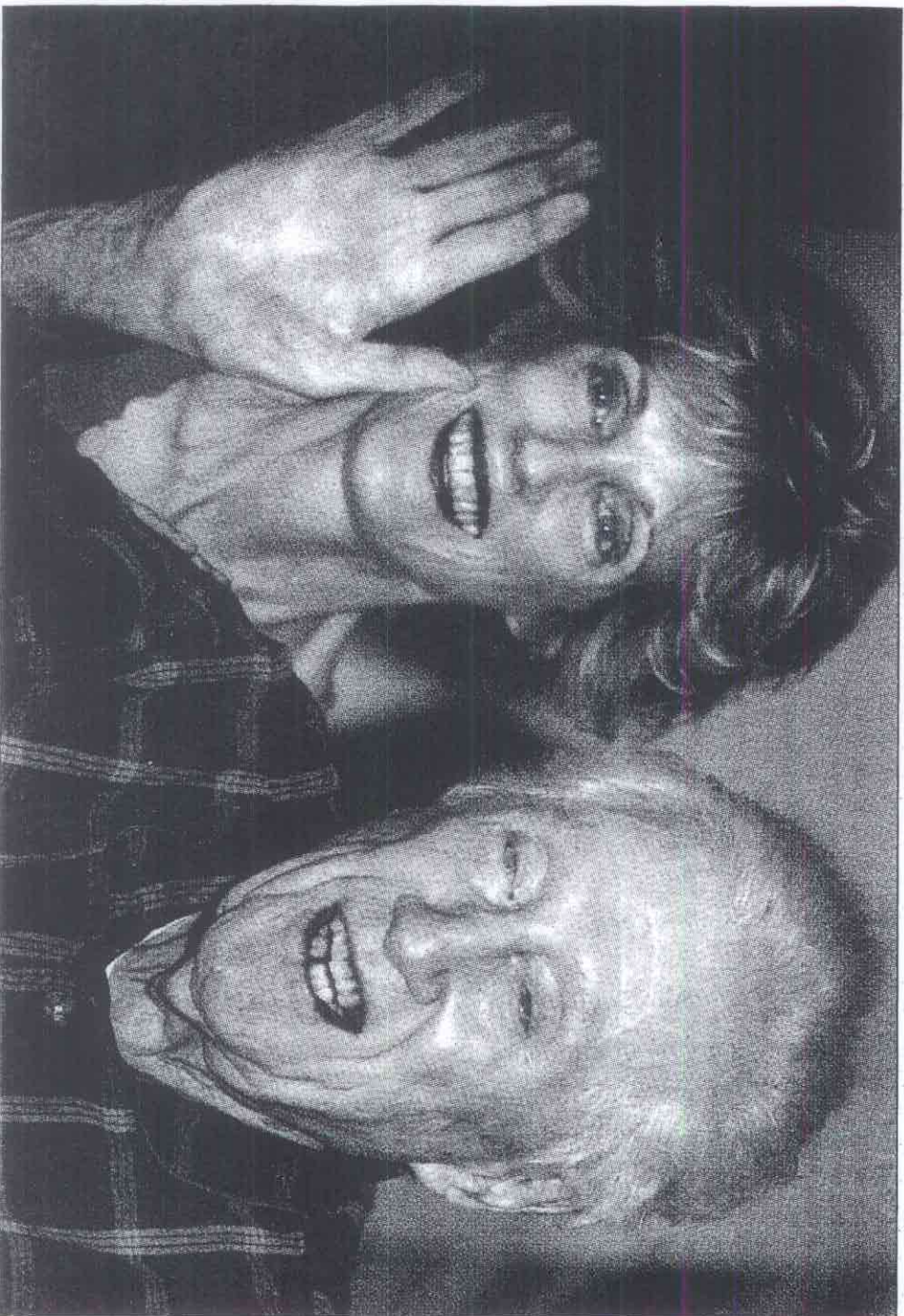


FBI Official Was 'Deep Throat'

Post Confirms W. Mark Felt Aided Its Reporting on Watergate



By BEN MARGOT — ASSOCIATED PRESS

W. Mark Felt, with daughter Joan, broke a three-decade silence about his involvement in bringing down the Nixon administration.

By DAVID VON DREHLE
Washington Post Staff Writer

Deep Throat, the secret source whose insider guidance was vital to The Washington Post's groundbreaking coverage of the Watergate scandal, was a pillar of the FBI named W. Mark Felt. The Post confirmed yesterday.

As the number two man at the bureau during a period when the FBI was battling for its independence against the administration of President Richard M. Nixon, Felt had the means and the motive to help uncover the web of internal spies, secret surveillance, dirty tricks and coverups that led to Nixon's unprecedented resignation on Aug. 9, 1974, and to prison sentences for some of Nixon's highest-ranking aides.

Felt's identity as Washington's most celebrated secret source has been an object of speculation for more than 30 years until yesterday, when his role was revealed in a Vanity Fair magazine article. Even Nixon was caught on tape speculating that Felt was "an informant" as early as February 1973, at a time when Deep Throat was actively supplying confirmation and context for some of The Post's most explosive Watergate stories.

But Felt's repeated denials, and

See DEEP THROAT, A6, Col. 1

the stalwart silence of the reporters he aided — Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein — kept the cloak of mystery drawn up around Deep Throat. In place of a name and a face, the source acquired a magic and a mystique.

He was the romantic truth teller half hidden in the shadows of a Washington parking garage. This image was rendered indelibly by the dramatic best-selling memoir Woodward and Bernstein published in 1974, "All the President's Men." Two years later, in a blockbuster movie by the same name, actor Hal Holbrook breathed whispery urgency into the suspenseful late-night encounters between Woodward and his source.

For many Americans under 40, this is the most potent distillation of the complicated brew that was Watergate. Students who lack the time or interest to follow each element of the scandal's slow unraveling quickly digest the vivid relationship of a nervous insider guiding a relentless reporter. As dramatic as those portrayals were, they hewed closely to the truth, Woodward said.

"Mark Felt at that time was a dashing gray-haired figure," Woodward said, and his experience as an anti-Nazi spy hunter early in his career at the FBI had endowed him with a whole bag of counterintelligence tricks. Felt dreamed up the signal by which Woodward would summon him to a meeting (a flowerpot innocuously displayed on the reporter's balcony) and also hatched the countersign by which Felt could contact Woodward (a clock face inked on Page 20 of Woodward's daily *New York Times*).

