

sible for the Watergate wiretapping, as well as "other illegal and improper activities." Toward that end, the seven tried to prevent officials of the CIA, FBI and Department of Justice from transacting "their official business honestly and impartially, free from corruption, fraud, improper and undue influence, dishonesty, unlawful impairment and obstruction."

No fewer than 45 conspiratorial acts were cited in concise paragraphs that undoubtedly will be buttressed by extensive evidence, and sharply assailed by defense lawyers, in future trials. Those curt recitations of specific acts for the first time detailed the chronology of an increasingly desperate effort to keep the lid on the scandal. Free of all the testimonial contradictions and denials that have so confused the complex affair, the indictment included these overt acts:

June 17, 1972. On the night of the ill-starred Watergate break-in, John Mitchell and a group of Nixon campaign officials were attending political meetings in Beverly Hills. After news of the burglars' capture reached him, Mitchell told Mardian to ask G. Gordon Liddy, the counsel to Nixon's re-election finance committee and one of the originators of the political-espionage plan, to seek the help of Attorney General Richard Kleindienst in Washington to get the arrested men out of jail. (Kleindienst has testified that Liddy accosted him at Washington's Burning Tree golf club and sought such help, but that he sharply rebuffed the plea.)

June 18. Haldeman's aide Gordon Strachan destroyed documents on Haldeman's orders. (Strachan has admitted doing so, claiming that the papers included reports he had prepared for Haldeman about Liddy's intelligence-gathering plan before the men were arrested. Federal investigators believe that transcripts of the illegally intercepted Democratic conversations were also destroyed.)

June 19. Ehrlichman met with Dean at the White House and directed him to relay word via Liddy that E. Howard Hunt should leave the country. (Hunt had been a member of the White House plumbers and was later convicted of the Watergate wiretapping. Dean testified that he carried out Ehrlichman's instructions, then convinced Ehrlichman that it was a mistake and asked Liddy to rescind the order to Hunt.)

June 19. Charles Colson and Ehrlichman met with Dean at the White House, and Ehrlichman directed Dean to open Hunt's safe in the Executive Office Building and take the contents (which included various secret documents and electronic equipment). Dean has testified that he did so.

June 19. Mardian and Mitchell met with Jeb Stuart Magruder, deputy to Mitchell on Nixon's re-election committee, in Mitchell's Washington apartment. Mitchell suggested that Magruder destroy his files on the Watergate wire-

tapping plan, code-named Gemstone. (Mitchell said, according to LaRue, who has pleaded guilty to conspiracy to obstruct justice, "that it might be a good idea if Mr. Magruder had a fire.")

June 20. Liddy met with LaRue and Mardian at LaRue's Washington apartment. Liddy told the other two that certain "commitments" had been made to himself and others who had carried out the Watergate break-in. (Apparently the commitments were from Hunt to the others that if anything went wrong with the operation his White House friends would assist them and their families.)

June 24. Mitchell and Mardian met with Dean at Nixon re-election committee headquarters in Washington. Mitchell and Mardian suggested that Dean ask the CIA to provide secret funds for Hunt, Liddy and the five burglars who had been arrested in the break-in.

June 26. Ehrlichman met with Dean at the White House and approved a suggestion that Dean ask General Vernon A. Walters, deputy director of the CIA, whether the CIA could use covert funds to pay salaries and bail for the arrested men. (Both Dean and Walters have testified that Dean did so.)

July 7. Anthony Ulasewicz, a former New York City policeman recruited to help distribute payments secretly to the break-in defendants, delivered approximately \$25,000 in cash to William O. Bittman in Washington. Bittman was Hunt's attorney.

