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NPS Form 10-900
(Rev. 11-90)

OMB No. 10024-0018

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NAT. REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to compete all items.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Watergate

Other names/site number:

2. Location

Street & Number: 2500, 2600, 2650, 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W.; 600, 700 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. [ ] Not for Publication

City or town: Washington [ ] Vicinity

State: DC Code: 001 County Code: Zip Code: 20037

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this [X] nomination [ ] request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property [X] meets [ ] does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant [x] nationally [ ] statewide [ ] locally. ([ ] See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Lisa M. Burcham State Historic Preservation Officer 4/20/05

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

D.C. State Historic Preservation Office

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property [ ] meets [ ] does not meet the National Register criteria. ([ ] See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

John W. Roe 10/12/05

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

[X] entered in the National Register.
  [X] see continuation sheet
[ ] determined eligible for the National Register
  ( ) see continuation sheet
[ ] determined not eligible for the National Register
[ ] removed from the National Register
[ ] other, (explain:)

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: 05000540 Date Listed: 10/12/2005

Property Name: Watergate County: State: DC

_____
Multiple Name

This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

John W. Roe 10/12/05
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

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Amended Items in Nomination:

The Statement of Significance, Section # 8, Page 50 is amended to add the following information regarding the disposition of President Nixon's papers. The September 1974 agreement regarding the President's papers (the Nixon-Sampson Agreement) was overturned in December 1974 when Congress passed the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Agreement (PRMPA), which effectively left the tapes and papers in Federal custody indefinitely. Later, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the PRMPA, ruling that former President Nixon was not an appropriate custodian of the tapes and papers. National Archives custody of the Nixon tapes and papers finally became permanent 30 years later, when the Federal government reimbursed former President Nixon's daughters for the materials, the family dropped their claims on the papers and tapes, and the materials formally became the property of the National Archives.

5. Classification

Ownership of Property	Category of Property	No. Resources within Property	
[X] Private	[X] Building(s)	Contributing	Noncontributing
[ ] Public-Local	[ ] District	1	__ Buildings
[ ] Public-State	[ ] Site	__	__ Sites
[ ] Public-Federal	[ ] Structure	__	__ Structure
	[ ] Object	__	__ Objects
		1	__ Total

Name of related multiple property listing
N/A

Number of contributing Resources previously listed in the National Register 0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)
DOMESTIC: Multiple Dwelling, Hotel;
COMMERCE/TRADE: Business, Professional, Specialty Store, Department Store, Restaurant

Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)
DOMESTIC: Multiple Dwelling, Hotel;
COMMERCE/TRADE: Business, Professional, Specialty Store, Department Store, Restaurant

7. Description

Architectural Classification (enter categories from instructions)
MODERN MOVEMENT

Materials (enter categories from instructions)
foundation: CONCRETE
walls: METAL: Steel; CONCRETE
roof:
other:

Narrative Description

Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark x in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

[X] **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

[ ] **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

[X] **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

[ ] **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark x in all the boxes that apply.)

[ ] **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

[ ] **B** removed from its original location.

[ ] **C** a birthplace or grave.

[ ] **D** a cemetery.

[ ] **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

[ ] **F** a commemorative property.

[X] **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

ARCHITECTURE;
POLITICS/GOVERNMENT

Period of Significance

1964-1971
1972

Significant Dates

1962-1969 (planning)
1964-1971 (construction)
1972-1974 (scandal)

Significant Person

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above.)

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder

Corning, Elmore, Moore and Fischer (associate architects); Moretti, Luigi (architect); Timchenko, Boris (landscape architect)

9. Major Bibliographic References

[X] See continuation sheet

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

[ ] preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67)
[ ] previously listed in the NR
[ ] previously determined eligible by the National Register
[ ] designated a National Historic Landmark
[ ] recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #_____
[ ] recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #_____

Primary location of add. data:

[X] State SHPO office
[ ] Other State agency
[ ] Federal agency
[ ] Local government
[ ] University
[ ] Other

Specify repository:

_____

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property 9.4 Acres

UTM References

1 /1 /8 / /3 /2 /1 /6 /1 /4 / /4 /3 /0 /7 /7 /5 /9 /
Zone Easting Northing

2 /1 /8 / /3 /2 /1 /8 /7 /8 / /4 /3 /0 /7 /5 /3 /0 /
Zone Easting Northing

3 /1 /8 / /3 /2 /1 /6 /7 /5 / /4 /3 /0 /7 /3 /8 /3 /
Zone Easting Northing

4 /
Zone Easting Northing

[ ] See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

Watergate is located in Square 0008, Lots 806, 807, 808, 809, 811, and 812 in Washington, D.C.

