

on's statement reflected only the minimum that needed to be said—and it should have been expressed months ago.

Looking tense and haggard, Nixon announced that all members of his staff will, after all, appear voluntarily before Ervin's committee if they are asked to do so. They will testify under oath and in public, "and they will answer fully all proper questions." He said they will, however, retain the right to refuse to answer any question that infringes on Nixon's concept of Executive privilege.\*

\*Ervin said that his committee's hearing guidelines, accepted by White House officials, reserve to his committee the power to decide by majority vote whether the refusal of a witness to answer a specific question is proper. If the committee decides it is not, Ervin said, he will seek to have the witness arrested for contempt unless he answers.

The complete reversal by Nixon amounted to almost total capitulation to Ervin's insistence that no presidential aide is entitled to blanket immunity from congressional inquiry into wrongdoing. But the matter could become academic, at least for a while. Ervin conceded that if key witnesses are indicted by the grand jury, he will respect their claim that testifying before his committee could prejudice their criminal cases. He may well delay his hearings until after his committee is certain that the judicial process has cleared up all of the questions about who was responsible for Watergate and its cover-up.

Nixon also declared in his statement that he would immediately suspend any member of the Executive Branch of

Government who is indicted, and would fire anyone who is convicted. Any action short of that, of course, would be outrageous. He said that no past or present member of his Administration should be granted any immunity from prosecution. That, too, was no great concession, and could even be regarded as protective of high officials. Immunity is a device normally used by courts only to help convict important figures in a crime by getting minor participants to turn state's evidence on the promise that they will not be prosecuted.

As his reason for speaking out now, Nixon said that "serious charges" had come to his attention on March 21 and that he then began "intensive new inquiries into this whole matter." This in-

## Who's Who in the Watergate Mess

**S**MOOTH, well-connected, brainy, successful in all that they had done, they reached enviable positions of power in American political life. By dint of hard work, some luck and fierce loyalty to Richard Nixon, they had earned the President's trust. Yet last week they were a forlorn group, implicated in willfully or naively subverting the political process. The men involved in the Watergate scandal include several who are household names and others who may soon yearn for the obscurity that they once had. Among them:

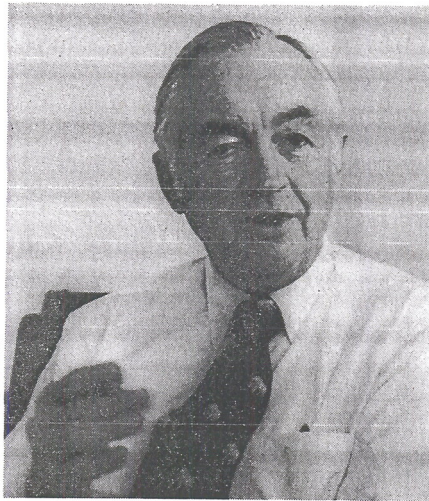
**JOHN MITCHELL**, 59, former director of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President (C.R.P.) and a onetime law partner of Richard Nixon's in the Manhattan firm of Nixon Mudge Rose Guthrie and Mitchell. A dour, pipe-puffing municipal-bond lawyer, Mitchell was also Nixon's closest political confidant. As Attorney General from 1969 until early 1972, he was the exemplar of the tough law-and-order man, who claimed the authority to tap the telephone of anyone whom he considered a security risk.

Mitchell left the Justice Department in March 1972, to direct Nixon's reelection campaign. His tenure at C.R.P. was brief. In a well-publicized yet ultimately unconvincing marital spat shortly after the Watergate break-in, Mitchell's loquacious wife Martha threatened to leave him unless he got out of what she called the "dirty" business of politics. Mitchell left C.R.P. but remained close to the President.

**JEB STUART MAGRUDER**, 38, formerly deputy campaign director of C.R.P. A Californian who looks as if he could pose for old Arrow-shirt ads, Magruder was president of a small cosmetics firm before he entered politics. He was coordinator of Nixon's 1968 campaign in Los Angeles, went to Washington in 1969 as a special assistant to the President. He was a favorite of White House Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman.

