

DATA TO HEARING

They Suggest Mitchell Was Responsible for Intelligence Plot

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 27—The White House, in a counter-attack against testimony by John W. Dean 3d that President Nixon was deeply enmeshed in the Watergate cover-up, declared today that Mr. Dean was the cover-up "mastermind."

The White House also described former Attorney Gen-

Testimony, Pages 35 and 36
White House memo, Page 36.

eral John N. Mitchell as Mr. Dean's "patron" and suggested that Mr. Mitchell was responsible for the intelligence gathering scheme that led to the Watergate break-in.

The counterattack — asserting that Mr. Dean had consistently misled the President about the scope of the Watergate conspiracy—was contained in a long White House interpretation of the explosive charges that Mr. Dean had made before the Senate's Watergate investigating committee.

The summary was read into the record of the Watergate hearings late this afternoon by Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat of Hawaii, who explained that he thought it was only fair to use it to test Mr. Dean's believability and to give the President "his day in court."

'The Principal Actor'

"There is no reason to doubt," the White House document contended, "that John Dean was the principal actor in the Watergate cover-up, and that while other motivations may have played a part, he had a great interest in covering up for himself."

The White House analysis pictured Mr. Dean as "the most active participant" in a skein of events intended to thwart the Watergate investigation and said that, "throughout all of this, Mr. Dean was perfectly situated to mastermind and to carry out a cover-up."

The suggestion, in the White House view, that Mr. Mitchell was responsible for the intelligence gathering scheme that led to the Watergate break-in was implicit throughout the White House document.

Help for Mitchell Hinted

It strongly suggested that Mr. Dean had become an active participant in the cover-up to protect Mr. Mitchell, for whom Mr. Dean worked at the Department of Justice before he joined the White House staff in 1970. The document referred to meetings that Mr. Dean had with Mr. Mitchell and others after the Watergate burglary and attributed to them the planning for cover-up activities.

The White House said that Mr. Dean "must immediately have had reason to realize" when the Watergate break-in was disclosed "that his patron, Mitchell, would also be involved" as a potential defendant against a charge of criminal conspiracy." The document said

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that it was Mr. Dean, "purportedly acting on behalf of Mitchell," who had proposed raising hush money for the Watergate defendants.

It stated that "it was Dean and Mitchell" who prepared for a witness at the Watergate trial in January to commit perjury. It noted pointedly—but, Mr. Dean said, incorrectly—that Mr. Mitchell had "sponsored Dean" for his job at the White House and thus underscored the suggestion that Mr. Dean was protecting the former Attorney General.

Mr. Dean, who was at the Senate committee witness table for the third day, interrupted the reading of the statement time after time to dispute its rationale and, in one instance, to assert that it was "in no way conceivable" that he could have devised and carried out such a widespread plot.

Furthermore, in testimony earlier today, Mr. Dean presented to the Senate committee a thick sheaf of White House documents — some of which he acknowledged having prepared himself — that detailed a massive list of political "enemies" of the Nixon Administration and called for clandestine use of the Government's investigative, regulatory and other agencies to bring pressure to bear on those unfriendly to the President.

The documents, most of which Mr. Dean said had been produced by Charles W. Colson, a former White House special counsel, and Mr. Colson's staff, labeled as "enemies" so many prominent Democrats, liberal academicians and journalists that Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., the North Carolina Democrat who chairs the Watergate hearings, said that it was a wonder how the Democrats had not had enough votes to win the 1972 election.

At least two of the key documents that Mr. Dean submitted bore his own imprint as an architect of plans to "maximize the fact of our incumbency," as he stated it, to use the Federal Government "to screw our political enemies."

White House Charges
Dean Led Cover-Up;
Mitchell's Ex-Aide
LaRue Pleads Guilty;
Administration
'Political Enemies'
Listed

Another document, which Mr. Dean acknowledged having helped to prepare, detailed a plan to use the Internal Revenue Service to "obtain information" about "political enemies" of the Nixon Administration and then to "stimulate audits" of the individuals' income tax returns.