[ ] See continuation sheet

Boundary Justification

The six lots on which Watergate is currently located represent all of the land associated with the original construction of the complex between 1964 and 1971.

[ ] See continuation sheet

11. Form Prepared By

Name/title C. Albee, A. Schoenfeld, E. Thompson, L. Trieschmann, Architectural Historians
Organization EHT Traceries, Inc. Date April 2005; revised August 2005
Street & Number 1121 5th Street, NW Telephone (202) 393-1199
City or Town Washington State DC Zip code 20001

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

Additional items

(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name See attached list of property owners
street & number _____ telephone _____
city or town _____ state _____ zip code _____

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq.*)

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of the Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

BUILDINGS

Constructed between 1964 and 1971, Watergate consists of a single complex composed of six interconnected buildings executed in a bold Modern style. The 9.4-acre site is a triangular parcel defined by the Potomac River and Rock Creek Parkway on the west, Virginia Avenue on the northeast, and New Hampshire Avenue on the southeast. The site plan of the property is formed by the arrangement of the six buildings in what has been called a "boomerang" reflecting the lot shape, with buildings principally located flush with Virginia Avenue and New Hampshire Avenue. The arrangement is given interest by the combination of linear building footprints at Watergate West, the 2600 Virginia Avenue Office Building, and the Watergate Hotel, and the curvilinear footprints of Watergate East, Watergate South and the 600 New Hampshire Avenue Office Building. The six buildings making up the Watergate complex are constructed of reinforced concrete and range in height from eleven to fourteen stories. The buildings share basic design elements with the primary distinction being the presence of balconies on the apartment buildings and the hotel. The buildings are interconnected by a complex series of underground parking garages, above-ground walkways, and the bi-level mall located behind Watergate East. Only approximately three acres of the site are occupied by above-ground buildings, while the remaining acres are left as open land, walkways or recreational areas such as swimming pools and fountains.

The first of the six buildings to be constructed in 1964 was Watergate East, a thirteen-story apartment building with a long, curvilinear footprint located at the intersection of Virginia Avenue and New Hampshire Avenue. The building extends along Virginia Avenue and then curls into a tight curve at the corner of the two streets, presenting a semi-circular facade along New Hampshire Avenue. The mass of Watergate East is defined by strong horizontal elements articulated by the bands of large metal-frame windows alternating with bands of solid, unornamented concrete. The first, seventh and eighth stories are recessed. The first-story recess accommodates a covered walkway on concrete piers. Beneath the seventh and thirteenth stories is a concrete band with a flared cavetto shape. The horizontality of the exterior is further emphasized by the cantilevered concrete balconies with heavy vertical concrete balusters suggestive of crenellation. The balconies are staggered on each story to create diagonal lines across the elevation. Elliptical concrete privacy panels are located periodically along the

balconies and are among the few vertical elements on the elevation. This building serves as the gateway to the Watergate complex and provides access to the mall beyond through an open loggia on the first-story level flanked by glass-enclosed lobbies on each side. The loggia is set off on the east elevation by a wide cantilevered canopy with a vaulted, elliptical shape. The floor of the loggia has polychromed paving, with fields of polished white aggregate, polished grey aggregate, and orange pebble aggregate arranged in a flame pattern. The loggia is supported on massive concrete piers and leads to a wide open stair that extends down to the mall. The stringers are lined with marble cladding, and at the center of the stair is a large concrete fountain consisting of wide bowl-shaped basins. The rooftop of Watergate East is lined by a metal balustrade with a chevron footprint and enclosed with clouded wire-glass panels. Mechanical systems are enclosed on the roof by penthouses of solid concrete walls in compound cylindrical shapes. The overall effect of the design of Watergate East, as with the other residential buildings in the complex, is strongly suggestive of a great cruise ship with its bands of horizontal windows and balconies, like decks, "streamlined" appearance in the irregular staggering of the balconies, and the cylindrical mechanical penthouses like smoke stacks.