"He knew he was taking a monumental risk," said Woodward, now an assistant managing editor of *The Post* whose catalogue of prizewinning and best-selling work has been built on the sort of confidential relationships he maintained with Deep Throat. Felt also knew, by firsthand experience, that Nixon's administration was willing to use wiretaps and break-ins to hunt down leakers, so no amount of caution was too great.

Indeed, the mystery came to obscure the many other elements that went into the Watergate story — other sources, other investigators, high-impact Senate hearings, a shocking trove of secret White House tape recordings and the deci-

sive 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."

Felt, 91 and enfeebled by a stroke, lives in California, his memory dimmed. For decades, Woodward, Bernstein and Benjamin C. Bradlee, *The Post*'s executive editor during the Watergate coverage, maintained that they would not disclose his identity until after his death. "We've kept that secret because we keep our word," Woodward said.

The secrecy held through some amazing twists of fate. In 1980, Felt and another senior FBI veteran were convicted of conspiring a decade earlier to violate the civil rights of domestic dissidents in the Weather Underground movement; President Ronald Reagan then issued a pardon.

Yesterday, however, *Vanity Fair* released an article by a California lawyer named John D. O'Connor, who was enlisted by Felt's daughter, Joan Felt, to help coax her father into admitting his role in history. O'Connor's article quoted a number of Felt's friends and family members saying that he had shared his secret with them, and went on to say that Felt told the author — under the shield of attorney-client privilege — "I'm the guy they used to call Deep Throat."

O'Connor wrote that he was released from his obligation of secrecy by Mark and Joan Felt. He also reported that the Felt family was not paid for cooperating with the *Vanity Fair* article, though they do hope the revelation will "make at least enough money to pay some bills," as Joan Felt is quoted in the magazine.

Woodward and others at *The Post* were caught by surprise. Woodward had known that Felt's family was considering going public; in fact, they had talked repeatedly with Woodward about the possibility of jointly writing a book to reveal the news. An e-mail from Felt's family over the Memorial Day weekend continued to hold out the idea that Woodward and Felt would disclose the secret together.

Throughout those contacts, Woodward was dogged by reservations about Felt's mental condition, he said yesterday, wondering whether the source was competent to undo the long-standing pledge of anonymity that bound them.

Caught flatfooted by *Vanity Fair*'s

announcement, Woodward and Bernstein initially issued a terse statement reaffirming their promise to keep the secret until Deep Throat died. But the Vanity Fair article was enough to bring the current executive editor of The Post, Leonard Downie Jr., back to Washington from a corporate retreat in Maryland. After consulting with Woodward, Bernstein and Bradlee, "the newspaper decided that the newspaper had been released from its obligation by Mark Felt's family and by his lawyer, through the publication of this piece," Downie said. "They revealed him as the source. We confirmed it."

Downie praised Woodward's willingness to abide by his pledge even while the Felt family was exploring "what many people would view as a scoop."

"This demonstrates clearly the lengths to which Bob and this newspaper will go to protect sources and a confidential relationship," Downie said.

Bradlee said he was amazed that the mystery had lasted through the decades. "What would you think the odds were that this town could keep that secret for this long?" he said.

It wasn't for lack of sleuths. "Who was Deep Throat?" has been among the most compelling questions of modern American history, dissected in books, in films, on the Internet, and in thousands of articles and hundreds of television programs. Virtually every figure in the Nixon administration, from Henry A. Kissinger to Patrick J. Buchanan to Diane Sawyer, has been nominated for the role — sometimes by other Nixon veterans. Former White House counsel John W. Dean III, who tried to cover up Watergate on Nixon's instructions and then gave crucial testimony about the scheme, was a frequent contributor to the speculation, as was another Nixon lawyer, Leonard Garment.

Recently, an investigative-report-

ing class at the University of Illinois compiled what professor Bill Gaines believed to be a definitive case that Deep Throat was the deputy White House counsel, Fred F. Fielding. Those findings were publicized around the world. Perhaps the most insightful argument was mustered in the Atlantic magazine by journalist Jim Mann in 1992. "He could well have been Mark Felt," Mann wrote cautiously in a piece that laid bare the institutional reasons why FBI loyalists came to fear and resent Nixon's presidency.

Felt fended off the searchlight each time it swung in his direction. "I never leaked information to Woodward and Bernstein or to anyone else!" he wrote in his 1979 memoir, "The FBI Pyramid."

In an article being prepared for Thursday's Washington Post, Woodward will detail the "accident of history" that connected a young reporter fresh from the suburbs to a man whom many FBI agents considered the best choice to succeed the legendary J. Edgar Hoover as director of the bureau. Woodward and Felt met by chance, he said, but their friendship quickly became a source of information for the reporter. On May 15, 1972, presidential candidate George Wallace was shot by a would-be assassin, Arthur H. Bremer, on a parking lot in Laurel.

Eager to break news on a local story of major national importance, Woodward contacted Felt for information on the FBI's investigation. Unlike many in the bureau, Felt was known to talk with reporters, and he provided Woodward with a series of front-page nuggets — though not with his name attached.

By coincidence, the Bremer case came two weeks after the death of Hoover, an epochal moment for the FBI, which had never been led by anyone else. Felt wanted the job, he later wrote. He also wanted his be-

Washington Mystery Solved After Decades

loved bureau to maintain its independence. And so his motivations were complex when Woodward called a month later seeking clues to the strange case of a burglary at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate complex. Again, the young reporter had a local angle on a national story, because the five alleged burglars were arraigned before a local judge.

Wounded that he was passed over for the top job, furious at Nixon's choice of an outsider, Assistant Attorney General L. Patrick Gray III, determined that the White House not be allowed to steer and stall the FBI's Watergate investigation, Mark Felt slipped into the role that would forever alter his life.

He makes his first appearance as a literary figure in Chapter 4 of "All the President's Men."

"Woodward had a source in the Executive Branch who had access to information at [Nixon's campaign committee] as well as at the White House," Bernstein and Woodward wrote. "His identity was unknown to anyone else. He could be contacted only on very important occasions. Woodward had promised he would never identify him or his position to anyone."

