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By James M. Naughton New York Times

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Confidential analyses prepared by House Judiciary Committee staff members say that President Nixon took an active part last year in attempts to develop a second Watergate coverup plan when the first one went awry.

According to the memorandums, drafted for Democrats on the Judiciary Committee, the President reacted to disclosures of the Watergate scandal in March and April of last year by counseling close associates to seek new ways to prevent the scandal from touching the White House.

The staff analyses, two of which were obtained yesterday by the New York Times, were based in part on Judiciary Committee transcripts containing sections of taped White House conversations that were omitted from the edited transcripts made public on April 30 by Mr. Nixon.

Among the conversations cited in two staff studies were some that were left out of the White House-edited transcripts and some that differed from the White House versions.

These conversations are included in the studies:

• On March 17, 1973, four days before Mr. Nixon has contended he first learned of the scope of the alleged coverup, the President urged John W. Dean III, then the White House legal counsel, to try to prevent officials of the 1972 re-election committee from implicating in the scandal H. R. Haldeman, who was the White House chief of staff at the time.

"We've got to cut that off," the committee transcript of the meeting quoted Mr. Nixon as saying. "We can't have that go to Haldeman."

• In a long meeting with

Dean and Haldeman on March 21, the President chuckled and insisted, despite Dean's statement that it was not true, that the White House cite a committee of Cuban-Americans in Miami as the source of large cash payments to the Watergate burglars.

• One day later, at the President's first meeting with former Attorney General John N. Mitchell after Mr. Nixon learned of Mitchell's alleged role in the coverup attempt, Mr. Nixon

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From Page 1 told Mitchell to continue to try to contain the scandal.

The staff memo quoted Mr. Nixon as having said:

"I don't give a (expletive) what happens. I want you to (unintelligible) stonewall it, plead the Fifth Amendment (unintelligible) else, if it'll (unintelligible). That's the big point."

Mr.' Nixon was also said to have told Mitchell, "Even up to this point, the whole theory has been containment, as you know, John."

• In a series of comments at the meeting on March 22 of last year, Mr. Nixon described his order to Dean to write a publishable report on the Watergate case as a device to mask the involvement of White House and

campaign officials in the coverup.

The memo said Mr. Nixon had stated at one point that if the Senate Watergate committee should call Dean as a witness, the White House would reply:

"Now that's out. Dean has — he makes the report. Here's everything Dean knows. That's where, that's why the Dean report is critical."

The last sentence, describing the Dean report as "critical," was missing from the White House version of the meeting.

The studies were drafted by William P. Dixon, a lawyer on the committee staff, at the request of various Democratic members, and the studies were made available yesterday by a congressional official who favors the impeachment of the President.

In one of the memos, dated June 7, Dixon wrote that the material he had digested for the analysis bore on "possible direct presidential involvement in the coverup of the coverup of the Watergate burglary and other illegal activities."

The second memo, dated June 4, stated that the committee transcripts could be "interpreted to support the assumption that the President never asked Dean to write a report for the purpose of giving him additional facts, but merely so it could be relied on as an excuse in the event things came 'unstuck' and the President needed justification for inaction."