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## 'Deep Throat' Mark Felt Dies at 95

The most famous anonymous source in American history died Dec. 18 at his home in Santa Rosa, Calif.



# The Watergate Story

A burglary at a Washington office complex called the Watergate in June 1972 grew into a wide-ranging political scandal that culminated in the resignation of President Richard Nixon two years later. "Watergate" is shorthand for this tumultuous time in America and its enduring impact.

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### PART 1 The Post Investigates



A curious crime, two young reporters, and a secret source known as "Deep Throat" ... Washington would be changed forever.

### PART 2 The Government Acts



The courts, the Congress and a special prosecutor probe the burglars' connections to the White House and discover a secret taping system.

### PART 3 Nixon Resigns



President Nixon refuses to release the tapes and fires the special prosecutor. A decisive Supreme Court ruling is a victory for investigators.

### PART 4 Deep Throat Revealed



After 30 years, one of Washington's best-kept secrets is exposed.

### Quotes

"Whether ours shall continue to be a government of laws and not of men is now before Congress and ultimately the American people."

—Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox after his firing, Oct. 20, 1973

### What's New

- Q&A Transcript: John Dean's new book "Pure Goldwater" (May 6, 2008)
- Obituary: Nixon Aide DeVan L. Shumway, 77 (April 26, 2008)



- [Does the News Matter To Anyone Anymore?](#) (Jan. 20, 2008)
- [Why I Believe Bush Must Go](#) (Jan. 6, 2008)

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WATERGATE

### Key Players



Howard Baker



Carl Bernstein



Robert Bork



Benjamin Bradlee



Pat Buchanan



Archibald Cox



Charles Colson



John Dean



Bob Dole



John Ehrlichman



Sam Ervin



Mark Felt



Katharine Graham



H.R. Haldeman



E. Howard Hunt



Richard Kleindienst



G. Gordon Liddy



Jeb Magruder



James McCord



John Mitchell



Richard Nixon



Donald Segretti



Earl Silbert



Hugh Sloan

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Maurice Stans



Bob Woodward

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### PART 1 The Post Investigates

"Five Held in Plot to Bug Democratic Offices Here," said the headline at the bottom of page one in the Washington Post on Sunday, June 18, 1972. The story reported that a team of burglars had been arrested inside the offices of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate office complex in Washington.

So began the chain of events that would convulse Washington for two years, lead to the first resignation of a U.S. president and change American politics forever.

The story intrigued two young reporters on The Post's staff, **Carl Bernstein** and **Bob Woodward** who were called in to work on the story. As [Woodward's notes](#) show, he learned from police sources that the men came from Miami, wore surgical gloves and carried thousands of dollars in cash. It was, said one source, "a professional type operation."

The next day, Woodward and Bernstein joined up for the first of many revelatory stories. "GOP Security Aide Among Those Arrested," reported that burglar **James McCord** was on the payroll of President Nixon's reelection committee. The next day, Nixon and chief of staff **H.R. Haldeman** privately discussed how to get the CIA to tell the FBI to back off from the burglary investigation. Publicly, a White House spokesman said he would not comment on "a third rate burglary."



"Bob Woodward, left, and Carl Bernstein were in their 20s when they began investigating the Watergate cover-up. (Michael Williamson - The Washington Post)

Within a few weeks, Woodward and Bernstein reported that the grand jury investigating the burglary had sought testimony from two men who had worked in the Nixon White House, former CIA officer **E. Howard Hunt** and former FBI agent **G. Gordon Liddy**. Both men would ultimately be indicted for guiding the burglars, via walkie-talkies, from a hotel room opposite the Watergate building.

In Miami, Bernstein learned that a \$25,000 check for Nixon's reelection campaign had been deposited in the bank account of one of the burglars. The resulting story, "[Bug Suspect Got Campaign Funds](#)" reported the check had been given to **Maurice Stans**, the former Secretary of Commerce who served as Nixon's chief fundraiser. It was the first time The Post linked the burglary to Nixon campaign funds.