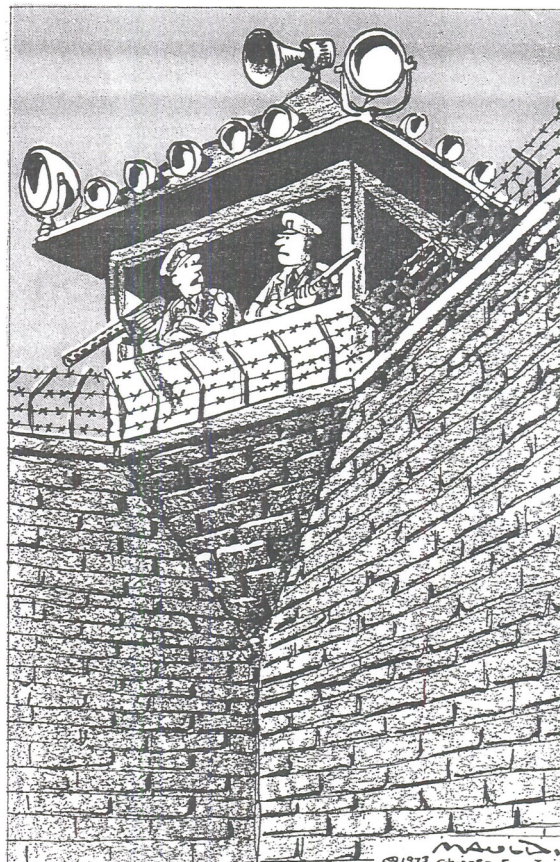
Mid-July. Mitchell and Kenneth Parkinson met with Dean at Nixon committee headquarters. Mitchell asked Dean to get FBI reports on the Watergate investigation for Parkinson and others. (Lawyer Parkinson was defending the Nixon re-election committee against a Democratic Party civil suit, and these reports could have been useful for this non-Governmental purpose.)

July 17. Ulasewicz delivered approximately \$40,000 in cash to Howard Hunt's wife Dorothy at Washington National Airport. (She later died in a crash of a commercial plane, carrying \$10,000 in cash at the time.)

July 21. Mardian met with Dean at the White House and examined FBI reports of its Watergate investigation. (Mardian, then a member of the Nixon committee staff, had no official right to see such documents.)

July 26. Ehrlichman met with Herbert Kalmbach, the President's personal lawyer, at the White House. He told Kalmbach to raise funds for the persons who had committed the break-in and that the fund raising and the payments should be kept secret. (This tends to back up Kalmbach's Senate testimony in which he related: "I said, 'John, I am looking right into your eyes . . . it is just absolutely necessary, John, that you tell me, first, that John Dean has the authority to direct me in this assignment, that it is a proper assignment, and that I am to go forward on it.' He said, 'Herb, John Dean does have the authority. It is proper and you are to go forward.'")

Aug. 29. Colson had a conversation with Dean in which Dean advised him not to send a memorandum to the authorities who were investigating the break-in. (The Colson memo reported that he had been interviewed by Justice Department investigators. But, the memo noted, they had failed to ask him about a meeting that he had held before the break-in with Liddy and Hunt. At that meeting the pair asked Colson for help in getting approval for their political intelligence-gathering plans. Investigators believe that by showing the memo to Dean, Colson made a clever attempt to protect himself and entrap Dean in the conspiracy. If asked later why he did not volunteer information about his meeting with Liddy and Hunt.



"I'm not kidding—this place could become the seat of government."

Colson would be able to cite Dean's orders to squelch the memo.)

Nov. 13. Hunt had a telephone conversation with Colson in which they discussed the need to make additional payments to the defendants.

Mid-November. Colson met with Dean at the White House and gave Dean a tape recording of a telephone conversation between Colson and Hunt. (This call has been described by Hunt as a direct appeal for more financial help.)

Nov. 15. Dean played this Colson-Hunt recording for Ehrlichman and Haldeman at Camp David.

Nov. 15. Dean played the same recording for Mitchell in New York City.

Early December. Haldeman had a phone talk with Dean in which Halde-



BARKER



DEAN



HEARING



KALMBACH



LARUE



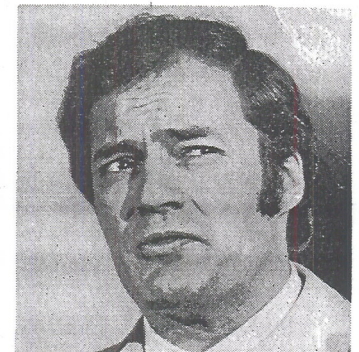
CHAPIN



GONZALEZ



HUNT



KROGH

The Other Nixon Watergate Men

Criminal activity relating to the Watergate scandal reaches beyond the seven Nixon aides indicted last week. It embraces accusations involving illegal campaign contributions by Financier Robert L. Vesco and perjury charges against Milk-Industry Lobbyist Jake Jacobsen. In addition, nine corporations have been fined for making illegal campaign donations. But most damaging for the President is the large number of his aides and agents who have already been to

court. Before the latest indictments, 18 men with connections to the White House or the Committee for the Re-Election of the President had been indicted or convicted or had pleaded guilty to criminal charges. The gallery:

BERNARD BARKER, 56, one of the four Cuban refugees charged in the original Watergate break-in. *Pleaded guilty to burglary, conspiracy, illegal wiretapping and eavesdropping; released after twelve months in prison pending appeal.*

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN, 33, former appointments secretary to Nixon. *Indicted on four counts of perjury concerning the activities of Dirty-Tricks Specialist Donald Segretti; awaiting trial.*

JOHN W. DEAN, 35, former chief White House counsel. *Pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy in the Watergate cover-up; sentencing deferred.*

VIRGILIO GONZALEZ, 47, another of the Cubans. *Pleaded guilty to burglary, conspiracy, illegal wiretapping and eavesdropping; now serving a one-to-four-year sentence.*

GEORGE HEARING, 40, Florida accountant who aided Segretti. *Pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy; released after serving seven months in prison.*

E. HOWARD HUNT, 55, onetime CIA operative and White House consultant. *Pleaded guilty to leading the Watergate break-in; released after serving nearly a year in prison pending appeal.*

man approved the use of part of a fund of approximately \$350,000, then under Haldeman's control, for the defendants.

Early December. Strachan met with LaRue at LaRue's apartment in Washington and delivered approximately \$50,000 in cash to him.

Early December. LaRue arranged for the delivery of about \$40,000 in cash to Bittman, Hunt's attorney.

Jan. 3, 1973. Colson met with Ehrlichman and Dean at the White House and discussed the need to assure Hunt how long he would have to spend in jail if he were convicted. (This was the indictment's oblique way of saying that the talk centered on getting Executive clemency for Hunt. Dean testified that Colson told him that just after the meeting he had asked Nixon about clemency. On the next day, according to Dean, Ehrlichman gave Colson assurance that clemency could be promised to Hunt.)

Early January. Haldeman had a conversation with Dean in which Haldeman approved the use of the balance

of his \$350,000 cash fund for additional payments to the defendants.

Early January. Strachan met again with LaRue at LaRue's apartment and gave him about \$300,000 in cash.

March 21. LaRue arranged to deliver about \$75,000 in cash to Bittman.

March 22. Ehrlichman had a conversation with Egil Krogh Jr., one of the White House plumbers, now imprisoned for his role in the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Ehrlichman assured Krogh that Hunt would not reveal certain matters. (One matter presumably was the burglary of the psychiatrist's office. This statement in the indictment seems to signal that Krogh will be a witness against Ehrlichman.)

The False Statements

The multiple accusations of lying to official investigative bodies is described in even fuller detail in the indictment, though the evidence leading the grand jury to believe that the statements were

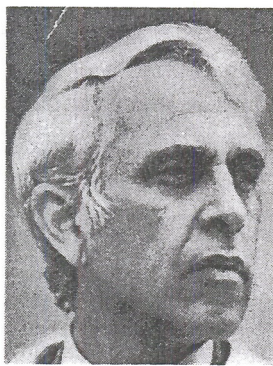
false is tantalizingly omitted. Several allegations of falsehood are charged even when a defendant testified that he could not recall an alleged act. Such accusations are difficult to sustain without documentary evidence or corroboration by several witnesses, and they are certain to be vigorously attacked by defense attorneys.

John Mitchell was accused of lying as early as June 1972, when he told the original Watergate grand jury that he had known nothing about any scheme to spy illegally on Democratic candidates or the Democratic Party. At that time he also denied knowing anything about Liddy's political intelligence proposals, though he later publicly admitted attending three meetings at which Liddy's plans had been presented to him. The indictment claims that Mitchell also lied to the grand jury in denying that LaRue had ever told him that Liddy had confessed his role in the break-in.

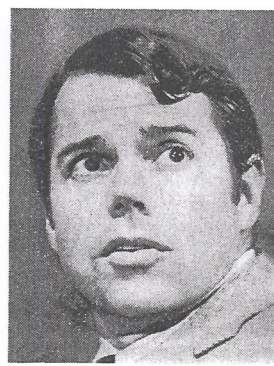
The nation's former chief law en-



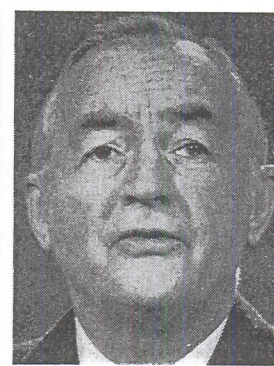
LIDDY



MARTINEZ



PORTER



STANS



YOUNG



MAGRUDER



MCCORD



SEGRETTI



STURGIS

HERBERT W. KALMBACH, 52, one of Nixon's personal attorneys. *Pleaded guilty* to violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act and to an illegal offer of an ambassadorship in exchange for campaign contributions; as yet unsentenced.

