delegate said privately he was concerned that damage to Mr. Nixon's prestige and authority might erode the President's ability to push ahead with policies favored in Eastern Europe.

For the same reason, apparently, the Soviet press has avoided anything critical of Mr. Nixon. A brief Tass item on Patrick Gray's resignation was published in Moscow. The Soviet media treads lightly on personal affairs affecting other chiefs of state — with the exception of South Africa, Israel, Portugal and a few other countries.

The Russian leaders have staked a lot on personal relations with Mr. Nixon and do not want the President's Watergate embarrassment to rub off on them.

Fascination in Britain

The British have been fascinated by Watergate, and it has been reported extensively by the press and television. The public sees events as an unfolding drama that matches, and to some extent parallels, the Profumo affair here 10 years ago.

In that case, too, speculation was rife that the involvement of the War Minister, John Profumo, in a sex and security

scandal would embarrass the Government. Mr. Profumo resigned, but the Government remained in power.

After last night's television appearance of Mr. Nixon, some Britons felt compassion for him as they watched his nervous wince serve as a smile. However, many viewers were perplexed.

One Londoner, who sat up to watch Mr. Nixon, said: "I just can't see how a man can accept full responsibility and in the next breath absolve himself of blame. Is he trying to fool all the people all the time?"

New Blow Is Seen

British officials and diplomats in London felt that America's reputations in Europe had suffered again just as it was beginning to recover from a low point over the bombing of Hanoi last December.

The Times of London will say tomorrow: "The rest of the world needs to have a strong and effective President of the United States to deal with. Despite Watergate, the world accepts Mr. Nixon as such a President."

It said that "even if he has behaved worse than we believe and hope, it would be inhuman not to feel a spark of sympathy for the President."

The paper castigated the President's "second-rate subordinates," the "half men" with their "Pepsodent smiles and their football ethics," but observed there were plenty of such men in London too.

In Israel, anything that hurts Mr. Nixon is seen as a potential threat to Israel's interests.

Israeli officials are concerned about what Watergate could do to the President's influence in Congress, which must approve the arms credits and financial aid to Israel.

However, they expressed doubt that the scandal would affect any basic changes in American policy toward Israel and the other Middle Eastern countries.

BAITIMORE SUN

26 April 1973

Watergate probe held real democracy in Rio

Rio de Janeiro Bureau of The Sun

Rio de Janeiro—The Watergate scandal has reached all the way to Brazil, where the leader of the tolerated opposition party has used it to needle obliquely this country's military dictatorship on the difference between a "real democracy and a nominal one."

Deputy Ulisses Guimarães, president of the Brazilian Democratic Movement, said, referring to Watergate, "It has revealed that in a real democ-

racy, not in a nominal one, the constitutional principles are above the parties and above the president of the republic himself."

In the Watergate case, he said, the United States Congress "took an overt and rigorous defense of the privacy and the inviolability of the homes and of the institutions."

"The Congress investigates,

summons personalities and suspects," Mr. Guimarães continued. "There is an acute crisis in the relations between the legislature and the executive in the United States.

"What was the attitude of the government's party, the Republican? It stood with the Congress against the spying in the homes, the buildings, in the mail."

NEW YORK TIMES
28 April 1973

PAPER ABOUT DIEM AMONG HUNT DATA

By JOHN M. CREWDSON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 27—A document purporting to be a 10-year-old State Department cable dealing with American policy toward former South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem was in the possession of E. Howard Hunt Jr., the convicted Watergate conspirator, in the summer of 1971.

The document, dated three days before Mr. Diem was killed in a 1963 coup d'etat, takes the form of an instruction from high officials of the Kennedy Administration to Henry Cabot Lodge, the United States Ambassador in Saigon at the time, that President Diem should not be given political asylum once he was deposed.

It was not known whether the document was authentic or not.

Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, said in a telephone interview today that the document had never existed. Mr. Lodge said in a similar interview that he had never received such a message.

The New York Times reported today that John W. Dean 3d, President Nixon's counsel, had accused Hunt of fabricating diplomatic cables "relating to President Kennedy's complicity in Diem's assassination" while working as a White House consultant in 1971 and 1972.

The documents were reportedly discovered in a safe in the Executive Office Building quarters used by Hunt, who pleaded guilty in January to conspiracy in the Watergate case. The safe was emptied two days after the June 17, Watergate break-in on orders from Mr. Dean.

The Presidential lawyer has since said that he gave two file folders containing the allegedly false material to L. Patrick Gray 3d, then the acting director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

According to Mr. Gray, who resigned from his post today, Mr. Dean told him that the papers, although not materially related to the Watergate case, constituted "political dynamite." Mr. Gray has said that he did not examine the documents, but instead destroyed them.

The Times obtained today the text of one of the documents in Hunt's possession during the late summer of 1971. The source of the text was William G. Lambert, a former investigative reporter for Life magazine, which is no longer published.

Mr. Lambert, who said he had seen but did not possess the original document, refused to identify his source, although he would not deny that it was Hunt.

However, The Times has established that Hunt was in fact Mr. Lambert's source for the document, which purported to be a State Department Tele-

NEW YORK TIMES
2 May 1973

Colson Knew Hunt Wrote Fake Cable

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 1—Charles W. Colson, former special counsel to President Nixon, has confirmed that four months before the Watergate burglary he discovered that one of the conspirators, E. Howard Hunt Jr., a friend he had recommended for a White House job, had written a fake cable implicating President Kennedy in the assassination of South Vietnam's President Diem.

According to William Lambert, formerly a reporter for Life magazine, who interviewed Mr. Colson over the weekend, Mr. Colson made the discovery in February, 1972, but did not disclose the fabrication until the weekend interview.

Mr. Colson, reached at his law office here this afternoon, said that he would have no comment other than to say that he had great respect for Mr. Lambert as a journalist. He said that he saw nothing to be gained from adding to the controversy.

Asked why he had not taken steps to dismiss Mr. Hunt or warned superiors about him, Mr. Colson repeated that he had no comment.

Mr. Lambert, an investigative reporter who spent most of 1972 trying to confirm Mr. Hunt's fake document for a Life article, said today that Mr. Colson had never told him directly that the cable was a fraud.

type message sent to Mr. Lodge on Oct. 29, 1963.

It is now known whether the document in question remained in Hunt's possession until the time of the Watergate break-in last year, or whether it was among the papers destroyed by Mr. Gray.

The alleged cable, which carries six signatures, including that of McGeorge Bundy, in 1963 a special assistant to President Kennedy for national security affairs, reads as follows:

"At highest level meeting today, decision reluctantly made that neither you or Harkins [Gen. Paul D. Harkins, then commander of United States forces in Vietnam] should intervene in behalf of Diem or Nhu [Ngo Dinh Nhu, President Diem's brother] in event they seek asylum.

"This based on two principal considerations: Granting asylum or otherwise protecting the brothers certain to alienate if not enrage generals. Of near equal importance is our reluctance see Diem depart SVN [South Vietnam] only to re-establish himself in another country where he would be quite capable of establishing government in exile and denouncing you and USG [United States Government].

"Moreover, leaders of successful coup deserve clean slate in SVN, which they likely achieve by making sure neither brother survives. All of us here realize this instruction places you in uncomfortable and distasteful position.

Nevertheless, we believe

Mr. Lambert did say, however, that Mr. Colson had indicated subtly—so subtly that Mr. Lambert did not get the message—that he should look for other sources for a story on official American complicity in the murder of Ngo Dinh Diem by Vietnamese generals in October, 1963.

At a meeting at Mr. Colson's house in suburban Virginia over the weekend, Mr. Lambert said today, Mr. Colson satisfied him that he had honestly tried to steer Mr. Lambert off a story on the fake cable.

Mr. Lambert was never convinced that the cable was genuine, and Life never published anything about it.

As late as Sunday, however, Mr. Colson still denied that he knew the cable was a fake. Finally, in a telephone conversation yesterday, Mr. Lambert said, he pressed Mr. Colson into admitting that he had known for more than a year that Hunt had manufactured the language that seemed to make the assassination of Diem an order from President Kennedy.

Mr. Lambert, who says that he still regards Mr. Colson as a friend and a valuable source, conceded today that Mr. Colson had taken adequate precaution to keep the story out of public print. But he did not yet understand why Mr. Colson had not told him openly

future success of Vietnam efforts depends upon displacement Nhu and Diem. In effect, they have brought this stage upon themselves and their ultimate fate is now Vietnamese affair.

"Hardly underscore extreme sensitivity this message, but authorize you at your discretion show Harkins such portions as necessary insure his compliance."

Mr. Bundy, who since 1966 has been president of the Ford Foundation, said in a telephone interview that the purported cable was "the crudest kind of forgery."

Mr. Lodge, when told of the alleged message, laughed and replied that although he had never received it, "I would have remembered it had I gotten it."

