

All the President's Men Study Guide

**All the President's Men by Bob Woodward and Carl
Bernstein**

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Plot Summary

All The President's Men by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein tells the story behind the Watergate scandal. It all started with a burglary at the Democratic headquarters, but proved to be something much more complex. This story tells how two reporters worked with sources to uncover deceit in the highest levels of government.

On June 17, 1972, Woodward was asked to cover a story for his job at the "Washington Post." There had been a burglary at the Watergate hotel. When he arrived at the newsroom, he discovered that this wasn't an ordinary burglary, and he wasn't the only one reporting on it. The burglars had broken into the headquarters of the Democratic national committee in the Watergate office-apartment-hotel-complex. Bernstein had the same assignment. The two men had no appreciation for each other.

At the trial, Woodward realized that there might be more to the story. Bernstein did some research of his own while he was taking a few days off of work. He interviewed others and observed that the White House wasn't the well-oiled machine it came across as being. Some viewed the President's men with scorn.

On June 22, President Nixon publicly stated that the White House had no involvement with the particular incident, Watergate. The reporters, now working together, noticed that he used the words "this particular incident."

Powerful men resigned from their jobs, and Bernstein and Woodward learned about a secret fund used to undermine Democratic political campaigns using illegal tactics such as threats, phone-tapping and spying. They struggled to find solid evidence to write about since their interviewees were terrified to speak.

Woodward had an inside man who was a key informant. They arranged super-secret meetings wherein the informant, nicknamed Deep Throat, would confirm or deny evidence the reporters unearthed. He would offer clues to areas they should research further, but he would never offer names. He also wouldn't let them quote him.

As evidence grew, the reporters learned that over 50 individuals were hired to infiltrate the Democratic campaign and wreak havoc. The salaries were paid using a secret bank account that had been created using campaign donations for the Republican party. A group of the President's men authorized the withdrawals from the account.

Each time the reporters came out with a story, the White House said the stories were filled with false information, but wouldn't point out inaccuracies. The White House attacked the "Post" repetitively. There was one story in which there was a misunderstanding, and the reporters got a fact wrong. The White House jumped on the situation, trying to show that the "Post" only offered shoddy journalism. It set the investigation back for months.



Other newspapers began to pick up the story, finding more evidence. As truths came out, the "Post" was vindicated. More men were arrested, and it became evident that powerful people were part of the conspiracy they denied. Still, there were loose ends to figure out. Some men were taking the blame for situations in which they were really innocent. Some did this to protect their families, others did it out of dedication to the President and his men.

As more evidence began to unfold, chilling evidence came to light. The reporters just had to prove it. The evidence showed that the President himself was part of the conspiracy.



Chapters 1-4

Chapters 1-4 Summary and Analysis

All The President's Men by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein tells the story behind the Watergate scandal. It all started with a burglary at the Democratic headquarters, but proved to be something much more complex. This story tells how two reporters worked with sources to uncover deceit in the highest levels of government.

Chapter 1

On Saturday morning, June 17, 1972, Woodward was woken up by the telephone. His boss, the city editor at the "Washington Post," told him that five men had been arrested earlier that morning. There had been a burglary at Democratic headquarters, and the burglars were carrying photographic equipment and electronic gear.

Woodward wasn't terribly enthused. He had been working for the "Washington Post" for nine months, and he wanted some good assignments. This sounded pretty basic. It turned out to be more important than he had originally thought. When he got to the office, he discovered that the burglars hadn't just broken into a small Democratic Party office. They had broken into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate office-apartment-hotel complex.

The Watergate hotel was known for its wealth and opulence. Individuals who stayed at the hotel were generally extremely Republican so it was unusual to find Democrats there. The hotel was a symbol of the ruling class in Richard Nixon's Washington. Woodward started to make phone calls, checking into the story. He discovered that Bernstein was also assigned to work on the story. Woodward wasn't thrilled because he already knew Bernstein's reputation for pushing his way into good stories and getting his byline on them.

As Bernstein looked around the newsroom, he realized that Woodward was working on the same assignment he was. He figured the man had been assigned to the story because he was a "prima donna who played heavily at office politics." Bernstein, himself, was a college dropout. The two had never worked together on a story before.

As they investigated the case, the two reporters discovered that the five men had been arrested at 2:30 AM. They wore business suits, and they all wore Playtex rubber surgical gloves. The men had seemed very familiar with the layout of the place. They had a walkie-talkie, two 35mm cameras, 40 rolls of unexposed film, pen sized teargas guns, lock-picks, and bugging devices. They also had a lot of cash, most of it in hundred dollar bills. That afternoon, the men from the robbery were going to appear in court for their preliminary hearing. Woodward decided to go to the courthouse for the hearing.

During the trial, the accused told the judge that they were anti-Communist. When asked about jobs, one responded that he was a security consultant for the CIA. When the story



broke, it seemed unlikely that there was any tie to the Republicans. They were less than a month away from the Democratic convention, and the President stood ahead of all the Democratic candidates in the polls with a significant lead.

The next day, June 18, information that came across the Associated Press wire made it clear why they should look more closely at McCord. He was a security coordinator for the Committee for the Reelection of the President (CRP). They discovered that one of the Watergate burglars was a salaried security coordinator for the CRP. Woodward wrote up the details and handed it to the editor. He noticed that Bernstein walked over to the desk, looked at the page, took it and retyped it then gave it back to the editor. When Woodward looked at the rewritten version of the story, he knew it was better.