EGIL KROGH JR., 34, former White House aide to John Ehrlichman. *Pleaded guilty* to involvement in the Ellsberg break-in; now serving six months.

FREDERICK LARUE, 44, former White House assistant and C.R.P. aide. *Pleaded guilty* to conspiracy in the cover-up; sentencing deferred.

G. GORDON LIDDY, 43, former FBI agent and onetime aide to Ehrlichman. *Convicted* of conspiracy, burglary and illegal wiretapping at Watergate; now

serving a sentence of up to 20 years. **JEB STUART MAGRUDER**, 39, former aide to H.R. Haldeman and C.R.P. deputy director. *Pleaded guilty* to conspiracy in the cover-up; sentencing deferred.

EUGENIO MARTINEZ, 51, another of the Cubans. *Pleaded guilty* to burglary, conspiracy, illegal wiretapping and eavesdropping; now serving a sentence of up to four years.

JAMES W. MCCORD JR., 49, former CIA agent and C.R.P. security coordinator. *Convicted* of conspiracy, burglary and wiretapping at Watergate; free on bail pending appeal.

HERBERT L. PORTER, 35, former White House aide and C.R.P. officer. *Pleaded guilty* to lying to the FBI about the cover-

up of the break-in; sentencing deferred. **DONALD SEGRETTI**, 32, lawyer and political saboteur. *Pleaded guilty* to conspiracy in illegal campaign activities; now serving a six-month sentence.

MAURICE H. STANS, 65, former Secretary of Commerce and C.R.P. finance-committee chairman. *Indicted* for perjury and obstruction of justice in seeking campaign donations; now on trial.

FRANK STURGIS, 49, another of the Cubans. *Convicted* of burglary, conspiracy and violation of federal wiretapping laws; released after twelve months in prison pending appeal.

DAVID R. YOUNG JR., 37, co-director with Krogh of the plumbers. *Indicted* in the Ellsberg break-in; awaiting trial.

forcement official was charged, too, with lying to Senator Sam Ervin's Watergate committee in his public testimony last July. The indictment contends that he falsely denied having even heard about the existence of the Gemstone wiretap transcripts when it was suggested on June 19, 1972, that they be destroyed. He said, moreover, that "to the best of my recollection" the destruction of documents was not even discussed at a meeting he attended on that date—a statement that the indictment also charges was false. Another part of the indictment charges that it was Mitchell who suggested the destruction.

Haldeman, too, is accused of perjury in his Senate testimony. He denied having been aware that money formerly under his control and later paid to the Watergate defendants was meant as blackmail or hush money. He testified that at the key March 21 meeting attended by Dean (and Nixon, though the indictment does not say so), he did not believe that Dean had made any

reference to Jeb Magruder's having committed perjury. Both statements, the indictment says, were untrue.

Ehrlichman's untruthfulness surfaced, according to the indictment, before both the grand jury and FBI agents. The indictment cited Ehrlichman's claim to FBI agents last July 21 that he knew nothing about the Watergate break-in beyond what he had read in newspapers. Also noted were a series of answers that he gave the grand jury last May, in which he could not recall when he first learned that Liddy might have been involved in the break-in. The questions seemed to show that investigators have proof that Dean had told Ehrlichman of Liddy's involvement shortly after the Watergate arrests. Ehrlichman was also accused of lying in his conversation with Kalmbach about raising money for the defendants. He spoke falsely, claims the indictment, when he said he could not recall giving Kalmbach approval to use money for that purpose.

The clearest indication of how active the grand jury was in the questioning of witnesses came in the charge that Gordon Strachan had responded falsely in a grand-jury appearance in June of 1972. He was pressed closely by Foreman Pregelj and an unnamed juror about his admitted delivery of the \$350,000 in cash to LaRue. Strachan contended that he gave the money, which had been controlled by Haldeman, to LaRue only for him to return it to the Nixon reelection committee. But jurors wanted to know why he carried it in a briefcase at night to the apartment of LaRue instead of taking it to committee headquarters near the White House in the daytime.