As the two reporters pursued the story, Woodward relied on **Mark Felt**, a high ranking official at the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as a confidential source. With access to FBI reports on the burglary investigation, Felt could confirm or deny what other sources were telling The Post reporters. He also could tell them what leads to pursue. Woodward agreed to keep his identity secret, referring to him in conversations with colleagues only as "Deep Throat." His



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identity would not become public until 2005, 33 years later.

**VIDEO** | From the Hollywood adaptation of Woodward and Bernstein's "All the President's Men," Post editor Benjamin Bradlee (played by Jason Robards) expresses frustration at his reporters' sourcing.

While Nixon cruised toward reelection in the fall of 1972, Woodward and Bernstein scored a string of scoops, reporting that:

- Attorney General **John Mitchell** controlled a secret fund that paid for a campaign to gather information on the Democrats.

- Nixon's aides had run "a massive campaign of political spying and sabotage" on behalf of Nixon's reelection effort.

But while other newspapers ignored the story and voters gave Nixon a huge majority in November 1972, the White House continued to denounce The Post's coverage as biased and misleading. Post publisher **Katharine Graham** worried about the administration's "unveiled threats and harassment."

As Hunt asked the White House provide money for himself and his co-defendants, **John Sirica**, the tough-talking judge presiding over the trial of the burglars, took on the role of investigator, trying to force the defendants to disclose what they knew. Hunt and the other burglars pleaded guilty, while McCord and Liddy went to trial and were convicted.



As Hunt's demands for "hush money" persisted, **John Dean**, a White House lawyer, privately told Nixon that there was "a cancer on the presidency." When the FBI finally pierced the White House denials, senior officials faced prosecution for perjury and obstruction of justice. In April 1973, four of Nixon's top aides lost their jobs, including chief of staff Haldeman, chief domestic policy adviser, **John Ehrlichman**, Attorney General **Richard Kleindienst** and Dean himself.

When Nixon's press secretary Ron Ziegler said previous White House criticisms of The Post were "inoperative," Woodward and Bernstein's reporting had been vindicated.

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THE GOVERNMENT  
ACT

From Part 1: WOODWARD'S NOTES (pdf) | DOCUMENTATION OF MCCORD ON NIXON PAYROLL (pdf)  
SEARCH WARRANT (pdf) | JOHN DEAN: "CANCER IN THE PRESIDENCY" (Audio)

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### PART 2 The Government Acts

By the summer of 1973, the Watergate affair was a full-blown national scandal and the subject of two official investigations, one led by Special Prosecutor [Archibald Cox](#), the other by North Carolina Senator [Sam Ervin](#), chairman of the Senate Watergate Committee.

Cox, a liberal Harvard Law School professor with a crew cut, had served as Solicitor General in the Kennedy administration. He was appointed by Nixon's new Attorney General [Elliot Richardson](#) to investigate the burglary and all other offenses involving the White House or Nixon's reelection campaign.



Archibald Cox is sworn in as special Watergate prosecutor by Judge Charles Fahy, left, during a ceremony at the Justice Dept. in May 1973.(UPI)

Ervin, a conservative Democrat best known for his interest in constitutional law, was chosen by Senate leaders to chair a seven-member investigatory committee. As the Senate Watergate Committee's nationally-televised hearings captured national interest, Ervin's folksy but tenacious grilling of sometimes reluctant witnesses transformed him a household name.

The scandal had spread beyond the original burglary. In April 1973, it was revealed that Watergate burglars, Hunt and Liddy, had broken into the office of the psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg, the former Defense Department analyst who gave the top-secret Pentagon papers to the New York Times. Seeking information to discredit Ellsberg, they found nothing and left undetected. In May, a Senator revealed that a young Nixon staffer named Tom Huston had developed a proposal for a domestic espionage office to monitor and harass the opponents of the president. The plan, never implemented, disclosed a "Gestapo mentality," said Sam Ervin.

John Dean was the first White House aide to break with the Nixon White House. "[Dean Alleges Nixon Knew of Cover-up Plan](#)," Woodward and Bernstein reported on the eve of his testimony. On the stand, Dean disclosed that he had told Nixon that the coverup was "[a cancer on the presidency](#)."



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VIDEO | John Dean testifies to the Senate Watergate Committee about his conversations with Nixon.