Thanks to his sources, Woodward got hold of address books taken from the arrested men from the Watergate. He called Howard Hunt to ask him why his name was in the address book of two of the arrested men. Hunt refused to comment. Woodward felt as if he had a story. He noticed other signs that something might be wrong. The White House commented on the fact that they had no knowledge or participation in the Watergate incident, but the comment was unsolicited.

Chapter 2

Bernstein had a couple of days off so he decided to do some of his own research. He asked a formal official if the White House would sponsor a mission such as the Watergate mission. He expected it to be denied. Instead, he was told that if the President wanted something done, it wouldn't have been done in a shoddy manner. Bernstein was amazed as he interviewed others. Instead of a smooth running White House, he began to see rough edges. The men around the President were addressed with derision and scorn by one individual who is closely tied to the Nixon administration. On June 22, President Nixon publicly commented on the Watergate scandal for the first time, telling the public that the White House had no involvement in that particular incident. Both Woodward and Bernstein lingered over the fact that the President had said "this particular incident." Shortly after the President's statement, John Mitchell, the man who had ordered an in-house investigation on the Watergate incident, resigned from his job as manager of the Nixon campaign stating that his wife had made him quit. At the newspaper, they sensed more trouble since a powerful man like that wouldn't quit just because his wife told him to.

Charles Colson's name was also brought up. A young woman who worked in the White House reported that she was suspicious of him because he was so secretive. The man had been doing investigative research on Kennedy while he was employed at the White House. As the reporters wrote up the story, they were trying to prove that Hunt was not just a consultant, but he was a political operative.

The two reporters continued to dig, yet it seemed as if the Watergate story had stalled, and had possibly even died. Then a Long Island newspaper entitled "Newsday" reported that a former White House aide, G. Gordon Liddy, had been fired for refusing to answer FBI questions regarding Watergate. Bernstein received a phone call telling



him that the "New York Times" had written a story reporting that at least 15 calls had been placed to CRP from Miami from a phone in an office that was shared by a lawyer and Liddy.

Bernstein flew down to Miami to talk with the state attorney for Bade County. He discovered that there was a bank account with mysterious transactions that might be connected to the Watergate burglars. Upon interrogation, Woodward discovered that money in the account came from donations for campaigns. When the story came out, it showed that a \$25,000 cashier's check that was earmarked for the campaign chest of President Nixon was deposited into a bank account owned by Bernard L. Barker, who was one of the five men arrested at Watergate on June 17.

Chapter 3

Six weeks after Mitchell affirmed that the CRP was not involved in Watergate, it was becoming obvious that it actually was involved. Woodward continued his investigation regarding the check. When he tried to talk with Hugh Sloan, the CRP treasurer, he found out that the man had resigned from his position for personal reasons. An investigative arm of Congress conducted a full audit to find out what was up with the bank account. They discovered hundreds of thousands of dollars in unaccounted cash. In addition to the mishandled monies, they also discovered a "security fund."

The day the data report was supposed to be released, it was delayed. That evening, Richard Nixon was to be nominated by the Republican party for a second term as President of the United States. On that very same day, United States District Court Judge Charles R. Richey reversed his earlier ruling and declared that all of the pretrial testimony regarding the case had to be kept sealed and withheld from the public until the case was over. This meant that all the sworn statements by Stans, Mitchell, and the others could not be made known to the public before the election.

Before August 1, Bernstein and Woodward worked separately, and their writing seemed more competitive than anything. When the story broke, neither of them thought highly of the other. As the story progressed, they developed more trust in each other, and soon they discovered that they would do well to work together. The process wasn't always smooth, but they discovered they were a good team.

Bernstein pursued the monetary angle of the story, trying to discover how \$89,000 in Mexican checks passed through Bernard Parker's bank account. He wondered why it went through Mexico. He discovered that before April 7, the effective date of the new campaign-finance law, Stans had gone through the southwest on a fund-raising swing. He assured reluctant contributors that their money would go through Mexican middleman so that US investigators would not be able to subpoena the bank records. This allowed the CRP to receive donations from corporations who are legally not allowed to contribute to political candidates. It also opened up opportunities for business executives, special interest groups, and labor leaders to contribute anonymously.



When the campaign on mishandling came out in the press, the President stated that there had been violations by both Democrats and Republicans. By mid-August, Woodward and Bernstein began visiting people from the CRP in their homes at night since they had no other access to them. No-one wanted to talk with them and asked them to go away. They were told that they were under a lot of pressure and that the situation was awful. One informant mentioned that Sally Harmony, Gordon Liddy's secretary at CRP, withheld information in front of the grand jury and the FBI. However, there was no evidence to charge her with perjury in her testimony.

The reporters received information in bits and pieces. People were afraid to talk with them, but many individuals offered tiny pieces of information. The reporters discovered that they would do better when they actually got into a person's house. A woman called Bookkeeper was particularly helpful. She wouldn't say anything obvious, but she gave clues that Bernstein strung together. With her information and other evidence, Bernstein and Woodward determined that the money in Stans' safe was connected to the bugging operation, and Mitchell and MacGruder were aware of the espionage operation.

