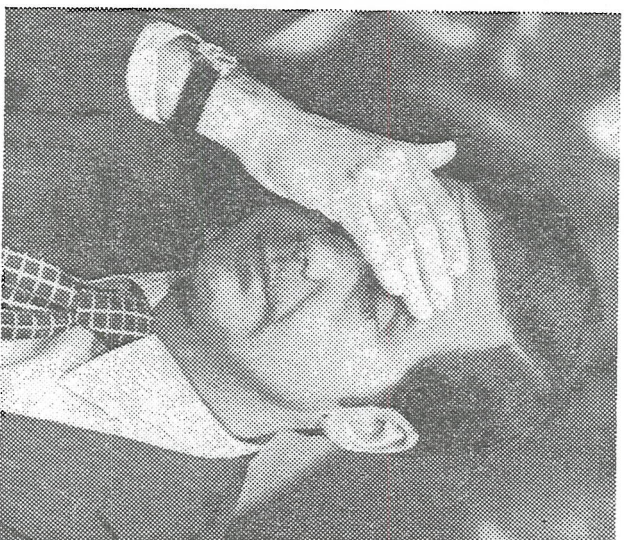


MAGRUDER TIES MITCHELL, DEAN TO WATERGATE BUGGING SCHEME AND HALDEMAN TO THE COVER-UP



Photographs for The New York Times by GEORGE TAMES
Jef Stuart Magruder, former deputy director of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, testifying at the Watergate hearing

Magruder on Watergate: Ends Justify the Means

NYTimes By JAMES M. NAUGHTON JUN 15 1973

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 14—Government officials he respected had done it. The university professor of ethics he admired had done it. So Jeb Stuart Magruder had done it too, he told the Senate committee investigating the Watergate affair today. He had let the end justify the means.

Mr. Magruder, the former deputy director of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, displayed a controlled nervousness and was more than a little apologetic as he sat all day at the witness table relating in detail that he and an assortment of high officials—from the Attorney General to the President's lawyer—had planned, executed and then tried in vain to cover up the Watergate affair.

He popped a lozenge in his mouth and told how the offi-

cial had not been all that eager to approve a \$250,000 master plan for breaking and entering and bugging, and that they had, in fact, whittled it down from a \$1-million extravaganza. But they had "signed off" the plan—approved it—because it might, just might, provide some helpful data about the President's political opposition last year.

He shifted in his chair and fidgeted with his shirt collar and kept repositioning an ashtray on the table as he said that, when the whole thing went warty with the arrests at the Watergate office complex, they began alby instinct to destroy documents, concoct a cover story and plan perjury. There never was any consideration that

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he should tell the truth, he said, because their concern, after all, was to prevent a fatal blow to the President's bid for a second term.

Mr. Magruder was gravely handsome as he spelled it all out. His tanned cheeks had what seemed to be a permanent blush, but he was otherwise cloaked in somber gray—the chalk-toned suit, pale striped shirt, the subdued print tie. It came across like Machiavelli in pinstripes.

Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, kept asking why. Why, if they all knew it to be illegal; why, if they had personal reservations, why had they gone ahead and done it?

Tattered Integrity

The reply from Mr. Magruder, in sum, was that his sense of integrity had become tattered—but no more than that of anyone else.

At Williams College, he said, he took a course in ethics from William Sloane Coffin Jr., "whom I respect greatly." And yet, in the three years Mr. Magruder worked at the White House, he had seen "continuing violations of the law done by men like William Sloane Coffin" in the antiwar movement. Mr. Coffin, chaplain at Yale University, told a rally on the grounds of the Washington Monument, Mr. Magruder said, that students should burn their draft cards and demonstrate against the Government.

Furthermore, the witness said, there had been "a certain atmosphere" in the White House, a feeling that, if the dissenters could break the

law, the President's defenders could reply in kind.

"Let me just say," Mr. Magruder said, "When these subjects came up and although I was aware they were illegal and I am sure the others did, we had become somewhat inured to using some activities that would help us in accomplishing what we thought was a cause, a legitimate cause."

Properly Penitent

He was, all the same, properly penitent as he made his disavowal today of his super-pragmatism. He cleared his throat, rubbed his face with his hand, and told the Senate committee—and the nation of witnesses to the televised Watergate hearings—that "two wrongs do not make a right," that he now understands that his was "an absolutely incorrect decision," and that the President "had confidence in his aides and I must confess that some of us failed him."

More important, perhaps, he told what he knew, sowing a virtual mine field of testimony for future witnesses at the hearings. He implicated a dozen people in the plot or the cover-up, giving dates and details of the key events in response to the gentle prodding of the committee's chief counsel, Samuel Dash.

Mr. Magruder's day-long testimony was the first in public by any official contending that there had indeed been a high-level plot last year to spy on the Democrats, and that there had indeed been a subsequent high-level campaign to obscure the scope of the plot. In the jargon of the Nixon campaign organization —

where a burglary is an "entry" and people "indicate" rather than say things—Mr. Magruder recounted what he said was the extent of the involvement.

Would Accept Blame

He said he volunteered, at one point last year, to assume public blame for the Watergate conspiracy, so that others might be spared in the heat of the Presidential campaign, contending that he "honestly thought" that if former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and others had been implicated, Mr. Nixon's "re-election would be probably negated." But the others persuaded him to lay low and let the original seven defendants in the Watergate case assume the blame, he said.

Senator Lowell P. Weicker Jr., Republican of Connecticut, was moved this afternoon to commend Mr. Magruder for owning up today to his recitation about ends justifying means.

"I have seen a lot of atonement going on," the Senator said, "but I do not think anybody really put their finger on the problem with a sincere feeling as you did this morning."

Senator Weicker asked Mr. Magruder if he would agree that, left to themselves, the Constitution of the United States and the American people were equal to the task of governing within legal means and legitimate ends. Mr. Magruder replied, "I could not agree with you, Senator, more—now."

Across Capitol Hill, at nearly the same time, the House of Representatives recessed for one hour in honor of June 14—Flag Day.