

DENNIS BRACK—BLACK STAR

times to grand juries, the Senate Watergate committee or the FBI. These are the men on whose testimony the President's own profession of innocence has heavily relied. Significantly, no perjury charge was made against John Dean, Nixon's former counsel and the one self-confessed member of the conspiracy who has directly accused the President of being an active participant in the cover-up scheme. The grand jury has heard some of the tapes of conversations between Dean and Nixon—and apparently is convinced that Dean's version of those disputed talks is the correct one.

Last week's indictment of the seven men brought the number of former Nixon agents charged or convicted in the scandal to 25 (see box page 20). Individual guilt or innocence is yet to be established through trials in many of these cases. But no equivalent litany of official accusation has ever before been directed on such a scale against the associates of any U.S. President. The scandals of Ulysses S. Grant and Warren G. Harding were far less pervasive.

### The Indicted Seven

Because the positions of most of the men charged last week had been so high on President Nixon's once powerful inner team, their indictment, though long expected, was still shocking. That staff, once widely viewed as aloof and arrogant but sure-footed and efficient, has, of course, been progressively tarnished ever since Watergate broke wide open nearly a year ago. Now an appalling number of its members are desperately

fighting to stay out of prison. Last week's seven accused conspirators were:

**JOHN MITCHELL**, 60. Once the Administration's high priest of law-and-order, the former Attorney General and head of Nixon's re-election committee was undoubtedly Nixon's closest political confidant. The two men had known each other intimately ever since Mitchell, a seemingly imperturbable municipal-bond specialist, and Nixon were partners in a New York City law firm. In the Administration, Mitchell was an eager but unsuccessful prosecutor of antiwar extremists (the Chicago Seven, the Harrisburg Seven, Daniel Ellsberg). Mitchell's most celebrated comment on the Nixon Administration was his ironically prophetic "Watch what we do, not what we say." Now he stands indicted on charges of conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and four counts of making false statements to the FBI, the Senate Watergate committee or the grand jury. Last week Mitchell also went on trial in a New York federal court on six counts of perjury. He and former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans are accused of attempting to intervene with the Securities and Exchange Commission to help Fugitive Financier Robert Vesco evade a massive fraud investigation in return for a secret \$200,000 contribution to Nixon's 1972 campaign.

**H.R. HALDEMAN**, 47. As Nixon's stern chief of staff, the former California advertising executive once noted on a memo returned to a White House aide: "I'll approve of whatever will work and am concerned with results—not methods." The most formidable guardian of

JUDGE JOHN J. SIRICA IN CHAMBERS  
Assigning himself the big case.

protect national security. They arranged for payments of large amounts of cash to the arrested burglars, not for legitimate legal expenses but to keep them quiet. They extended offers of leniency and Executive clemency to the arrested men—inducements only a President has the power to fulfill. They destroyed evidence.

Seven of the President's former associates were indicted, and four of them were accused of lying a total of eleven

## A Texan Who Goes His Own Way

When Richard Nixon picked Leon Jaworski as special prosecutor, there were those who darkly suspected that the fix was in. Jaworski, a 68-year-old Texas Democrat who had been close to Lyndon Johnson, had quietly supported Nixon for re-election in 1972. As a highly successful \$200,000-a-year trial attorney, he was a pillar of the Houston Establishment. There were unconfirmed reports that his appointment had been cleared by John Connally to make sure that he had a proper understanding of the President's predicament.

Quietly, efficiently, going his own way, Jaworski has turned out to be nobody's man but his own, determined that justice be done. Says a close associate: "Anyone who thought that Leon would not press the Watergate investigation with full vigor and integrity simply did not know Leon." He has remained scrupulously open-minded. Jaworski puts it this way, in his soft-spoken Texas drawl: "At my stage of life, do you think I would come in here and be part of anything that would ruin whatever name and reputation

I have established over the years?"

The special prosecutor's staff of 38 lawyers needed much reassuring. Outraged and discouraged by the firing of Archibald Cox, the attorneys were fearful that the Texan might slow down the investigation. Their anxieties were soon allayed: one of his first orders was for everyone on the staff to proceed full speed ahead in his previously assigned area of investigation.

After an initial period to familiarize himself with all the evidence, Jaworski took the lead. He has made all the key decisions on such questions as plea bargaining and cooperation with the House Judiciary Committee. He refused on principle to meet with Nixon on accepting the assignment. He has since turned down two invitations from the President to see him. Jaworski has largely dealt with the White House through Chief of Staff Alexander Haig—with increasing impatience, though he recognizes that Haig is simply a "good soldier" obeying his commander in chief's orders. The prosecutor was kind and courtly on the

WALTER BENNETT



SPECIAL PROSECUTOR JAWORSKI

Nixon's Oval Office, Haldeman curtly and coldly ran a staff that protected the President against unwanted intrusions and unappreciated advice. Haldeman is charged with conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and three counts of perjury in his public testimony before Senator Sam Ervin's select Senate committee.

**JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN, 48.** Formerly Nixon's chief adviser on domestic affairs, the outgoing and often witty Ehrlichman has acidly termed Congressmen "a bunch of clowns" and argued that a President has the right to simply "set aside" anything Congress did that was "not in the public interest." A Seattle attorney who specialized in municipal and land-use law, he is charged with conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and three counts of lying to the grand jury and the FBI.

**CHARLES W. COLSON, 42.** A tough and wily political infighter, Colson was Nixon's special counsel, concentrating on soliciting labor support and punishing the President's political enemies. Colson's footprints kept appearing at the fringes of the Watergate scandal, although he insisted loudly that he would never be indicted—and for many months investigators seemed persuaded. Yet Colson, who once declared that "I would do anything that Richard Nixon asks me to do," and now professes to have "found God" in a religious conversion, was indicted for conspiracy and obstruction of justice.

**ROBERT C. MARDIAN, 50.** A wealthy Phoenix lawyer-contractor and a Western coordinator of Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign, Mardian



PROSECUTOR JAWORSKI'S AIDES HEADING TOWARD WASHINGTON FEDERAL COURT\*  
For the embattled President, more time bombs ticked on.

was one of the architects of Nixon's Southern strategy on school integration while general counsel for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Rigidly conservative, Mardian later showed much anti-radical fervor but little savvy as chief of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division. Disappointed when he did not earn a higher position in the Nixon Administration, he said with foresight about the Nixon camp: "When things are going great

they ignore me, but when things get screwed up, they lean on me." He was indicted for conspiracy.

**GORDON C. STRACHAN, 30.** A former junior member of the Nixon-Mitchell law firm in New York, Strachan was Haldeman's chief aide in the White House. He later became general counsel of the U.S. Information Agency as part of a White House effort to exert

\*Philip Lacovara, Henry Ruth, Richard Ben Veniste and Peter Kreindler.

surface, as he is most of the time to everybody, but he continued to insist on getting documents that the White House was reluctant to hand over. He finally obtained most but not all of them by threatening to go to court.

From the White House point of view, he is no improvement on Cox. He is often even more tenacious and less tolerant of anything that stands in his way. A pragmatic and informal man with a prosecutor's instinct for the kill, Jaworski is not so interested as Cox was in legal theory and lengthy staff discussions on the meaning of the law. Once his cases are sound, he wants to get them quickly to court. He is also a remarkably direct and succinct man in verbose Washington, setting some kind of record in his rare TV interview appearances for the number of questions answered per square minute of air time.

Jaworski's call to action in Washington came at a time when his ambitions were behind him and largely fulfilled. He was perfectly content to continue his law practice and spend his spare time on his more than 800-acre ranch, where he enjoys clearing the land with chain saws and raising quarter horses.

The son of an Evangelical Lutheran minister who had migrated from Poland, Jaworski was born in Waco, Texas. The family was poor; Jaworski, his two brothers and sister worked their way through Baylor University, where Leon earned a law degree in 1925. He became so skilled a courtroom lawyer that he was hired by a leading Houston law firm, Fulbright, Crooker, Freeman & Bates. Through the years, he showed a talent for absorbing a mass of complex information literally overnight and giving a masterly performance in court the next morning. He became a senior partner in 1951. Today Fulbright, Crooker & Jaworski ranks second only to John Connally's law firm of Vinson, Elkins, Searls, Connally & Smith in power and prestige in Texas. In 1971 Jaworski was honored when he was selected president of the American Bar Association.

While on the rise he inevitably bumped into another Texas poor boy making good—Lyndon Johnson. Twice he came to L.B.J.'s rescue. In 1948 he helped defend Johnson against charges of fraud in a Senate primary election that L.B.J. won by a contested 87 votes. In 1960 Jaworski was L.B.J.'s attorney

in suits that sought to prevent him from running simultaneously for Vice President and for Senator. When L.B.J. was President, he wanted to appoint Jaworski Attorney General. But sensitive to charges of cronyism, the President reluctantly named Ramsey Clark instead. By conservative Texas standards, in fact, Jaworski has often been a maverick. He defended a liberal school-board member who was under furious attack from conservatives, and he was chosen to prosecute former Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett for criminal contempt for trying to block desegregation.

Compared with his expansive Texas style of living, Jaworski has a relatively spartan existence in Washington. He normally lunches on a sandwich at his desk, then goes home at 7 p.m. to a small Washington hotel, where he lives with his wife of 43 years, Jeanette. Their son Joe is a lawyer in Houston; their daughters Joanie and Claire are both married.

When his tasks as special prosecutor are finished, Jaworski will go back to Texas. Friends used to fret that like so many others connected with Watergate, he would return a diminished figure. That no longer seems much of a hazard.