Chapter 4

Woodward had a special source who worked in the executive branch. He had access to information at the White House and at the CRP. The man would only work with him if Woodward agreed to specific working conditions known in newspaper terminology as deep background discussions. He became known as Deep Throat. Woodward and Deep Throat set up signals for meetings as well as a location. The man was extremely nervous that Bernstein and Woodward would be discovered, but he never gave them false information. When he discussed the case, his role was to confirm information the others discovered. He offered clues when they could dig deeper.

The reporters' relationship with Bookkeeper also grew. She wouldn't name names, but she, like Deep Throat, would confirm when they were correct. This way she wasn't a primary source. She was just confirming or denying information already discovered.

Woodward broke a primary rule with Deep Throat twice. He was never supposed to call the man on the phone, yet he did so two times. When he heard how frightened Deep Throat sounded on the phone, he realized that it threatened their relationship and that his friend was generally scared. Something was very wrong with the case.

The reporters knew that withdrawals from the secret bank account financed the Watergate bugging thanks to Deep Throat's information. However, they had no other proof so they couldn't print it. Bernstein went out to the Virginia suburbs to visit Hugh Sloan, the former treasurer of CRP. He was known for his honesty. Sloan told them that he would like to help them, but his lawyers had advised against it. Sloan felt that Nixon did not know about what was going on before June 17. As they talked, Bernstein discovered that the fund was closer to \$300,000. It had been in existence for more than 18 months, and it represented cash contributions to the Nixon campaign. Sloan gave them ambiguous, unclear information, but he hinted at a broader conspiracy.



Back at the office, Bernstein got in touch with an FBI agent he knew. The agent told him to back off because they were getting information that only the FBI was supposed to know. People were beginning to suspect the FBI agents. Bernstein drafted the story, citing that LaRue and Mardian had destroyed evidence, and staff members were told to "close ranks." Surprisingly, the story received very little attention nationally.



Chapters 5-8

Chapters 5-8 Summary and Analysis

Chapter 5

Both Woodward and Bernstein felt strongly that John Mitchell, the former Attorney General of the United States, was involved. Mitchell's own wife had called Helen Thomas of United Press International to say that she was "sick of the whole operation." Woodward went to visit her. He had to wait a while before he figured out a way to talk with her privately. It didn't help at all.

Bernstein went to talk with Sloan once again after his daughter was born. Evidence was rising up against Stans. Sloan seemed interested in finding out more regarding what the reporters knew. This made them nervous since they thought he had the information already. The reporters realized that they knew four of the six people the Bookkeeper had told them about. Sloan confirmed that one of the other two was a member of the White House staff. Bernstein threw out the name of President Nixon's personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach.

After a meeting with the editor, the two reporters were given permission to run the story. The paper announced that Mitchell personally controlled the secret Republican fund and used it to gather information on the Democrats. Four others also had authorization to approve payments. The article was sent to the CRP for rites of denial, and the denial was weak. Bernstein called Mitchell and took copious notes. He warned him about the story that was going to come out. They ran his reactions along with the article.

Several weeks later, the Los Angeles Times came out with a story about how Baldwin had monitored phone calls of the Democrats. Woodward and Bernstein didn't appreciate being aced out. In an effort to gain the momentum back, Woodward and Bernstein rushed an article into print and discovered it was a mistake. Some of the information was inaccurate, and three men were wronged.

Chapter 6

On September 28, a caller contacted Bernstein at the office with a tip. This man was a lawyer who had been asked to join the Nixon campaign. He had been asked to travel around messing up the Democratic candidate campaign. Money wasn't an issue. The man had taken notes on the dates of the offer. The next time they talked, he gave Bernstein specifics. The man who tried to recruit him was named Segretti.

The reporters tried to interview him about the case, but he wouldn't give them any information. He told him he couldn't answer their questions because it was part of an investigation. Back in the newsroom, the reporters sent out feelers looking for anyone who had contact with members of the White House staff. One worker had a friend who had gone to school with the White House boys and had stayed in touch with them. They



all belonged to a political party on campus called Trojans for Representative Government. The Trojans were known for "ratfucking," which made use of unethical tactics such as stuffing ballot boxes, spying, and spreading bogus campaign literature. The source wouldn't offer any names, but through a code, Bernstein connected Chapin and Segretti.

Bernstein made some phone calls. One Justice Department attorney became extremely irate about the despicable campaign acts. He couldn't stand Segretti and his tactics. As he went on his tirade, he went further than he meant to and alluded to persons involved who were even higher than Mitchell. For the first time, Bernstein realized that there was a possibility that the head ratfucker was the President of the United States.

Because the article was so important, the reporters wanted to have more time to get all their facts right. They held the story until Woodward could talk with Deep Throat. He offered more information than he generally did. Deep Throat advised Woodward to check every lead, telling him that the trouble went all over the map. He warned that they wanted to single out the "Post" to get their sources. Before he left, Deep Throat told Woodward that he was very serious, and that over 50 people worked with the CRP and the White House to spy, sabotage, play games, and gather intelligence.

Chapter 7

As Woodward was preparing to write up all that he had learned, an office worker asked Bernstein about the Canuck letter. He asked her how she knew about it because it seemed too coincidental. The girl said that she would set him up with the man who wrote the letter. He was a former colleague at the "Post." Bernstein met with the man, Claussen, for lunch, but Claussen said he would deny writing the Canuck letter. Later, he changed his mind but said that there had been a misunderstanding, and he hadn't written it. When the story came out, it stated that FBI agents established that Watergate was part of a massive campaign of political sabotage and spying that was conducted on behalf of President Nixon's reelection and directed by White House officials in the CRP. Hundreds of thousands of dollars from Nixon campaign contributions paid for the undercover campaign, and at least 50 undercover Nixon operatives traveled throughout the country to spy on Democratic campaigns and disrupt them. The story was huge, and those who worked at the "Post" knew they needed to get everything exactly right.