But the most sensational revelation came in July 1973, when White House aide Alexander Butterfield told the committee that Nixon had a [secret taping system](#) that recorded his phone calls and conversations in the Oval Office. When Nixon refused to release the tapes, [Ervin and Cox issued subpoenas](#). The White House refused to comply, citing "executive privilege," the doctrine that the president, as chief executive, is entitled to candid and confidential advice from aides.

"Thus the stage was set for a great constitutional struggle between a President determined not to give up executive documents and materials and a Senate committee and a federal prosecutor who are determined to get them," said [The Post on July 24, 1973](#). "The ultimate arbitration, it was believed, would have to be made by the Supreme Court."

After protracted negotiations, the White House agreed to provide written summaries of the taped conversations to the Senate and the special prosecutor. Ervin accepted the deal but Cox rejected it. On Saturday, Oct. 20, [Nixon ordered Attorney General Richardson to fire Cox](#). Richardson resigned rather than carry out the order, as did his top deputy Williams Ruckelshaus. Solicitor General [Robert Bork](#) became the acting attorney general and he dismissed Cox. The special prosecutor's office was abolished.

The firings, dubbed "the Saturday Night Massacre," ignited a firestorm in Washington. Amid [calls for impeachment](#), Nixon was forced to appoint a new special prosecutor, a prominent Texas lawyer named Leon Jaworski who had been a confidante of President Lyndon Johnson. Nixon's credibility suffered another blow on November 20, when his lawyers informed a federal judge that one of the key tapes sought by investigators contained 18-minute erasure that White House officials [had trouble explaining](#). When Nixon [declared at a press conference](#): "I am not a crook," more than a few Americans found his denial unconvincing.

On Dec. 31, 1973 Jaworski issued a report saying that besides the original seven burglars, 12 other persons had pleaded guilty to Watergate-related offenses and criminal proceedings against four more individual were in progress. Nixon rejected accusations of wrongdoing and insisted he would stay in office.

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NIXON RESIGNS

From Part 2: WHITE HOUSE STATEMENTS DURING INVESTIGATION (Aug. 15, 1973) ([pdf](#))  
DEAN TESTIMONY ([video](#)) | NIXON: "I AM NOT A CROOK" ([video](#))

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PART 4 DEEP THROAT REVEALED

### PART 3 Nixon Resigns

"One year of Watergate is enough," [President Nixon](#) declared in his State of the Union address in January 1974. But the embattled president could not put the issue behind him. Special prosecutor Jaworski and the Senate Watergate Committee continued to demand that the White House turn over tapes and transcripts. As public support for Nixon waned, the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives began to consider the ultimate sanction for a president--impeachment.

Nixon cast himself as a defender of the presidency. He insisted that he had made mistakes but broke no laws. He said he had no prior knowledge of the burglary and did not know about the cover-up until early 1973. To release the tapes, he said, would harm future chief executives. The pressure on Nixon mounted in March 1974, when the special prosecutor indicted former Attorney General [John Mitchell](#), former aides Haldeman and Ehrlichman, and four other staffers for conspiracy, obstruction of justice and perjury in connection with the Watergate burglary. While the grand jury wanted to indict Nixon himself, Jaworski declined to do so doubting the constitutionality of indicting a sitting president.

To mollify his critics, Nixon [announced](#) in April 1974 the release of 1,200 pages of transcripts of conversations between him and his aides. The conversations, "candid beyond any papers ever made public by a President," in the words of [The Post](#) stoked more outrage. Even Nixon's most loyal conservative supporters voiced dismay about profanity-laced discussions in the White House around how to raise blackmail money and avoid perjury.



Nixon points to the transcripts of the White House tapes during a nationally televised speech on April 29, 1974. Nixon announced that he was making the tapes public and turning over the transcripts to the House impeachment investigators. (AP)

Nixon's legal defense began to crumble in May when a federal court ruled in favor of Jaworski's subpoena for the White House tapes. Nixon's lawyers appealed the decision to the Supreme Court. His political position faltered in June, amid reports that all 21 Democratic members of the House Judiciary Committee were prepared to vote for impeachment. On July 24, [the Supreme Court](#) [unanimously ordered](#) the White House to hand over the tapes to the special prosecutor. Two days later the Judiciary Committee [approved one article of impeachment](#) to be voted on by the entire House.

