INTERVIEW WITH BOB WOODWARD/ MARCH 6, 1989

(Beginning of conversation not on tape focused on how we would start, mainly his days at Yale, and some other matters.)

Woodward: This started out as a book on Liquorgate, right?

Colodny: It had it's metamorphosis. You know, it went through a number of metamorphoses. And I think part of that was we were following a trail that said, Wait a minute. If you're not right about this or you don't think this is the way it is, the facts should determine what the book says and not us determining what the book said.

Woodward: But it started out as a book on Liquorgate, right? The scandal in Montgomery County.

Colodny: Yea, it's only fair to say, look, we were looking at what you were doing and trying to understand what happened in that story as an original thing

Woodward: And then it evolved into...

Gettlin: We dropped that.

Woodward: And you dropped that. And then it evolved into a biography of me.

Gettlin: No. It never was a biography.

Woodward: That's what some people reported to me that you contacted.

Gettlin: No...

Colodny: I think to be fair about it. And Bob is handling this... And I think since the genesis is the relationship that we had that went way back. I think what happened was we were looking at you and then we found a much larger story going on. And unfortunately the title didn't reflect, the working title didn't reflect the reality. And when we finally got to the point last year where we went to hire an agent...

Woodward: What was the working title at that point?

Colodny: It was Woodward Was Watergate. And if you read the title and then read the books you would say, "Well, wait a minute what are you talking about. He's not the central character in the book. Why did you title the book that?" Well, it was a working title. And you've used working titles before. If the... The story didn't evolve that way.

I like to think of this story this way, Bob. The Nixon administration is what this story is about. It's a story about an administration that soared. That took off and soared, and in the end crashed. You reported the crash. And that part of it is clear... and there's no misunderstanding. But what we tried to look at is all the other things that were going on. Prior to that who Ni... You know, what was really happening here? What kind of president was Richard Nixon? And what kind of enemies did develop? And how did this crash happen? And we think that that's what the book's about. And it more accurately reflects your role as a reporter of the crash. And what was that crash all about? And who were his enemies? And who really wanted to do Richard Nixon in?

The perception of Richard Nixon, the anticommunist, the Democrats hate him, the liberals hate him. So really, that's what you have. An administration that soars to the greatest heights in foreign policy, changes the world in many ways, and then crashes. Why did it crash? And what was going on in those early years that would have led to that kind of a crash? So, I think that's an accurate description of what this book is today. And you're correct in saying, yes, that's the way it started. But we followed the facts and let the facts determine what the story was.

Woodward: We will deal with facts this morning. Go ahead.

Gettlin: Okay. So, do you have any problem with it starting out at that point?

Woodward: At what?

Gettlin: Well, dealing with the ROTC. We're just trying to a... quick run through and...

Woodward: It's a matter of record. I was in NROTC in Yale.

Gettlin: Right. What I was interested in is just quickly the genesis of why you decided to go in NROTC, what the competition was like to get it, the

decision to go to Yale. There's been other things written about it. But I want to get it from you.

Woodward: It doesn't have anything to do with Richard Nixon, I assure you.

Gettlin: Well, that may be, but we're just trying to lay a groundwork. I mean, I'm just trying to very quickly determine what, the... thinking back on high school, what it was that prompted you to go NROTC, and Navy, and Yale and so forth.

Woodward: Well, my father was in the Navy, it was a scholarship, the draft was inevitable at that point. So, it looked like everyone was going to have to serve. It seemed to be a good way to do it.

Gettlin: Yea. Was it an intense competition to get these things? Where they a big deal, where they not a big deal? Why Navy rather than just...

Woodward: I just answered.

Gettlin: 'Cause your father was in the Navy. What about the competition to get an NROTC...?

Woodward: I don't know.

Gettlin: Okay. Well, when you went to Yale, when you were in the NROTC program, what kind of classes did you take? Did you prepare for any specialty? Can you tell me a little bit about what it was like at Yale being in NROTC?

Woodward: No. There was no flexibility. You took one course a year.

Gettlin: Was there any specialty that you prepared for?

Woodward: No. There was no choice. They dictated what it was.

Gettlin: What about the summer cruises? What were they all about?

Woodward: Those were also dictated.

Gettlin: Can you describe where you went, or what you did?

Woodward: Aircraft carrier first year. Marine and flight training second cruise. On a destroyer in the Med, third year.

Gettlin: And when you got out you were an ensign at that point.

Woodward: Correct.

Gettlin: You didn't have any specific training? Your first orders were to go to the Wright.

Woodward: Correct.

Gettlin: Any particular reason why? Do you know why you were selected to go to the Wright? Just random?

Woodward: (Chuckle) No idea.

Gettlin: You have no idea why you were....

Woodward: I was a radio ham when I was a kid. And it was a communications ship. Maybe that was the connection.

Gettlin: Yea. What was you job on the Wright?

Woodward: Circuit control officer.

Gettlin: And what did that entail?

Woodward: Entailed running the group of radio men who ran all the circuits that the Wright kept up.

Gettlin: What kind of a ship was the Wright? It was a refurbished aircraft carrier. Is that right?

Woodward: Correct.

Gettlin: What was its assignment, its function?

Woodward: Command and communications.

Gettlin: For?

Woodward: Was what was called NECPA - National Emergency Command Post Afloat. Relocation site for the president or national command authority in an emergency.

Gettlin: Was the president ever aboard when you were there?

Woodward: Johnson came aboard once, briefly.

Gettlin: When you were an officer on the ship.

Woodward: Right.

Gettlin: Now you mentioned before about your security clearances. What sort of security clearances did you have?

Woodward: Top secret crypto.

Gettlin: Top secret crypto. What is... I don't know the ins and outs of...

Woodward: I realize that.

Gettlin: Okay. Well, maybe you can educate me a little bit. Where does that fall in the line of...

Woodward: It is not an intelligence, as I've attempted to tell you, clearance at all. It's for the cryptographic machines and code cards that are used in communications.

Gettlin: So what... without revealing anything that would, you know, be, you know, top secret or anything.... Well, you can say what you want, I guess. I'm just trying to get an idea what kinds of information came in to the Wright that you would process or the guys that you were with would process.

Woodward: It... it...it's essentially an emergency relocation command post is waiting for the crisis which never came.

Gettlin: Yea. So what was the two-year period like? Was it guys just sort of sitting around or was it actually top secret...

Woodward: It was two-and-a-half years almost.

Gettlin: Oh. Okay.

Woodward: Yea. A lot of watches, lot of routine. Navy shipboard.

Gettlin: Would you consider it an assignment that was a prestigious assignment or one that ... I mean did most guys coming out of Yale, or out of ROTC get those kind... I mean it was.. They wouldn't select just anybody, right, for a top secret crypto job? Or maybe they would. I don't know.

Woodward: Well, it..it..it's certainly [redacted] not one of the prestigious assignments.

Gettlin: Okay. Now, you went to the... you left the Wright after two, two-and-a-half years. What were your orders at that point?

Woodward: I got orders to Vietnam and I asked to have them changed to go to another ship.

Gettlin: What... Do you remember specifically what the orders were? To go to Vietnam and do what?

Woodward: I think it was to be a tactical watch officer in Can Tho province.

Gettlin: And what would that have... Was that on a boat or was that...?

Woodward: No. It was in a..a operations center.

Gettlin: Right. Okay. How did those get changed?

Woodward: I requested them.

Gettlin: Do you remember the procedure you went through?

Woodward: I wrote a letter and said I'd rather go to sea. I didn't want to go to Vietnam.

Gettlin: Do you remember who you wrote to or who changed the orders?

Woodward: Detailer.

Gettlin: Oh. Okay. So each guy in the Navy has a detail officer. Is that right?

Woodward: Correct.

Gettlin: Yea. And you just went through a normal procedure to just request... My understanding is that it wasn't easy to get out of Vietnam.

Woodward: Well, I made a trip to Washington to talk to my detailer.

Gettlin: From where were you?

Woodward: At Norfolk.

Gettlin: So you said I want...

Woodward: And I wrote a letter and sat down and talked to the guy.

Gettlin: And just like that said I don't want to go to Vietnam. Find me another assignment.

Woodward: Correct. I'd rather go to a ship.

Gettlin: It was that easy.

Woodward: (slight chuckle) Well.

Gettlin: Okay. Was there anybody... So the detailer made the decision?

Woodward: I believe so.

Gettlin: Nobody higher up?

Woodward: Not to my knowledge.

Gettlin: Okay.

Colodny: Those orders that you had, Bob, were they cut already at the time that you got them originally?

Woodward: Yes.

Gettlin: Did they assign you to the Fox? They said, okay, you don't want to go to Vietnam.

Woodward: That's correct.

Gettlin: Okay. So you went to the Fox. What was your... and were you an ensign now or were you a lieutenant J.G.?

Woodward: I was a lieutenant J.G. or a lieutenant. I forget.

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Colodny: I think it was J.G. But they got it in the files.

Woodward: It was a J.G. Yea.

Gettlin: Okay. So they assigned you to the Fox.