The intrigue went deeper as it became apparent that the Justice Department had information that the President's personal lawyer and appointments secretary were involved yet had done nothing about it. The Watergate scandal had spread into the White House.

Chapter 8

The election was only three weeks away, and the men in the White House told the public that the news becoming available was part of "mud month." The White House began fighting back, and their primary target was the "Washington Post." In speeches, they went out of their way to publicly state that the reporters at the "Post" wrote using

false information. However, they couldn't point out any specifics, and the White House credibility was undermined especially after the "New York Times" published a story showing that Segretti's credit card or telephone had been used for at least six phone calls to Chapin's home in Maryland and to the White House as well as at least 21 calls to Howard Hunt's office and home.



For Chapters 9-12

For Chapters 9-12 Summary and Analysis

Chapter 9

After talking with Sloan, the reporters felt strongly that the person who controlled the secret fund was Harry Robbins Haldeman. The man had a reputation for being ruthless, pragmatic, tough, and devoted only to Richard Nixon. He was smart enough to make sure that he wasn't directly in the line of blame for any action.

Woodward met with Deep Throat to see if he was right. Without naming names, and going by their own unique code, Deep Throat affirmed that Haldeman was the name, and the man had accumulated frightening power. Wanting to double check the "confirmation," the reporters visited Hugh Sloan. He said they couldn't talk that evening, but the reporters explained that they only had a few questions. Woodward asked if Sloan had mentioned the names before the grand jury, and Sloan said "yes." Without naming any names, Sloan confirmed their suspicions that Haldeman was one of the controllers of the fund.

After making a list of individuals who could deny or confirm that Haldeman was the final name, the reporters contacted an agent who told them that they were causing big trouble. The FBI agent was interrogating Bernstein. They got the confirmation that Haldeman was involved. They wrote up the story and October 24, when the story came out in the paper, there was a big outcry. Sloan's attorney commented that Sloan had never named Haldeman before the grand jury. This diminished the credibility of the reporters at the "Post." Later, Bradlee commented that that was the lowest moment in Watergate for him. The reporters felt terrible, wondering where they went wrong. As they talked to others they realized that they were correct in accusing Haldeman, but there had been a misunderstanding when they questioned Sloan regarding the interrogation before the grand jury. They had assumed too much, and it reinforced their determination to report accurate facts during the rest of the investigation. Deep Throat was extremely upset about all that had gone on and told Woodward that it set the investigation back months.

Chapter 10

The "Post" was under attack in the weeks before election day. The reporters were getting little to no information, and they were looking forward to the "Post" election. At that point the White House would be forced to stop accusing them of working for the McGovern election. At 5 o'clock in the morning on November 11, an operator from the paper tracked Bernstein down, telling him to call Sussman at home immediately. Segretti was back home, and Bernstein flew out to talk with him.



The man was agitated and upset that the White House hadn't told him anything. He admitted he had been hired by Chapin, and he hadn't gone after the job himself. They came after him. Strachan also discussed the job with him and Kalmbach paid him. Bernstein tried to get him to go on record, but the man refused.

In the four weeks following the election, the reporters went through a severe dry spell. While they were learning many things, they couldn't put together a meaningful story. One Saturday in November, an editor from the "Post" asked to speak with Woodward. He said that one of his neighbors mentioned that his aunt was on the grand jury, and they thought it was the jury for Watergate. They thought she might talk. The reporters had to proceed with extreme caution so no laws were broken. When they met with the woman, they realized that she was not on the Watergate case. However, it gave them a new path to follow. They looked up the names of the jurors and went to their homes to interview them. The jurors did not want to talk. In fact, the reporters almost ended up in jail.

One evening a woman with considerable knowledge of the secret activities of the CRP and the White House contacted Bernstein, telling him to talk with her at a later time. She agreed to point the reporters in the proper direction to help them fill in the right names in the right places. She would vaguely answer questions, but wouldn't give specifics. The reporters realized that they needed to learn more about the Plumbers. The informant then mentioned that there would be no further messages, and they were not allowed to call her.

The next night, the reporters drove out to Sloan's house, but he couldn't help them. As the reporters went through files of research, they were intrigued by evidence that Hunt and Liddy had traveled to Los Angeles together on September 4, 1971, and on January 7, 1972, and on February 17, 1972, using pseudonyms. They also learned about a telephone that had been installed in Room 16 of the Executive Office Building, listed under the name of Kathleen Chenow.

Locating Chenow, the reporters discovered that the phone belonged to Mr. Hunt. She was supposed to take messages for him. Mr. Barker was pretty much the only person who used that phone, calling an average of one time a week, but sometimes two or three times a week. She felt that they put her name on the phone because they didn't want any ties to the White House, but she didn't know why.