The loggia of Watergate East leads to a two-story sunken mall than links with the underground parking garages. The shops of the mall are arranged around a kidney-shaped opening circumscribed by walkways and accessed by stairs on both the east and west sides. The basin fountain in the loggia of Watergate East is mirrored on the west side of the mall by another fountain, similarly descending down towards the mall opening, and consisting of two large round basins linked by a sluice.

The next buildings to be constructed on the site in 1966 are the 2600 Virginia Avenue Office Building and the Watergate Hotel. The two buildings are connected on all floors and together form a T shape. The top of the T is formed by the office building, which faces onto Virginia Avenue, and the stem of the T is formed by the hotel, which extends west from the office building towards the Rock Creek Parkway. The eleven-story office building shared construction technique with Watergate East. The major distinction between the office building and the immediately surrounding buildings on the site is the absence of balconies. Like Watergate East, the 2600 Virginia Office Building has a recessed first story, as well as recessed sixth and seventh stories that are on the same horizontal plane as the seventh- and eighth-story recesses of

Watergate East. The Virginia Avenue facade of the office building is principally articulated by a three-faceted protruding bay that extends almost the full width of the elevation. The bay is expressed on the first through the fifth stories, and the eighth through the tenth stories. The office building is attached to Watergate East by a recessed glass-enclosed hyphen on the second story that is expressed on the exterior as an extension of the crenellated balcony balustrades. The office building has an exposed, below-grade ground level. The Watergate Hotel is linked to the office building by a narrow, curved connection on all stories. The rhombus footprint of the building creates sharp, dramatic corners. The hotel shares the exterior architectural elements of Watergate East, reflecting its intended use as a residential hotel. Like Watergate East, the balconies are staggered on the north and south elevations to create diagonal lines, but on the west elevation the balconies continue unbroken the full width of the facade.

The fourth building constructed on the site is Watergate West, built in 1967, followed by Watergate South and the 600 New Hampshire Office Building, both built between 1969 and 1971. Watergate West occupies the north end of the large site, which is formed by the narrow angle of the intersection of Rock Creek Parkway and Virginia Avenue. It is linked to the 2600 Virginia Office Building by a narrow hyphen on the lower stories. Watergate West, an apartment building, shares a polygonal, slightly curved footprint with the Hotel, and a sharp, dramatic projecting corner at the north end of the building that reads much like the prow of a ocean liner from the north. Watergate West shares design features with the other residential buildings on the site, including Watergate East, the hotel, and Watergate South. The west elevation is marked by rigid repetition of the balconies, which extend unbroken the full width of the facade. The long east elevation, however, features a slightly curved facade with staggered balconies that serve to soften the impression from the street. The main lobby is accessed from the Virginia Avenue elevation and is sheltered by a rectangular, cantilevered roof.

Watergate South and the 600 New Hampshire Office Building together form a 270-degree circle opening onto the Potomac River. Originally conceived as one building, the two buildings were separated into two segments of the semi-circular form. The fourteen-story Watergate South is articulated on the exterior like the other apartment buildings on the property. The balconies on the exterior, or north, side of the building are continuous, while those of the interior, or south, side of the building are periodically pierced by short breaks. The 600 New Hampshire Office

Building, only twelve stories in height, lacks balconies like the 2600 Virginia Office Building. The seventh through the twelfth stories are recessed from the lower stories. The two buildings are linked to Watergate East by a complicated extension of the balconies on the lower stories intertwining in an S-curve pattern. The walkways pass over a paved drive that leads to the Watergate South lobby and around the north side of the building. This drive is lined on the east side by a concrete retaining wall ornamented with paired, segmented concrete string courses suggesting streamlines and echoing the staggered pattern of the balconies.

GROUNDS

The grounds of Watergate are comprised of both architectural and natural features that link the six buildings together and define the surrounding landscape. Automobile traffic is fairly limited on the site, but on-grade paved driveways are found on both the north and south lengths of the Watergate Hotel, and a below-grade driveway circumscribes Watergate South on the east and north and leads into the parking garage. The principal garage entrance is from New Hampshire Avenue. Concrete sidewalks are located along Virginia Avenue and New Hampshire Avenue, but are limited on the interior of the grounds so as not to detract from the green space. A high concrete wall is present on the southwest side of the grounds, running parallel to the Rock Creek Parkway and but set at a significance distance from it. This wall separates the public land adjacent to the Parkway from the semi-public and private land of Watergate.