Woodward: Communications officer.

Gettlin: Now that was different from a radio officer, that you had on the Wright. Was that a step up?

Woodward: Well, I was in... I was in charge of communications for the whole ship.

Gettlin: Can you describe, as you did about the Wright, what that entailed?

Woodward: Oh, maybe 15 or 20 radio men. Had to keep up circuits. Voice communications. Teletype communications.

Gettlin: Right. And you guys were based in San Diego.

Woodward: San Diego.

Gettlin: But you took, I think, a number of trips to South China Sea or I guess it was called... what was it called, Yankee Station, is what the reference was to the...

Woodward: Well it was... we made one WestPac cruise while I was aboard.

Gettlin: Okay. Well, what was the Wright's assignment on those... were you in support...

Woodward: You mean Fox?

Gettlin: I'm sorry, The Fox. What, was the Fox acting in support of any military operations in the area?

Woodward: They were... We were a radar picket ship. It was called the Piraz Station. I forget what that stands for. We had one position we had to kind of circle around in off the coast of Vietnam and acted as a radar guidance ship for planes.

Gettlin: For planes that were doing air strikes on Vietnam?

Woodward: And all kinds of air traffic.

Gettlin: How about the security clearances on the Fox? Were they similar to the Wright?

Woodward: Same...

Gettlin: Top Secret Crypto?

Woodward: They... That's correct. And they had an embarked intelligence team.

Gettlin: What was that all about?

Woodward: Well, I don't know because I wasn't cleared for it.

Gettlin: The Wright... excuse me, the Fox, had an embarked intelligence team?

Woodward: That's correct. Of about... They would come and go. They had some... They had something they were doing. I think it was... What do they call them? C.T.s - Communications Technicians.

Gettlin: Oh. I see.

Woodward: Who are the intelligence enlisted people.

Gettlin: So would the Fox be a ship that would be specifically assigned for that kind of a thing, or what?

Woodward: No, I think whatever ship came and assumed those duties had the team embarked.

Gettlin: Okay.

Colodny: Was this the Fox's maiden voyage to Vietnam?

Woodward: No. It was not. It had been there previously.

Gettlin: Yea. The Fox had... I think the Fox first served in '67, '68.

Colodny: It did get reclassified at a point, too, during the SALT treaty. Didn't somehow or another they reclassify it from what it was originally built to be in order to meet... or you weren't aware of that? That was after you were gone anyway.

Woodward: Yes it was.

Gettlin: Okay. Bob Welander was the captain of the ship during a period when you were there. What was your relationship with then-Capt. Welander, now retired rear admiral.

Woodward: We got along.... He was... was my boss. He was kind of a dynamic... skipper. Somebody moving up.

Gettlin: Just a procedural thing. How many officers would be aboard... You were what, one of maybe 25, 26?

Woodward: No, I don't think so. Fifteen, but it could be twelve. It could be eighteen.

Gettlin: Right. Out of a crew of what, a couple hundred, perhaps?

Woodward: I think three hundred or something.

Gettlin: And the officers... You guys ate together and, you know, rubbed shoulders together all the time, so, I just... it was my understanding of what... I've never been in the Navy or been on a naval vessel. What life was like among the officer corps of a ship, my understanding is you get to know each other pretty well. I just wondered how much you got to know then-Capt. Welander. You mentioned you got along with him. I assumed you were out at sea it would be best to get along with your captain. Anything more than that?

Woodward: (Shook his head)

Gettlin: No? Well, he left the Fox, I think, before you did and then a guy named Ward came on.

Woodward: Right.

Gettlin: After Welander left the Fox did you have any further contact with him or keep any kind of a relationship up with him?

Woodward: He was a Council on Foreign Relations fellow, I believe, for a year. And I think we exchanged letters once.

Gettlin: Have you had any contact with him in the years since the Fox at all? I mean, talked to him, or met with him or had any kind of dealings with him at all?

Woodward: I think we had lunch once or twice. As you know, and as is a matter of record, I think Carl and I wrote the first story identifying him as the Kissinger aide who was fired, or relieved or transferred, depending on how you look at it...

Gettlin: Yea.

Woodward: ...in the Radford.

Gettlin: Right. So did you talk to him around that time?

Woodward: Sure did.

Gettlin: Do you remember the circumstances?

Woodward: Well, I... Have you gone into the record on that in terms of what's published in the Post and other newspapers?

Gettlin: On what, the Moorer-Radford?

Woodward: Yea.

Gettlin: Oh yea. Sure.

Colodny: You broke the story on the 12th of January 19...

Woodward: And we were the first to name him, I mean...

Colodny: You had a picture of him on the front page.

Woodward: That's right. It was the lead story on the paper.

Colodny: And it was the big story of that day. And you ran a follow up story the second day. You and Carl. And Sy was running pretty much in the same ball park that you were running in at that point. Now the two of you...

Woodward: But I think Squire of the Tribune broke the story, because it was the big national security mystery that Nixon and Buzhardt were citing as why some of this should not be opened up.

Gettlin: Right.

Colodny: Well, somebody wanted the story out, obviously. At that point in time there had been, I think I'm right...

Gettlin: Let me move back to Welander a second, before I lose the train. So, it was around that time that you may have talked to him? I mean, here you're sort of in a, I would guess, a sort of funny position you're former... You're now no longer in the Navy. You're now a reporter. It's '74, I mean, you're a noted guy now because of the Watergate coverage. And you call up your former commanding officer and say, 'Hey, I'm about to reveal all this stuff.' Is that how it happened?

Woodward: Well, you know, that's how many years ago?

Gettlin: Yea. It's a long time.

Woodward: It's about 15 years ago. I'd have to go back and look at the story, um, I recall talking to him or talking to his wife and saying, 'We're writing this story.' I don't... And I think he would not talk about it.

Gettlin: Did you ever... Do you remember if you had any contact with him prior to that January '74 period when you were writing the story?

Woodward: The Watergate story?

Gettlin: No. No. No. The Moorer.....

Colodny: Moorer-Radford.

Gettlin: Let me just mention... when you guys first named him.

Woodward: Not that I recall. I don't know why I would.

Gettlin: Yea. Okay. How about post-Watergate? Have you had any contact with him since then?

Colodny: After the Moorer-Radford story.

Gettlin: Yea.

Colodny: Post-Moorer-Radford.

Woodward: I think we've talked twice.

Gettlin: Recently or not recently? Long time ago?

Woodward: Oh, let's see. I think recently I think I wanted to talk to him. Bill and I are doing a long project on the Pentagon. And then I had one other discussion which I'm not... which is... Like everyone in the Moorer-Radford Affair they're many versions of it and I was trying to find out what really happened?

Gettlin: Oh. So you're writing about the Moorer-Radford Affair.

Woodward: No...no....no.

Gettlin: Oh..oh...oh.

Woodward: No...no...no.

Gettlin: Oh.

Woodward: I'm just saying, generally in the Pentagon, I called him but he was off on a sailing trip and I've not talked to him since. But sometime in the '70s after Nixon left office...

Gettlin: Yea.

Woodward: ...after Nixon resigned...

Gettlin: Uh hu.

Woodward: I think I may have had lunch with him to try to find out... what was going on here.

Gettlin: With the Moorer-Radford thing?

Woodward: Yea.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: I was unsuccessful.

Gettlin: Well, as you say the're different versions...

Colodny: Did you feel funny about that? I mean, this is just an off-the-cuff... I tried to put myself in your place as I read the articles that you wrote.

Woodward: Uh hu.

Colodny: And I don't see anything sinister in it. I'm just thinking what it must be like to have to go back to your old commanding officer and... There had to be some personal feeling beyond just being a reporter. I mean, that would seem just the human. Because this had to be...

Woodward: Well, I...I...I guess...

Colodny: This had to be pretty embarrassing to Welander himself.

Woodward: Well, I don't... I guess I would cite it as an example of the newspaper and my independence. He was a former skipper and somebody I knew, but, uh, names were being taken and uh... we went ahead and did it.

Colodny: Right.

Gettlin: Okay. Well. Let's run through the chronology again. So, you left the Fox, uh, after about two years. Now, what happened at that point? You then went to the Pentagon, after the Fox.

Woodward: Well, I had submitted my resignation, uh...

Gettlin: My understanding...Just wait up a second. The NROTC contract, as I understand it, required four years active, two years inactive reserve, or something like that.

Woodward: No, no, no. It was... I know four years active.

Gettlin: Yea. So the end of the four years, which otherwise normally would have been a period when you would have been able to leave, you didn't. So, what happened?

Woodward: Do you know why I didn't?

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Gettlin: Well, you've told me on the phone that you...

Woodward: I submitted my resig...

Gettlin: ... that you were involuntarily... okay.

Woodward: I submitted my resignation, uh, in January '69.

Gettlin: Uh Hu

Woodward: And my four years would be up in the summer...

Gettlin: Right.

Woodward: ...hoping to get out.

Gettlin: Right

Woodward: But I think in '67, uh, the Secretary of the Navy had issued an order saying all regular officers, and I was one, are extended for...for twelve months.