The indictment contends that statements by Strachan that he did not recall who told him to give the money to LaRue were false. The implication was that the grand jury believes that Strachan was protecting someone—probably Haldeman—who knew that the money was to be sent to LaRue for

payoffs to the burglars. The grand jury presumably has evidence of who that unnamed person was.

Despite the mass of detail, the handing up of the indictment and the sealed grand jury report took only twelve quick minutes in Judge Sirica's courtroom. When it was over, most of the defendants either refused comment or expressed their certainty that they will be cleared of all wrongdoing when all the evidence merges in the impending trial battles among high-powered attorneys.

The Defense View

The most likely defense tactics apparently will be to seek a change of venue from Washington, where the Watergate controversy is the hottest, and try to have the defendants' cases split off into separate trials. A mass trial affords prosecutors greater opportunity to introduce more evidence affecting each defendant. But the main strategy may be to try to discredit the accusing witnesses, many of whom have admitted

their own criminal roles. The defense attorneys may ask: How can anyone believe convicted felons who are making charges against others so that they can get away with the lightest sentences themselves?

President Nixon issued only a statement through his press office: "The President has always maintained that the judicial system is the proper forum for the resolution to the questions concerning Watergate. The indictment indicates that the judicial process is finally mov-

The Trials of the Grand Jury

Ever since the grand jury system started under Britain's King Henry II in 1166, it has been hailed as a guardian of the people and denounced as an oppressive tool of the government. Both descriptions can be accurate, for a grand jury is as good or bad as the people on it. The Watergate grand jury that handed up last week's historic indictment will be remembered as one of the best.

Convened on June 5, 1972, to hear evidence of crimes in the District of Columbia, the grand jury was shortly presented with the case of the Watergate break-in. On the evidence that federal prosecutors put before it, the 23-member jury indicted seven men accused of the burglary. Then, its work apparently finished, the jury recessed that September. Six months later it was called back to hear new evidence, and it has been hard at work ever since.

Some grand juries are merely rubber stamps for prosecutors, who use the institution's wide-ranging powers of subpoena to harass suspects against whom they have little real evidence. But several members of the Watergate grand jury have acquired such expertise and shown such diligence in questioning witnesses that they have become true partners of Leon Jaworski and the other prosecutors. Once last spring the jury members were so intent on their deliberations that they stayed in session until midnight, when they discovered that the cleaning people had locked them in. It took ten minutes of shouting and pounding before a janitor let them out.

This grand jury is a cross section of the people of Washington. It is made up of 13 women and ten men; 17 are blacks and six whites; only eight members are less than 40 years old. The dominant member is its foreman, Vladimir Pregelj, 46, who was appointed by Judge John Sirica. A native of Yugoslavia and a naturalized citizen, Pregelj (pronounced Pray-gull) is an economist for the Library of Congress. When the jury members asked President Nixon to testify before them, Pregelj wrote the request. Nixon refused to appear, and Pregelj planned to keep a photocopy of the reply as a historical memento. Carefully

he placed it in a newspaper to take home—only to misplace the newspaper.

The second most active member is Harold G. Evans, 42, a Postal Service clerk, who was elected deputy foreman by fellow members. Pregelj and Evans have asked about half of the questions posed by the jury. Others who have been active interlocutors include Lila Bard, 65, a retired Army officer; Enas Broadway, 62, an employee in the National Library of Medicine; George W. Stockton Sr., 55, a Defense Department supply technician; and Naomi R. Williams, 58 a retired teacher and elevator operator. The other members of the jury:

- ▶ Annie Bell Alford, 56, a part-time cleaner and maid.
- ▶ Ellen C. Brown, 66, a retired cleaning woman.
- ▶ Carolyn A. Butler, 31, a secretary-stenographer for the Department of Housing and Urban Development.
- ▶ Elayne Edlund, 45, a secretary for a consulting firm.