Hunt, reached at the District of Columbia Jail through his lawyer, William P. Bittman, said he would have no comment on either the authenticity of the document or Mr. Dean's allegations.

Mr. Lambert, however, said that he was not convinced that the cable was a forgery. The original source of the information which led me to the document believed [it] to be authentic," he said by telephone from his home in Rye, N. Y.

Mr. Lambert said he had been told that the cable had been sent to Vietnam on Oct. 29, 1963, over two of the three existing communications systems—that operated by the State Department and another called a "backchannel," con-

of the fraud.

"I suspect," Mr. Lambert speculated, "that he didn't want to tell anybody that a guy that he had recommended for a sensitive job was fabricating documents."

In the aftermath of Watergate, Mr. Colson has repeatedly acknowledged that during the summer of 1971, when the White House was looking for someone to find and plug the leaks by which the so-called Pentagon papers had come to light, he personally proposed Mr. Hunt for the job.

In a subsequent White House assignment, during the fall of 1971, Mr. Hunt is understood to have undertaken the task of reviewing diplomatic cables, and other classified documents on the early stages of the Vietnam war, apparently in an effort to establish that the seeds of the conflict were planted in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

According to Mr. Lambert, Mr. Colson emphatically denied that he was supervising Mr. Hunt in this project. Mr. Colson also told Mr. Lambert that he had never seen the fake document that Mr. Hunt composed and mingled with the genuine records.

It is still unclear, Mr. Lambert says, who Mr. Hunt was working for at this period, and whether anyone but Mr. Hunt and Mr. Lambert ever saw it.

trolled by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The third system, controlled by the Defense Department, was not used, he said. He suggested that the Pentagon had never known of the cable's existence—hence its absence from the Pentagon papers. A secret Defense Department study of the Vietnam war, leaked to the press in 1972.

The Pentagon papers show that President Kennedy knew of and approved plans for the coup against President Diem by a group of South Vietnamese generals.

In fact, the American mission in Saigon maintained secret contact with the generals for weeks before the coup on Nov. 1, 1963, and kept the White House informed of each development.

There was no suggestion in the Pentagon papers that anyone in the American diplomatic or military commands knew in advance that President Diem would be killed, or advocated his murder.

However, at a news conference on Sept. 20, 1971, President Nixon said in answer to a question, "... I would remind all concerned that the way we got into Vietnam was through overthrowing Diem and the complicity in the murder of Diem."

Mr. Nixon made the remark after the time that Mr. Lambert had first seen the documents in question.

BALTIMORE SUN

2 May 1973

Analysis

Speech left Nixon stuck in Watergate

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By PETER J. KUMPA

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington — President Nixon failed to pull himself completely out of the Watergate bog with his televised explanation Monday night.

Mr. Nixon did not go far enough to detail what he knew of the bugging and political espionage scandal that has swept out of the White House his two close political associates, H. R. (Bob) Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman.

There were too many gaps and no new information provided by the President to expect any quick restoration of confidence in him by politically minded Washington.

As evidence, when the Senate voted initially yesterday to get a special prosecutor for the case outside of the now-suspect executive branch, not a Republican voiced objection.

Some private Republican congressional comments on the President's speech did not match their mild public statements of approval. "It gave me nausea," was one such comment. "A dreadful speech," was another.

If the address was long on emotion and short on facts, it was because Mr. Nixon's target was not Washington but the hinterlands not so well informed on the details. He seemed to be talking specifically to the "new majority" of voters who gave him his landslide last fall.

This was a required audience. Mr. Nixon's credibility was eroding. National polls showed that more than 40 percent of the voters believed the President knew about the Watergate bugging in advance.

When his integrity and his political life were threatened two decades ago because of a private \$18,000 fund raised by California admirers, Mr. Nixon gave his now-famous "Checkers" speech to the nation. It kept him on the GOP ticket with President Eisenhower.

His Monday night performance was reminiscent of the 1952 thriller. Listen to this contemporary account from *Life* magazine:

"It was all there: the Quaker conviction that innocence is the strongest shield; the earnest, rather awkward, rather stogy manner and method of the boy debater; the trained lawyer pleading a case; the sincere patriot; the somewhat jaded politician pulling out the organ stops of sentimentality..."

The response was different this time.

There was no quick ignition of the country's emotions to back up a beleaguered candidate. Then switchboards of newspapers across the land were inundated with calls.

Women wept publicly over the ideal family and the little dog. Politicians who doubted Mr. Nixon were deluged with angry telegrams. In all, about two million letters and telegrams backed him up.

Many of the same 1952 techniques were used to gain support on the Watergate affair. There were the emotional, sentimental appeals about God, country, Christmas Eve and little children living in peace.

Roughly 40 percent of the speech was devoted to this sort of political public relations, difficult to tie up with what a top Republican leader called a

"grubby" scandal.

Mr. Nixon had no shortage of public emotion—except, strangely, on the revelations of the mushrooming meadow of political dirty tricks that dwarf his own 1952 fund affair.

The President affirmed that he was "appalled" by the bugging of Democratic headquarters and "shocked" to learn that employees of his re-election committee were among the guilty.

This anger, however, was not communicated to the public for month after month by his efficient White House press office. He let it go by then as a "third-rate burglary."

So much more is left out of Mr. Nixon's account.

His close associate and a former attorney general, John N. Mitchell, conferred with him as Mr. Mitchell left office two weeks after the Democratic bugging affair. Now Mr. Mitchell admits that on three different occasions in early 1972 he discussed but vetoed such plans.

Surely, the top law officer in the land should have informed the President about such a "senseless, illegal action." Mr. Nixon reported nothing about it.

Nor did Mr. Nixon mention anything about the loose bundles of cash used to finance some of the Republican espionage. The General Accounting Office has already made four public reports on the illegality of the GOP financing.

Disclosed grand jury testimony identified the White House chief of staff for holding one of the "secret" GOP funds. Mr. Nixon merely expressed his confidence in Mr.

Haldeman.

Mr. Nixon is an experienced investigator, one of the best in Washington. Though he has taken charge of the Watergate probe since March, he chose not to reveal details. And if he were indignant, he chose not to shrivel it.

While the President accepted "responsibility" for Watergate, he did not take the blame for it. There is a difference.

Virtually in the same minute as he said it would be "cowardly" to "blame" subordinates delegated with the running of his campaign, he added that he "will do everything in my power to insure that the guilty are brought to justice."

For his part, Mr. Nixon gave a plea of ignorance of events that transpired. He was too busy in foreign affairs, he said, and for the first time in his career he did not run his own campaign.

A scapegoat seems already to have been picked out. Not a kind word is said about his former counsel, John W. Dean 3d, yet even after important new evidence was supposed to have been discovered in March, the White House was backing Mr. Dean.

Mr. Nixon has gained time for himself. He must get a new staff, one that he can show he can run and not a group that runs him and hides illegalities from him.

Only then—and if a new and vigorous prosecution can show that he had no knowledge and played no role in the Watergate affair—can confidence be restored in the White House.

Monday night was only phase one for the Watergate and Mr. Nixon.

WASHINGTON POST
2 May 1973

No Whitewash at the White House?

"One of the toughest problems we have in this life is seeing the difference between the apparent and the real, and in basing our actions only on that which is real. We all must do that more than we do. I have confidence in the ultimate prevalence of truth; I intend to do what I can do to speed truth's discovery."

—From the letter of resignation submitted to the President on Monday, by his assistant, John D. Ehrlichman.

Well, it is never easy sifting out the apparent and the real, and we share Mr. Ehrlichman's view that we must all try harder in this respect. But we have markedly less confidence in the contribution Mr. Ehrlichman can make to this endeavor as a consequence of the latest, and perhaps most shattering turn of events in the sordid tale of Watergate and the related allegations of corruption which are now enveloping, and seeming almost to overwhelm, the Nixon administration. And we have rather less confidence, too, in the contribution to truth made by the President on Monday night. We had intended today to return for a further, closer examination of the President's Watergate address. But that can wait. For much of what the President had to say about justice and law enforcement and respect for our governmental and judicial processes would seem to have been pretty thoroughly muddled—perhaps even shredded—by the announcement made yesterday in open court by the judge in the Daniel Ellsberg trial.

You will recall that the judge in that proceeding earlier made public an allegation that the notorious burglary team of G. Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt, already jailed for the Watergate break-in, had practiced their investigatory skills on the offices of Mr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Yesterday, the judge reported in open court some further details. On the basis of this report, we invite you to consider the following sequence of events:

This past Friday (the judge disclosed) Mr. Ehrlichman told FBI investigators that in 1971 President Nixon had personally ordered an independent investigation of Mr. Ellsberg. In response to the President's request, Mr. Ehrlichman said he himself engaged, for this purpose, the services of Mr. Liddy and Mr. Hunt. While he denied that he instructed them to break and enter, he admitted that he learned, after the fact, that they had done just that.

