## THE NATION

Dorothy stuck out her tongue at both judge and jury and made a "razzberry" sound.

So ended a series of criminal investigations in which three determined special prosecutors-Archibald Cox, Leon Jaworski and Henry Ruth-had exposed a tortuous trail of official deceit at the highest levels of the Nixon Administration. The cover-up that came apart under the prosecutors' attack had been undertaken to conceal the origins of the electronic eavesdropping of the Democratic National Committee offices on June 17, 1972. Shredding evidence, buying the silence of hired burglars with promises of clemency and secret payments of cash, lying both publicly and under oath, abusing the FBI, CIA and Justice Department-all those tactics were involved. The aim was first to ensure the re-election of Nixon in 1972, later to keep him in power.

Ghostly Presence. Technically, Nixon was not on trial-he had, after all, been pardoned by Gerald Ford. But he had also been named a co-conspirator by the original Watergate grand jury. He had not been indicted only because Jaworski had held that impeachment rather than court prosecution was the legally sound way to deal with criminal activity by a sitting President. Too ill to testify, although subpoenaed by

Ehrlichman, Nixon remained a ghostly presence throughout the trial.

The former President's own words. trapped on the White House tapes that he had so secretly and self-destructively made and preserved, left no reasonable doubt, if any still lingered, that he had been the key figure in the cover-up conspiracy. He had ordered his aides to direct the CIA to block temporarily the FBI's investigation of bank checks that had helped finance the burglary. No fewer than ten times during the celebrated March 21, 1973, "cancer on the presidency" talk with John Dean, he had approved meeting Burglar E. Howard Hunt's demands for hush money. De-



RICHARD M. NIXON

## A Gallery of the Guilty

In all, 26 former Nixon aides and agents have pleaded guilty or been convicted in the scandals known collectively as Watergate. The criminal acts involve the break-ins and bugging at Democratic national headquarters in Washington, the subsequent cover-up, various acts of sabotage against the Democrats in the 1972 pres-

idential campaign, secret payments of hush money to the Watergate burglars, the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, Richard Nixon's federal tax return claims and perjury in connection with the investigation into a possible connection between the settlement of antitrust suits against the International Telephone & Telegraph Co. and its pledges of money for the Republican National Convention. The former President, named an unindicted co-conspirator by the Watergate grand jury for his role in the cover-up, was pardoned by his successor Gerald Ford for all offenses that he may have committed during his  $5\frac{1}{2}$  years in office. Here is a listing of the men who have been found guilty and the offices they once held:



JOHN N. MITCHELL, 61, Attorney General, later head of Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign. Convicted of conspiracy, obstruction of justice and three counts of lying; awaiting sentencing.



HARRY ROBBINS HALDEMAN, 48, White House chief of staff. Convicted of conspir-



acy, obstruction of justice and three counts of perjury; awaiting sentencing. JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN, 49, chief domestic



affairs adviser. Convicted of conspiracy, obstruction of justice and two counts of perjury; awaiting sentencing. Also convicted of conspiracy in the Ellsberg break-in and two counts of perjury for lying about his awareness of a White House plan to get a psychological profile of Ellsberg; appealing a sentence of 20 months to five years.















**ROBERT C. MARDIAN**, 51, attorney for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President and once the chief of the Justice Department's internal security division. Convicted of conspiracy; awaiting sentencing.

JOHN W. DEAN III, 36, chief White House counsel and a major Watergate prosecution witness. Pleaded guilty to charges of conspiring to obstruct justice and to defraud the U.S. in the Watergate cover-up; now serving a one-to-four-year prison sentence.

CHARLES W. COLSON, 43, Nixon's special counsel. Pleaded guilty to obstruction of justice for devising a scheme to get and disseminate derogatory information about Pentagon Papers Defendant Daniel Ellsberg in 1971; serving a one-to-three-year sentence.

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN, 34, appointments secretary to Nixon. Convicted on two counts of perjury for false testimony to a federal grand jury about his discussion with Dirty Tricks Specialist Donald Segretti about distribution of fake campaign literature; appealing a sentence of ten to 30 months.

JEB STUART MAGRUDER, 40, deputy director of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. Pleaded guilty to conspiracy in the cover-up; now serving a tenmonth-to-four-year sentence.

EGIL KROGH JR., 34, White House aide to Ehrlichman. Pleaded guilty to conspiracy in the Ellsberg break-in; has completed a six-month sentence.

HARRY S. DENT, 44, Nixon's special counsel and political adviser, who devised the 1970 "southern strategy." Pleaded guilty to working with an illegal fund-raising committee called "Operation Townhouse" that distributed money to 1970 congressional candidates; sentenced to one month's probation.

spite all previous denials, the tapes showed that Nixon had discussed clemency for Hunt with Charles W. Colson, his former aide, and had told John Mitchell to "stonewall" in talking to Watergate investigators.