Chapter 11

Woodward and Bernstein had to go to court. The judge was known for his harshness, and the men were on trial for the way they went about their investigations. Surprisingly, they were let free. That afternoon Woodward returned to the courtroom for another hearing. The writer refused to share his sources, and he was jailed. Woodward was extremely shaken. Several days later, Woodward and Bernstein were called into Bradlee's office. Someone had accused them of posing as FBI agents. They were called off the story and were not allowed to get near any witnesses. Two days later they were allowed to go back to work with new ground rules. Later on that week, the reporters



stopped by the courthouse to talk with Silbert about the new rules. His office was meticulous, and Woodward noticed a letter on the desk that had the Watkins Johnson company letterhead. This was a company from which McCord purchased equipment to bug the Watergate. Upon further investigation, Woodward discovered that McCord had bought the equipment with 35 \$100 bills, the CRP's calling card.

By December, Woodward and Bernstein were worried that the Watergate story was going to be written off. This was right before the Watergate Seven trial. Before the trial began, Bernstein had been told that the four Florida men might plead guilty if Hunt did. Hunt had persuaded them to do this by telling them that their families would be cared for financially, and that they could each count on executive clemency after they spent a few months in jail. Woodward and Bernstein wondered if they should put the story in print. Meanwhile, a story from the "New York Times" came out stating that Mitchell had been aware of the Watergate operation. They sent out a press release stating that the four Miami men had been promised up to \$1,000 for every month that they spent in jail. The "Post" decided to print their own story. Still, the four men pled guilty and were led off to jail.

Woodward had lunch with the woman who owned the "Post." She was trying to find out what was going on with her newspaper. She gave her blessing to continue. Woodward and Bernstein continued to attend the trial, which lasted for another two weeks. Woodward copied down the defendants' address book phone numbers. When he contacted those in the address book, he discovered that the FBI had never contacted them. The witnesses weren't being asked the proper questions.

Chapter 12

Woodward met with Deep Throat once again. He seemed impressed by the groundwork that the reporters had done. Woodward told Deep Throat that Mitchell and Colton were behind the Watergate operation. He also outlined factors that might lead to the conclusion that Colson and Mitchell were conspirators. Deep Throat did not disagree. However, he pointed out that it was all still unproven. When Woodward asked if they had enough information to do a story on Colson and Mitchell, Deep Throat told him that it was for the paper to decide, but if they were going to do it, they should do it quickly.

The meeting led to a serious disagreement between Woodward and Bernstein, the worst since they had begun working together seven months prior. Woodward thought that they should have more proof before they ran the story. It didn't go to print because the old rule applied: if either one of the writers objected, it wasn't printed.

A short time after his meeting with Deep Throat, Woodward received a call from Sen. Sam J. Ervin's office. The man wanted to talk about Watergate. He told Woodward that the men around Nixon were thugs. The senator asked for help on the investigation. Woodward refused to reveal sources, but he did give Sloan's name out since the man said he would cooperate with any legitimate investigation. In return, Ervin agreed to share information with Woodward as long as he didn't mention any names or directly quote him. He could only say that it was part of Ervin's thinking. The story Woodward

wrote outlined Ervin's intention to challenge the President's aides regarding the claim of executive privilege.

On February 5, Sen. Ervin introduced a new resolution that allocated funds for the investigation of the Watergate break-in and all related allegations. The resolution passed unanimously.

The reporters knew that they had to find out exactly what the plumber's mission entailed and what Hunt and Liddy had done at the White House. They wanted to understand why the men were willing to go to jail. Woodward went out to lunch with a friend of Howard Hunt. The man offered some information then started getting nervous. Later, he talked with DeMotte, the man who offered information regarding Hunt, who had been investigating Edward Kennedy's personal life during the time when the White House had most feared the Kennedy candidacy.

The reporters continued to search for information on the Plumbers. They had a break when they learned that Liddy and Hunt were given information from national security wiretaps.

On February 26, a coworker told Bernstein that there was a man in the newsroom with a subpoena for him and his notes. Woodward was away, but before this occasion they had agreed on what to do if they were subpoenaed. He followed that procedure.



For Chapters 13-17

For Chapters 13-17 Summary and Analysis

Chapter 13

Later in the week, Woodward returned from a trip to the Caribbean. He learned about a George Washington University student who was paid to spy for the CRP. The young man, Ted, stated that there were at least 25 others. When he questioned the young man, Woodward discovered that the young man's job had been terminated two days after the Watergate incident.

In February, the White House announced that L. Patrick Gray's name was going to be submitted for confirmation as a successor to Edgar Hoover. This perplexed reporters until they realized that the White House considered this an opportunity to set the record straight regarding Watergate.

Woodward arranged another meeting with Deep Throat. This time, Deep Throat suggested that they meet at a bar. When he got to the bar, Woodward understood why. It is a place neither of their friends would go to due to its isolation. It was a much nicer environment for the meeting, and they didn't have to meet at such a late hour. Deep Throat told Woodward that the flood was coming. He recommended that they sit tight, be careful, and avoid jumping too fast. Deep Throat knew that in early February, Gray offered to take the rap for Watergate. He blackmailed the President in order to keep his job.

February 28 was the date of Pat Gray's confirmation hearing. At the hearing, he volunteered that he turned over files to Dean, but couldn't guarantee that Dean had given the files to Segretti. Dean held onto the papers for seven days before he handed them over to the FBI. Two notebooks were missing. On Friday, March 2, President Nixon announced that he would claim executive privilege if anyone tried to demand testimony by Dean at the hearings. During the proceedings, Gray undermined the innocence claim from the White House, establishing the credibility of the "Washington Post." He continued testifying on the ineptitude of his supervision of the FBI's investigation.