Magruder joined C.R.P. early last year and hoped for a political career, aiming to run for Secretary of State of California next year and Governor or U.S. Senator in 1978. But he was forced to abandon his plans after his involvement in political espionage came out during the Watergate trial. His heart was set on a high Administration post after the election, but Haldeman told him that he would not be in line for a top position (which would require Senate confirmation) because he was too tainted by Watergate. Disappointed, he

FUND RAISER MAURICE STANS



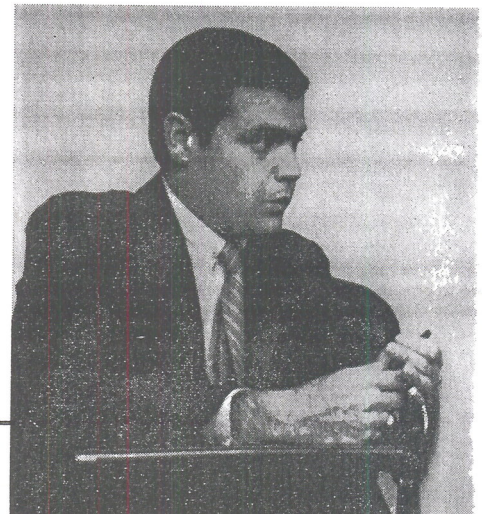
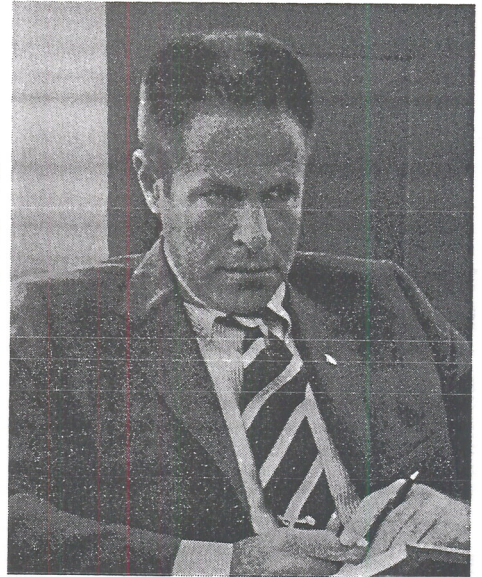
FRED WARD—BLACK STAR

settled for a specially created but vague job as director of planning and evaluation at the Commerce Department.

**JOHN WESLEY DEAN III**, 34, counsel to the President and the man who conducted the investigation of the Watergate case that cleared all White House staffers. A lawyer who has hardly practiced privately, clean-cut Dean worked as minority counsel to the House Judiciary Committee. He gained such a reputation as a Nixon loyalist that in 1969 he was hired by the Justice Department as

its legislative liaison man. Highly recommended by almost every Administration official with whom he came into contact, Dean caught the eye of image-oriented people at the White House, and in 1970 moved over there to succeed John Ehrlichman as counsel. He has outlined the legal basis for Nixon's decisions to impound funds voted by Congress and to expand the doctrine of executive privilege.

WHITE HOUSE STAFF CHIEF H.R. HALDEMAN



vestigation and the renewed efforts of the Department of Justice, he said, had lately shown that "there have been major developments in the case concerning which it would be improper to be more specific now, except to say that real progress has been made in finding the truth."

Besieged by newsmen to explain the President's statement, White House Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler said that March 21 was about the time that convicted Wiretapper James McCord wrote a celebrated letter to Judge Sirica. In it, McCord charged that unnamed officials had brought pressure on the arrested burglars to plead guilty, and that persons not yet indicted had been involved in the conspiracy. But Ziegler could not

detail what kind of new investigation Nixon had made on his own. Justice Department sources also said that they were unaware of any new presidential inquiry. As late as March 26, in fact, Nixon had repeated, through Ziegler, his "absolute and total confidence" in White House Counsel John W. Dean III, who had conducted an earlier White House investigation.