FOREMAN PREGELJ LEAVING COURT



WALTER BENNETT

- ▶ Clarence L. Franklin, 57, a taxi driver.
- ▶ Maurice P. Glover, 34, a receptionist for the U.S. Court of Claims.
- ▶ Dorothy M. Gray, 58, a housewife.
- ▶ George V. Gross, 49, an offset platemaker for the Government Printing Office.
- ▶ Wallace N. Hawkins, 35, a clerk for the Washington city government.
- ▶ Christopher C. Hopkins, 39, a mail handler for the Postal Service.
- ▶ Ruth W. Loveridge, 67, a secretary-receptionist for a private firm.
- ▶ Arthur McLean, 66, a retired plant foreman.
- ▶ Ethel M. Peoples, 39, a lunch clerk in the Washington city schools.
- ▶ Susie Ann Robinson, 59, a housekeeper.
- ▶ Kathryn Ann Smith, 37, a technical information specialist for the House of Representatives.
- ▶ Julie L. White, 39, who quit her job as a janitor at George Washington University to stay on the jury.
- ▶ Priscilla L. Woodruff, 30, occupation unstated.

Of the 23 original jurors, all have lasted the course so far. The burden has been more than most people anticipated, and lives and careers have been seriously interrupted. Government workers get full salary while on duty, in lieu of the standard jury fee of \$25 a day after 30 days of service, but some others receive only that meager stipend. "We are all affected," says Pregelj. "The hardship depends on how much you make and who employs you." Pregelj, though not suffering financially, says that because of his jury leave he has lost ground on the promotion list at the Library of Congress.

Unlike jurors in some celebrated trials, grand jurors are not sequestered and forced to live in hotel rooms. They are not supposed to talk about what goes on in their deliberations, but they can go home after duty; they can freely listen to the radio and watch TV.

The Watergate jurors seem aware that despite the hardships, they are privileged participants in history. Because of the restrictions on them, the story of their deliberations has not yet been fully told, but it is bound to be a remarkable account by a group of men and women thrust into history.

ing toward the resolution of the matter. The President is confident that all Americans will join him in recognizing that all those indicted are innocent unless proof of guilt is established in the courts."

That reminder was proper and essential. But the notion that Watergate can only be resolved in the courts is not entirely accurate. While the judicial role is still vital in determining the innocence and guilt of former high officials, the resolution of Nixon's own Watergate fate rests with the Congress.

The grand jury's difficulty in dealing with the President was clearly demonstrated last week when Nixon, in his first press conference since November, revealed that the Watergate jury had

worski could have indicted the President of the U.S.," O'Neill said. "But he didn't try and I'm glad he didn't, because I'd hate to see the President of the U.S. indicted." The evidence that Jaworski has, O'Neill declared, apparently indicating he has some knowledge of it, "is extremely damaging. Rather than see the evidence made public, I think the President will resign."

At his press conference, Nixon appeared more relaxed, subdued and conciliatory than he has in a long time. For the most part, he fielded reporters' questions in an assured and forthright manner. He gave not the slightest hint that he either feared that any such fatal revelation might be imminent or that he would ever quit under any circumstances.

Even if his continuance in office meant resounding defeat for his party in the coming congressional elections, he indicated, he would not resign. Once again confusing his personal fate with that of the institution of the presidency, Nixon declared: "I want my party to succeed, but more important, I want the presidency to survive." And, Nixon added, "I do not expect to be impeached." Later in the week he told a gathering of cheering young Republicans, "You learn from your defeats, and then you go on to fight again—never quit, never quit."

That could be bluster before the fall, or it could represent Nixon's sincere belief in his innocence of impeachable "high crimes and misdemeanors." Depending on what may be in that briefcase, his survival strategy has some practical chance of success. His lawyers are advancing the narrowest possible grounds for impeachment, limited to indictable crimes

of "a very serious nature committed in one's governmental capacity."

Nixon's narrow view of the permissible impeachment grounds might permit his attorneys to stall. They could argue that most requests for evidence from the Rodino committee were irrelevant to impeachment. The Supreme Court might have to decide these battles. The basic Nixon strategy still seems to be to hold out and play for some unexpected break.

There are few in sight. Indeed, many more troubles still loom for the increasingly isolated President. He as much as admitted at his press conference that his income tax deduction of \$482,000 for the donation of his public papers was at least technically illegal—because the paper work was not completed before the law allowing such deductions expired—and he hinted that he would have to pay a large sum in back taxes. His own tax accountant, Arthur Blech, was quoted last

week as saying that he objected to some of Nixon's 1970 and 1971 deductions but had been prevented, apparently by White House aides, from telling the President of his misgivings before returns were filed.