When Nixon released the tapes a week later, a June 23, 1972, conversation showed that Nixon had, contrary to repeated claims of innocence, played a leading role in the cover-up from the very start. Dubbed "[the smoking gun](#)" tape, this recording eliminated what little remained of Nixon's support. Even his closest aides told him he had to resign or face the almost certain prospect of impeachment.

On August 8, 1974, [Nixon announced his resignation](#). "By taking this action," he said in a subdued yet dramatic [television address](#) from the Oval Office, "I hope that I will have hastened the start of the process of healing which is so desperately needed in America." In a rare admission of error, Nixon said: "I deeply

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regret any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision." In a final speech to the White House staff, a teary-eyed Nixon told his audience, "Those who hate you don't win unless you hate them, and then you destroy yourself."



VIDEO | Nixon announces his resignation.

Vice President Gerald Ford was sworn into office on Aug. 9, 1974, declaring "our long national nightmare is over." One month later, Ford granted Nixon a "full, free and absolute pardon" for all crimes that Nixon "committed or may have committed" during his time in the White House.

The Watergate affair was over, but its influence was not. The interlinked scandals generated a new and enduring skepticism about the federal government in American public opinion. The lingo of the scandal--"to cover-up," to "stonewall," and "to leak"--became part of the American political vocabulary. The newly assertive Congress passed campaign finance reform legislation and probed abuses of power at the CIA and other national security agencies. Woodward and Bernstein's reporting, recounted in a best-selling book, *All the President's Men*, and a hit movie infused American journalism with a new adversarial edge. Before long, the appointment of special prosecutors to investigate allegations of presidential wrongdoing became the norm in Washington. Watergate had changed American politics permanently and profoundly.

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REVEALED



- From Part 3: NIXON'S LETTER OF RESIGNATION (*pdf*)
- THE SMOKING GUN: PRESIDENT NIXON AND H.R. HALDEMAN (*audio*)
- ADDRESS TO NATION ON SUBPOENAED TAPE RECORDINGS (*pdf*)
- COX, WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE ON TAPES (*pdf*)
- LIST OF SUBPOENAED MATERIAL (*pdf*) | RECEIPT OF TAPES, LOG OF REMOVED TAPES (*pdf*)

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### PART 4 DEEP THROAT REVEALED

#### PART 4 Deep Throat Revealed

On May 31, 2005 one of Washington's best-kept secrets was [revealed](#).

Vanity Fair magazine identified a former top FBI official named Mark Felt as Deep Throat, the secret source high in the U.S. government who helped Post reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein unravel the Watergate conspiracy. Woodward, Bernstein and the paper's editors confirmed the story.

"Felt's identity as Washington's [most celebrated secret source](#) had been an object of speculation for more than 30 years," wrote Post reporter David Von Drehle the next day.



VIDEO | Bob Woodward discusses the revelation of Deep Throat's identity.

The reporters had written about their trusted source in their best-selling 1974 book, "All the President's Men," and the 1975 movie of the same name dramatized his sometimes cryptic advice about how pursue the connection between the Nixon White House and a crew of seven burglars caught in the offices of the Democratic National Committee on the night of June 17, 1972. His true identity, the object of "countless guesses" over the years, remained secret until [Vanity Fair's story](#). "I'm the guy they call Deep Throat," Felt told members of his family.

The day after the story broke, Woodward wrote a [first person account](#) of his relationship with Felt, which began with a chance encounter between a junior naval officer and a wary bureaucrat in 1970. Woodward cultivated him as a source. When the Post began to pursue the Watergate story, Woodward relied on Felt for guidance.

"I was thankful for any morsel or information, confirmation or assistance Felt gave me while Carl and I were attempting to understand the many-headed monster of Watergate. Because of his position virtually atop the chief investigative agency, his words and guidance had immense, at times even staggering, authority," Woodward wrote.