The White House rationale for Mr. Dean's allegations against the President said that the former White House legal counsel's "activity in the cover-up also made him, perhaps unwittingly, the principal author of the political and constitutional crisis that Watergate now epitomizes."

The document, prepared by J. Fred Buzhardt Jr., the White House special counsel on Watergate, represented the current White House strategy for dealing with Mr. Dean's accusations. The White House has deferred making any official response to Mr. Dean's testimony.

Embarrassment Cited

"It would have been embarrassing to the President," the document said, "if the true facts [about Watergate] had become known shortly after June 17," the date of the Watergate break-in last year. But the document insisted that Mr. Nixon, "an immensely popular President, could easily have weathered" the political embarrassment if he had only been fully informed as to its scope at the time.

Now, the document said, "the political problem has been magnified 1,000-fold because the truth is coming to light so belatedly, because of insinuations that the White House was a party to the cover-up and, above all, because the White House since been found to have been untrue. (P. 36, Col. 3)

"The added consequences," the White House paper said, "were John Dean's doing."

Senator Inouye said that he was reading the White House summary—and that he would follow up tomorrow with the 41 specific questions the White House submitted to be posed to Mr. Dean—because they constituted the "most appropriate" test of Mr. Dean's credibility.

The White House statements and questions, the Democratic Senator said, "should substitute... for a cross-examination of Mr. Dean by the President of the United States."

Mr. Dean sat, leaning forward in his leather chair and staring at Mr. Inouye, as the Senator read the document. The witness was, however, scarcely more ill at ease than he was earlier this week as he calmly recited the allegations that form, at this point, the undocumented but explosive charge against the President.

'Foundation of Proposition'

When Senator Inouye read from the White House summary that Mr. Dean was "the foundation of the proposition that the White House was not involved" in the Watergate case, the 34-year-old Mr. Dean interrupted to say that he would "draw to the attention of the Senator the La Coste, [Calif.] meeting and the events that transpired there." Mr. Dean referred to his

charges earlier this week that he had met at the California resort last Feb. 10 and 11 with Mr. Ehrlichman H. R. Haldeman, the former White House chief of staff, and Richard A. Moore, special counsel to the President, to plan a White House counteroffensive against the Senate investigation.

When the Senator read the White House assertion that Mr. Nixon and others had continually pressed to make "the whole story" of Watergate public this year but that Mr. Dean had opposed doing so, Mr. Dean repeated his testimony that he had told Mr. Nixon he believed Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman and Mr. Dean "could be indicted" for obstructing justice.

So it went, for more than an hour late this afternoon, with the committee listening to the White House account and Mr. Dean retaliating by recalling specific statements that he had made before the committee earlier that, he kept insisting, explained how the John Dean version was accurate.

The White House analysis said that at Mr. Dean's meeting on March 21 with the President, the counsel had presented a version of Watergate that was "laundered," but that was still so hair-raising to Mr. Nixon that he "came out of his chair."*

Mr. Dean said that "the President of the United States just doesn't come flying out of his chair," and that, to the contrary, when Mr. Dean sought to warn the President that Watergate was a "cancer growing on the Presidency," Mr. Nixon "seemed disinterested."

According to the White House account, Mr. Dean was ordered to the Presidential retreat at Camp David, Md., on March 23 to write a full Watergate report but failed, because "it would have been impossible to write a believable report that would not have been self-indicting."

Mr. Dean replied that the President had never asked for such a report, but that Mr. Haldeman had.

He said again that he had become persuaded that Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman were trying to make him a Watergate "scapegoat," and that he consequently withheld his report from them, but that "if the President had called me and asked me for that report, I would have sent it."

The White House position paper on Mr. Dean's testimony — which a Presidential spokesman in San Clemente, Calif., said late today had not been shown to Mr. Nixon — described the deposed White House counsel as a potential criminal defendant desperate to find immunity from prosecution by telling his tale to Government investigators.

It said that Mr. Dean "decided to strike out on his own to hunt for immunity for the long list of wrongs he had committed," and that when the prosecutors failed to grant immunity to him he began leaking allegations to the media in "shrill efforts" to "save himself by striking out recklessly at others."