That was on Friday. On Monday this same Mr. Ehrlichman resigned from his job as the President's top White House man for domestic affairs, denying his involvement in the Watergate, proclaiming his honesty and professing to have had his usefulness impaired by "repeated rumor, unfounded charges or implications and whatever else the media carries."

And this, of course, is the same impression we were given by the President on Monday; in a statement in the morning and in his speech that night, he gave Mr. Ehr-

lichman nothing less than the cleanest possible bill of health—"(one) of my closest friends and most trusted assistants . . . (one) of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know." To see his acceptance of Mr. Ehrlichman's resignation as "evidence of any wrongdoing," he said, would be "both unfair and unfounded." That was Monday, when three days earlier, according to an FBI report, Mr. Ehrlichman was apparently implicating himself in setting in motion a sequence of events that allegedly lead to a burglary. We most emphatically do not wish to jump to any of the assumptions that the President warned against; we merely note the unmistakable evidence cited by a federal judge from a report of an FBI interview: that Mr. Ehrlichman, by his own admission, knew at the very least of a previous crime which bore directly upon the break-in at the Watergate: He knew that Mr. Liddy and Mr. Hunt were available for, and inclined toward, this sort of work on behalf of the government. Would not this have aroused a suspicion or two in the mind of an intelligent, honest, prudent man when the news broke of the Liddy-Hunt connection with the Watergate? Wouldn't a close friend and trusted aide, even assuming he had not the faintest connection with Watergate, have wondered whether this wasn't something the President ought to know about?

At this point, we merely ask. The answers to these and a great many other questions, we would guess, will be a long time coming out. The most it seems safe to say for now, a mere 24 hours after the President's supposedly definitive declaration on these matters, is that a large part of what Mr. Nixon said on Monday must already be considered—if we may borrow a phrase from Mr. Nixon's White House—inoperative, both as to its content and its desired effect. For Mr. Nixon either knew or he did not know of Mr. Ehrlichman's interview with the FBI on Friday. So we have a simple choice; either his own investigation into the facts, for which he has made such large and reassuring claims, was hopelessly incomplete, or he deliberately suppressed this evidence of appalling behavior when he gave his final vote of confidence to Mr. Ehrlichman.

If the President is serious about his yearning to put the Watergate scandals and all the rest behind him and to move on to the building of "structures for peace" and to other things, it should be more apparent than ever before that he must first rebuild a structure of government at home that will sustain public trust and bear the weight of the work he wishes to do at home and abroad. He can best begin, in our view, by accepting the advice of the Senate, and proceeding without further temporizing to place the investigation and prosecution of the Watergate and related cases in the hands of a detached and independent special prosecutor.

... and Ellsberg

The trial of Daniel Ellsberg in Los Angeles is grinding at last to its end, and, indeed, just in time: For the big-name indictments and trials arising out of Watergate seem about to commence. But no one so far as I know has pointed out how intimately connected the two events are.

In a recent column James Reston viewed Watergate as traceable to the atmosphere of "suspicion" pervading the Nixon White House, but "suspicion" is hardly the right word. It is too psychological to do justice to the reality, and it does not raise the question of the extent to which that "atmosphere" was justified. Reston simply assumes that it was not.

As a matter of fact, Watergate, like Ellsberg's copying and disclosure of the Pentagon papers, is an episode in a kind of civil war that has been going on in this country for the past seven or eight years, and which doubtless has roots that go much further back than that.

Both Ellsberg and the Watergate operatives behaved as if they were dealing not merely with political opponents but with enemies. The Watergate operatives, it is clear, did not view the McGovern campaign as just

an American campaign. It was not at all, in their view, an effort to put a plausible alternative government in office. They viewed the McGovernites as profoundly hostile and they used against them the clandestine tactics usually reserved for actual warfare.

But this, though a blunder and a breach of the law, was no mere aberration. We have recently had in this country, in effect, two governments—the ordinary, official government, elected by the people, in which the balance of forces now favors the White House; but also, opposed to this, not a "loyal opposition" in the old sense, but a kind of counter-government.

This counter-government denies the legitimacy of the actual government, and employs every means at its command—legal and illegal—to frustrate its policies. The counter-government, as in the case of Ellsberg, demands the right to declassify secret documents on its own say-so. To a man like Tom Wicker, who is a sort of Ron Ziegler of the counter-government, Ellsberg and Russo are heroes. The counter-government celebrates the feats of demonstrators who, when they don't like a law, simply go ahead and break it. In its demand for amnesty, and in the visits of its emissaries to Hanoi, and so on, the counter-government asserts its claim to have a different foreign policy from that of the regular government.

The agents of the counter-government, operating inside the official government, provide a steady stream of leaks and disclosures of all kinds to trusted allies in the press. Henry Kissinger can advise Nixon one afternoon that we ought to "tilt" in favor of Pakistan, and he can read about it the next morning in Jack Anderson's column.

The counter-government has its own journalists, and even its own clergy: the Berrigans, Groppi, and so on. It has its lawyers—Ramsey Clark, Boudin, Kunstler—and its scientists.

The counter-government is of course connected with the counterculture in its varied manifestations. And the counterculture, in turn, represents an explicit rejection of the usual norms of American behavior and style.

The McGovern movement of course was not in fact an ordinary American phenomenon, the recognizable candidacy of a Truman or a Humphrey. It represented the political apogee, so far, of the counterculture and the

Mrs. Mitchell Tells Little on Watergate

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, May 3 — Martha Mitchell, who has told numerous telephone friends that she can tell a great deal about the Watergate case, testified about the case today and, according to lawyers questioning her, told almost nothing.

Her deposition was taken in the \$6.4-million damage suit filed by the Democratic Party against various principals in the Watergate case. Her appearance was requested by attorneys for James W. McCord Jr., the one-time security chief for the Committee to Re-Elect the President.

According to attorneys present at the deposition, Mrs. Mitchell's testimony was more amusing than illuminating.

She was asked a series of questions, for instance, as to whether she had conversations after the arrest of the Watergate intruders on June 17, 1972, with such Republican Party figures as Frederick LaRue, Charles Colson, John Ehrlichman, H. R. Haldeman, John Dean, and so forth. To each name, she would answer, "No."

Her testimony took several hours, filled with brief questions and long, rambling answers, most of them relating to her claims that she was imprisoned by McCord's agents for three days in California, the lawyers said.

At the outset of the questioning, Mrs. Mitchell invoked her rights in terms of not answering questions in connection with her husband, former Attorney General John N. Mitchell.

Occasionally, she would mention her husband briefly, as for instance when she told the attorneys that, after she had belatedly learned of the Watergate arrests, she told her husband that she wanted them both out of the campaign.

An observer quoted Mrs. Mitchell's husband answer as, "Darling, hold on for a few more months and then I'll take you back to New York."

Mrs. Mitchell brought her own Bible to the deposition-taking. Customarily, a person giving a deposition swears to the truth of their testimony to a notary public.

Asked by reporters if she believed her husband to be involved in the scandal, Mrs. Mitchell said:

"I trust he had nothing to do with it. I pray to God he had nothing to do with the dirty business. He has always assured me he has not been involved."

She also said the whole scandal is "a pretty dirty business."

Much of her deposition comprised her telling how much she disliked the bodyguards that McCord had arranged for her.

On one occasion at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel here, she said one of the bodyguards walked into her suite, which was filled with dignitaries, took off his shoes and socks and walked around barefoot.

She referred to the guards several times as "kooks" and "creeps."

Mrs. Mitchell said she disliked McCord and thought he might even be a "double agent," the attorneys said, and particularly disliked his spending an afternoon in their Watergate apartment with electronic equipment, looking for any possible bugging devices.

She repeated her oft-told story, which has been denied just as often, that she was imprisoned in a California hotel after the Watergate break-in, her phones ripped from the wall.

After her deposition was nearly over, one of the attorneys reminded her that she had told the press that she wanted to tell her story to the Senate committee headed by Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.).

"Mrs. Mitchell," the attorney is said to have asked, "have you told us today everything that you were intending to tell the Ervin committee?"

Mrs. Mitchell's answer was affirmative.

counter-government. With some reason, the Watergate operatives perceived the McGovernites as alien and hostile, as enemies.

Just as Ellsberg, for his part, came to view the government as "criminal." When an Ellsberg appears, and is lionized, the Liddys and the McCords are just around the corner.

—J. HART
(King Features Syndicate)

WASHINGTON POST
4 May 1973

Robert C. Maynard

Lessons of Watergate

We have it now on no less an authority than the President of the United States that a "vigorous free press" serves the useful function of investigating and reporting to the people on the performance of their government.

Mr. Nixon's declaration on that point Monday evening is an example of the several civics lessons on the free press and government made available to us, courtesy of the Watergate conspiracy.