But as The Post noted, Woodward and Bernstein also "expressed a concern

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In May 2005 Vanity Fair magazine revealed that Mark Felt, pictured above with his daughter, was the source referred to as "Deep Throat." The former No. 2 official at the FBI secretly confirmed to Woodward and Bernstein what they discovered from other sources in reporting on the cover-up. (AP)

that the Deep Throat story has, over the years, come to obscure the many other elements that went into exposing the Watergate story: other sources, other investigators, high-impact Senate hearings, a shocking trove of secret White House tape recordings and the decisive intervention of a unanimous U.S. Supreme Court."

"Felt's role in all this can be overstated," said Bernstein, who went on after Watergate to a career of books, magazine articles and television investigations. "When we wrote the book, we didn't think his role would achieve such mythical dimensions. You see there that Felt/Deep Throat largely confirmed information we had already gotten from other sources."

From Part 4: WOODWARD ON DEEP THROAT (video) | WATERGATE AND THE TWO LIVES OF MARK FELT (story)  
FROM OUTLOOK: "ALL THE BUREAUCRACY'S MEN" (story) | POST'S BEN BRADLEE ON DEEP THROAT (Video)  
MARK FELT AND WATERGATE (timeline) | WOODWARD'S NOTES FROM MEETINGS WITH DEEP THROAT (online)

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## Bug Suspect Got Campaign Funds

By Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward  
Washington Post Staff Writers  
Tuesday, August 1, 1972; Page A01

A \$25,000 cashier's check, apparently earmarked for President Nixon's re-election campaign, was deposited in April in a bank account of one of the five men arrested in the break-in at Democratic National Headquarters here June 17.

The check was made out by a Florida bank to Kenneth H. Dahlberg, the President's campaign finance chairman for the Midwest. Dahlberg said last night that in early April he turned the check over to "the treasurer of the Committee (for the Re-election of the President) or to Maurice Stans himself."

Stans, formerly secretary of Commerce under Mr. Nixon, is now the finance chief of the President's re-election effort.

Dahlberg said he didn't have "the vaguest idea" how the check got into the bank account of the real estate firm owned by Bernard L. Barker, one of the break-in suspects. Stans could not be reached for comment.

Reached by telephone at his home in a Minneapolis suburb, Dahlberg explained the existence of the check this way: "In the process of fund-raising I had accumulated some cash...so I recall making a cash deposit while I was in Florida and getting a cashier's check made out to myself. I didn't want to carry all that cash into Washington."

A photostatic copy of the front of the check was examined by a Washington Post reporter yesterday. It was made out by the First Bank and Trust Co. of Boca Raton, Fla., to Dahlberg.

Thomas Monohan, the assistant vice president of the Boca Raton bank, who signed the check authorization, said the FBI had questioned him about it three weeks ago.

According to court testimony by government prosecutors, Barker's bank account in which the \$25,000 was deposited was

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- Part-Time Package Handler (Summer)  
YORKTOWN HEIGHTS, NY - UPS
- Part-Time Package Handler

the same account from which Barker later withdrew a large number of hundred-dollar bills. About 53 of these \$100 bills were found on the five men after they were arrested at the Watergate.

Dahlberg has contributed \$7,000 to the GOP since 1968, records show, and in 1970 he was finance chairman for Clark MacGregor when MacGregor ran unsuccessfully against Hubert H. Humphrey for a U.S. Senate seat in Minnesota.

MacGregor, who replaced John N. Mitchell as Mr. Nixon's campaign chief on July 1, could offer no explanation as to how the \$25,000 got from the campaign finance committee to Barker's account.

He told a Post reporter last night: "I know nothing about it...these events took place before I came aboard. Mitchell and Stans would presumably know."

MacGregor said he would attempt this morning to determine what happened.

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Powell Moore, director of press relations for the Committee for the Re-election of the President, told a reporter that Stans was unavailable for comment last night. Mitchell also could not be reached for comment.

In a related development, records made available to The Post yesterday show that another \$89,000 in four separate checks was deposited during May in Barker's Miami bank account by a well-known Mexican lawyer.

The deposits were made in the form of checks made out to the lawyer, Manual Ogarrío Daguerre, 68, by the Banco Internacional of Mexico City.

Ogarrío could not be reached for comment and there was no immediate explanation as to why the \$89,000 was transferred to Barker's account.

This makes a total of \$114,000 deposited in Barker's account in the Republic National Bank of Miami, all on April 20.