Gettlin: Okay. I had mentioned to you that I had trouble finding that, you know...

Woodward: Yea.

Gettlin: Uh, maybe I didn't... obviously didn't look in the right place. You say the Secretary of the Navy as far as you...

Woodward: Or the CNO. I've got a thing upstairs I'll show you.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: It was a message.

Gettlin: Um, so actually two years prior to that... I mean, it was in '67, something that you probably didn't even know about when you submitted your resignation. That this order had been...

(Interview interrupted momentarily to move car blocking the driveway.)

Gettlin: Okay. We're back to the Pentagon. So you mentioned that there is something upstairs which describes the....

Woodward: They.... they....

Gettlin. ... extension.

Woodward: They sent out an ALLNAV, do you know what that is? To all Navy saying we are extending these officers, uh, for one year.

Gettlin: Right

Colodny: All officers?

Woodward: All regular officers.

Gettlin: It didn't have anything to do with your particular specialty? Or anything... okay.

Colodny: What is a regular officer as opposed to...?

Woodward: Uh... What's called an 1100 officer. Somebody who, uh, ... It's a designation for somebody who may stand and may be permanent. I mean that... it's like somebody who goes to the Naval Academy.

Gettlin: Did they have any indication that you were going to be a career guy or...?

Woodward: That's what the regular scholarship was. It's like going to the Naval Academy.

Gettlin: Oh Oh see I was...

Woodward: They have the same designation.

Gettlin: But there was no... Was there any indication... Had you made any indication to the Navy that you were interested in staying on?

Woodward: As I told you I resigned in '69. Submitted my letter of resignation. It was not accepted. It was delayed one year.

Gettlin: Okay. Um... Now you went to the Pentagon. What was... You went to work in the CNO's office. What was yourjob there?

Woodward: It's uh.. I was a communications watch officer.

Gettlin: And...

Woodward: It's a matter of record.

Gettlin: Right. What about the clearances there?

Woodward: Top Secret Crypto. No intelligence. No special intelligence clearances.

Gettlin: Again, as Len said, some of this may be on the record, but who knows if it's right or not. That's why I'm kind of plowing the ground again.

Woodward: On.. On what record?

Gettlin: Well, I mean, people have written about what you may or may not have done. So...

Woodward: I never had an intelligence clearances.

Gettlin: No.

Woodward: It's a matter of record.

Gettlin: Right. Okay.

Woodward: I think you can establish that from the Pentagon with a little ingenuity.

Gettlin: I haven't had any indication that you were in intelligence.

Woodward. Okay.

Colodny: We actually have no evidence that you...

Woodward: I wasn't.

Colodny: We have not come across a shred of evidence that says you were ever in naval intelligence.

Gettlin: I'm just asking you what... again, as you discuss the Wright and the Fox, what the job was as the communications watch officer on the CNO's staff.

I mean, were you at the Pentagon? Were you in a basement room? What kind of messages came in? Did you supervise guys? Did you read digests? I mean, just a little...

Woodward. I was in charge of a, on a watch basis, of all the communications coming to the CNO, or actually to the whole Navy Department, including the Secretary of the Navy.

Gettlin: Um hu. Okay. Um...And where did you... You basically just worked there? Did you go anywhere else? Did you have any other functions?

Woodward: Sometimes. Sometimes I went other places. Like... I had courier duty at the White House occassionally.

Gettlin: What did that involve?

Woodward: Scut work. Carrying some documents or a folder.

Gettlin: In other words, Moorer or one of his guys would say go take this over to somebody at the White House, and you would rush over there and drop it off.

Woodward: It wouldn't be Moorer. It would be, uh.... You know, there would just be regular runs or somebody... you know, somebody would say, 'We need to go over there and get this.'

Gettlin: Yea. So it would just be a matter of dropping something off and leaving?

Woodward: Sometimes a little bit (?). But it... You ought to understand this. It, it, it is not... A communciations function like this is strictly, uh, nuts and bolts. It's not substantive. It's not making decisions. It's not rating things. It's getting message A or document A from here to here.

Gettlin: Anyplace else besides the White House, like the CIA, or the NSA, or...

Woodward: Never the CIA. Never... CIA. I think maybe State Department a couple of times.

Gettlin: Uh hu. Again, this is...Now you mentioned it's scut work. And I know people have written that it was a boring job which you hated. Is that accurate?

Woodward: It was boring. Yes.

Gettlin: Yea. Um, so you were just kind of running around go-fering. I mean, is that really what it was like?

Woodward: And you could read operational messages coming in. Sometimes there would be a crisis. You could read the, uh, reports coming from Vietnam. You had access to all of the, uh, operational, non-intelligence information so you could follow the... during a lot of air strikes into Vietnam.

Gettlin: Uh hu.

Woodward: I believe the Vietnamization program was getting off the ground. You could follow that.

Gettlin: During that year, did you, as when you were working at the Pentagon, you mentioned you were a communications watch officer, did you have any other job? Any other function?

Woodward: No.

Gettlin: Nothing at all.

Woodward: Nothing at all.

Gettlin: Did you do any briefings of people?

Woodward: Never!

Gettlin: Never did, you... Okay.

Woodward: And I defy you to produce somebody who says I did a briefing. It's just... It's not true. I wish I did. I'm sure it would have been more interesting.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: Have you got somebody who says I did a briefing?

Gettlin: We have information that you were not only a communications watch officer, but also a briefing officer. And that you did briefings.

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Woodward: To whom?

Gettlin: At the White House and other places.

Woodward: Who says that?

Gettlin: Well....

Woodward: What sort of people? I'm sure you have...

Gettlin: It's..it's..it's somebody who was in a position to know. Would have been in a position to know. And that's why I ask you. If you say you didn't do it I'll take your word for it.

Woodward: Okay.

Gettlin: And we'll print it.

Woodward: I hope. I hope. You'll print what?

Gettlin: That you said you didn't do it.

Woodward: I wasn't!

Colodny: Bob, you know, that's the point...

Woodward: But... Okay... But we've seen...

Colodny: You've said it and we're going to say what you said....

Woodward: Yea....

Coldony: I think that's what you want....

Woodward: Okay. But there are... It's kind of like... There are four of us sitting at the table. There are some things you can establish. And you can establish that if you want to.

Gettlin: Well, you know, you don't...

Woodward: You can.

Gettlin: You don't like to discuss your sources, I know that. And you've said that publicly for many years.

Woodward: Indeed.

Gettlin: Okay. And we're not in a position to discuss our sources. All we can say is that in talking to more than one person, a number of people, we have developed information which says that while you were at... during that year at the Pentagon you not only were a communications watch officer, which you've established and we've established, but that you also were a briefer. That you did briefings.

Woodward: To whom? In what room? When?

Gettlin: At the Pentagon and at the ...

Woodward: At the Pentagon. It's a big building.

Gettlin: Well, see... In the, uh, ...

Woodward: In the what?

Gettlin: In the complex where the CNO works...

Woodward: What is that complex? Bob, do you know what you're talking about?

Gettlin: Yes. I mean, doesn't the CNO... Tell me. You educate me.

Woodward: Okay.

Gettlin: Okay, I'll ask the question, you can tell me whether, you know, I've got it right or not. And I'll just take your word for it and we'll have to go with what we have. Does the CNO have a suite of offices or an area in the Pentagon where his offices are located?

Woodward: Sure

Gettlin: Okay. My understanding is that briefings went on there and then briefing officers, having talked to former briefing officers...

Woodward: Uh hu.

Gettlin: Then leave and go and brief other people in the government. I'm just asking you..

Woodward: A communications watch officer is not a briefer.

Gettlin: No. I understand that.

Woodward: Okay.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: It just never happened... I'm looking you in the eye.... You, you, you, you have got, uh, bad sources.

Gettlin: Okay.

Colodny: Bob, let me ask you this. You said... because I want to pick up on something you said. You said 'It can be established.' How, if you were us, would you establish what you just said could be established?

Woodward: Well, go to your sources and say, 'Where did this happen? When did it happen? Did you see it?' Call up and find out who does the communications watch officer work now and find out if they're briefers. If they give briefings. It just isn't so. That's in your... Look, you... the quality of information is going to be... You have somebody.

Gettlin: Sure.

Woodward: I mean it just didn't happen. But you, and you seem to want to pin something significant on this, uh...

Colodny: I wouldn't...

Woodward: And what I'm trying to do...

Colodny: I'm not trying to pin anything. I want to...I want to understand...

Woodward: It...it...it's evident you're trying to pin. Come on, let's not...

Colodny: Bob, now that's an interpretation.

Woodward: *(reading from our letter)* "We learned in Watergate Woodward became the cat's paw for these military men, including Haig." That's called pinning.

Colodny: I'll let you...

Woodward: We don't have to be coy.

Gettlin: Well, we can discuss this. I mean, I just want to run through the questions.

Woodward: Sure.

Gettlin: If you have questions you want to ask, fine. Um, I just wanted to ask you and hear from you whether in fact during that year at the Pentagon when you were also a communications watch officer whether you also held the title of briefer or did any briefings of anybody in the government?