I am not certain that the full import

The writer is the Ombudsman of The Washington Post. In this capacity he monitors news and editorial operations and offers in this space his own views on the performance of the news media in general and of this newspaper in particular.

of these lessons has become apparent to us yet, but at least two seem to have manifested themselves recently. It is clear, first of all, as Watergate reminds us again, that a free press must be prepared to take a lot of abuse from politicians when the going gets rough.

Also, once the quarry seems to be nailed and falling, the forest awakens with excited chatter, some of it truth, some of it foolishness and some of it dangerous.

It is not just that journalists must "pursue the courage of their convictions," as Attorney General Kleindienst urged two vigorous Watergate reporters a day before the White House coverup began coming unstuck in earnest. It is also important to be mindful of the need for zeal to be tempered with judgment, now that so many disclosures are tumbling all around town.

Two examples of that zeal will suffice for now. On several occasions in the last several days, major news organizations have featured prominent declarations that Watergate principals have conceded to their "friends" their role in some Watergate-connected wrongdoing. John Mitchell was reported to have told "friends" of his prior knowledge of the plan to wire-tape Democratic headquarters—although, of course, Mitchell also added that he wouldn't have any part of it.

In the same vein, and of the same ilk of reporting, is the anticipation of indictments by grand juries in various places. Some newsgatherers have reached the point of actually saying that some principal in the affair is about to be indicted, without more than a passing reference to a source.

On this last point, Louis Nizer, the author of "The Implosion Conspiracy" about the Rosenberg case and another book of recollections about his legal practice, "My Life In Court," expressed a sensible caution recently on the CBS Morning News.

Nizer reminded his interviewer, John Hart, that it was just 20 years ago that this country went through a terrible agony which destroyed lives through innuendo and unproved allegation without benefit of a forum where the truth and falsehood could contend fairly.

Nizer's point, although perhaps stated too simply to reflect the complexities of Watergate, extracts a valuable lesson from McCarthyism. McCarthy was cunning in setting the context of suspicion, thus making shreds of facts seem like monuments of truth. In such an atmosphere, reputations were wrecked by dark deeds done in corners—by whispers, hints, innuendos.

Investigative reporting has surely just experienced its finest hour in American history. Now that so much is known, there is a danger of much foolishness being peddled and purchased by reporters trying to keep pace with the unraveling scandal.

As in the time of McCarthy, when serious charges are in the air it frequently becomes convenient for potential targets to blame each other, seeking to immunize themselves by shifting the spotlight elsewhere. There is some evidence that this is occurring in the Watergate case. What is already one of history's nastier political incidents is taking on ever more sordid aspects.

So it is just another of the lessons for journalists and their audiences to be aware of; in times of dramatic disclosure, the mass media can become overwhelmed by the drama—and irresponsible in the bargain. Those very same news organizations that all but ignored Watergate eight months ago are among the first today to pass along some of the flimsiest of allegations and make lead stories of them.

There is yet another civics lesson which relates to the business of journalism and the public, and it is perhaps the one over which we should want to ponder the longest. It is the matter of those robust denials which issued forth from the austere setting of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, and which since have been declared "inoperative."

Having re-read the denials from June to April, I am struck by the question of credibility. At a time when the

press, by Vice President Agnew's own recent concession, was being "abrasively" attacked, when it was being characterized repeatedly as irresponsible, the administration put it to the public to choose to believe the press or the government. Now, consider what the press conveyed to the public from associates of the White House:

Clark MacGregor (Oct. 16): "The Washington Post has maliciously sought to give the appearance of a direct connection between the White House and the Watergate . . . a charge The Post knows, and a half dozen investigations have found, to be false."

Ronald Ziegler (Oct. 16): "I will not dignify with comment stories based on hearsay, character assassination, innuendo or guilt by association . . . the President is concerned about the techniques being applied . . . in the stories themselves."

Sen. Robert Dole (Oct. 16): "Like the desperate politicians whose fortunes they seek to save, The Washington Post is conducting itself by journalistic standards that would cause mass resignations on principle from the Quicksilver Times."

Charles W. Colson (Nov. 11): "The charge of subverting the whole political process . . . is fantasy, a work of fiction rivaling only 'Gone With the Wind' in circulation and 'Portnoy's Complaint' for indecency . . . the tragedy of The Post's handling of the Watergate affair is that the net impact was probably to erode somewhat public confidence in the institutions of government, and it also eroded . . . the confidence of a lot of fairminded persons in the objective reporting of The Washington Post."

John Mitchell: "All that crap! You're putting it in the paper? It's all been denied . . . Good Christ. That's the most sickening thing I've ever heard."

Now Mr. Ziegler has apologized to The Washington Post, and various officials of the newspaper have accepted the apology. Somehow, an apology to one newspaper by one dissembler misses the point.

The point is that the news media were being used to carry bold-faced lies to the American people. The civics lesson is that in this instance truth defeated falsehood, for which we can all be grateful, as long as we aren't complacent in the belief that it always will. If the sorry saga of Watergate does nothing else, it ought to etch that lesson into our collective consciousness for all time.

In this, Jefferson and George Mason, Madison and the rest of the framers of the Bill of Rights have had their faith renewed, even while the inheritors of the legacy of their design tarnished that trust elsewhere.

NEW YORK TIMES
3 May 1973

BALTIMORE SUN
2 May 1973

Unkind Cuts

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, May 21—"But yesterday," a Shakespeare buff wrote me after President Nixon's Watergate speech, "the word of Nixon might have stood against the world; now lies his credibility there, and none so poor to do it reverence."

Mr. Nixon is no Julius Caesar, a funeral oration is quite premature, and the role of Marc Antony could go to either Spiro Agnew or new Republican John Connally. (The President probably casts Senator Charles Percy, who drafted the Senate resolution calling for a special prosecutor, as Brutus—"Et tu, Chuck?")

Let's examine the criticism of the President's speech:

1. *He didn't point the finger of guilt at anybody.*

There is an Alice-in-Wonderland quality to this charge, reminiscent of the edict of the Queen of Hearts: "Sentence first, verdict afterwards." The same people who jumped all over the President's reference to murderer Charles Manson as guilty before the accused man had been convicted are now disappointed that the President is not actively interfering in the judicial process. Anybody who wants the President to prejudice the case with pre-judgments is asking, in effect, for him to obstruct justice—which is what a large part of the case is all about.

Ah, but could he not have fired his closest aides with a greater show of displeasure? Yes. In these off-with-their-heads days, compassion for failings is taken as a sign of weakness or complicity, and the President could have picked up a few points by slamming the door behind his departing friends. But a fond farewell is not a vote of confidence.

2. *He didn't grovel enough.*

Mr. Nixon has been on a six-year winning streak, and his opponents feel they are entitled to what the New Republic's John Osborne calls "ferocious satisfaction with the plight of a President whom most of us have always distrusted."

The President, on television, only took off his right arm, Haldeman, and then took off his left arm, Ehrlichman. He praised the people who broke the case and included, loud and clear, "a

ESSAY

vigorous free press." He promised "I will do everything in my power to insure that the guilty are brought to justice and that such abuses are purged from our political processes. . . ."

But to his old enemies he fell short of a really satisfying self-immolation, live and in flaming color, right before the nation's eyes. The reason for his restraint had to do with his decision that he would go on being President. Presidents do not grovel; Presidents, if they are to continue in authority, pick up the pieces and go on. Nobody votes for Mayor Culp.

3. *He wrapped himself in the flag.*

Critics were angered by the accoutrements of his television appearance: a

Contrasts on May Day

There he was, Leonid I. Brezhnev, standing atop Lenin's red granite tomb, receiving the Lenin Peace Prize, proclaiming the success of his detente policies, flexing Soviet arms and receiving the May Day homage due a Communist boss whose position had just consolidated visibly. Though No. 2 alphabetically on the Political Bureau, the Soviet press dutifully made Mr. Brezhnev No. 1 in publishing the newly revised list of members; it lavished praise on the party secretary in cultist proportions.

The Politburo shuffle, a far different phenomenon from the current White House upheaval, brought the ouster of two conservative opponents and the elevation of three men important to the Brezhnev design: Andrei Gromyko, foreign minister; Andrei Grechko, defense minister, and Yuri Andropov, head of the internal security police, the KGB. All are chiefs of institutions in the Soviet power structure and, as such, presumably will be in position to give Mr. Brezhnev substantive support as he travels west—to Bonn in a couple of weeks, to the United States in late June or early July.

Having put down the Cold Warriors and the hard-liners who fear contamination by the non-Communist world, Mr. Brezhnev will be able to negotiate in his visits from an apparently solid political base at home. This is not an inconsiderable asset for a politician whose agriculture has failed, whose economy has lagged, whose people are impatient for consumer goods and who is in the market for western credits and technology on a vast scale. It is also not an inconsiderable asset

for a man who will be dealing with an American President whose domestic political position is in such disarray that his authority in foreign affairs could be undercut.