Felt established extremely strict initial ground rules: He could never be quoted — even as an anonymous source — and he would not provide information that had been obtained elsewhere and ... add some perspective," in the words of the book.

Initially, the two men spoke by telephone; but Watergate was, after all, a case that began with a tele-

phone wiretap. Felt had been summoned at least once to the White House, before Watergate, to discuss the use of telephone surveillance against administration leakers. He soon concluded that his own phones — and the reporters' — might be tapped. That's when he developed the system of coded signals and parking-garage encounters.

The relationship immediately bore fruit. On June 19, 1972, two days after the botched break-in, Felt assured Woodward that he could draw a connection between burglars and a former CIA agent with connections at the White House, E. Howard Hunt. Three months later, he again provided key context and reassurance, telling Woodward that a story tying Nixon's campaign committee to the break-in could be "much stronger" and still be on solid ground.

One of the most important encounters between Woodward and his source came a month later, on Oct. 8, 1972. In four months the scandal had grown in its reach but faded in its seeming importance. Nixon was sailing to what would be a landslide reelection, and his opponent, Sen. George McGovern

(D-S.D.), was having no luck making a campaign issue of Watergate.

In the wee hours in a Washington area garage, Felt laid out a much broader view of the scandal than Woodward and Bernstein had yet imagined.

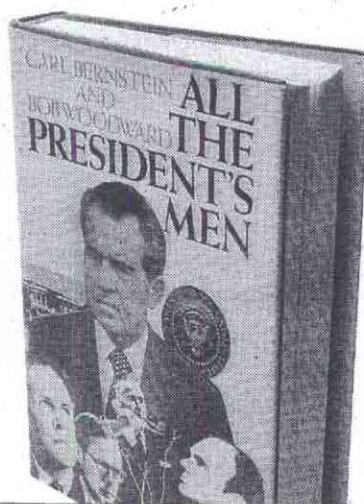
From the book: Woodward "arrived at the garage at 1:30 a.m.

"Deep Throat was already there, smoking a cigarette....

"On evenings such as these, Deep Throat had talked about how politics had infiltrated every corner of government — a strong-arm takeover of the agencies by the Nixon White House. ... He had once called it the 'switchblade mentality' — and had referred to the willingness of the president's men to fight dirty and for keeps....

"The Nixon White House worried him. 'They are underhanded and unknowable,' he had said numerous times. He also distrusted the press. 'I don't like newspapers,' he had said flatly."

s Felt talked through the night — of his love for gossip and his competing his desire for exactitude — he urged Woodward to follow the case to the top: to Nixon's former attorney general, John N. Mitchell, to Nixon's inner circle of aides, I.R. "Bob" Haldean and John H. Ehrlichman, and



even to Nixon himself.

"Only the president and Mitchell know" everything, he hinted.

That meeting and others gave senior Post editors the confidence they needed to stick with the story through withering fire from the administration and its defenders. Later that month, at what Bradlee called "the low point" of the saga, Woodward and Bernstein misunderstood a key detail of a major story linking Haldeman to the financing of Watergate and other dirty tricks.

When Nixon's defenders — and other media outlets — pounced on The Post's mistake, Felt provided both a scolding to Woodward that he must be more careful and the encouragement that the reporters were still on the right track.

"He gave us encouragement," Bernstein said yesterday.

"And he gave Ben comfort," Woodward added, although Bradlee knew only Felt's status as a top FBI official. He did not learn Felt's name until after The Post had won the Pulitzer Prize for its Watergate coverage and Nixon had resigned.

Woodward's source became such a key part of the discussion among top editors that then-Managing Editor Howard Simons gave him a nickname, "Deep Throat," a blend of the rules of engagement Felt had with Woodward — "deep background" — and the title of a notorious pornographic movie.

When the book and then the movie were released, Woodward said, Felt was shocked to have his place in history tagged with such a tawdry title.

How Watergate Unfolded

It began with a bungled burglary of the Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate complex early on the morning of June 17, 1972, and the arrest of five suspects. A security guard named Frank Willis had discovered tape-covered door latches in a Watergate stairwell and had called the police.

Two of the five suspects arrested possessed address books with the entries "W. House" and "W.H.," scribbled that quickly linked them to two shadowy figures: E. Howard Hunt, a onetime CIA agent who had recently worked in the Nixon administration White House, and G. Gordon Liddy, a former FBI agent who was on the payroll of the Committee for the Reelection of the President, Richard M. Nixon's campaign organization.

Nixon dismissed the break-in as "that pipsqueak

Watergate" and John N. Mitchell, the reelection chairman, denied any link. But over the next two years, the burglary metastasized into one of the biggest scandals and constitutional crises in modern U.S. history.

Ultimately, Nixon resigned to avoid impeachment, and more than 30 government and Republican campaign officials were convicted of charges including perjury, burglary, wiretapping and obstruction of justice.

Nixon and his top aides attempted to cover up involvement in the break-in and in other political dirty tricks and intelligence-gathering operations that were employed in the 1972 reelection victory over Democratic challenger George McGovern. While the media and members of Congress ignored or played down the significance of the break-in, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, two young reporters on the metropolitan news staff of The Washington Post, doggedly pursued leads that led to the highest levels of government.

Woodward and Bernstein were greatly helped by "Deep Throat," a confidential source who was privy to the details of the FBI investigation. Yesterday, it was revealed that "Deep Throat" was W. Mark Felt, the FBI's acting associate director at the time. The Post published remarkable findings — that a \$25,000 cashier's check earmarked for the Nixon campaign wound up in the bank account of one of the burglars; that Mitchell, while serving as attorney general, controlled a secret fund for intelligence operations against the Democrats; and that John D. Ehrlichman, a top Nixon aide, supervised covert actions of a special unit known as the Plumbers that burglarized the office of the psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg, who leaked the Pentagon Papers.

Within months of Nixon's landslide victory, his administration and career began to unravel. On Jan. 30, 1973, Liddy and James W. McCord Jr., a former CIA employee and chief of security for Nixon's reelection campaign, were convicted of conspiracy, burglary and wiretapping in the Watergate incident. White House Chief of Staff H.R. "Bob" Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst resigned on April 30. The Senate Watergate committee began televised hearings in May. The following month, The Post reported that former White House counsel John W. Dean III told Watergate investigators he had discussed the cover-up with Nixon at least 35 times, and Alexander P. Butterfield, former presidential appointments secretary, testified to the Senate panel in July that Nixon secretly taped his conversations and telephone calls from 1971 on.