At San Clemente after the verdict, Nixon had little to say. He authorized an aide to tell reporters that because the four convicted men planned appeals, it would be inappropriate for him to comment. The aide would concede only that Nixon was "deeply anguished that these men, who were among his closest aides, and their families have suffered so much, that their lives have been so tragically touched by Watergate." Somewhat more talkative than their former boss were the two aides whom Nixon—even as he fired them in April 1973—had praised as "the finest public servants I have ever known." Said a solemn Haldeman after last week's verdict: "There's only one human being in the whole world who knows if I'm innocent or guilty. That person is me, and I know that legally and morally I'm totally and absolutely innocent."

**Telltale Tapes.** Ehrlichman also insisted on his innocence. He implied that Nixon had deceived him in some conversations about the cover-up. "The President was much better informed about what took place than some of us were led to believe." To Ehrlichman, the "turning point" in the trial was Judge Sirica's decision that the proceedings could not be indefinitely postponed until Nixon was well enough to be questioned. He also protested the impact of pretrial publicity: "If there ever has been a political trial in this country, this is it." Later, on NBC television, Ehrlichman ruefully admitted: "As a matter of historical perspective, a bonfire of the tapes on the South Lawn of the White House wouldn't have been a bad idea."

But even without the telltale tapes, the Government's case against Mitchell, Haldeman and Ehrlichman was overwhelming. There simply were too many

**RICHARD G. KLEINDIENST,** 51, Attorney General. Pleaded guilty to refusing to testify fully during his confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1972, when he stated falsely that Nixon had never pressured him to soften the Government's antitrust drive against ITT; received a one-month suspended sentence.

**ED REINECKE**, 51, Lieutenant Governor of California. Convicted of lying during the Kleindienst confirmation hearings about the date on which he informed Mitchell of a \$400,000 offer from ITT to the Republican National Convention; received an 18-month suspended sentence.

**HERBERT W. KALMBACH**, 53, Nixon's personal attorney. Pleaded guilty to violating the Federal Corrupt Practices Act and to offering an ambassadorship in return for campaign contributions; serving a six-to-18-month sentence.

**EDWARD L. MORGAN**, 36, Assistant Treasury Secretary. Pleaded guilty to illegally backdating the deed giving Nixon's vicepresidential papers to the Government; sentenced to four months in prison and 20 months' probation.

JACK A. GLEASON, 38, White House aide. Pleaded guilty to violating the Federal Corrupt Practices Act by running Operation Townhouse; sentencing delayed.

**FREDERICK C. LGRUE**, 44, C.R.P. aide. Pleaded guilty to conspiracy in the cover-up; sentencing deferred while he cooperates with the Watergate prosecution.

**HERBERT L. PORTER**, 36, C.R.P. scheduling director. Pleaded guilty to lying to the FBI about the Watergate cover-up; released from prison after serving 30 days of a five-to-15-month sentence.

**G. GORDON LIDDY**, 44, counsel to C.R.P. Convicted of conspiracy, burglary and illegal wiretapping in the Watergate breakin; released pending appeal after serving 21 months of a sentence of up to 20 years. Also convicted of conspiracy in the Ellsberg burglary; sentenced to a one-to-threeyear prison term to be served concurrently.

















**E.** HOWARD HUNT, 56, White House consultant. Pleaded guilty to leading the Watergate break-in; released pending appeal after serving ten months of a  $2\frac{1}{2}$ -to-eightyear sentence.

JAMES W. McCORD JR., 56, C.R.P. security coordinator. Convicted of conspiracy, burglary and wiretapping at Watergate; sentenced to one-to-five years in prison, now free on bond pending appeal.

**BERNARD L. BARKER**, 56, one of four Cuban refugees charged in the Watergate break-in. Pleaded guilty to burglary, conspiracy and illegal wiretapping and eavesdropping; released pending appeal after serving one year of a  $2\frac{1}{2}$ -to-six-year sentence.

**EUGENIO R. MARTINEZ,** 51, another of the Watergate burglars. Pleaded guilty to burglary, conspiracy and illegal wiretapping and eavesdropping; released on parole after serving four months of a one-to-fouryear sentence. Pleaded guilty to similar charges in the Ellsberg burglary; sentenced to three years' probation.

FRANK A. STURGIS, 49, another member of the burglary team. Convicted of burglary, conspiracy and violation of federal wiretapping laws; released pending appeal after serving one year of a one-to-four-year prison sentence.

VIRGILIO R. GONZALEZ, 47, another of the Watergate burglars. Pleaded guilty to burglary, conspiracy and illegal wiretapping and eavesdropping; released on parole after serving four months of a one-to-fouryear sentence.

**DONALD H. SEGRETTI,** 33, political saboteur. Pleaded guilty to conspiracy and distributing phony campaign literature to damage Democrats in the 1972 presidential campaign; released after serving five months of a six-month sentence.

**GEORGE A. HEARING,** 40, Florida accountant who aided Segretti in his dirty-tricks operation. Pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy; released after serving seven months of a one-year sentence.

















TIME, JANUARY 13, 1975