The contrast between May Day in Moscow and the morning after the Watergate speech in Washington is hardly reassuring in terms of international policy. European security talks in Helsinki and the mutual troop-cutback bargaining in Vienna are reaching a point where formal negotiations may begin; SALT II is proceeding; efforts are being made to reshape the Atlantic relationships; world trade and monetary negotiations are scheduled; Japanese-American relations remain a problem; most urgently, the Indochina cease-fire accord is tattered and in need of stitching by the big powers.

Even in the best of circumstances, these would be weighty matters requiring the best efforts and the closest attention of the President. As Mr. Nixon stated in his Watergate address: "There is vital work to be done toward our goal of a structure of lasting peace in the world, work that cannot wait, work that I must do." To this end, he is sending Henry A. Kissinger to Moscow Friday to prepare for the Brezhnev visit and, possibly, to seek Soviet help in shoring up the cease-fire agreement. Mr. Kissinger, as he indicated a week ago, will have reduced leverage in Moscow because of Watergate. Whether this weakness will persist into the Nixon-Brezhnev talks will depend largely on White House effectiveness in dealing with the Watergate scandal. But if it does persist, the presidency will have been weakened at a crucial juncture in world affairs.

picture of his family and the American flag to his right, a bust of Lincoln to his left, a flag pin in his lapel. Consider, however, the reaction if he had done it the other way: "In an awkward attempt to change his image, Nixon turned his family photo to the wall, removed the flag and the bust of Lincoln from behind his desk and, for the first time in years, appeared on television without the familiar pin of an American flag in his lapel. The 'new, new Nixon,' designed to appeal to his detractors, fooled nobody."

4. *He parodied himself with that I won't-take-the-easy-way stuff.*

This criticism is valid. One day the President will say, "I could have taken the easy way, and frankly it looked pretty good, so I did," and 21 million Americans, regardless of party, will reach out and clasp him to their bosoms.

But a double standard might be pointed out here. When John F. Kennedy publicly took responsibility for the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the reaction was, "He's bravely taking the blame for something not his fault." When Mr. Nixon accepted ultimate responsibility for the Watergate atrocity, the reaction of critics seems to be, "He's trying in his devious way to make us think he's bravely taking the blame for something not his fault."

5. *He spoke too soon.*

This concern is voiced by some of the President's supporters, who believe he should have waited until all the

damaging facts were laid bare: Since the situation will get worse before it gets better, he might have avoided a mistake in tone by taking action silently, later presenting to the public not his anguish but his anger.

But a President must step up to a crisis. It might have been better to wait until the worst was over, but a leader cannot always wait for the "best" time. He spoke when he had to and performed as much surgery as he decided was necessary.

6. *He was emotional.*

That he was. Mr. Nixon's Watergate speech was not an activities report or a legal brief. Described in his opening line as coming "from my heart," it was a reach by a man, neither a hollow man nor a plastic man, for a people's trust, centered on his pledge to be "worthy of that trust," later "worthy of their hopes" and finally, to reporters afterward, "worthy of your trust."

We should not feign surprise or take offense at the display of sincere emotion from a man, deeply wounded but determined not to quit, whose greatest ambition now is to prove himself "worthy."

If, because he permitted zealotry to grow in his own backyard, this President is zealously pronounced unworthy to fulfill his dream of building a stable world peace, then that—for him and for all the rest of us—would be in Marc Antony's words, "the most unkindest cut of all."

WASHINGTON POST

2 May 1973

Joseph Alsop

Nixon's Speech: A Clean Cut, But Late

Anyone can see the President cannot hope to come out of the Watergate horror smelling like a rose. But after the events of Monday, a bet is here offered that the President will not be smelling like a skunk cabbage, either.

No doubt this will disappoint a few. The bet is also conditional on substantiation of a recent, far too little noticed summation of the Watergate evidence by Jack Anderson, that ferocious investigator-reporter. Anderson has certainly shown no signs of a soft spot for Richard M. Nixon. He has further seemed to have complete access to the grand jury testimony in the Watergate case. With this knowledge, he wrote the other day:

"President Nixon had no advance knowledge of the Watergate break-in and bugging."

When the Watergate story was broken by The Washington Post, it must therefore have astonished the President as much as it astonished most people. It was then campaign time. It would be carrying faith in human nature too far, to suppose the candidate-President did not then want his subordinates to tidy the mess into obscurity as far as this was possible. No candidate-President of the last 40 years would have wanted less.

But once again, if Jack Anderson is correct, the President had no knowledge whatever of the kind of shocking cover-up measures that were taken by some of those closest to him, allegedly including former Attorney General John Mitchell. Judging by all the known evidence, the President was persistently, flagrantly and arrogantly lied to about this matter, by a whole

series of men to whom he had given total confidence.

The depth of his resentment can be seen in the way he dealt with John Mitchell after the real Watergate story began to emerge before the grand jury. This was when Mitchell was called to the White House on April 15. Mitchell was not allowed to see the President. He was given the dire news by a man he hates, John Ehrlichman. This is not the way any president handles a man who has been his closest intimate, unless a catastrophic loss of faith has already occurred.

Such, then, are the tentative bases on which one may judge the ultimate political effects of the Watergate horror. Two aspects of the horror are bound to hurt the President permanently, although far from fatally. He cannot get rid of the responsibility for hiring and trusting the people responsible for the horror. He also waited far too long to make the clean cut that was obviously necessary; and in this waiting period, the horror was made even more horrible.

There is also the possibility that one of the men so wrongly trusted by the President will now turn upon him, and will seek to implicate him from motives of revenge. Every last one of them was looking forward to the most glittering rewards in private life. Now, however, that delightful prospect has paled and vanished. For some, the outlook is also hideously dark, since actual crimes have undoubtedly been committed.

Looking over the line-up, however, there is only one man who seems to

need watching. On the basis of the known facts, John Dean III ought to have been disbarred before he became the President's counsel. He strikes one as the kind of man who might try to get his own back, by seeking to implicate the President. But Dean will not do this, if he has a decent lawyer of his own. And Dean will not matter much, anyway, if Jack Anderson's version of what happened is generally sustained by other evidence.

These are the reasons, finally, that the President should finally emerge from the Watergate horror without smelling like a skunk cabbage. This means of course that although he may be somewhat damaged, he will still be a relatively intact President, with more than enough political authority to discharge the dreadful responsibilities that the modern presidency imposes.

Barring the most passionate Nixon-haters—a minority sect at best—this is the final outcome that most people in the country have been hoping for. Almost all Americans have enough common sense to see the terrible danger of going into a period of many risks and challenges, both at home and abroad, with a president who has been politically crippled.

Hence President Nixon can in fact count on being given the benefit of the doubt by most people in this country—now that he has finally made the deep, clean cut that the Watergate horror always demanded. Thank God he has done so, and pray God it produces the result here forecast. Otherwise, we shall all suffer.

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BALTIMORE SUN

3 May 1973

Notes and Comment

Their Days Are Numbered

So Rosencrantz and Guildenstern—we mean, Ehrlichman and Haldeman—are dead, figuratively speaking. We have searched the papers in vain for a kind word about them. They have been chucked to the dogs and every politician in Christendom seems to be happy. One reason is plain. These two non-politicians never played by the rules of politics. They shielded President Nixon from the advice of senators and governors in a manner that many senators and governors found demeaning.

Well, we've taken our fair share of pot shots at Hans and Fritz, as they are called around Washington, but at this point we'd like to say a very small word in their defense. Like the foolish courtiers in Hamlet, they probably thought they were doing the best thing.

(And like those two, they met a tragic end.)

Haldeman and Ehrlichman were both Eagle Scouts, and we hope this doesn't give the Scouts a bad name. The Scouts have had enough troubles lately as it is. As the nation became more urban and sophisticated, scouting had less of an appeal. Last year they changed the name from Boy Scouts to Scouts, encouraged Cub Scout Den Mothers to wear miniskirts, and brought out a new edition of the Manual. There are a lot of new merit badges today that they didn't have when Hans and Fritz were in brown short pants: Automotive Safety, Communications, Electronics, Public Speaking, Salesmanship are just a few. Electronics? Communications? Hmmm.

There is a lot of difference between doing the best thing and the right thing. We guess that sums up the problem of this or any other time. Speaking of time, what will happen now to

those nifty Presidential calendars? The President revealed their existence the other night. He said that when he was inaugurated last January, he gave each member of his Cabinet and White House staff a four-year calendar, covering the period of his second term, with each date numbered: January 20 was 1,461, January 21 was 1,460, etc. Now it turns out that for some recipients, their days were numbered wrong.

We don't just mean Haldeman and Ehrlichman, for whom last Monday was not Day 1,361, as President Nixon pointed out it was for himself, but Day 0. The real confusion is for Elliot Richardson. He got a calendar as Secretary of Defense designate. But now he is Attorney General designate. Does he get two calendars? And if he changes jobs

again, does he get three? Richardson seems to be the record holder for number of Cabinet chairs held in the shortest period of time. In a span of five months he will have been Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Defense, and Attorney General.