Nixon's firing of Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox on Oct. 20 — which triggered the resignation of Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson and his deputy — and a unanimous Supreme Court ruling on July 24, 1974, telling Nixon to surrender 64 tape recordings, hastened the president's demise.

With the House bearing down on him and moving toward approval of three articles of impeachment, Nixon announced his resignation on Aug. 8, 1974.

— Eric Pianin



BY KATHERINE FREY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Bernstein, left, with Woodward, said of Felt, "We didn't think his role would achieve such mythical dimensions."

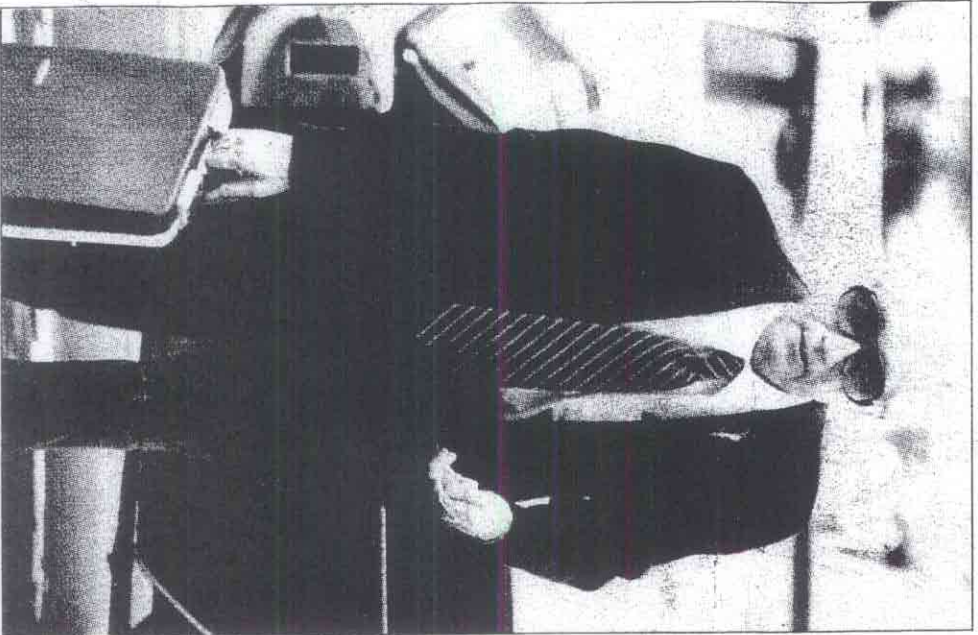
Source Was Conflicted On His Role

By DAN BALZ
and R. JEFFREY SMITH
Washington Post Staff Writers

W. Mark Felt always denied he was Deep Throat. "It was not I and it is not I," he told *Washingtonian* magazine in 1974 around the time that Richard M. Nixon resigned the presidency in disgrace after a lengthy investigation and threat of impeachment, aided in no small part by the guidance Felt had provided to *The Washington Post*.

It was a denial he maintained for three decades, until yesterday. Throughout that period, he lived with one of the greatest secrets in journalism history and with his own sense of conflict and tension over the role he had played in bringing down a president in the Watergate scandal: Was he a hero for helping the truth come out, or a turncoat who betrayed his government, his president and the FBI he revered by leaking to the press?

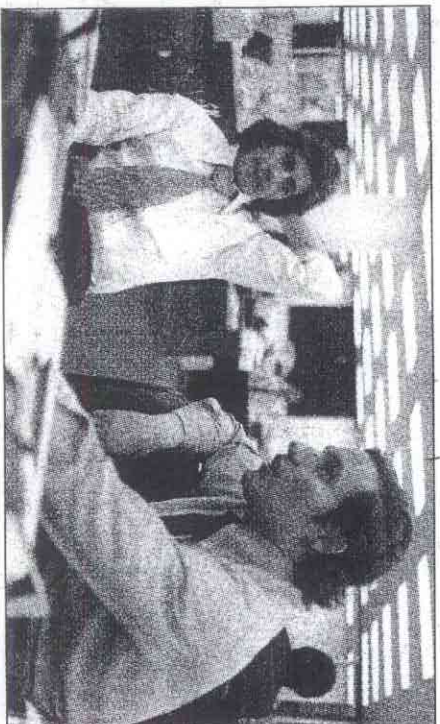
There were plenty of reasons that he felt such conflict. He was an FBI loyalist in the image of J. Edgar Hoover had created for the bureau in its glory



THE WASHINGTON POST VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

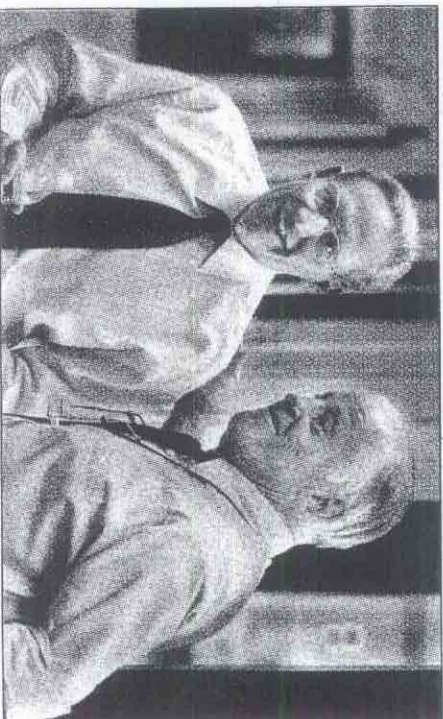
Felt, in an undated photo, "knew he was taking a monumental risk," said Woodward, now a Post assistant managing editor.

■ Key figures have mixed reactions. | *Nation*, A9



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Carl Bernstein, left, and Bob Woodward in 1973. The duo did the investigative reporting that earned *The Washington Post* a Pulitzer Prize.



BY BILL OLEARY — THE WASHINGTON POST

Woodward, left, and Benjamin C. Bradlee in the newsroom yesterday. They and Bernstein had agreed not to identify Felt until after his death.