Questioned by Gurney

"If anyone has been on the receiving end of adverse publicity," Mr. Dean told the Senators, "It's been this witness."

The White House attempt, through the summary and the prepared questions, to dismantle Mr. Dean's version of the Watergate cover-up burst into the public hearings after an exhaustive, three-hour interrogation of Mr. Dean by Senator Edward J. Gurney, Republican of Florida.

This afternoon, under close and consistently skeptical examination by Mr. Gurney, Mr. Dean conceded that when he had taken \$4,850 from a campaign fund in his office safe to go on a honeymoon last October, leaving a personal check in the safe, he did not have the money in his bank account to cover the check.

The admission came after Mr. Gurney presented to Mr. Dean a copy of the statement the committee obtained, under subpoena, from the National Savings and Trust Company showing Mr. Dean's account stood at \$1,625.12 on the date in question, Oct. 12.

Senator Gurney's questioning took up the entire two-hour morning session of the Watergate hearing and one hour this afternoon. As a consequence, the committee abandoned its plan to finish with Mr. Dean's testimony today—the chairman, Senator Ervin, and vice chairman, Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, have yet to ask any questions of Mr. Dean—and put off until July 10 calling Mr. Mitchell as the next witness.

The committee had hoped to call Mr. Mitchell tomorrow. An aide to one of the Democratic Senators on the panel complained that Mr. Gurney appeared to have been "filibustering" to delay the appearance of the former Attorney General.

Mr. Gurney's thorough questioning, frequently tart, drew from Mr. Dean the concession that one of his key charges—that the President was aware of the cover-up as early as last September—was based on an impression of an Oval Office

* P 36, COL 57

conversation that Mr. Dean did not profess to remember precisely.

Mr. Dean testified on Monday that Mr. Haldeman had called him to the President's office last September and congratulated him for his part in helping to assure that no one was indicted by a Federal grand jury except the seven original

defendants, thus sparing the White House staff of any involvement.

But Senator Gurney pressed Mr. Dean today, asking:

"How can you say that the President knew all about these things from a simple observation by him that 'Bob [Haldeman] tells me you're doing a good job'?"



Senator Herman F. Talmadge, Democrat



John W. Dean 3d's wife, Maureen



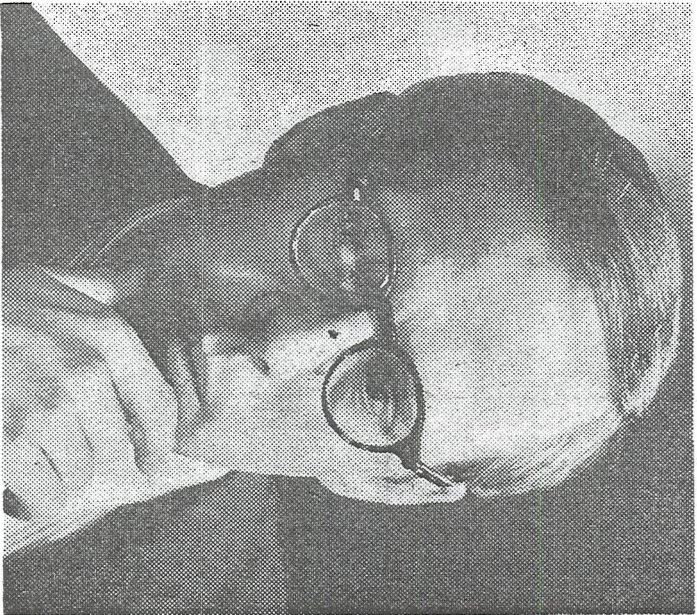
Senator Edward J. Gurney, Republican



Robert C. McCandless, Mr. Dean's lawyer



Men in the audience at the Watergate hearing yesterday



Photographs for The New York Times by BARTON SILVERMAN and GEORGE TAMES
Mr. Dean listening to a question at the hearing



A man and woman among those who gained admission