Woodward: Never.

Gettlin: Okay. Um... Now after you got out in the.... you got out of the Navy in... what.... '69...

Woodward: '70.

Gettlin: Excuse me, '70. Summer of '70. You were going to go to Harvard, is that right? You planned to go to Harvard Law School at one point?

Woodward: I was thinking of going to law school.

Gettlin: Oh, you were thinking, but you never went.

Woodward: Never went.

Gettlin: Okay. Okay.

Woodward: Applied and was accepted and, uh, just had this feeling that five years... I've said this before... five years of my life, uh, doing very little and, uh, decided to apply for a job at the Post.

Gettlin: Right.

Woodward: Was given a two-week tryout... this is all a matter of well established record.

Gettlin: We'll run through it real quick. I just want to ask you real quickly... when you left the Navy at the end of your Pentagon year, were you through with your obligation?

Woodward: I was. I did not go into the reserve.

Gettlin: Okay. So that sixth year that was part of the originial contract was waived somehow by the....?

Woodward: I don't know. I don't know what happened.

Gettlin: Okay. Okay.

Woodward: But, I know I had an option about going into the reserve or not and I chose not to.

Gettlin: Okay. Real quick. We'll finish this part up real quick, because our time is running along. You went to the Post. Any particular reason why? Did you want to stay in Washington? Just on a lark you went to the Post, or how did that happen?

Woodward: Well, I thought it would be... I'd read the Post for the year I was here and it was something... if I could get a job there I'd start doing something.

Gettlin: Yea. Okay. And so journalism was your preference. I mean, during the Navy you already had your sights set on becoming a journalist. Is that it?

Woodward: Well... I would like to say it was clearer and I was more focused. But I wasn't.

Gettlin: Okay. So you went to the Post, and you had your two-week tryout, and you talked to Harry Rosenfeld, and you didn't make it. And then what happened from there? After the two weeks he said, 'You're not going to cut it Woodward.' And what happened from there?

Woodward: Worked at... Got a job at the Montgomery County Sentinel.

Gettlin: How did you end up going to the Sentinel?

Woodward: I think a number of people, including Rosenfeld, or it may have been his deputy, suggested that that was a good weekly paper to learn journalism.

Gettlin: Right. Did he in any way sort of grease the way for you to go to... Did he do anything for you?

Woodward: He may have called the editor or written him a letter. I don't remember.

Gettlin: Yea. That's one of the things I wanted to ask you about. Did somebody write a letter for you?

Woodward: I don't know. It's quite possible.

Gettlin: Could it have been somebody in the navy that wrote a letter for you?... No way?

Woodward: Not to my knowledge.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: It's possible I may have had a recommendation from somebody in the navy.

Gettlin: Yea, I just was curious whether a commanding officer or somebody in a position of authority or superior would have known that you wanted to go into journalism and you had said, 'Hey could you write me a letter,' and they in fact did. You don't remember?

Woodward: Not to my knowledge.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: No recollection of it.

Gettlin: Okay... So you went to the Sentinel and you talked to the editor there and did he just hired you on the spot? Just very quickly, how did that go?

Woodward: It's been written about ad nauseum by people. He had a number of applications and hired me.

Gettlin: Any particular reason why?

Woodward: You keep asking me the reason why other people do things.

Gettlin: Well maybe he told you.

Woodward: Well maybe he did tell me. But you ought to ask him. His name is Roger Farquhar.

Gettlin: Yea. I've talked to Roger Farquhar. And he said he had a letter that was written for you... on your behalf. And that it was the letter and your eagerness and enthusiasm....

Woodward: Letter from whom?

Gettlin: From a guy in the navy, a commanding officer in the navy.

Woodward: Who?

Gettlin: I don't know who.

Woodward: I don't think that's true.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: I may have shown him my fitness report. Or something like that.

Colodny: He described the letter as a glowing letter of recommendation from an officer in the Pentagon. That was his description of what he said was the reason, one of the reasons... that plus what you may have said to him in the doorway about wanting the job so badly.

Woodward: Yea.

Colodny: He remembered that quote.

Woodward: I don't... I don't think there was a letter.

Gettlin: Okay. Um... Okay. I think that's pretty much it. Maybe one or two more. Now did you maintain contact with the Post while you were there? It was almost a year after that that you went to work for the Post.

Woodward: That's correct.

Gettlin: Was there an agreement that if you worked out at the Sentinel they'd hire you?

Woodward: No. There was no agreement. There was, you know, 'Come back after you've learned journalism.'

Gettlin: Right. So you did and you did some good stories at the Sentinel and they hired you.

Woodward: They did.

Gettlin: Right. Okay. When you went to the Post you went on the Metro staff, and what, you were a cityside reporter?

Woodward: Um Hu.

Gettlin: And I think in the spring of '72 Gov. Wallace got shot and you did some stories on Wallace. Is that right?

Woodward: Right.

Gettlin: Was that part of your regular beat?

Woodward: [illegible] UH. HU. (no)

Gettlin: How did you end up writing about Wallace?

Woodward: Well, I was fascinated in who might have done this? And I think I focused on the guy who, uh...

Gettlin: Bremer.

Woodward: Arthur Bremer.

Gettlin: Right. Had you ever met Wallace?

Woodward: No.

Gettlin: Okay. And then from there, again, the popular history is replete with stories about how you then moved on to Watergate. So, I guess I'll turn it over to Len to take it over from there if you want to move on.

Colodny: I just have very little to ask. I just have some confusion and I thought maybe you could clear the confusion better than anyone else. I was trying to understand the agreement that you had with your source. Not who the source is. I'm not asking you who the source is and I don't want to get involved in... that's not what this book is about. We're not trying to find out who your source was. That game has been played so many times you almost get tired of reading stories about who he is and deals... elaborate attempts to figure out exactly who the person is.

But I am interested in the agreement that you had with your source. And according to All The President's Men... you said that you would never identify him or his position to anyone. And further, you agreed never to quote the man. Even as an anonyomous source. And that the discussions would only confirm information that had been obtained elsewhere, and to add some perspective. Is that essentially...?

Woodward: Uh.. Uh..I mean, it's in the book.

Colodny: I know, I'm asking you is that essentially...?

Woodward: If that's what the book says.

Colodny: You made the agreement, so I figured... and wrote the book so I assumed that that's a correct...

Woodward: Go ahead, what's the question?

Colodny: Alright. What I don't understand is, and maybe you can help me understand better... well, look... (opening up APM among a stack of 3 books that includes The Final Days)

Gettlin: Listen, you're well read! Two out of three isn't bad there.

Woodward: But it's a library book, Len! You didn't even buy it!

Colodny: Well, I can't afford it!

Gettlin: Listen, I've got... I've got a store-bought copy.

Woodward: Okay. Go ahead. Go ahead.

Colodny: Okay. As ever, the always-observant Woodward. Right?... The story in the November meeting that you had with your source...

Woodward: November when?

Colodny: 1973. Which is probably, based on this, the last meeting that took place. And in which you said, "Throat's message was short and simple. One or more of the tapes contained deliberate erasures." You described the meeting as occurring the first week of November, 1973. There's no date on it. But that's apparently it.

It seems to me there's some confusion between the agreement, and whether he confirmed information. And whether you can tell me how it squares with the agreement. I don't quite understand if all he's doing is confirming information you have... this, this is clearly information that only he had.

Woodward: What do you mean clearly information only he had?

Colodny: You didn't come to him and say, "I know about tapes being erased in the White House." And the word that jumps out at you is deliberate. Because if somebody is deliberately erasing tapes that are before Judge Sirica, we're talking about a crime. We're not talking about just any piece of information.

Woodward: Hmm.

Colodny: And he comes and he says, 'This is what I know.' You didn't come to him and say, 'I understand there's a deliberate erasure,' and he confirms it.

Woodward: Uh.. Just like any relationship you may have with somebody, a source or otherwise, it's evolving. And I think it got to the point where there was uh... sufficient concern on his part that he told me that.

Gettlin: So in fact... All we are trying to establish is that the relationship, as you wrote earlier in the book, about he would only confirm it, didn't stay that way, it changed.

Woodward: Well.. The book makes it clear.

Gettlin: It evolved.

Colodny: But there's no statement of evolution. It just evolved.

Woodward: Well, the statement...

Colodny: I mean, I read the book. There's no statement by you that somehow...

Woodward: There's nothing inconsistent with that. It's... the facts are laid out as they occurred. Over time.

Gettlin: Yea. As it evolved... Do you remember it evolved into what? Original information that he would give you you would then use and you would quote him...?

Woodward: Well, I...I think the best record is the book.

Gettlin: Okay.

Colodny: Okay. In the article that you wrote at that time, did it also evolve, and I assume...

Gettlin: That's a November 8, '73...

Colodny: This is the article that is the result of that...

Woodward: Yea.

Colodny: ... that disclosure to you.

Gettlin: You may remember.

Woodward: Is it...? I...

