

plicated men close to Nixon. They included:

John Mitchell. Magruder testified that the former Attorney General and head of the Nixon re-election committee attended three meetings at which the illegal espionage plans were discussed, finally gave an unenthusiastic but firm approval to the bugging of Democratic National Committee headquarters and also to plans never carried out to wiretap other Democratic offices. At the time he was considering these unlawful decisions Mitchell was the Attorney General of the U.S.—the highest lawyer in the land. By the time Mitchell received the results of the Watergate burglary, in the form of photographs of Democratic documents and summaries

of telephone conversations, he was head of the re-election committee. He told Magruder and the bugging team's planner, G. Gordon Liddy, that he was dissatisfied with the reports. This led the Nixon committee's burglary team to the second—and disastrously bungled—break-in. After the Watergate arrests, Magruder claimed, Mitchell, who resigned from the committee almost at once, nevertheless played a major role in planning the cover-up activities, which included denials, false stories, and payoffs to the arrested men to keep quiet.

John Dean. According to Magruder, he attended two of the meetings with Mitchell and Magruder at which Liddy, the Nixon committee's legal

counsel, presented his illegal, even bizarre, espionage plans. After the arrests, including that of Liddy, Dean was at least as active as Mitchell in the cover-up efforts.

H.R. Haldeman. Magruder said he did not have any direct personal knowledge that Nixon's chief of staff, the highest-ranking aide in the White House, knew of the Watergate plans in advance. But he testified that he kept Haldeman's assistant, Gordon Strachan, fully informed about these plans, as well as of the cover-up operation, and since Strachan's role was as liaison between the Nixon committee and Haldeman, he "assumed" Haldeman knew about them. If not, Magruder said under questioning, Strachan was not performing

How John Dean Came Center Stage

Late one week last March, John Wesley Dean III's telephone rang. It was the President calling with a friendly suggestion. Why didn't he take his pretty wife to Camp David for the weekend? They would have the place to themselves, and the counsel to the President could stay on to write his long-overdue report on Watergate. That was the report of the investigation that Dean had supposedly made seven months before—an investigation that, Nixon had told the nation in mid-campaign, showed no one then employed at the White House

JOHN DEAN WITH WIFE MAUREEN



was involved in the Watergate scandal.

John and Maureen ("Mo") Dean took the President up on his invitation for the weekend. But instead of relaxing during long walks in the piney woods, Dean thought about the carefully planned Watergate cover-up that was coming apart. Even worse, he suspected that he was marked out as the "fall guy." Finally, he sat down in the rustic cottage and began to write. As he later told a friend: "The pen wouldn't write the 'fairy tale' they wanted. It kept spelling out the truth." In despair, he threw down his pen and declared to Mo: "My dad once told me that when you're cornered, there's only one thing to do—tell the truth."

That must have been the hardest decision Dean ever made, for he had prized loyalty all of his life. At Virginia's Staunton Military Academy, he is best remembered not as an All-America backstroker but as having been extraordinarily willing to sacrifice himself for others. "Whatever helped the team was what he wanted to do," recalls his old swimming coach, Colonel Ed Dodge. "If I had to take John out of one event in which he excelled and put him in another where he didn't, he'd do it and never complain."

At every step in the 34-year-old Dean's brief career as a lawyer and Government official, associates recount similar experiences. Loyalty, in fact, is most often cited to explain his meteoric rise to counsel to the President—and his presence at the heart of the Watergate scandal. Since his precipitous fall from grace, however, other past colleagues have revealed glimpses of Dean's darker side. Some find him lacking in strong principles; others consider him overwhelmed by ambition. Declares one rather caustically: "He's a good moth. He knows how to find the light."

Just what John Dean really is may become a little clearer this week during

his scheduled appearance before Senator Sam Ervin's Watergate committee. Despite all the publicity since he was fired from his White House job April 30, he has remained a shadowy figure. Through leaks and innuendo, his enemies have tried to discredit his testimony in advance by describing him as a craven, cowering man who is testifying only to save himself from prison where he fears homosexual rape because of his blond-boyish good looks. Dean denies having such fears and has used his own attorneys and associates to portray himself as being interested only in getting the truth out. But first he demanded immunity from prosecution for what he says, and he slipped tidbits of information to various newspapers and magazines in an effort to win their support in his campaign.

Even before Watergate, Dean was hardly known outside the tight-knit circle of the White House staff. He shunned publicity, avoided controversy and cultivated a reputation of being one of Nixon's most faithful liege men. As presidential counsel, he worked out the legal basis for Nixon's impoundment of funds, broad use of pocket vetoes and Executive privilege. He also helped arrange Nixon's commutation of jail sentences being served by Teamster Boss Jimmy Hoffa (which was widely interpreted as a political gesture in return for Teamster support of Nixon in the election) and by Mafia *Capo* Angelo ("Gyp") DeCarlo. Nonetheless, Clark MacGregor, who headed the re-election committee after John Mitchell resigned, recalls Dean not as part of the power elite but as a "wall sitter"—one who carried out policy rather than helped make it.

Born in Akron, Dean was raised with his sister Anne in several Midwestern cities, as their father rose through the executive ranks of Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. Later the elder Dean settled in Greenville, Pa., where he became vice president of a company that manufactures playground equipment. At

his duties. Moreover, Magruder said that in January he personally told Haldeman the entire story of how Watergate was planned and how the cover-up was being carried out, including the fact that he, Magruder, was planning to commit perjury. Haldeman promptly denied Magruder's allegations.