The same amount -- \$114,000 -- was withdrawn on three separate dates, April 24, May 2 and May 8.

Since the arrest of the suspects at 2:30 a.m. inside the sixth floor suite of the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate, Democrats have tried to lay the incident at the doorstep of the White House or at least to the Nixon re-election committee.

One day after the arrests, it was learned that one of the suspects, James W. McCord Jr., a former FBI and CIA agent, was the security chief to the Nixon committee and a security consultant to the Republican National Committee. McCord, now free on bond, was fired from both posts.

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The next day it was revealed that a mysterious White House consultant, E. Howard Hunt Jr., was known by at least two of the suspects. Hunt immediately dropped from sight and became involved in an extended court battle to avoid testimony before the federal grand jury investigating the case.

Ten days ago it was revealed that a Nixon re-election committee official was fired because he had refused to answer questions about the incident by the FBI. The official, G. Gordon Liddy, was serving as financial counsel to the Nixon committee when he was dismissed on June 28.

In the midst of this, former Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien filed a \$1 million civil suit against the Nixon committee and the five suspects charging that the break-in and alleged attempted bugging violated the constitutional rights of all Democrats.

O'Brien charged that there is "a developing clear line to the White House" and emphasized what he called the "potential involvement" of special counsel to the President, Charles Colson.

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Colson had recommended that the White House hire Hunt, also a former CIA agent and prolific novelist, as a consultant.

While he was Nixon campaign chief, Mitchell repeatedly and categorically denied any involvement or knowledge of the break-in incident.

When first contacted last night about the \$25,000 check, Dahlberg said that he didn't "have the vaguest idea about it . . . I turn all my money over to the (Nixon) committee."

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Asked if he had been contacted by the FBI and questioned about the check, Dahlberg said: "I'm a proper citizen. What I do is proper."

Dahlberg later called a reporter back and said he first denied any knowledge of the \$25,000 check because he was not sure the caller was really a reporter for The Washington Post.

He said that he had just gone through an ordeal because his "dear friend and neighbor," Virginia Piper, had been kidnapped and held for two days.

Mrs. Piper's husband reportedly paid \$1 million ransom last week to recover his wife in the highest payment to kidnapers in U.S. history.

Dahlberg, 54, was President Nixon's Minnesota finance chairman in 1968. The decision to appoint him to that post was announced by then-Rep. MacGregor and Stans.

In 1970, Mr. Nixon appointed Dahlberg, who has a distinguished war record, to the board of visitors at the U.S. Air Force Academy.

A native of St. Paul, Minn., Dahlberg has apparently made his money through Dahlberg Electronics, Inc., a suburban Minneapolis firm that sells miniature hearing aids.

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In 1959, the company was sold to Motorola, and Dahlberg continued to operate it. In 1964, he repurchased it.

In 1966, the company established a subsidiary to distribute hearing aids in Latin America. The subsidiary had offices in Mexico City. Three years later, Dahlberg Electronics was named the exclusive United States and Mexican distributor for an acoustical medical device manufactured in Denmark.

Active in Minneapolis affairs, Dahlberg is a director of the National City Bank & Trust Co. of Fort Lauderdale. In 1969, he was named Minneapolis' "Swede of the Year."

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WATERGATE

### Key Players



#### Howard Baker

Tennessee's first popularly-elected Republican senator, Howard H. Baker Jr. served as vice chairman of the Senate Watergate Committee. His position as investigator of the Nixon administration's misdeeds may have been a bit awkward -- his 1972 campaign literature described him as a "close friend and trusted advisor of our President, Richard M. Nixon." During the committee's proceedings, he captured the essence of the committee's inquiry with a succinct question that became a Washington mantra: "What did the president know, and when did he know it?"

Baker had a successful political career, serving three terms in the U.S. Senate from 1967-85, with stints as minority leader (1977-81) and as majority leader (1981-85). He was a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1980 and received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1984. He also served as chief of staff for President Ronald Reagan in 1987-88. After retiring, Baker worked for several law firms. His first wife, Joy Dirksen Baker, daughter of powerful Illinois Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen, died in 1993. In 1996, he married former Kansas senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum. He served as U.S. ambassador to Japan from 2001 to 2005.

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