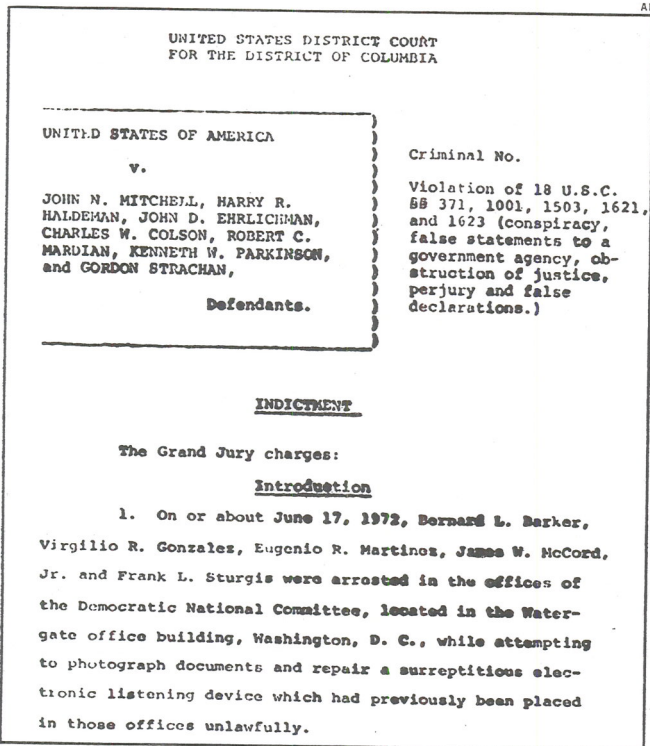
The President's Lawyer

While pushing the cover-up prosecution, Jaworski's busy staff also netted another top Nixon associate in a somewhat peripheral phase of the Watergate scandal—but one that also has serious implications for Nixon. Kalmbach, the President's personal lawyer, pleaded guilty to two charges: 1) violating the Federal Corrupt Practices Act by helping create and run a secret committee in 1970 for which he collected nearly \$4 million for congressional candidates but had no treasurer or chairman and failed to file reports as required by law; 2) soliciting and accepting a \$100,000 political contribution in 1970 from J. Fife Symington Jr., Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago, in return for a pledge—which Kalmbach testified that he cleared with an unnamed White House aide—that Symington would get a higher-ranking ambassadorial post in Europe.

The operation of the secret committee was a felony charge. The Jaworski staff told Judge Sirica that three other unnamed former White House aides helped Kalmbach run the committee. They, too, will presumably be charged at some later date. It seems highly unlikely that such a large fund would have been gathered without the President's knowledge. The deal with the ambassador was only a misdemeanor, and Symington never got a European job; but it would have taken presidential concurrence even to make such an offer, if it was made in, so to speak, good faith. Why the Kalmbach pledge was not fulfilled was not revealed—and Kalmbach cannot testify about his conversations with Nixon unless the President waives their attorney-client privilege.

Kalmbach pleaded to the relatively light charges in return for his full cooperation in the expected trials of other defendants. One of the Nixon campaign's chief fund raisers, he has publicly admitted soliciting some \$190,000 that was passed covertly to the original Watergate defendants, the five burglars and their two team leaders, Liddy and Hunt, while they were in prison or awaiting trial. Kalmbach claimed that Ehrlichman personally assured him that the payments were proper and that he should carry out John Dean's instructions to make them, and he apparently will so testify if Ehrlichman goes on trial. Judge Sirica postponed sentencing Kalmbach—apparently until after he makes good on his promise to cooperate with Prosecutor Jaworski.

Not even the work of the original Watergate grand jury is complete. Sirica ordered the understandably weary jurors to be prepared to return within two weeks. One pending bit of unfin-



PORTION OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE INDICTMENT
Two more grand juries still to report.

sent him a request asking that he appear before it to answer questions. He said he had "respectfully declined" on constitutional grounds. Nixon said that he had offered to answer written questions from Jaworski or to talk with the prosecutor personally, but "he indicated that he did not want to proceed in that way." That would seem to represent a sound legal judgment on Jaworski's part, since such unsworn informal contacts would have no standing in court and would probably only serve to complicate the situation.

The briefcase handed to Judge Sirica by Jaworski's staff attorneys may well contain evidence that could render irrelevant the continuing controversy over whether a President can only be impeached if found guilty of criminal conduct. House Democratic Leader Tip O'Neill said as much last week at a seminar with students at Harvard. "I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that Ja-