■ The end of a cherished legend. | *Style*, C1

■ The scoop that almost wasn't. | *Style*, C1

See FELT, A8, Col. 1

FBI Loyalist Was Conflicted on His Role

FELT, *From A1*

days — a career official who lived by the bureau's codes, one of which was the sanctity of an investigation and the protection of secrets. He chased down law-breakers of all kinds, using whatever means were available to the bureau, and was convicted in 1980 of authorizing illegal break-ins — black-bag jobs, as they were known — of friends of members of the Weather Underground. He was later pardoned by President Ronald Reagan.

But if there were reasons to resist playing the role of anonymous source, there were other motives that drove him to talk. Felt believed that the White House was trying to frustrate the FBI's Watergate investigation and that Nixon was determined to bring the FBI to heel after Hoover's death in May 1972, six weeks before the break-in at the Democratic National Committee's Watergate offices occurred.

"From the very beginning, it was obvious to the bureau that a cover-up was in progress," Felt wrote in his 1979 memoir, "The FBI Pyramid."

Felt may have had a personal motivation as well to begin talking to Post reporter Bob Woodward. At the time of Hoover's death, he was a likely successor to take over as FBI director. Instead the White House named a bureau outsider, L. Patrick Gray, then an assistant attorney general, as acting director and then leaned on Gray to become a conduit to keep the White House informed of what the FBI was learning.

Felt's identity was revealed with the help of his family in a Vanity Fair article released yesterday. A statement from the family, read by Felt's grandson, Nick Jones, described how conflicted he was over whether his role was noble or dishonorable.

"Mark had expressed reservations in the past about revealing his identity and about whether his actions were appropriate for an FBI man," Jones said. "But as he recently told my mother, 'I guess people used to think Deep Throat was a criminal. But now they think he's a hero.'"

Felt operated during extraordinary times in the country's history, and in the history of the bureau he had been trained to protect at all costs. Faced with a rogue White House, an explosive investigation and political pressure that must have been excruciating, he decided to spill secrets, anonymously helping to change the course of history through clandestine meetings with Woodward in the middle of the night in underground parking garag-

es.

Nixon and his White House colleagues during this period were engaged in what the House Judiciary Committee would eventually call a series of criminal acts — obstruction of justice, withholding of material evidence, coercion of witnesses, and misuse of the CIA and the Internal Revenue Service.

A secret investigative unit was run from the White House, supported by the CIA and financed by campaign funds to spy on enemies and to break into a doctor's office in a search for confidential files. Twenty-one participants in what came to be known as the Watergate scandal, including the president's counsel, chief domestic adviser, attorney general and campaign finance director, pleaded guilty or were convicted of the crimes

documented by the FBI and brought to light — with Felt's help.

'Very Honest. Very Straight.'

Throughout his career, Felt was seen as a model FBI official. Harry Brandon, who retired from the FBI as deputy assistant for counterintelligence and counterterrorism, recalled making a presentation to Felt as a young agent in the bureau. "He was a tough guy," Brandon said yesterday. "Straight. Very honest. Very straight."

Felt was born in Idaho in 1913. He graduated from the University of Idaho and George Washington University Law School, and joined the FBI in January 1942. He spent World War II in the bureau's espionage section — experience that came into play 30 years later as he set up the series of signals and codes he and Woodward used when they needed to meet with one another.

He steadily rose through the bureau's ranks. By the early 1970s, as one of the bureau's top officials, he was beginning to demonstrate political independence. At a White House meeting in 1971, he resisted a directive to begin massive wiretaps or lie detector tests to find the source of leaks about the Nixon administration's national security strategy.

In March 1972, the Nixon administration was deeply embarrassed by the disclosure of a memo written by a lobbyist at telecommunications giant IIT. It stated that a \$400,000 contribution to Nixon's reelection would cause the Justice Department to abandon an antitrust suit against the company.

White House special counsel Charles W. Colson asked Nixon's personal counsel, John Dean, to obtain an official FBI judgment that the memo was a forgery. Hoover assigned the task of overseeing its inspection to Felt. But Felt reported several days later that the agency's laboratory

could not "make a definite finding," a conclusion that undermined the forgery claim, according to Dean's 1976 book, "Blind Ambition."

"Colson, outraged, called Felt to complain. . . . He insisted that I persuade Felt to change the [FBI's summary] letter, at least to make it innocuous. Felt would not budge, because the director would not budge," Dean wrote. Felt, in his memoir, confirmed that the bureau had been subjected to "partisan instructions and pressure" in the case.

Yesterday, Colson said he was stunned to learn that Felt was Deep Throat, saying he never suspected the FBI official because "he was a professional and that wasn't a professional way to behave."

Shortly after that incident, Hoover died and Felt was passed over to succeed him in favor of Nixon loyalist Gray. As the Watergate investigation began to unfold, Felt was infuriated by what he saw as Gray's capitulation to the White House. Gray was "sharing all the Bureau's knowledge with the White House staff," he wrote in his memoir, which "felt they had neutralized the FBI."

"For me, as well as for all the Agents who were involved, it had become a question of our integrity," Felt wrote. "We were under attack for dragging our feet, and as professional law enforcement officers, we were determined to go on."

Within a week, in fact, the FBI's investigation had begun to develop productive leads; its investigators had figured out that funds to pay the burglars were laundered through a bank account in Mexico City linked to Nixon's reelection effort. As a result, Nixon's chief of staff, H.R. Haldeman, met with the president on June 23 to urge that Vernon A. Walters, then the CIA's deputy director, tell Gray to "stay the hell out of it" on grounds that it would compromise CIA activities in Mexico, according to a transcript of their

conversation.

Gray wanted to do so, Haldeman added, and he just needed an order: "He'll call Mark Felt in, and the two of them — and Mark Felt wants to cooperate because he's ambitious." Nixon replied, "Yeah." Haldeman went on: "He'll call him in and say, 'We've got the signal from across the [Potomac] river to put the hold on this.'"

Later in the conversation, Haldeman sought reassurance that this was the right course of action: "You seem to think the thing to do is get them to stop?" Nixon replied, "Right, fine." Walters met with Gray that day, and according to a memo Walters wrote, Gray told him "this was a most awkward matter to come up during an election year and he would see what he could do."

None of this was known publicly at the time. But two junior reporters at The Post — Woodward and Carl Bernstein — repeatedly wrote articles that pointed toward White House involvement in the break-in and the subsequent coverup.