Chapter 14

On March 23, Woodward discovered that McCord had been talking to the press, making it known that there was pressure to keep quiet, and his family members were worried about his life if he disclosed facts on the matter. He knew about perjury that had occurred during the trial.

More information came out, and Watergate was going to burst. McCord came out with information about the Watergate operation, but the reporters wanted to make sure everything was backed up solidly before they printed it. Bernstein and Woodward



decided to work together with "New York Times" writer Seymour Hersh. Hersh wrote the first report that the court had testified that the CRP directly paid the Watergate conspirators.

Woodward made an emergency call to Deep Throat. As more information came to the forefront, Woodward discovered that Haldeman and Dean were going to resign from their posts. President Nixon held a press conference stating that he was aware of some serious charges regarding the case. He announced that he would suspend any person in government or in the executive branch who was indicted in the case. Reversing his earlier position, the President agreed to allow his aides to testify under oath before the Senate Watergate committee. During his entire speech, his hands were shaking. He did not announce the resignations of Haldeman or Dean. The reporters decided to hold that story back. They needed further proof.

Chapter 15

The reporters realized that Dean was the perfect source for information on the inner workings of Watergate. They tried to get him to share the information, but they were not successful. Things were beginning to happen fast. The reporters discovered that the President had been warned about the cover-up by several sources even though he had denied that.

Another story came out, this time from the "New York Daily News." It said that FBI director Ray destroyed the documents that were taken from Hunt's safe in the White House. Deep Throat confirmed the story during a phone call. In the late afternoon on April 27, Woodward and Bernstein learned that during the trial, Daniel Ellsberg, the judge had been informed that Libby and Hunt supervised the burglary of Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office back in 1971. They realized that as well as the cover-up John Dean was going to implicate the President. He was going to point out that the President was a felon.

Chapter 16

Although both Woodward and Bernstein were certain that Dean was going to implicate the President, they held up the story because Bradlee and Simons wanted specifics. The reporters wrote another story concluding that Ehrlichman and Halderman were involved in the cover-up. On April 30, Ehrlichman and Haldeman resigned, Dean was fired, and Kleindienst also resigned.

That evening, President Nixon spoke publicly about the situation. He said it was a difficult situation, but he had to do what was best for the country. Woodward and Bernstein had been sitting on Dean's story for a week, unable to develop more information on exactly what he was going to say regarding the President's involvement in the cover-up. On Saturday, May 5, they discovered that "Newsweek" was printing a story highlighting the fact that Dean was going to describe two incidents from the previous year that led him to conclude that Nixon knew about the cover-up. More information came to the forefront about missing logs and tapped phone lines.



Woodward called Kissinger after two sources specified that he had personally authorized the taps. He called and complained to the editors, and Simons decided to hold the story for another day. This time they were scooped, and the story came out in the Times.

The Watergate hearings were scheduled to begin on May 17. On the night before the beginning of the hearings, Woodward once again met with Deep Throat. The meeting was very fast, and he came out with a series of statements. Deep Throat left after warning them to be cautious. Woodward shared the information with Bernstein by writing and typing rather than talking in case his apartment was bugged. He shared critical information, then they called Bradlee and shared the information with him as well. They had never seen anything like this before. The information they had was the most concrete evidence brought to the forefront regarding the fact that the President knew about the coverup. Not only that, but he was a willing participant. At the end of May, Bernstein talked on the phone with the Justice Department attorney. He questioned why they weren't dealing with the allegations against the President. Bernstein realized that the President could not be called before a grand jury. They had to find another way to investigate him. The reporters continued gathering information, and evidence began accumulating. They discovered that the President had bugged himself.

Chapter 17

During the first week of November, Woodward met once again with Deep Throat who told him that one or more of the tapes contained deliberate erasures. The President's lawyers announced in the courtroom that one of the tapes had an 18 1/2 minute gap of which they had been unaware during their prior conversation. By late February 1974, this special force for the Watergate prosecution obtained guilty pleas from numerous key individuals in the investigation. On March 1, seven of the President's former White House and campaign aides were charged with conspiracy to obstruct justice. The House Judiciary Committee officially began the process of impeaching the President.



Characters

Bob Woodward

Bob Woodward was a prima donna who played at office politics according to Bernstein. He attended Yale, was a veteran of the Navy officer corps, and led a good life. He wasn't a very good writer, however. When the book opened, 29-year-old Woodward had been trying to prove himself as a reporter at the "Post." Later, when he began working with Bernstein, he acknowledged that the other man was a better writer, but it didn't make him angry or jealous. He just knew and accepted it as a fact.

He lived alone and worked hard, looking beyond obvious statements to hidden messages that were clues to figuring out the entire story. He knew powerful people with insight into the scandal. The man was so dedicated to his job that he was willing to risk his life uncovering the real story.

Carl Bernstein

Carl Bernstein was 28-years-old when the Watergate burglary took place. He was a college drop-out who worked as a copy boy at the "Washington Star" when he was 16. By the age of 19, he was a full-time reporter. He joined the "Washington Post" in 1966.