While Magruder's story also implicated lesser Nixon associates such as Fred LaRue, Mitchell's deputy at the Nixon committee, and Robert Mardian, the committee's political coordinator, the testimony of Maurice Stans, former Commerce Secretary and Nixon's chief campaign fund raiser, tied in two other of the President's most intimate advisers: John Ehrlichman, former domestic affairs chief, and Herbert Kalmbach,

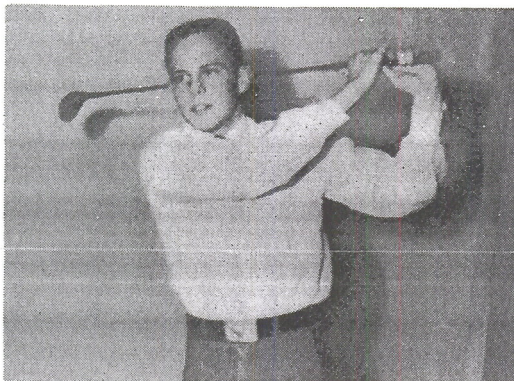
Nixon's dismissed personal attorney. Stans said he gave Kalmbach \$75,000 in cash for a "White House project" having "nothing to do with the campaign" and was told later by Kalmbach that this was payoff money for the Watergate defendants. Worried about the legality of the payments, Kalmbach told Stans that both Dean and Ehrlichman had assured him that the transaction was indeed legal.

The net of Watergate knowledge thus was drawing ever tighter around the men close to the President, but no one as yet had implicated him directly. Said Magruder: "As far as I know, at no point . . . did the President have any knowledge of our errors in this matter. He had confidence in his aides, and I

must confess that some of us failed him." What Magruder's story made clear was that everything he and his fellow conspirators did was done in the earnest hope that their schemes would help and later protect Nixon.

THE PLANS

For the first time, a specific goal of the puzzling and seemingly pointless Watergate bugging was explained. The aim, as Magruder described it, was to gather information that could be employed to "discredit" Larry O'Brien, then the Democratic national chairman, whose office was the target of burglary and bugging. Why? "He was certainly their [the Democrats'] most professional political operator. He could be very



DEAN AS SCHOOLBOY GOLFER . . .



. . . AS COLLEGE SENIOR . . .



. . . AS MILITARY SCHOOL CADET

Staunton, young John studied self-hypnotism to improve his concentration and roomed with Barry Goldwater Jr., who now is his neighbor in Alexandria, Va. Dean graduated with a low B average and got by at Colgate with gentlemanly C's before transferring to Ohio's College of Wooster in 1959. There he founded a student pre-law club, played the part of a redneck witness in a campus production of *Inherit the Wind* and wrote a senior thesis on "The Social Responsibilities of the Political Novelists." He earned a master's degree in public administration from American University in 1962 and his law degree from Georgetown in 1965.

He joined a Washington law firm, but his career as a practicing attorney ended sourly six months later. Assigned to help prepare a client's application for a new television station, Dean was discovered to be working on a rival application—for himself and some friends—and was fired. He was promptly hired as minority counsel for the House Judiciary Committee by its ranking Republican, Representative William McCulloch, who was both a fellow Ohioan and Wooster alumnus.

For two years, Dean concentrated on civil rights legislation and on criminal law reforms. In 1967 he became associate director of a now defunct panel (the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws), which was

set up to advise Congress and the President. There he struck one colleague as courteous, pleasant to work with but somewhat facile. Recalled the colleague: "He gave the appearance of having more poise and assurance than he really possessed."

In 1969 Richard Kleindienst, who was then Deputy Attorney General, hired Dean as the Justice Department's liaison with Congress. As such, he was in charge of lobbying efforts for the ill-fated nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court. His loyalty to the Administration so impressed senior White House staffers that he was hired to succeed John Ehrlichman as presidential counsel in 1970. In that job, Dean appeared to be a man of rigid principle, even when he was secretly helping to cover up Watergate. Once a junior staffer asked whether he could accept a \$200 honorarium for a speech. "No, sir," Dean declared. What if he turned the money over to his church? "No," Dean repeated. "Nobody on the White House staff is going to accept money for anything."

Undoubtedly, Dean's career was furthered by his good looks and his command of the social graces. Detractors also suggest he was helped along by his first marriage—to Karla Hennings, the daughter of the late Senator

Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri. She bore his son John IV, now 5, but the marriage ended in divorce three years ago. Last fall Dean married Maureen, a former insurance saleswoman from Los Angeles.

From the outset, John and Mo Dean maintained a low social profile in their \$70,000 brick town house on Quay Street in Alexandria's affluent Old Town section, just 200 yards from the Potomac. Now, of course, the profile is lower still. Occasionally, they eat out with the Goldwaters, who live across the street. One recent Saturday, another neighbor, Ervin Committee Member Lowell Weicker, dropped in for beer and pretzels. Before the worst of Watergate, the Deans played tennis and golf, swam and sailed their 18-ft. boat. Nattily dressed in broad-lapel suits and wide ties, Dean used to drive to work a purple Porsche 911 as highly polished as his shoes. Now he and Mo stay home. Although hidden from public view by drawn shades, he still looks tanned. The tan is inexplicable; he told a recent visitor: "I haven't been in the sun for days. I would call it a bourbon pallor; except I haven't had a drink for days either." For the most part, in these last weeks leading up to his climactic appearance before the Ervin committee, he has worked in his basement, putting his letters and other documents in order, preparing for his ordeal.