Colodny: If you want to look at it... fine with me.

Woodward: (Pause as he reads) And the question?

Colodny: The question, as you look on the next page you'll see underlined...

Woodward: Yea.

Colodny: It seems to me that we have another evolution, so tell me, but it's clear to me that's who you're quoting as a White House source. There's no other White House source that's talking about tapes being erased.

Wooward: I...I don't know.

Gettlin: Well, it's clearly Throat, because if you go back to your book, you mention at the end of the book that Throat said the very things which you had said he said in that story. So obviously...

Woodward: Literally quotes? I mean, you...

Gettlin: Well, let me...

Colodny: You said he didn't even want to be anonymously quoted, much less...

Woodward: I'm just saying, did I quote him saying exactly what's here?

Colodny: Well, you didn't use the word deliberate in the story, but it's the only part of the story, Bob, where you are alluding to something other than just an accident.

Gettlin: Yea. The story quoted... If you look at the...

Woodward: Yea.

Gettlin: If you read those quotes there. The story quoted anonymously Deep Throat's remark that there were gaps of a suspicious nature... quote, unquote, a suspicious nature... which, quote, could lead someone to conclude...

Woodward: Okay. You... You... You draw your conclusion. I'm not going to draw it for you. And as I say, I'd have to sit down and look through this. It occurred some time ago.

Colodny: I understand.

Gettlin: Well, no. I think it's... Look, all I'm saying is that obviously it ended up that you were quoting Deep Throat anonymously.

Woodward: I don't know.

Gettlin: Well, turn to chapter 17. Right here. If you look at the bottom here, what does it say? It says...

Woodward: Hmm.

Gettlin: Quote, are of a suspicious nature which, quote, could lead... and these are the exact quotes that are in the story. So it has to be Throat.

Woodward: (Pause to read the quotes) Yea. Looks that way.

Gettlin: Well, I'll just pursue it. I mean, is this news? That... you were... I've never heard anywhere on the record over the last 17 years or so that you quoted Deep Throat anonymously. So I find it...

Woodward: (Reading paragraph from APM) The story quoted anonymously Deep Throat's remark that there were gaps. The... It's stated right here in the book. (Laughs)

Colodny: Now wait a minute, Bob.

Woodward: It's says it right in the book!

Colodny: I understand that.

Woodward: Okay. So, I mean, you...

Colodny: We have videotape of you and Carl when Dean broke his revelation...

Woodward: I'm just saying that you are making something... I mean, you...you... you can I'm sure detect... I'm switching it. (says in turning over the tape to next side)

END OF SIDE ONE

Woodward: ...You know, going through the book and then low and behold you look at... in the book and it says exactly what you say it didn't.

Gettlin: The only point I'm trying to make is that there seems to be somewhat of a... two different stories in the book about what Deep Throat's relationship with you was all about. Not to make a big deal out of it...

Colodny: I don't see where it means any more than it's been confirmed, Bob.

Gettlin: Yea. That's all.

Colodny: I don't see... Frankly, I didn't know it was in there.

Woodward: It says it right in the book.

Gettlin: Okay.

Colodny: I don't have a problem with what you said is in the book. I agree with you that's what it says in the book and that's the way I accepted it. I only wanted to point out to you that in that time frame of Dean's so-called revelation Carl made the remark on Nightline, I guess it was, that once again all that ever happened with Deep Throat was that he confirmed. That was his statement. That's at a later date. So, I'm only trying to...

Woodward: Okay, but... but, as you see from the story we said we had five sources, right?

Colodny: Um Hu.

Woodward: Now I would have to go back to notes and the book and the stories and the sequence and so forth and I'm not sure I'm saying in there that he was the first source at all. So... you're leaping to a conclusion.

Colodny: No. I think it stands on its... The other four sources don't tell you that there's anything related to a....

Gettlin: As a matter of fact, if you read the story it says that the other four sources...

Colodny: Didn't know about...

Gettlin: Didn't look at the erasure in the same sinister way in which Throat looked at it. That they saw it as just a mishap whereas he saw it as deliberate. Okay.

Colodny: Anyway, that's irrelevant. Let's go to what I think may be the evolution. Maybe I can...

Woodward: And what is the record established on the tape erasure? After that.

Gettlin: Regarding what?

Woodward: After that. I mean, what do we know about the tape erasure?

Colodny: What do we know about it? We know that... We know that the president would learn about it a week after you learned about it. We know who was sitting there when they heard the 18-minute gap. We knew when they found the 5-minute gap. We went through all the things that you...

Woodward: And... And the court pretty much concluded that it was deliberate.

Colodny: Bob, I don't think anybody is questioning whether it was deliberate or not. In fact, I believe strongly it was deliberate. Exactly who may or may not have erased...(T)

Woodward: Okay.

Colodny: ... that tape is another story for another time. The other meeting that interested me was the May 16 meeting which seems to have....

Woodward: May... I'm sorry...

Colodny: '73. I'm sorry, it's my fault...

Woodward: Okay.

Gettlin: May '72 there was no Deep Throat, presumably.

Colodny: Well, that's okay. Anyway... Haig and friends had just ascended to the White House. Ehrlichman and Haldeman and friends had disappeared from the White House. You say, essentially, it was a conversation because you knew that your source didn't really have much love for Haldeman and Ehrlichman and they would not have been too unhappy to see Haldeman and Ehrlichman depart the scene.

And then that's the scene where you come back and there's music playing and you type out what it was that he said. It seems to me that's the first time, if there's been an evolution...He's now telling you in great detail, again now a confirmation but this litany of information. Would that seem like a likely evolution to you?

Woodward: Well, there are many evolution points, and I think their, you know... they speak for themselves in the book.

Colodny: Can I take it from the book and from having read all your stories on Watergate that most of what he told you you didn't really go after? You

didn't follow up on the... Let me give you an example of what I'm talking about. Let's take the one down at the bottom where it says CIA.

Woodward: Uh Hu.

Colodny: He's telling you that Helms and Walters and so on, and he's referring to the... what will come out on the smoking gun tape as being Nixon using Helms and Walters to block the FBI investigation. That will be what he's referring to and what he was looking at. I don't mean your source... but what was going on in the White House at that time...

Woodward: Uh Hu.

Colodny: ... was General Walters memcons...

Woodward: Right.

Colodny: .... of meetings that he had with John Dean and particularly the one that he had that day, the 23rd...

Woodward: Uh Hu.

Colodny: ...when he went off the FBI. And I'm asking were you able to verify that or the reason you didn't write the story was you didn't verify it? You were unable to get that information, which we now know, in retrospect.

Woodward: Yea. Um... The source Deep Throat has a good record on many things and then some of the things he said...

Colodny: Were wrong.

Woodward: ... were wrong. So, um... Or, were never confirmed. I mean...

Colodny: That's why I asked you whether it was something that you had really pushed hard to get...

Woodward: Boy... I... listen. This was a time when so many things were going on. We were writing so many stories. I, you know, you're specific question about Walters and Helms... this came out maybe a couple of weeks later. Wasn't there a May 30th statement that Nixon issued? Talked about this?

Colodny: He issued a statement which he dumped a whole lot of things on the table. He wanted to clean... Buzhardt... As you describe it in the book, Buzhardt and Haig were pushing him to get everything on the table a la, take the rap and get it over with and put it behind you. The only thing he held back on in that statement was the Moorer-Radford story. The Moorer-Radford story, essentially, was the biggest secret that the Nixon administration had, as far as they were concerned. Every time that thing started to bounce out the door somebody tried to push it back in the door.

Woodward: I don't agree it was the biggest secret they had.

Colodny: Well, I'm telling you that's what they said.

Woodward: Well....

Colodny: Whether it's the biggest secret they had or not the biggest secret they had...

Woodward: It came out and the empire didn't fall.

Colodny: It was never... It came out in a very calculated way.

Woodward: Yea.

Colodny: Nobody ever confirmed it. The Senate committee could never say for sure, and didn't say for sure, made it very plain, that they couldn't determine. The Watergate committee at the very same time that the Armed Services committee was meeting was holding their own secret hearings on it, Moorer-Radford.

Woodward: Let's go. We've got half-hour.

Colodny: It's alright. Whatever it is, it is. Anyway, I felt from reading the book this essentially was where things seemed to turn as to whether you brought him information or not, and that there was very significant information. While some of what is in here is wrong, a good deal of what is in here is true. The Huston Plan, for example, which is going to come out very shortly. The wiretaps. And this is all in this... and Sy is going to write more of it at that point than you're going to write. I think that's a fair statement.

Woodward: About what?

Colodny: Well... the wiretap story.

Woodward: The Kissinger wiretap story?

Colodny: Uh Hu.

Woodward: Well, as I describe in the book in some detail I got that story first and wanted to run it and Kissinger called Bradlee and so forth and got us to hold it for a day and Sy beat us on it by a day.

Colodny: No, I'm not quibbling....

Woodward: Yea.

Colodny: I'm just trying to understand that here's a terrific list of information and in the end it's going to be the information that does the president in. It's going to come out in a different way, but it's going to be the information that does him in.... That's really all I have on that. The only thing...