In doing so, they relied heavily on a man they described in their 1974 memoir, "All the President's Men," as "a source in the Executive Branch who had access to information at [the Nixon re-election effort] . . . as well as at the White House. He could be contacted only on very important occasions" and asked to confirm information learned elsewhere and provide "perspective." In print, the duo attributed their information only to "sources close to the Watergate investigation."

The leaks infuriated the White House, which pressured Gray into interrogating all the field agents — an act that Felt said had sowed wide resentment. "Numerous times, when Gray was out of the city, John Dean called me, demanding that . . . steps be taken to silence the leakers," Felt wrote. "I refused to take such action and frequently I was able to point out to him that some of the leaks could not possibly

have come from the bureau."

White House officials suspected Felt was leaking to The Post as early as October 1972. According to an account written five years ago by Chase Culeman-Beckman, who contended that Bernstein's son had told him Felt was Deep Throat, Nixon, Haldeman and Dean were speculating about Felt during one of the sessions tape-recorded in the White House.

"Is he Catholic?" Nixon asked. Told by Haldeman that Felt was Jewish, Nixon replied, "[Expletive], [the bureau] put a Jew in there?" To which Haldeman responded, "Well that could explain it."

Contrary to their belief, Felt is not Jewish.

On Feb. 28, 1973, Nixon and Dean again tagged Felt as the potential leaker. He was, Dean told Nixon, "the only person that knows" such details. But Nixon was skeptical. No one would risk his career to become an informant.

According to a tape recording from that day, Nixon said, "You know, suppose that Felt comes out and unwraps the whole thing? What does that do to him? . . . He's in a very dangerous situation. . . . The informer is not wanted in our society. Either way, that's the one thing people do sort of line up against. They . . . say, 'Well, that [expletive] informed. I don't want him around.'"

Gray was never confirmed as FBI director, and in 1973 William D. Ruckelshaus was nominated to replace him. Felt clashed repeatedly with his new boss and left the bureau later that year, well before Nixon was to leave office.

In 1978 he was indicted, along with Edward G. Miller, for nine illegal break-ins in New York and New Jersey carried out in 1972 and 1973. When he was arraigned, several hundred FBI agents showed up at the courthouse in a sign of solidarity. The two maintained they had operated within the law but were convicted in 1980. In April 1981, Reagan pardoned both men, saying they had served the country with "great distinction."

In his memoir, Felt acknowledged speaking once to Woodward, but in that book and whenever else he was asked, he denied being Deep Throat. In 1999, Felt denied it again to the Hartford Courant after there was another suggestion that he was Deep Throat.

"I would have done better," he told the paper. "I would have been more effective." That same summer, Felt told Slate's Tim Noah that it would have been contrary to his responsibilities at the FBI to leak information.

On the day of his conviction in 1980, Felt spoke to reporters outside the courthouse to express his disappointment with the verdict. "I spent my entire adult life working for the government, and I always tried to do what I thought was right and what was in the best interest of this country and what would protect the safety of this country," he said.

Looking back after yesterday's revelation, that quotation may express one of the motivations that

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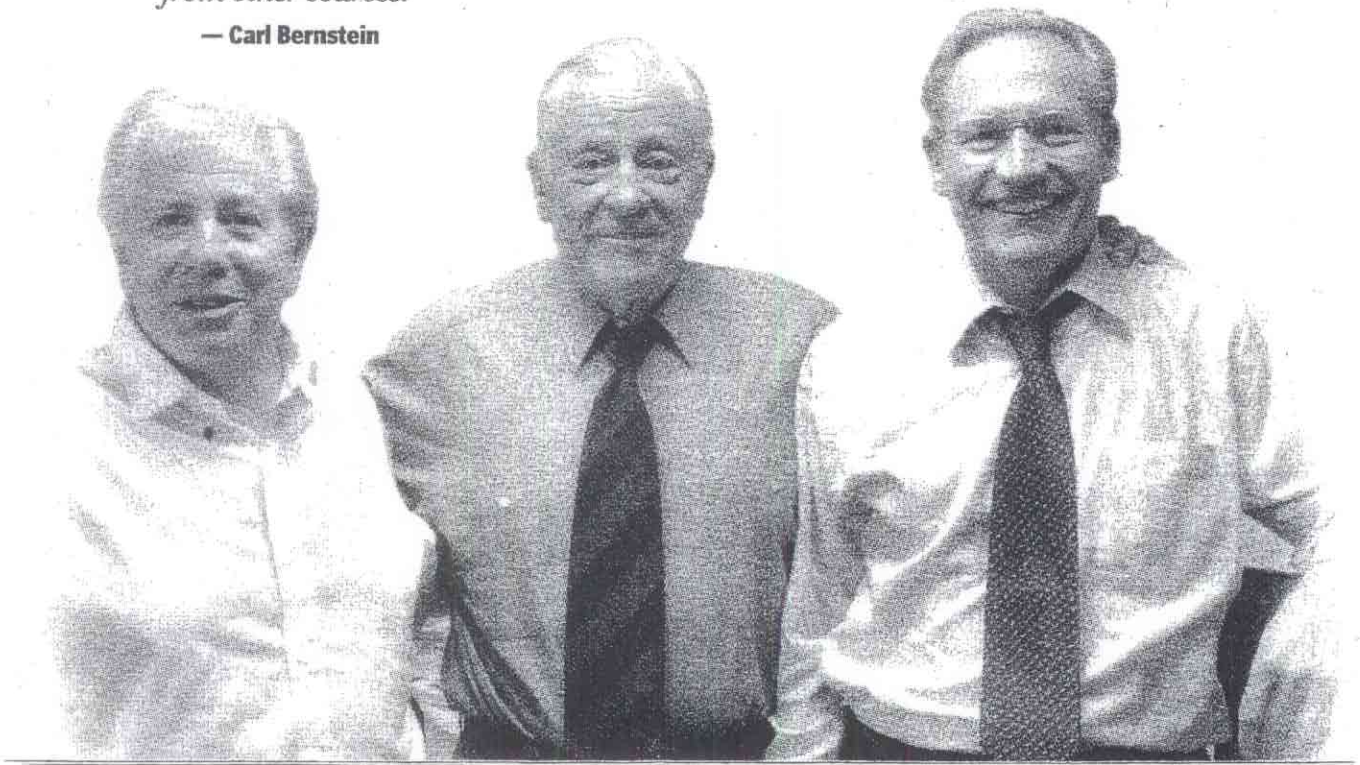
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"I would have done better," he told the paper. "I would have been more effective." That same summer, Felt told Slate's Tim Noah that it would have been contrary to his responsibilities at the FBI to leak information.