Bernstein looked like a counterculture journalist and he enjoyed writing discursive pieces about the capital's neighborhoods and people. He also occasionally did investigative work, covering City Hall and the courts. He had a knack for words, making information come alive. He was also extremely dedicated to his job, willing to put in long hours even on weekends. The man was also willing to risk his life to get the truth out to the public. At first he didn't appreciate working with Woodward, yet as they became partners, he realized that they worked well together. He came to respect Woodward, and they pooled together their resources instead of competing against each other as they uncovered the scandal and informed the public.

Richard M. Nixon

Richard M. Nixon was the President of the United States at the time of the Watergate scandal.

Hugh W. Sloan, Junior

Hugh W. Sloan, Junior was the treasurer for the CRP. He was also the former aide to Haldeman.



H. R. Haldeman

H. R. Haldeman was assistant to the President. He was the White House chief of staff

Henry Kissinger

Henry Kissinger was assistant to the President for national security affairs.

Jeb Stuart Magruder

Jeb Stuart Magruder was deputy campaign director for the CRP. He was a former aide for Haldeman and was deputy director of White House communications.

Deep Throat

Deep Throat was a secret informant who helped lead the reporters to the true sources of the Watergate scandal and beyond.

Maurice H. Stans

Maurice H. Stans was the finance chairman of the CRP and the former Secretary of Commerce.

John J. Sirica

John J. Sirica was the Chief Judge for the US District Court for the District of Columbia.

Benjamin C. Bradlee

Benjamin C. Bradlee was the executive editor of the "Washington Post."

Howard Simons

Howard Simons was the managing editor for the "Washington Post."

Harry Rosenfeld

Harry Rosenfeld was a metropolitan editor for the "Washington Post."



Barry Sussman

Barry Sussman was the District of Columbia editor for the "Washington Post."

Katharine Graham

Katharine Graham was the publisher of the "Washington Post."



Objects/Places

Washington Post

Bernstein and Woodward worked for the "Washington Post."

Bank account

The reporters discovered a bank account used to support illegal activities.

Potted plant

When Woodward wanted to meet with Deep Throat, he moved a potted plant.

Newspaper

A page number in the newspaper was circled when Deep Throat wanted to meet with Woodward.

Washington, D.C.

The story primarily takes place in Washington, D.C. It's a hub of political activity.

White House

The White House denied any connection to Watergate and later attacked the "Post."

Watergate Hotel

A burglary at the Watergate Hotel opened the doors to a much greater scandal.

Mexico City

Illegal funds went through bank accounts in Mexico City so they were untraceable.

Chappaquiddick

Hunt was researching Chappaquiddick and Kennedy's experiences here.



Florida

Bernstein went to Florida to meet with the state's attorney of Dade County regarding bank activities.

California

Hunt went to California during the summer and early fall of 1971.

Tennessee

The Muskie operation took place in Tennessee.

Parking Garage

Deep Throat would meet with Woodward very late at night in a parking garage.



Themes

Dealing With Shady Politics

The robbery at the Watergate Hotel occurred during a period in which the Republican Party was going strong. The unusual part of the robbery was that it took place at the Democratic headquarters. The reporters knew something was going wrong, but the investigative process was extremely complex. It wasn't a simple case wherein one or two people were caught spying and were punished for it. Instead, every time the reporters uncovered facts, they realized that there were many levels of shady politics, and there were many people involved in covering their tracks.

Those who were at fault were so powerful, others were afraid to speak out against them. In some cases, innocent men took the blame for acts they were not guilty of because they felt that it would help the administration in the long run, or because they were pressured to do so in order to help and support their own families. As the story progressed and time went on, reporters discovered that funds were illegally obtained, and these funds were used to undermine campaign efforts for the Democratic Party.

Threats were made, jobs were lost, and lives were changed even as the White House repeatedly denied any connection to the unfolding intelligence. In fact, the White House deliberately attacked the newspaper that reported evidence of dirty inner workings. Eventually, more truths were uncovered, leading to the downfall of the men involved in the shady part of politics. This included all the President's men.

Opposites Working Together

Although both Woodward and Bernstein were in their late 20s and both worked for the "Washington Post," they were complete opposites who had very little respect for each other at the beginning of this story. Woodward had the perfect upper-crust background. He was working his way up to bigger and better stories, he had finished college, and he had good connections. He didn't think much of Bernstein who was a college dropout. However, there was no arguing the fact that Bernstein was a better writer. When they both started on the story, they were competitors. After a while, everyone realized that they would be better off pooling their sources and working together. This forced them to work as a team, and they realized that they were a good team.

Differences aside, they developed a mutual respect for each other. Instead of fighting against each other, they worked together to uncover shady political actions. In a similar manner, the "Washington Post" competed against the "New York Times" and other papers. As the intrigue grew deeper, they realized that they could uncover truth better if they worked together. While everyone used their various resources, the main goal was to bring to light the shady dealings of all the President's men, including the President himself.



As the reporters worked together, each brought their own talents, their own sources, and their own backgrounds together to help further the case. They kept the resources confidential, yet they shared information acquired from these sources. This was what helped break open the case, proving the innocence of some and the illegal acts of others.

Investigations and Contacts

Bernstein was a reporter who had worked with the courts for some investigative stories for the newspaper. Because of this, he has some political contacts. Woodward had some contacts as well. Both of the men also had a talent for listening not only to what was said, but what was unsaid. This often gave them clues regarding where to go next during an investigation. For example, when the White House offered a disclaimer saying that they weren't connected to a particular instance, the reporters would latch on to the words "this particular instance." This led them to believe that there was more to the story, and when they dug a bit deeper, they found this to be true. When they ran their stories by the White House, the White House would say that the stories were written based on false information. However, since the White House couldn't offer details on what information was false, the reporters knew they could go ahead with the story.