Gettlin: I have a couple more things I want to...before we close this...

Woodward: Let me just go through one of your assertions which I want to... I'd like to go on record on, where you...

Gettlin: Sure.

Woodward: ... allege that you learned that leaks to The Washington Post's Woodward... um, himself a former Navy officer with ties to Haig and other military men were motivi...motivated by this same vehement opposition to the Nixon-Kissinger alliance.

Now, what the hell are my ties to Haig!?

Gettlin: Well, you mentioned to me that... Well, let's go through Haig, okay? When was the first time...

Woodward: As I said to you on the phone, Bob, and I... you know... I just...you, you... this is going to be one of these things like uh... the, uh... famous Hougan book or whatever it is, that will disappear down the tubes unless you base it on a certain level of reality.

I never met or talked to Haig until sometime in the Spring of '73.

Gettlin: Do you remember the circumstances around which you...?

Woodward: I don't. I don't.

Gettlin: Was he chief of staff by that point?

Woodward: Don't know. Don't know.

Gettlin: So you don't remember the rea...

Woodward: So the idea... as you well know, the main stories that Carl and I did on Watergate were before that period.

Gettlin: Before... sure, certainly

Woodward: Okay. So, you know, the idea that I had a tie to him is false.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: The idea... but... but the important notion that you're saying here is that somehow I was his instrument or cat's paw. What the hell is that based on?

Gettlin: Well it's...(laughter, turns to Colodny) You want to take care of that, or what?

Woodward: Why don't you take care of that? How am I Haig's...?

Colodny: First of all, I don't think it says that you're Haig's cat paw there. If it does I would be very surprised if it uses the word Haig's cat's paw.

Woodward: Look... (Reading from page) We learned that in Watergate, Woodward became the cat's paw for these military men, including Haig, who sought to undermine the president.

Colodny: What we're saying, Bob, is you had a source. Again, I'm not asking you who the source is. It's irrelevant.

Gettlin: Unless you want to tell us, which I'm sure you don't.

Colodny: I'm sure that little possibility isn't going to happen. So let's... let's go from there. We believe that whoever that source was, or whoever sent that source out... whatever the motivation was, and there was motivation, in

our judgement, based on the evidence that we've completed... whoever was leaking that information, based on knowing who had access to the information -- that's important, because if you don't have access to it you can't leak it. You have to know the information before you do it.

I don't know whether you knew what your source was doing. I don't know whether you understood the motivation of the people. You may not have. It doesn't... The whole point to this is that many times in government, and I know in government, you will send a third party to leak so it doesn't get traced back to you. So I have no idea what you knew or didn't know about the motivation of...

Woodward: But what's your conclusion?

Colodny: That in one form or another, the Post and you were being used by these people to get Richard Nixon.

Gettlin: Let me ask you...

Woodward: Okay..... (sigh) To what end?

Colodny: The idea...

Gettlin: I think we've laid it out pretty well in there. To the end, I mean...

Woodward: Okay... but.. but... you...you...you're totally discounting the description of the motivation in All The President's Men.

Colodny: We don't... we don't agree.

Woodward: Which is, that there's a number of things going on that are wrong and illegal on a rather massive, now documented scale.

Gettlin: Um Hu.

Woodward: And I... I tell you because I know who it is, and I know how the relationship evolved...

Gettlin: Um Hu.

Woodward: ... and your

Gettlin: Well, let me...

Woodward: ...dead ass wrong on it. But you go ahead.

Gettlin: Okay...

Woodward: What you're doing is saying, 'We don't know who it is, but we're going to speculate on his motives.'

Gettlin: Well, we'll have...

Woodward: Contrary to the record, not only that Carl and I put out at the time...

Gettlin: Yea.

Woodward: but to... this is a record that included the senior people at the Post. They were involved in this, in these discussions...

Gettlin: Alright. Alright.

Woodward: ...in this analysis. But you go ahead.

Gettlin: Let me back up. In order to understand this whole thing, without asking you who this gentleman is...

Woodward: Yea.

Gettlin: because, uh, you know, we're not going to get anywhere on that. The question really is, one that needs to be asked is here you were, a guy who was - How old were you then? 27 or 28? - a reporter for a year and nine months. You'd been working at the Sentinel for a year. You'd been at the Post for nine months. You'd been on the D.C.-Metro staff. Not covering the White House, as far as I know. And here is a young guy who has this source, or sources, in very, very, sensitive, high positions within the administration.

Clearly not a normal situation. We both know as reporters, and you dealt with Metro reporters. You were an editor. They usually don't have sources in the inner sanctum of the White House with such sensitive information. The question has to be asked: Why did Deep Throat, or whoever this person or persons were, pick you as someone, or trust you enough to give you this information? You mention in your book that he was a friend from way back.

Woodward: But see... you... you are... you are... you are...just...

Gettlin: Well, maybe you can answer that question? I don't know. Can you answer that question why?

Woodward: In part, and I think you are again walking away, and I continually want to drive you back to the record.

Gettlin: Um Hu.

Woodward: The record in this book. The record in the published story. The record of Watergate and so forth establishes that Deep Throat was one of many sources. A process of piecing together. A little bit here...

Gettlin: I understand.

Woodward: ... a confirmation here. A check here. Hugh Sloan or a secretary.

Gettlin: I understand.

Woodward: And so it is not a situation where there is one person coming in or even half a dozen... No, wait just a second. This is very important. 'Cause I lived it, real time.

Gettlin: I understand.

Woodward: And the way you... when you look at the sequence of something you get a secretary, you get a source over here...

Gettlin: Sure.

Woodward: ... you get Deep Throat and so forth. And you start writing these stories a piece at a time.

Gettlin: Right.

Woodward: It's not somebody coming in...

Gettlin: But nonetheless...

Woodward: ...Daniel Ellsberg with a grocery cart of documents...

Gettlin: I understand, Bob.

Woodward: and saying... but, but... Do you understand?

Gettlin: Yes... Well, let me ask the question again?

Woodward: Sure.

Gettlin: Because your own book clearly elevates Deep Throat to a very important level.

Woodward: One of...

Gettlin: Well, I... your modesty is compelling.

Woodward: It... it... No, but my modesty is genuine. It is... It is wrapped in a mystery to this day...

Gettlin: Right.

Woodward: ...and so it tends to attract some attention. But look at the movie, look at the book, and you'll see it's an element. No question.

Gettlin: Yea. Well, can you...

Woodward: But it is a lot of knocking on doors, piecing together all kinds of records...

Gettlin: I'll even accept that. But even so, let's say he was one of many. Can you still tell me why this one person, this one of many, clearly was in a position to know some very important things within the highest reaches of the Nixon administration, would talk to you, again, the young reporter, who'd been a Metro reporter a year and a half, you know, and so forth? Why you?

Woodward: Well, because maybe I... did the work. And formed the relationship.

Gettlin: Now the book says the relationship went way back.

Woodward: Um Hu.

Gettlin: He's old friend... um...

Woodward: Well, it says what it says.

Gettlin: Yea.

Woodward: You've a little bit mischaracterized it.

Gettlin: Well, I'm sorry, but I mean, I think... I'll thumb through the book.

Woodward: Okay. But...

Gettlin: It says... There is a passage in there, and I can't quote it verbatim, which says that you sat down and had meetings with him and talked about power in government. And it wasn't a guy that ... that was just a casual acquaintance.

Woodward: The record speaks for itself.

Gettlin: Let me ask you a direct question? Did you meet this gentleman before you became a reporter?

Woodward: I'm just not going to get into anything that's not in the book.

Colodny: Bob, can I point out something?

Woodward: Yea.

Colodny: And again, it's not personal... You had a piece of this story. No question about it. You had an important piece of this story. And your sources had an important piece of this story. But what we learned in doing the book was that there was a whole other story going on. There was a coverup going on, that your source did not know about. Did not know about the payoffs immediately. There's a whole line of things happening that we're going to learn as Watergate breaks, as Sirica pushes on the defendants.

And I think you'd agree that the kinds of information you got, based on what you wrote - and I'm going to take it strictly by having read your newspaper stories and read your book - you didn't have John Dean and those people out there paying Hunt and Bittman as early as June and July and August. Or, hell, you'd have written it. I mean that just seems obvious to me. So there's more than one thing happening here...

Woodward: There are all kinds of things happening.

Colodny: That's right.

Woodward: And... and, you've got to understand my position. I welcome, uh, sophisticated, and, uh, fact-oriented Watergate revisionism, if you will. But you have to... I urge you, you don't have to... I urge you to look at the facts. And look at it... and... and as you can detect I deeply resent the idea that I'm somebody's cat's paw or because you had a totally erroneous story that I briefed somebody in the Pentagon or did something at some certain time, this is a tie and a connection and that there's this coup going on. I mean... I tell you I have examined motives, uh, documents, records, personalities in a way, uh, and I don't see any evidence of it. Now...

Gettlin: What was Deep Throat's motive, Bob?