Guilty or innocent, as they say, Ehrlichman and Haldeman seem certain of a place in history as notorious characters. The more we think of them, the more they remind us of Shakespeare's hapless pair, and especially of what dramatist Tom Stoppard said of them in explaining why he wrote a play about them a few years ago: "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were the two most expendable people of all time. Their very facelessness makes them dramatic..."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
3 May, 1973

British Watergate warning

By John Allan May
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London
It is inconceivable that U.S. foreign policy will not be affected by Watergate, it is said here.

Henry A. Kissinger recently outlined a plan for a new Atlantic Charter. This seems to have attracted more notice abroad than at home.

Most people here, however, seem to agree with the judgment of the liberal Guardian newspaper that the time now is not auspicious to pursue this project. "Nixon would be wise to let the dust settle," it says.

Even international monetary reform will be influenced. An increasing number of Europeans agree with the view voiced recently in America by Herman Kahn that the American payments deficit as the basis of the international system has a corrupting effect.

America, he points out, gets a free ride. It is given immunity from disciplines that have to be obeyed by other nations.

Pressure to adopt a new monetary system not based on a corrupting American deficit now will measurably increase, London financial experts judge.

As to defense, some people are saying that Watergate has greatly advanced the time when European defense will need to be totally restructured.

It is felt likely here that congressional influence from now on will be used to accelerate the reduction in the level of American ground forces in Europe. The extent of that influence vis a vis the President may be crucial — another Watergate imponderable.

Britons hope, as the London Times also says, that Americans at this stage will not forget that Mr. Nixon has been a major president in world affairs. And that the outside world "needs to have a strong and effective

president of the United States to deal with."

And as an average Briton remarked, "I hope the average American will also realize that because of the wealth, strength, and size of his country he is a very important person too to the outside world."

In addition, some observers here see the reaction of a section of the American press and public to the crisis in the administration is almost as alarming as the nature of the crisis itself.

The London Times points to the wild piling of charge upon charge and suspicion upon suspicion and remarks, "The hysteria has indeed mounted with the facts."

For the same reason, however, people overseas also find some cause for comfort in the story. The very nature of the democratic process ensures that the poison can be purged. In an authoritarian regime it may linger damagingly in the system.

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

THE WASHINGTON POST Thursday, April 26, 1973

How the Watergate Coverup Failed

By Jack Anderson

The astonishing story can now be told how the Watergate coverup suddenly tore apart at the stitches.

Our sources declare categorically that President Nixon had no advance knowledge of the Watergate break-in and bugging. From the first, former Attorney General John Mitchell and White House counsel John Dean also swore to him that they had no part in the illegal operation. It was well known around the White House, however, that Jeb Stuart Magruder was neck-deep in the scandal.

As No. 2 man on the campaign committee, he directed the activities of Watergate ringleader G. Gordon Liddy.

Liddy submitted regular reports to Magruder on the bugging operation under the code name, "Gemstone." Magruder also arranged for Liddy to draw cash out of the committee's safe.

After the arrest of the Watergate wiretappers, an agitated Liddy immediately tried to contact Magruder in California. Liddy demanded to use the White House security network so he could speak on a secure phone. Unable to get through to Magruder's hotel, Liddy left a message for Magruder to call him from a pay phone.

When the call came through, Liddy reported what had happened and received in-

structions to destroy all incriminating evidence. Finally, Magruder directed Liddy to report at once to Attorney General Richard Kleindienst.

Liddy located Kleindienst at the Burning Tree golf course and rushed off to consult him. Powell Moore, the campaign press chief, asked to go along. They called Kleindienst into a back room and confided that the burglary-bugging squad, caught red-handed inside Democratic headquarters, was headed by the President's campaign security chief.

Coldly, Kleindienst picked up a telephone and reached Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen. "Henry," instructed Kleindienst, "I want to be sure that these people are treated as any other person would be treated who is arrested under those circumstances."

The chastened Liddy returned to campaign headquarters and began stuffing his files into a small shredder, which chewed them up too slowly to suit him. So he hustled upstairs with arms full of documents and ran them through a larger shredder.

Over at the White House, meanwhile, Dean ordered two aides to clean out the files of Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt. Eight cardboard cartons of papers were sneaked out of the White House and stored in a warehouse. They were later returned to the White House, and most of the

documents were selectively destroyed.

Dean was ordered by the President to find out whether any White House people were involved in the Watergate crimes. Contrary to the impression given out by the White House, Dean never submitted a written report.

Our sources state flatly that Dean used his authority to obstruct the FBI and to keep incriminating evidence away from the Justice Department. He even ordered Hunt out of the country. White House aide Charles Colson, according to one source, exploded: "Do you want to make the White House an accessory to a fugitive from justice?"

Cover-up Begins

One of the President's closest advisers, John Ehrlichman, wanted to put out a statement acknowledging Magruder's role in the Watergate conspiracy. This was vigorously opposed by Clark MacGregor who succeeded Mitchell as campaign chairman.

A few presidential advisers, including Ehrlichman and Colson, warned the President in February that the Watergate decisions must have been approved by Mitchell and Dean. Mr. Nixon replied that both had denied any involvement and asked for proof.

By mid-March, the President's faith in Dean began to waver. He ordered Dean to Camp David to write a belated

report on his Watergate investigation. After a few days at the presidential retreat, Dean reported back to the President that he simply couldn't write a report. Angrily, Mr. Nixon took Dean off the Watergate case.

Colson, meanwhile, took a lie-detector test to prove his own innocence. Dean was furious. "Now we're all going to have to take one," he grumped.

Colson and Ehrlichman also put together information that (1) Dean had advance knowledge of the Watergate bugging; (2) Dean had ordered Hunt out of the country; and (3) Dean had authorized payments to the Watergate defendants to keep their mouths shut. On Friday, April 13, Ehrlichman confronted Dean with the charges.

That night, Dean put together some documents he had been saving, which indicated both H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman had knowledge of the Watergate coverup. Next day, Dean took the documents to Assistant U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert and made accusations against Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Mitchell and Magruder. In return, Dean asked for immunity.

Silbert refused to grant immunity. Instead, he called in Magruder and confronted him with Dean's revelations. This broke down Magruder who also confessed his role in the conspiracy.

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WASHINGTON POST
3 May 1973

Mr. Nixon's 'Larger Duties'

President Nixon said, in his television address on Monday evening, that he has had to spend too much time lately on the internal scandals of his administration. "I must now turn my full attention once again to the larger duties of this office," he observed, after announcing that he was turning the investigation of the scandals over to his subordinate, the Attorney General-designate, Mr. Richardson. "There is vital work to be done toward our goal of a lasting structure of peace in the world—work that cannot wait. Work that I must do." As soon as the following morning, he pointed out, he was to confer at the White House with Chancellor Brandt of West Germany.

It must be a very strong temptation for Mr. Nixon, in this bitter time, to retreat to the decorous and ceremonious world of foreign affairs. But that would be an exceedingly dangerous retreat—dangerous for Mr. Nixon and more dangerous for the country. A democratic government's foreign policy can never be any stronger or sounder than that government's standing at home and its support among its own people.

There is always a certain tendency to speak of foreign affairs in terms of the chess board. But governments keep a shrewd and unsentimental surveillance on each others' internal circumstances. When they see the erosion of power, they recognize it and, if the need arises, they make the most of it.

The Brandt visit illustrates the point a good deal better than Mr. Nixon ever intended. He presumably brought the Germans here just now in an effort to build a certain momentum toward later negotiations with Europe. But what he has in fact succeeded in doing is to expose the disarray of his administration, and the mounting evidence of systematic corruption, at first-hand to the men who are the government of West Germany—the largest of the European nations, the most powerful, and the best disposed to cooperate with us on both arms and economics. As long as Mr. Brandt and his colleagues remained in Bonn, they knew the Watergate case only as a thin trickle of newspaper stories and perhaps occasional low-keyed diplomatic reporting. At a distance of several thousand miles, it is easy to dismiss the whole affair as the kind of routine embarrassment that is a normal hazard of political life. The European press, over the winter, has not made much of the affair.

But now, having spent the past few days in Washington, the Brandt party cannot have missed the true and desperate significance of the scandals. Having seen Mr.

Nixon's speech on television for themselves, they cannot have failed to catch the urgent anxiety in his words. They have seen the reaction from leading members of Congress. It would be impossible for any experienced politician to have spent this week in Washington and still believe that Mr. Nixon's troubles are merely the kind of customary domestic irritations that other governments can ignore.