Even though they had good and powerful contacts, the entire scandal was so massive that the contacts themselves were fearful. This made the investigation quite difficult since no one would name names or specific details. Instead, the reporters had to find ways to communicate with the informants to garner information without ever implicating them. Sometimes they did this by making a statement then allowing their informant some time to perform an action if there was some reason that they shouldn't print the article. If the informant didn't do the action, it was a sign that the information was correct, and they could go ahead and print.

Style

Perspective

All the Presidents Men by Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward tells the story of the Watergate affair as a third person subjective narrative. The subjective narrative alternates between Bernstein's perspective and Woodward's perspective, even within one page.

With the third person overview, the reader sees events as they unfold. Like the reporters, the readers have to unravel information from the informants to determine where the investigative story is going to go next. If the reader knows their history, they understand the full ramifications of the event and the story. However, this is never alluded to throughout the book. In fact, it takes a long while for the reporters to understand how deeply the scandal infiltrates the White House. This adds to the sense of betrayal felt not only by those who worked in the White House, but also by the reporters and the rest of the nation.

Tone

This book was written by the reporters who worked for the "Washington Post" during the Watergate scandal. In the acknowledgments, it states that the book is the result of a collaborative effort of the authors and their colleagues. Throughout the investigation they kept copious notes, which were used to write this book. The book was first published in 1974, directly after the Watergate affair.

At the very beginning of the Watergate affair, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward worked separately, seemingly competing with each other for information. After a while, they became a writing team. This collaboration not only brought about stronger writing, but it also helped to have at least two individuals double checking sources for accuracy. The same holds true in this book, which is a team effort from both of the reporters.

Structure

All the Presidents Men by Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward opens with acknowledgments regarding those who contributed to the book. There is also a dedication to those who helped in the investigation, risking their own security. A cast of characters highlights major individuals in the book, according to groupings such as "The President's Men," "The Burglars," and "The Washington Post" among others. The book begins after the list of characters. It is comprised of 17 chapters, each with 15-30 pages. At the end of the book there is a list of notes further explaining specific details throughout the book.

Quotes

"Westrell and three others described McCord as the consummate 'government man'—reluctant to act on his own initiative, respectful of the chain of command, unquestioning in following orders."

All The President's Men, Chapter 1, p. 21

"Whoever was responsible for the Watergate break-in would have to be somebody who doesn't know about politics but thought he did. I suppose that's why Colson's name comes up.... Anybody who knew anything wouldn't be looking over there for real political information. They'd be looking for something else ... scandal, gossip."

All The President's Men, Chapter 2, p. 27

"This picture of the White House was in sharp contrast to the smooth, well-oiled machine Bernstein was accustomed to reading about in the newspapers—those careful, disciplined, look-alike guards to the palace who were invariably referred to as "The President's Men."

All The President's Men, Chapter 2, p. 28

"At a press conference that same afternoon, June 22, President Nixon made his first public comment on the break-in. 'The White House has had no involvement whatever in this particular incident,' he said."

All The President's Men, Chapter 2, p. 29

"A \$25,000 cashier's check, apparently earmarked for the campaign chest of President Nixon, was deposited in April in the bank account of Bernard L. Barker, one of the five men arrested in the break-in and alleged bugging attempt at Democratic National Committee headquarters here June 17."

All The President's Men, Chapter 2, p. 44

"'We've never had a story like this,' he said. 'Just never.'"

All The President's Men, Chapter 2, p. 44

"He had a theory about Watergate that Bernstein and Woodward did not quite understand—it had to do with historic inevitability, post-war American ethics, merchandising and Richard Nixon."

All The President's Men, Chapter 3, p. 52

"When Woodward had an urgent inquiry to make, he would move the flower pot with the red flag to the rear of the balcony. During the day, Deep Throat would check to see if the pot had been moved. If it had, he and Woodward would meet at about 2:00A.M. in a predesignated underground parking garage."

All The President's Men, Chapter 4, p. 72

"Gradually, an unwritten rule was evolving: unless two sources confirmed a charge involving activity likely to be considered criminal, the specific allegation was not used in



the paper."

All The President's Men, Chapter 4, p. 79

"But what it was like for young men and women to come to Washington because they believed in something and then to be inside and see how things worked and watch their own ideals disintegrate."

All The President's Men, Chapter 4, p. 84

"For the first time, he considered the possibility that the President of the United States was the head rاتفucker."

All The President's Men, Chapter 6, p. 129

"In one irretrievable step, Patrick Gray had undermined the basic claim of White House innocence."

All The President's Men, Chapter 13, p. 273

"John went in and said, 'Mr. President, there is a cancer eating away at this office, and it has to be removed...'"

All The President's Men, Chapter 15, pp. 303-304



Topics for Discussion

What was so unique about the burglary at the Watergate Hotel?

Describe how Bernstein and Woodward were similar and how they were different.

Discuss the evolution of the writing relationship between Woodward and Bernstein.

Who were the President's men, and how did they get their name?

What was so important about the bank account that the reporters discovered?

Why was it so difficult finding witnesses to talk about the scandal?

Discuss the importance of Deep Throat's role.

Describe the process that led to the unraveling of the scandal.