Woodward: Go to the book. Go to the book.

Gettlin: Well...

Woodward: It's rather...

Gettlin: I don't want to argue with you..

Colodny: It may well turn out...

Gettlin: Can I just add one thing?

Woodward: And, I just think that you are... your thesis here...

Gettlin: Um Hu.

Woodward: is... I mean, I look with some interest in reading it, but...

Gettlin: Um Hu.

Woodward: ... as I say, it will... if you haven't got... if you're basing it on this kind of erroneous information leading to a tie, leading...

Gettlin: Um Hu.

Woodward: ... to a supposition and a reevaluation of somebody's motives that you don't know, then you're not going to come up with much.

Colodny: Bob... Bob, let me say this to you. As a reporter you do the same thing. You go out... If it turns out that you're right... 'cause I'm going to do what you asked to. You wanted us to read your stories. I've spent days

reading your stories. There's nothing you asked me that I wouldn't do. If it turns out you're not a cat's paw, we'll strike cat's paw and we'll tell the story without cat's paw in there. But the fact of the matter is that there's a good deal of Watergate - and I don't mean Watergate, per se, breakins and stuff - there's a lot more going on here.

I've been in politics a long time, Bob. A long time. Things don't happen for no reason at all. Presidents don't resign over breakins. Uh, I read your review of Liddy's book. You said something very interesting in that review. In fact, you liked the book.

Woodward: Yea.

Colodny: You thought it was an honest book.

Woodward: I said here's somebody who's given us some new facts.

Colodny: Right. And you said when you came across the fact that the CIA had prepared the Gemstone... 'Hey, wait a minute, somebody's lying here.' Well, we're convinced somebody was lying, that there's a great deal of perjured testimony both in the Watergate committee - and not by the Nixon people - and in the trials.

Woodward: By who?

Colodny: Ah, read the book. But the fact...but the fact. Well, you've got me reading your books and I'll have you reading our book....The fact of the matter is that people tell you something and you go back to the source and then you weigh their evidence and you try to see can they corroborate what they told you. Do they have another source... Like you said you used two sources. In many instances we're using three, four, and five sources to confirm what the first source told us. So we're not just sitting here just pulling stuff out of thin air. I don't believe in it and I don't believe it would be fair. But I do believe we know one hell of a lot more today about this.. the big picture than the smaller picture. And your source knew a piece of the puzzle. But only a piece of the puzzle.

Gettlin: Okay?

Colodny: Yea.

Gettlin: Just to close out this thing why I asked you about... why you. Let me just read from the book very quickly and then we'll move on because it's

getting late. It's talking about one of your garage meetings. (Reading from APM) "Deep Throat was already there smoking a cig... he was glad to see Woodward, shook his hand. Woodward told him that he and Bernstein needed help, etc. His friendship," meaning Woodward's, "with Deep Throat was genuine, not cultivated. Long before Watergate they had spent many evenings talking about Washington, the government, power." And then it goes on. "On evening such as those Deep Throat would talk about how politics had infiltrated every corner of government... the switchblade mentality" um, and so on. "Woodward considered him a wise teacher."

Now to me, that... that paints a picture of a guy who, long before Watergate, a guy who wasn't cultivated while you were working the story but even before that when you were a Metro reporter and perhaps even earlier. So that's why I asked you, why you and when you came to know this gentleman. I think for history... Deep Throat is a very important historical figure, whether you think it's been inflated in popular culture or not. The fact remains that he... to this day, people consider him to be one of the key sources, you know, of the last however many years. And, um, I think we owe it to our readers and to the historical record to ask you that question.

Woodward: What question? What's the question?

Gettlin: Again, why you? And how did you get to cultivate a guy long before Watergate when you were a Metro reporter? I just lay that out again. Now you can either answer it or not answer it.

Woodward: Well, I'm going to let the record speak.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: It's my job as a...

Colodny: Can I show you one last story you wrote? Uh, take a look at it. (Hands Woodward copy of story). It's October 10th of '73. Do you recall the story?

Woodward: I do.

Colodny: Does that indicate that you were on to Moorer-Radford as early as October of '73? To you does that ring a date?

Woodward: (Pause while he reads) Well, um... it was in the context, as the story demonstrates, of the leak to Jack Anderson on the India-Pakistani War.

Gettlin: Right.

Woodward: I didn't connect it to the... what later, I guess, became the sequence as... the Moorer-Radford thing, which came out when?

Colodny: January... In other words, you're saying at this point you don't know about Moorer-Radford?

Woodward: I mean... this is Radford I think, isn't it? Did I name him here?

Colodny: No. I don't think you named him. But...

Woodward: I'm not sure I knew his name. But it's possible I did.

Gettlin: Yea.

Woodward: But this was all in the context... this is the day Agnew resigned, I believe. October 10, '73.

Gettlin: Yea.

Colodny: That's what happens when you read your articles. You get to read everybody else's articles at the same time.

Woodward: Yea. And it was in the context of the Kissinger taps and that there was something else where they were doing taps.

Gettlin: Okay.

Colodny: Let me... the last thing I want to...

Gettlin: I want to talk... I want to deal with Haig real quickly. You want to deal with that first or do you want...?

Colodny: I just want to ask.

Woodward: Eight more minutes.

Colodny: Bob, you've been so generous I can't... I'm just choked up over it.

Woodward: By the way, I have a question for you. Do you still call people up on the telephone and secretly tape their phone con...

Colodny: Come on, Bob.

Woodward: ...phone conversations?

Colodny: You want to go back to that you...

Woodward: Do you? Fair question.

Colodny: Is it a fair question?

Woodward: Yes. 'Cause I understand from you and a number of other people that you secretly taped a conversation you and I had.

Colodny: I don't think we want to go into that. And I don't think you want to go into that. But let's...

Woodward: Why don't I want to go into that?

Colodny: Because I... first of all I don't see the point. And...

Woodward: But...

Colodny: ... and second of all I...

Gettlin: There's a tape of it. There's nothing... I mean, you know that. You and I discussed it years ago.

Colodny: You want a transcript, you can have the transcript.

Woodward: Okay.

Colodny: I have no problem sending it to you.

Woodward: Okay.

Colodny: Absolutely none. We're not...

Woodward: I'm just asking whether your ethics and honor...

Gettlin: Yea.

Woodward: ...extend to that point that you still do that?

Colodny: That I still do what?

Woodward: Secretly tape people.

Colodny: Bob...

Gettlin: When we're talking to people...

Woodward: Fair question?

Colodny: Is it a fair question?

Woodward: Yes.

Colodny: Not the way you characterized it, no.

Woodward: It isn't, okay. Do you... let me put it. Do you still secretly tape people on the telephone.

Colodny: No, I don't secretly... that's your word.

Woodward: Without their knowledge.

Colodny: Well...I said I'll send you the transcript. I don't buy...

Woodward: When you taped me, did I know you were doing it?

Gettlin: When was that? In 1980?

Woodward: Whenever it was....

Gettlin: That's when it was.

Woodward: ...Did I know?

Colodny: Did you know? Bob, I don't know...

Woodward: Did you tell me?

Colodny: Did I tell you?...

Woodward: You did not.

Colodny: Bob, I don't think that's...

Woodward: Okay. Go.

Colodny: Bob, I don't think that's an issue. But you're free to...

Woodward: It is an issue.

Gettlin: If you want to...

Woodward: It's an... issue of somebody's... ethics.

Gettlin: Have we not been straight...?

Woodward: You can understand my...

Gettlin: Okay. Whatever. I mean...

Woodward: ...discomfort with that.

Gettlin: If you feel we've not been straight with you up 'till now regarding this book, because we are not writing about Montgomery County stuff, if we were writing about it, fine. If you feel that we haven't been straight with you up until now on the book we're writing, please say so. Because I think we've been open with you.

Woodward: No, but... but people have a track record. And if somebody secretly taped your phone conversation you would be uncomfortable. Right? Would you not?

Gettlin: I may or I may not. I don't know. I mean... if you're uncom... Does that mean you are uncomfortable being here?

Woodward: I... I... No. No. I... Listen, you approached me in a frontal way.

Gettlin: Yea.

Woodward: I'm accepting you at face value, Bob.

Gettlin: Yea.

Woodward: If, as Norman Mailer says - in America everyone gets a second chance.

Colodny: Perfect.

Gettlin: Okay. Um... Go ahead.

Colodny: I want to ask you about the memo, the CIA memo, uh, in the Baker addendum to the Watergate report (unintelligible). Do you know what he's referring to?

Woodward: Well, you know, this has come up before. And I've talked to Bennett about it and, uh, talked to Howard Baker about it and so forth. And, uh, it's not a quote and it is not, uh...

Gettlin: Is is true or untrue?

Woodward: He was never *feeding* me stories. He answered questions a couple of times, about Hunt. At a very early stage. And...uh... you know, answered them in a direct way. So I've, you know, said...

Gettlin: So he did talk...

Woodward: I think he's the one who told me that he'd worked for the CIA...

Gettlin: That Bennett...