It has now begun to dawn on our German visitors that Mr. Nixon's trade bill is in grave jeopardy. Any Congress, in any year, finds it difficult to vote for a trade bill that is opposed by the labor movement. The only way that any President ever gets trade legislation enacted is by climbing up on his white horse and talking about the greater national interest. Mr. Nixon's white horse is currently not in service. It is, to use the familiar term, inoperative. If the trade bill does not move forward rapidly, the whole policy toward Europe will decline into stagnation. Perhaps the magnitude of this possibility was not evident to the German government from the detached perspective of Bonn. But it is plain enough to them now.

Some of our German visitors are candid enough to point out, quietly, that Mr. Nixon's weakness increases the prices that other nations can extract from him, in the constant bargaining and negotiation that is the substance of foreign affairs. The Germans are presumably not the only foreign government to perceive this effect, and not all foreign governments are as well disposed toward us as the Germans.

Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk once quoted President Roosevelt as having said that the New Deal was his foreign policy. Mr. Rusk then added that Lyndon B. Johnson's foreign policy began with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Democratic governments earn their right to speak abroad from the support and trust that they enjoy at home. Pretending that foreign policy is separate from the administration's standing at home is a luxury no longer available to Mr. Nixon. He spoke on Monday of the "larger duties" of his office, and the "vital work to be done," as though politics abroad were obviously nobler and more important than politics at home. To the contrary, the largest duty of the President's office this week is to re-establish some degree of its traditional moral authority in the eyes of the American people. The most vital work to be done in the White House, in this unhappy season, is to regain the administration's sadly damaged capacity to speak for the American nation.

NEW YORK TIMES
2 May 1973

Broken Confidence

The Watergate scandal has become a crisis of Presidential authority. In his address to the nation Monday evening, President Nixon tried but failed to resolve that crisis. The whole trend of future events remains in doubt.

Although he has dismissed three of his senior aides and formally accepted responsibility for whatever misdeeds may have been committed without his knowledge, Mr. Nixon basically has conceded nothing except what events have wrenched from him. In making those minimum moves, he has at the same time played down the seriousness of the scandals and tried to blur responsibility for them.

He praised H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, who resigned under pressure, as "two of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know," adding: "I greatly regret their departure."

The President then offered this appalling excuse: "I

know that it can be very easy under the intensive pressures of a campaign for even well-intentioned people to fall into shady tactics, to rationalize this on the grounds that what is at stake is of such importance to the nation that the end justifies the means. And both of our great parties have been guilty of such tactics."

But these excuses and words of praise come after Mr. Ehrlichman had already told the Federal Bureau of Investigation that it was he who assigned two of the men later convicted in the Watergate trial to investigate Daniel Ellsberg. When he learned that they had burglarized the files of Mr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist, Mr. Ehrlichman, although he is a member of the bar, took no action. He merely told them not to do it again.

That took place not during the heat of a hard-fought political campaign but in September, 1971. Mr. Ehrlichman's complacent acceptance of such criminal behavior is on a par with former Attorney General Mitchell's participation without public disclosure, much less denunciation, in conferences early in 1972 to discuss the illegal

Committee. Mr. Nixon may find it easy to understand such attitudes on the part of high officials. Most citizens do not.

Even more dismaying is the planned obstruction of justice in the Watergate case by senior Administration officials, as reported in the news columns of this newspaper today. When an atmosphere of criminality prevails in the highest levels of the Administration, it is impossible to know what other public business may be tainted with fraud.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Nixon cannot plausibly say that in some vague way both parties and all of America are to blame. He cannot assert that Watergate "has claimed far too much of my time and my attention" and that he now intends to busy himself with other matters. He cannot play a game of musical chairs inside his Administration and declare that moving about a few insiders is sufficient to restore public confidence. Such acts and attitudes are an affront to the public.

The full facts on this monstrous interference with the political process are unlikely ever to come out until prosecution is removed from control by this Administration. The Senate has pointed the way the White House must follow. It has approved without dissent a resolu-

NEW YORK TIMES

3 May 1973

Senate Duty...

In the crisis brought about by the Watergate scandals, the Senate has three vitally important duties to discharge. They are to help find the truth, to evaluate the harm done and to correct the weaknesses which have been exposed to the extent that laws can remedy them.

The Senate acted to perform the first of those duties when it approved the resolution offered by Senator Percy, Republican of Illinois, calling upon the President to name a special prosecutor from outside the executive branch to take charge of the Watergate investigation.

As is the unadmirable custom in the Senate of doing most of its business by the rule of unanimous consent, the resolution was called up and—when no one objected—was passed, although only four members were present on the floor. Senator Curtis, Republican of Nebraska, tried yesterday to soften the impact of the Senate's action by belated protests. His *ex post facto* grumbling is significant only because he is a stalwart supporter of the White House and his complaints reflect the angry opposition of President Nixon. At a Cabinet meeting Tuesday the President reportedly excoriated Senator Percy and insisted that the decision about a special prosecutor he left with Attorney General-designate Richardson.

Mr. Nixon makes a deep error, however, if he attributes to Senator Percy's Presidential ambitions a demand which actually arises from the ranks of his own party. The Percy resolution was co-sponsored by ten Republicans including Barry Goldwater and Robert Dole, the former G.O.P. national chairman, and had the tacit support of the party's Senate leadership. Like its counterpart, the Anderson resolution in the House of Representatives, it articulates a sentiment expressed by Republicans of every ideological viewpoint around the country as well as in Congress.

In any event, from the standpoint of timing, the decision on a special prosecutor cannot be delayed until Mr. Richardson takes office. His confirmation hearing is a week away and his actual assumption of office may be much more distant. Since critical decisions have to be made about the fast-developing Watergate investigation, it is essential that such a prosecutor totally free

tion offered by Senator Percy, Republican of Illinois, calling for nomination of a distinguished special prosecutor from outside the executive branch and for his confirmation by the Senate. Representative John Anderson, Republican of Illinois, has introduced a similar resolution in the House, which also deserves prompt approval. It is significant and encouraging that members of the President's own party in Congress have taken the lead in urging this essential action.

Finally, however, the ball returns to President Nixon. It is up to him to recognize that, important as are international negotiations, inflation and other public problems, what matters now is the breakdown of public confidence in his Administration. He cannot cope with specific problems on a business-as-usual basis as if Watergate were a minor diversion. It was neither a caper nor an isolated event; it was proof that something is radically wrong in the central relationships of this Administration. Mr. Nixon's task is to focus on repairing confidence by developing new relationships with his staff and Cabinet, with Congress and with the people. Nothing else can be accomplished until the President begins to put those relationships on the right basis—the basis of candor, lawfulness, mutual respect and sound constitutional practice in the conduct of the public's business.

of association with this Administration be appointed at once.

In the separate task of evaluating the harm that has been done, the Senate select committee chaired by Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, has an important long-range duty to perform. Many of the nefarious activities in connection with the 1972 interference with the electoral process may be improper but not illegal, or only of marginal importance in a criminal trial. Without trespassing on the domain of the courts or the rights of the accused, the committee is best positioned to pull together the whole story in all its ramifications.

Last year's inquiry by the Senate Judiciary Committee into the connections between the Nixon campaign organization's fund raising and the settlement of the I.T.T. antitrust case was handicapped by lack of knowledge of the pervasiveness of the whole interlocking conspiracy. The same White House cast of characters involved in Watergate played important roles in that murky affair, including convicted Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt Jr., who interviewed Mrs. Dita Beard, the elusive I.T.T. lobbyist, on behalf of the White House. He also showed up in the Ellsberg case, which we discuss below. What is clearly needed is a comprehensive investigation by the Ervin committee of the activities of the Justice Department and the White House staff.

With regard to remedial action, the financing of political campaigns is the place to begin. Last year's campaign expenditure law has helped significantly to open up political money-raising to public inspection, but much more is plainly needed to control and channel the infusion of money into politics. The Watergate scandals were financed in part by that tide of \$100 bills which was raised in mysterious ways and spent in worse ways. The Senate still has a job to do in stricter regulation of this corrupting flow of money.

...White House Ethics

Coming on the heels of the Watergate revelations, blatant White House misconduct in the case of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg deepens the picture of an Administration in

moral blinders. President Nixon's request in 1971 for a special staff investigation into unauthorized disclosures of Government information may not in itself have been either improper or unusual, but everything else about the episode was.

A report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—which was already at work on the subject when the President ordered John D. Ehrlichman to make a private study—now reveals that the former Presidential aide chose for the purpose G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt Jr., whose method then was simple burglary, the same method they used later in the Watergate case. To compile a "psychiatric profile" of the defendant in the Pentagon Papers case, these two industrious White House investigators broke into the office of Dr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist in a search for evidence of emotional instability. As though that were not reprehensible enough—especially with the case already in the courts—Mr. Ehrlichman, on learning of the incident, was content to

warn the culprits "not to do this again." He did not report their crime either to the authorities or to the Federal court that was to try Dr. Ellsberg.