On the day of his conviction in 1980, Felt spoke to reporters outside the courthouse to express his disappointment with the verdict. "I spent my entire adult life working for the government, and I always tried to do what I thought was right and what was in the best interest of this country and what would protect the safety of this country," he said.

Looking back after yesterday's revelation, that quotation may express one of the motivations that led this otherwise unlikely public servant to engage in the surreptitious actions that led to Nixon's political demise.

Researchers Meg Smith, Madonna Lebling and Magda Jean-Louis contributed to this report.

washingtonpost.com

Washington Post staff writer David Von Drehle will be online today at 11 a.m. at www.washingtonpost.com/liveonline to answer questions about the revelation of Deep Throat's identity. Historical photographs and Washington Post stories from the 1970s about Watergate are available at www.washingtonpost.com/politics.

'DEEP THROAT' REVEALED

The Trail to the President's Downfall

WATERGATE EVENTS

June 17 Five men, one of whom says he used to work for the CIA, are arrested at 2:30 a.m., trying to bug the offices of the Democratic National Committee at the Watergate hotel and office complex.

June 19 A GOP security aide is among the Watergate burglars, Post reports.

Aug. 1 A \$25,000 cashier's check, apparently earmarked for the Nixon campaign, wound up in the bank account of an alleged Watergate burglar. The Washington Post reports.

Sept. 29 Mitchell, while serving as attorney general, controlled a secret Republican fund used to finance widespread intelligence-gathering operations against the Democrats, The Post reports.

Oct. 10 FBI agents establish that the Watergate break-ins stem from a massive campaign of political spying and sabotage conducted on behalf of the Nixon reelection effort, The Post reports.

Nov. 7 Nixon is reelected in one of the largest handslides in American history, taking more than 60 percent of the vote and crushing the Democratic nominee, Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota.

Jan. 30 Former Nixon aides G. Gordon Liddy and James W. McCord Jr. are convicted of conspiracy, burglary and wiretapping in the Watergate incident. Five other men plead guilty, but many unanswered questions remain.

April 30 Nixon's two top White House aides, H. R. (Bob) Haldean and John D. Ehrlichman, and Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst resign over the scandal. White House counsel John W. Dean III is fired.

May 18 The Senate Watergate committee begins its nationally televised hearings. Attorney General-designate Elliot L. Richardson taps former solicitor general Archibald Cox as the Justice Department's special prosecutor for Watergate.

1972

June **June 19** Deep Throat addresses Washington Post reporter Bob Woodward that former CIA operative E. Howard Hunt was definitely involved in Watergate.

July **July 19** *Deep Throat* **GOP Security Aide Among 5 Arrested In Bugging Attempt**

Aug. **Sept. 15** Deep Throat tells Woodward "you can go much stronger" about which officials controlled the secret fund that financed the Watergate break-in.

Sept. 17 Deep Throat confirms that Nixon deputy campaign director job was received at least \$50,000 from the secret fund.

Oct. 8 Deep Throat says espionage and sabotage were occurring all over the map to harm Nixon's opponents.

Oct. 10 *Deep Throat* **FBI Finds Nixon Aides Sabotaged Democrats**

Nov. **Dec.**

1973

Jan. **Jan. 27** Deep Throat confirms Nixon Chief of Staff Haldeman's authority over the secret fund.

Jan. 24 Deep Throat says White House special counsel Charles W. Colson and CFP Chairman John N. Mitchell were conspirators in the Watergate operation.

Feb. **March** **April** **April 26** Deep Throat confirms that acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray had destroyed documents taken from Hunt's White House safe.

May

SOURCES: Staff reports, "All the President's Men"

'DEEP THROAT' REVEALED

June 3 Dean has told Watergate investigators that he discussed the cover-up with President Nixon at least 35 times. The Post reports.

June 13 Watergate prosecutors find a memo addressed to Ehrlichman describing in detail the plans to burglarize the office of Pentagon Papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. The Post reports.

July 16 Alexander P. Butterfield, former presidential appointments secretary, reveals in congressional testimony that since 1971 Nixon had recorded all conversations and telephone calls in his offices.

July 18 Nixon reportedly orders the White House taping system disconnected.

July 23 Nixon refuses to turn over the presidential tapes recordings to the Senate Watergate committee or the special prosecutor.

Oct. 20 Saturday Night Massacre: Nixon orders the firing of Cox and abolishes the office of the special prosecutor. Attorney General Richardson and Deputy Attorney General William D. Ruckelshaus resign. Pressure for impeachment mounts in Congress.

Nov. 17 Nixon declares, "I'm not a crook," maintaining his innocence in the Watergate case.

Dec. 6 The White House can't explain an 18½-minute gap in one of the subpoenaed tapes. Chief of Staff Alexander M. Haig Jr. says one theory is that "some sinister force" erased the segment.

April 30, 1974 The White House releases more than 1,200 pages of edited transcripts of the Nixon tapes to the House Judiciary Committee, but the committee insists that the tapes themselves must be turned over.

July 24, 1974 The Supreme Court rules unanimously that Nixon must turn over the tape recordings of 64 White House conversations, rejecting the president's claim of executive privilege.

July 27, 1974 The House Judiciary Committee approves the first of three articles of impeachment, charging obstruction of justice.

Aug. 9, 1974 Nixon becomes the first U.S. president to resign. Vice President Gerald R. Ford assumes the country's highest office. He will later pardon Nixon of all charges related to Watergate.