Woodward: Bennett told me that Hunt had worked for the CIA. I didn't know that.

Gettlin: Bennett didn't tell you that he had any relationship with the CIA, did he?

Woodward: No. No. No.

Colodny: As you know, or might... I assume you know, Chuck Colson told me that Buzhardt had handed him a file, a Central Intelligence Agency file, and went through the material and there were articles by you, and a memo, which indicated (unintelligible)... I wonder if you were aware of that file and how that thing came to be?

Woodward: A file of my articles?

Colodny: No, it was a CIA file. A number of other things that Buzhardt handed to Colson...

Woodward: What were the number of other things?

Colodny: Uh, I... I can't recall of the top of my head. It was a compendium of stuff that Colson had in the file. I don't frankly understand why Buzhardt would hand him a CIA file at that point in time. It was April or May of '73, something like that. Uh.. '74. But anyway, he described to me the articles that were allegedly the ones they fed to you. And I wondered if you have any familiarity with that...

Woodward: You read the articles that I...? You read all the articles we wrote on Watergate?

Gettlin: Yes. Yes.

Woodward: Do you see that Bennett was feeding me stories?

Colodny: It seemed to me from what I read. You correct me if I'm wrong. I read, particularly the articles immediately after the breakin where you...

Gettlin: The first week.

Colodny: ...where there were profiles of the guys and the word CIA kept popping up but basically in a pro forma way. There was no attempt by anybody to link the Central Intelligence Agency to the breakin.... It was a statement of fact...

Woodward: We were following the thread very actively.

Gettlin: You were or weren't?

Woodward: Were.

Gettlin: The CIA thread?

Woodward: Sure.

Gettlin: I think if you go back and look at your articles you'll find that over the course of that summer of '72, the only thread that's followed is the one that comes up in the initial arraignment and, uh, the fact that, you know, these guys have some CIA ties. But beyond that there's nothing.

Woodward: Ah, but you're... See, that's where you're reading is inadequate. The story about Howard Hunt, uh, his name being in the address books...

Gettlin: Well....

Woodward: ...of the burglars, which Gene Bachinski and I broke...

Gettlin: Sure.

Woodward: Hunt, White House consultant, former CIA agent, uh, really brought the CIA in in a monumental way.

Gettlin: Well, did it?

Woodward: Sure.

Gettlin: I mean, what role did the CIA play in the rest of the Watergate story as it was reported?

Colodny: It isn't even in the book.

Gettlin: I mean what happens is...

Woodward: What isn't in the book?

Gettlin: No. It's in the book. It's in the book. Sure.

Colodny: No. I'm not talking...

Woodward: Yea.

Colodny: What you just said is in the book.

Gettlin: Right.

Colodny: What you did was in the book. But there doesn't... there's no story that says these guys were still on the CIA payroll, and in some instances they were, uh, ...

Woodward: That is...

Colodny: I'm now getting to what Liddy said about the help that he was getting from the Central Intelligence...

Woodward: Listen, I... the role of the CIA in Watergate, as I said in that Liddy review...

Gettlin: Yea...

Woodward: ...is something that has never been fully answered...

Gettlin: Right.

Woodward: ...to my satisfaction. I've always been on record on that.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: But you know you get caught in a... in a crossfire here. On you're too hard on the CIA. You're too easy on the CIA. I'm neither hard nor easy on the CIA. I'm trying to deal with the facts....

Colodny: I've just got...

Woodward: ...And if you look at the record, from the first stories... the former CIA guy that I overheard in the arraignment, and we quote...

Gettlin: And you said "Holy shit!" and all that.

Woodward: ...we put more on the record about the CIA role and connections and all of this than anyone.

Colodny: I'm not quarreling with that. I think that... All I'm saying to you is that in reading those first stories the thing that went through my mind was, "Hey, Nixon's using the CIA for political purposes." That was the impression you get in reading the straight news stories...

Gettlin: Of the first week. Where the CIA kind of drops out of the picture after that.

Colodny: Very little mention of the CIA after July.

Gettlin: Really, it's after June.

Colodny: After June.

Gettlin: But, let me... Bennett's saying... you met with Bennett but he wasn't feeding you stories.

Woodward: I think we just talked on the phone.

Colodny: So he's wrong, and that memo's wrong. That's the bottom line.

Woodward: That he was feeding me stories?

Colodny: That that memo is incorrect.

Woodward: I mean, what is... you know, you talked to somebody...

Colodny: I know.

Woodward: ...and they think they're feeding you a story... Just answering questions.

Colodny: The implication is that you were grateful and keeping it away from him.. from the Central...

Woodward: We wrote about his company.

Colodny: I'm not... I'm not quarreling with what you're saying. I'm just...

Gettlin: Let me move on real quickly. Because we've got to wrap this up. On the Haig thing 'cause that was a quote that you and I discussed and you said tht you first met him sometime in early '73 but you don't really remember when you met him and, uh, you certainly never met him while you were, I mean before that point.

Um.. how often did you... What was your relationship with Haig after that point would you say?

Woodward: Oh, boy. I mean, that's... That I'm not going to go into, um...

Gettlin: Because?

Woodward: Well, because it's complicated. Let me just point one instance in All The President's Men where he is... he accosts Katherine Graham...

Gettlin: Right.

Woodward: ... and criticizes... he was a critic of lots of what we were doing.

Gettlin: I understand. But I'm just asking you what your relationship was with him after that.

Woodward: I'm just gonna...I'm gonna...

Gettlin: Can you answer me why you wrote this? (Hands him the op-ed piece)

Woodward: Wrote what? (Pause to look at piece) Well, because it's true...

Gettlin: That...

Woodward: ...in my evaluation.

Gettlin: That his tapes shouldn't be subpoenaed? That was written when he was up for Secretary of State and you wrote that op-ed piece urging that the Senate should not subpoena the tapes of Haig, which... I mean, I don't know how many other times you've written about tapes shouldn't be subpoenaed. (laughter) I mean, you've been more on the other side, I guess, than that. I find that a very interesting piece that you wrote. Can you tell my why you wrote it?

Woodward: Again, it speaks for itself. (Pause)

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: That was my conclusion. And I think the argument is well stated.

Gettlin: Yea. Did you...

Woodward: The article came about 'cause Meg Greefield, the editorial page editor, and I were talking about it and I said... I expressed this opinion.. She said 'why don't you write a piece about it?' She essentially said what you said - it would be very unusual for me to be in the posture of saying we don't need this... these tapes.

Gettlin: Did you... Was Haig a source for The Final Days?

Woodward: I'm not going to talk about sources.

Gettlin: Um... Have you had a contact or a relationship with Haig since Watergate?

Woodward: (Chuckle) I'm just... you know... not going to discuss this.

Gettlin: I'm not asking you whether he's a source or not. I'm asking you whether you had any... Because we've been... you know... Again, you ask us where do we get our information...

Woodward: Yea.

Gettlin: All I'm saying is that...

Woodward: Garment says...

Gettlin: Is that true or untrue?

Woodward: Well, I... I don't talk about sources.

Gettlin: Okay, so you're not going to say whether it's true or not. Is that right?

Woodward: (Pause) Pardon?

Gettlin: You're not going to say whether that statement is true or not.

Woodward: That is correct. I'm not going to say.

Gettlin: Okay. Okay. Um... Just for the record let me ask you. Back in, was it '82? You wrote a piece, um, about Haig's notes when he was Secretary of State. Do you remember that story?

Woodward: Sure.

Gettlin: It caused quite a furor at the time. Again, we have information that it was Haig, through a third party, that produced those notes for you.

Woodward: Bullshit! Again, you're wrong.

Gettlin: Okay.

Woodward: A lot of people have said, 'Gee that... that... that story helped Haig.' Um... I've heard that from people from the day the story came out. And I subsequently heard that there were some things that were said in those staff meetings that were not in those particular notes I had. Which I think is true. I think the story made it clear that this was not notes of (unintelligible). I wish I had more, more of the.. I wish I had (unintelligible).

Gettlin: Okay. What I find curious about what you just said is that on the one hand you can state categorically that it's bullshit that Haig funneled those notes to you through a third party...

Woodward: Because I know who I got them from.

Gettlin: No. No. That's fine. Okay. I'll accept that. But you can't say... you can't answer the question of whether he was a source on something else.

Woodward: Whether Haig was.

Gettlin: Yea. You've said he definitely wasn't the source of the notes. But you haven't...

Woodward: Directly or indirectly.

Gettlin: Directly or indi... But you haven't said whether he was a source... All you've just said is, 'I didn't want to discuss it.'

Woodward: That's a general question.

Gettlin: I asked you if he was a source on The Final Days.

Woodward: And I said I'm not going to discuss it.

Colodny: You did say Garment was wrong.

Woodward: Pardon?

Colodny: You did say Garment was wrong.

Gettlin: No he didn't. He said he will not comment on what Garment said.

Woodward: Garment can say what he wants.

Gettlin: Ah...

Woodward: Okay?

Gettlin: I think we've taken up enough of your time. And we appreciate...

END OF INTERVIEW