When Mr. Ehrlichman and his principal, the President of the United States, did get in touch with that court, it was for a quite different purpose. That purpose, shocking under the circumstances, was to offer the judge, William Matthew Byrne Jr., the directorship of the F.B.I.

Judge Byrne might well be an admirable choice for this post, the more so since he refused to entertain the offer while presiding over a case in which the President clearly took intense interest. What is important is not the judge's qualifications—or even the decision he must now make on whether or not to dismiss the case against Dr. Ellsberg. It is rather the insensitivity, to use the mildest possible word, of Mr. Ehrlichman and the President in making such an offer in the midst of a trial already so heavy with political overtones.

CARL T. ROWAN.

WASHINGTON STAR
4 May 1973

Nixon Was Being Evasive

The eight-column headline across the Washington Post screamed, "President Accepts Full Responsibility."

Someone awaking from an early-go-to-bed might have concluded that Richard Milhous Nixon had abdicated in his embarrassment over the seemingly endless chain of revelations in the Watergate scandal.

But no such thing. The headline writer had simply bought some Nixon rhetoric without giving much thought to whether the President was accepting what the President said he was accepting.

It was vintage Nixon, circa 1952, when the President said with an air of nervous gallantry:

"... the easiest course would be for me to blame those to whom I delegated the responsibility to run the campaign. But that would be a cowardly thing to do.

"I will not place the blame on subordinates — on people whose zeal exceeded their judgment, and who may have done wrong in a cause they deeply believed to be right.

"In any organization, the man at the top must bear the responsibility. That responsibility, therefore, belongs here, in this office. I accept it."

The words had a noble ring, but the truth is that the President was placing the blame on subordinates.

It was H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman who were going off the White House payroll, their lives now cloaked in tragedy, not Richard Nixon. It was John Wesley Dean III who was being pushed out of the White House with a devious suggestion that he was the villain. It was Richard Kleindienst who was surrendering the job of attorney general. And L. Patrick Gray III who had left the act-

that he had destroyed documents taken from the office of E. Howard Hunt, a man the FBI was investigating for suspected criminal behavior. It was Job Stuart Magruder who had bowed out of government to face possible criminal indictment.

Was Richard M. Nixon resigning? No. Was Nixon promising to pay some kind of penalty? No. Was the President volunteering to spend part of G. Gordon Liddy's 6 to 20 years in prison? No. Was Nixon saying that he would pay some grinding penance for this unprecedented corruption of the presidential election process? No.

Nixon made it clear that "for specific criminal actions by specific individuals, those who committed those actions must, of course, bear the liability and pay the penalty."

What, then, did the President's assumption of responsibility for Watergate mean? Exactly nothing. It was just a flourish of slick rhetoric. It was another Checkers speech — minus his little dog Checkers.

Some of my journalistic colleagues think that the "unsophisticated" public will swallow this speech whole, sugar-coated as it was with its platitudes of patriotism like "God bless America" and its emotional hokum like "I want the next 1,361 days to be the best days in the history of America."

But the speech won't wash in the long run, because the platitudes and clichés did not answer the questions the American people are asking about presidential knowledge of or involvement in the dirty money-raising tactics, the misuse of funds for espionage and sabotage, or his awareness of the outrageous cover-up that produced 10 months of evasions, lies and deception. ly-nervous President categor-

ically deny personal knowledge of the dirty work.

Nixon did say that he learned from news reports last June 17 of the Watergate break-in. "I was appalled at this senseless illegal action and I was shocked to learn that employees of the Re-election Committee were apparently among those guilty," Nixon told the nation.

Well, now, if Nixon was shocked and appalled last June 17, why did he send his press secretary out to dismiss the break-in as a "third-rate burglary attempt" and to warn that "certain elements may try to stretch this beyond what it is?"

The cover-up was off to a shameful start in those utterances of a press secretary speaking specifically in behalf of the President.

The closest Nixon came to saying directly that he knew nothing of the subsequent lies and evasions was when he said he finally got information suggesting that "there had been an effort to conceal the facts, both from the public — from you — and from me."

But who was doing the concealing? Nixon's praise of Haldeman and Ehrlichman suggests that he wants to hold them blameless. His cold reference to Dean suggests he would like to brand him the culprit.

Does anyone believe that John Dean kept Nixon, Haldeman and Ehrlichman in blinders for 10 months? And how come the President never said a word about his former attorney general and most trusted political adviser, John Mitchell?

This speech just won't do for Richard Nixon what that Checkers speech did in 1952. Neither the President nor the public has heard anything about the Watergate scandal.

WASHINGTON STAR
4 May 1973

Mrs. Luce on Watergate

By MARY ANNE DOLAN
Star-News Staff Writer

Recalling that she owes her fortune and "all that I have done fruitfully in my time" to living and working among journalists, Clare Boothe Luce yesterday called upon the nation's press to "heal" the wounds left by Watergate and "lead us out of this painful and dangerous hour."

The Eisenhower-appointed former ambassador told a luncheon audience of nearly 1,300 members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and their guests that the press has "drawn a fearsome amount of blood" from President Nixon, and "in terms of official accountability and credibility, may have destroyed the efficacy of the presidency."

However, she added, though not "all the watchdogs of the press are joyfully licking their chops of the rich blood . . . to the President's journalistic political opponents, the embarrassment, the shame that now envelops the administration is" more than a "triumph of investigative reporting."

BECAUSE OF WATERGATE, Mrs. Luce said, some journalists feel "their entire case" against President Nixon has been "vindicated": "His conduct of the Vietnam war, and the cease-fire negotiations; his challenge of their right to publish the Pentagon papers that Ellsberg burgled; his counter attacks against their advocacy journalism . . . his championship of 'law and order,' and so on and so on, all the way back to Checkers, Alger Hiss and Helen Gahagan Douglas."

Mrs. Luce said that the "caper at the Watergate has become and will remain a catastrophe," and that "its inglorious beginnings give little hope for any but for an inglorious end."

In the meantime, however, she urged "a responsible press to try to explain to the American people what may have motivated the men who were involved in such an unbelievably clumsy, amateurish, incredibly stupid and altogether counterproductive and immoral enterprise."

"**THE ONLY EXPLANATION** that makes sense to me . . . lies in the widespread climate of mutual suspicion and mistrust," she said, pointing to the "hatred that began to pervade American politics over the conduct of the Vietnam war," and continuing:

"By the spring and summer of 1972, each side had come to believe that the other side was being led by dangerous fanatics. One side believed that the other was committed to a never-ending, ruinous war. The other believed that it had to deal with men committed to a ruinous peace, and the radicalizing of American society."

"On the evidence," Mrs. Luce concluded, "the demons of suspicion that drove Ellsberg and Russo to burglary were the same demons that entered into the Watergate burglaries."

The bespectacled speaker read slowly from her notes when she asked rhetorically, "Can a responsible press hold that in Ellsberg's betrayal of his oath of secrecy, and his theft of secret government documents, his politi-

cal ends justified the means, while in the Watergate affair the same ends were totally unjustified?

"I think neither was justifiable," she said.

MRS. LUCE WARNED of "McCarthyism" in newspapers, declaring that unless it is "stomped out," the "mistrust and suspicion that have divided us over the long Vietnam war, and its tragic failure, will go on endlessly and it will make it impossible for either side to govern the country."

"Is the pleasure of soaking the captain," Mrs. Luce asked, "worth the price of sinking the ship?"

"... What Watergate may have made impossible for the President to do, the press must now do — bring us together."

THE 70-YEAR-OLD playwright and novelist was respectfully received by her audience, which at one point she characterized, half-laughingly, as "a blank wall and deaf ears."

However, some hostility began to build in the question-and-answer period when Mrs. Luce, dressed in black with crisp white collar and cuffs, refused to enumerate "excesses" she had alluded to in Watergate coverage except to say:

"This has brought up many interesting questions. How much space, for instance, should the press give a journalist, with a known political bias, to pursue an attack against a politician — in, of course, an 'advocacy' way."

Shortly after that response, a gentlemanly editor who proudly noted that he hailed from the state of Arkansas asked Mrs. Luce how she managed to be so good-looking and so intelligent at the same time.

Mrs. Luce laughed.

THE GOOD HUMOUR held out as the speaker responded to a friendly challenge from the man who introduced her, former ASNE president John S. Knight, and chastised the press for becoming a "monopolistic big business." She said newspapers have "lost credibility because of lack of competition." Knight, head of the third-largest newspaper chain in the country, said he would respond later, "though she won't listen to a word I say."

But the word which everyone listened to, which echoed through the Shoreham's Regency ballroom throughout the afternoon's proceedings, was the same one Mrs. Luce said her late husband Henry had seemed to whisper to her late the night before:

"I seemed to hear him saying, 'Look dear, you've got to do it, as a journalist, a Republican and as my wife: You've got to talk about Watergate.'"