June **July** **Aug.** **Sept.** **Oct.** **Nov.** **Dec.** **1974** **Jan.** **Feb.** **March** **April** **May** **June** **July** **Aug.**

June 3, 1973 **Dean Alleges Nixon Knew of Cover-Up Plan**

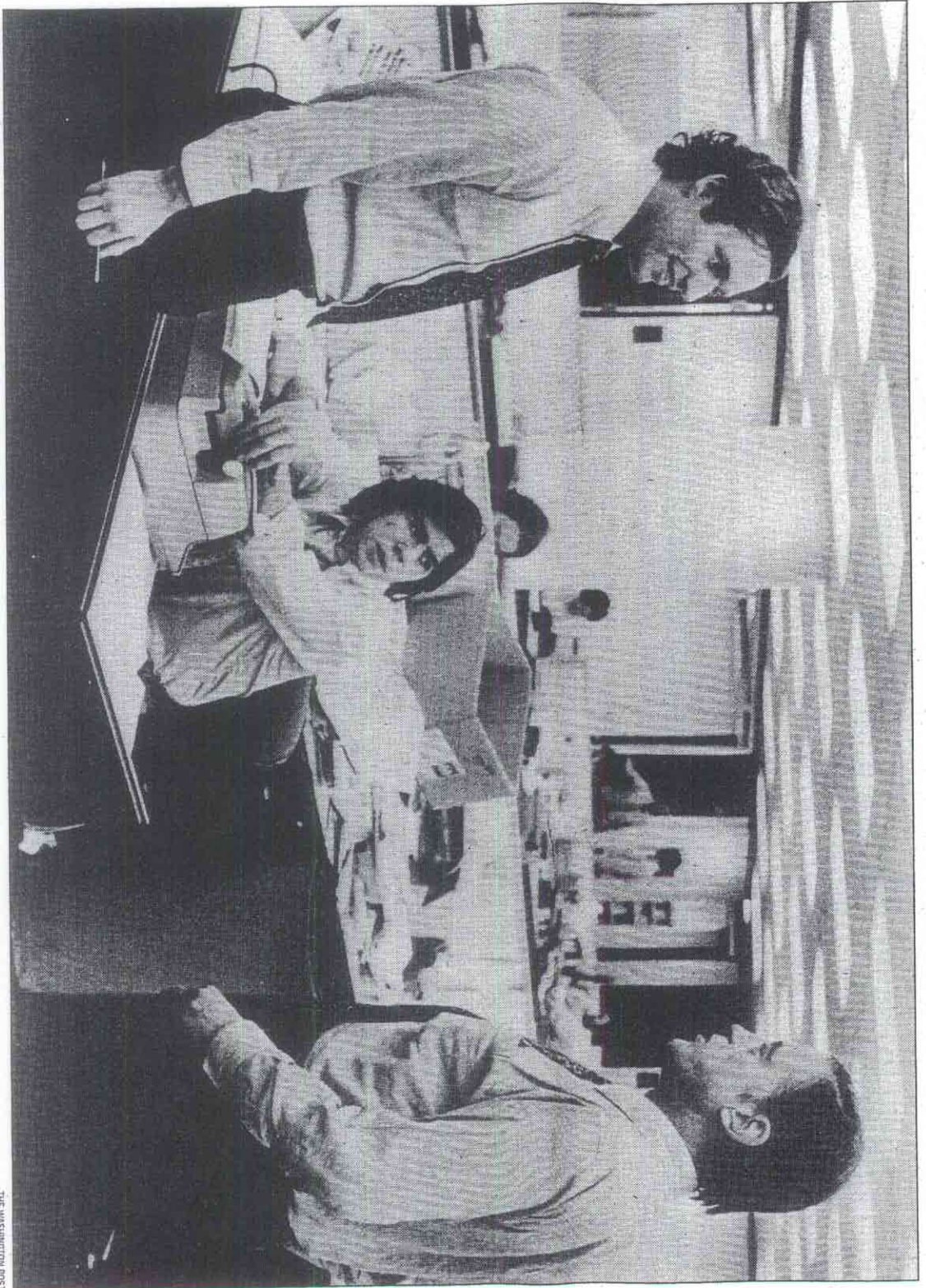
Oct. 21, 1973 **Nixon Forces Firing of Cox; Richardson, Ruckelshaus Quit**

Nov. 18, 1973 **Outlook, Section C: Nixon Tells Editors, 'I'm Not a Crook'**

Nov. 18, 1973 **Nixon Resigns**

Nov. 18, 1973 **First week of November: Deep Throat says there are deliberate erasures in the tapes that President Nixon gave to investigators.**

DESIGNED BY JOHN HANSEN AND CRISTINA WELLS — THE WASHINGTON POST



Reporters Woodward, left, and Bernstein and their editor, Bradlee, trusted Deep Throat's status in the administration.

THE WASHINGTON POST

'DEEP THROAT' REVEALED



Current and former FBI agents rallied around W. Mark Felt, right, when he was charged with authorizing illegal break-ins in a probe of the Weather Underground. Felt was convicted but pardoned by President Ronald Reagan.

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Nixon and His Men

Some key players in the Watergate conspiracy:



Richard M. Nixon

The president resigned to avoid impeachment over the attempt to cover up the administration's involvement in Watergate operations. He died in 1994 at age 81.



G. Gordon Liddy

A former FBI agent, Liddy helped plan the Watergate break-in. He spent 4½ years in prison. He lives in Maryland and is a conservative talk-show host.



James W. McCord

The security director of the Committee for the Reelection of the President, he was arrested during the Watergate burglary after leaving a piece of tape on a door. He lives in Maryland.



John N. Mitchell

As chairman of CRP, Mitchell authorized funds that paid for the Watergate break-in. He was released from prison for medical reasons after 19 months. Mitchell died in 1988 at age 75.



E. Howard Hunt

His office phone number in address books belonging to the Watergate burglars helped connect the break-in to the White House. A former CIA agent, Hunt has written dozens of books and lives in Florida.



H.R. "Bob" Haldeman

Nixon's chief of staff spent 18 months in prison for his role in Watergate. A controversial gap in Oval Office recordings included a conversation with Haldeman. He died in 1993 at age 67.



John W. Dean III

Nixon's White House counsel spent four months in prison for his role in the Watergate coverup. He is a writer, lecturer and investment banker in California.



John D. Ehrlichman

Nixon's assistant for domestic affairs, Ehrlichman served an 18-month sentence for perjury and conspiracy in Watergate and a related case. He died in 1999 at age 73.



Jeb Stuart Magruder

Nixon's deputy campaign director, he spent seven months in prison for his role in the Watergate coverup. He is a consultant in Dallas.

SOURCE: Staff reports

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