The belief was widespread in Washington that what Nixon's "investigation" amounted to was merely the discovery that some of his political associates were likely to be indicted. Indeed, he was told just that by Attorney General Richard Kleindienst and Henry Petersen, chief of the Justice Department's Criminal Division, in a long con-

ference on Sunday, April 15. Precisely whom they cited as most apt to be named by the grand jury was not revealed. But TIME has learned that five men are priority targets of the jury. They are:

John Mitchell, former Attorney General, who headed the Nixon re-election committee at the time of the Watergate arrests and quit just two weeks later.

John Dean, the chief White House counsel.

Jeb Stuart Magruder, Mitchell's deputy on the Nixon re-election committee and now a Commerce Department official.

Fred LaRue, another assistant to Mitchell on the campaign committee

H.R. (for Harry Robbins) HALDEMAN, 46, White House chief of staff. A crew-cut Southern Californian who neither smokes nor drinks, "Bob" Haldeman was once a vice president of the J. Walter Thompson ad agency in Los Angeles. He is a longtime Nixon loyalist, who advised the former Vice President against running for Governor of California, then bravely managed his disastrous 1962 campaign. One of the most formidable members of Nixon's palace guard, Haldeman wields enormous power, passing along presidential orders and ideas to the rest of the staff. His humorlessness and determination to protect the President from outsiders have made him unpopular with Congress.

MAURICE STANS, 65, director of C.R.P.'s finance committee. A self-made millionaire accountant, Stans joined the Nixon Administration as Secretary of Commerce in 1969. By urging import quotas, easier pollution controls and less stringent consumer-protection standards, he accumulated a sheaf of political IOUs from businessmen. When he left Commerce last year, he began calling them in, advising businessmen to make large cash or stock contributions to the campaign. They could do that secretly, he noted, by making their gifts before a tough campaign-fund disclosure law took effect in April 1972. Stans' efforts got C.R.P. into trouble with the federal courts, which fined the commit-

nessmen were hesitant about bankrolling the Republican National Convention planned for their city, Kalmbach's firm got a letter from the Justice Department assuring them that their contributions would be tax deductible. By doing good for Nixon, Kalmbach has done well for himself. In 1968, he had only three other attorneys in his office and few major clients. Now he has 24 attorneys and a list of some 200 clients.

FRED LARUE, 44, special assistant to the C.R.P. director. Short and spectacled, LaRue is a Mississippi oil and real estate millionaire, who joined C.R.P. as a chief aide to Mitchell in 1972. Respected by Nixon intimates for his political savvy, secretiveness and loyalty, and valued for his connections to Southern Democrats, he was considered Mitchell's right-hand man at C.R.P. He is reported by sources close to the Watergate case to have helped destroy records linking C.R.P. with the bugging.

DWIGHT CHAPIN, 32, a former White House aide who, among other things, helped to coordinate the President's daily schedule. Chapin worked as assistant to Haldeman at the J. Walter Thompson office in Los Angeles. He joined the White House staff in 1969 and left after the public disclosure of his involvement with C.R.P.'s "dirty tricks department" but denies that he was forced to resign. He is now director of market planning for United Air Lines.

GORDON STRACHAN, 29, former staff aide to Haldeman. A member of the Southern California group—which includes Haldeman, Magruder, Chapin and Ziegler—Strachan (pronounced Strawn) worked for Nixon's Manhattan law firm, then followed the President and Mitchell to Washington in 1970. Known around the White House as "one of Haldeman's guys," he served as liaison between Haldeman's office and C.R.P. during 1972, and was in constant touch with Mitchell and Magruder. He left the White House last December and is now general counsel to the U.S. Information Agency.

C.R.P.'s MAGRUDER



LAWYER KALMBACH



C.R.P.'s LaRUE



FRED J. MAROON—LOUIS MERCIER



tee \$8,000 for violating the disclosure law by making campaign expenditures without accounting for them.

HERBERT KALMBACH, 51, the President's personal lawyer. He was in charge of disbursing large amounts of Republican Party secret funds for political intelligence work. Kalmbach, a Californian and a close friend of Haldeman's, handled the legal work and financial arrangements when Nixon bought his seaside home in San Clemente and has been an active Nixon fundraiser. When skittish San Diego busi-

DWIGHT CHAPIN & JOHN DEAN III