Due to the arrangement of the six buildings on the site, the grounds are separated into four major areas: a circular courtyard between Watergate South and the 600 New Hampshire Avenue Office Building comprised of a swimming pool, fountain and lawn; a large, kidney-shaped area between Watergate South, Watergate East, and the Watergate Hotel comprised of a large open lawn and swimming pool; a relatively small, elliptical courtyard between Watergate West and the Watergate Hotel comprised of a swimming pool and a small lawn area. The fourth area is the strip of land adjacent to the Rock Creek Parkway. This land acts as a buffer and is characterized by a grassy lawn with periodic mature trees lining the road and the Watergate retaining wall.

The three swimming pools are each comprised of two contiguous elliptical shapes, one smaller than the other, and are surrounded by a paved recreational and sunbathing area. Particularly notable is the center swimming pool area between Watergate South and the Watergate Hotel. Here the hotel restaurant emerges from beneath the landscaped lawn in a wall of windows that overlooks the pool. A sloped wall runs downward from underneath the windows towards the pool patio and is covered by creeping shrubbery. Two concrete staircases lead from the lower pool deck to the open lawn above, and are separated by a robust, curved retaining wall. An elliptical retaining wall between the hotel restaurant and north stair exhibits architect Luigi Moretti's concrete, streamlined stringcourses. Also notable is the basin fountain in the courtyard between Watergate South and the 600 New Hampshire Avenue Office Building. This fountain echoes the formal characteristics of the basin fountains adjacent to the sunken shopping mall.

In July 2001, a fountain in honor of Ben Man, longtime president of the Watergate West Board of Directors, was placed in the courtyard of Watergate West. The fountain occupies a location on axis with the interior hallway from the lobby to the courtyard, providing picturesque visibility from the lobby. Early plans for Watergate suggest that a fountain was intended at this location, but was never built.

The large open lawn between Watergate South and the Watergate Hotel is characterized by two narrow, winding concrete paths that lead from the swimming pool area to the buildings. These paths exhibit rectangular, subtly-polychromed concrete paving members with pebble aggregate. Clusters of bushes and flowers line the perimeter of the lawn and the retaining walls.

Periodic mature trees are found throughout the complex, on both the interior open spaces and along the streets. They are complemented by clusters of shrubs and flowers that line the walls and sidewalks, serving to soften the transition between the architecture and the natural environment. Concrete planters are found throughout the complex, as well, and are planted with low shrubs and flowers. Particularly notable are the large concrete planters that line the sunken shopping center and the large, triangular planter directly in front of the main entrance to Watergate East, separating the driveway from the public street.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Watergate, a unified complex consisting of six inter-connected buildings constructed between 1964 and 1971, is one of the most well-known complexes in Washington, D.C., politically and architecturally. Soon after the completion of the Watergate, on June 17, 1972, five men were arrested on the sixth floor of the 2600 Virginia Avenue office building for electronically bugging the offices of the Democratic National Committee. The Watergate break-in proved not to be an isolated event but part of a broader massive campaign of political spying and sabotage by the Nixon White House and the Committee for the Re-election of the President. With all official government investigations thwarted by the White House, *Washington Post* reporters, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, methodically uncovered and published astounding facts about the Watergate break-in and the larger political machinations that had not been made public. Their efforts to uncover the campaign of political corruption were augmented by Acting Associate FBI Director W. Mark Felt, whose identity as the informant "Deep Throat" remained secret for 33 years until being exposed in 2005. The abuse of power under the veil of executive privilege that was exposed by the unsuccessful break-in at Watergate caused a struggle between the President and White House, Congressional investigating committees, the Federal district courts, and the United States Supreme Court resulted in one of the biggest scandals and constitutional crises in modern United States history and forced the unprecedented resignation of President Richard M. Nixon on August 9, 1974.

Moreover, the Watergate complex embodies exceptional architectural significance as an outstanding and innovative example of the Modern Movement in Washington, D.C. The scale and mixed-use program of Watergate required the formation of Washington's first private-initiative Planned Unit Development, a new and largely untested idea in urban planning. The building is a master work of prominent European Modernist Luigi Moretti, one of the most important twentieth-century Italian architects, and represents the only example of the architect's work in the United States. Also a master in his field, acclaimed Washington landscape architect Boris Timchenko was employed to execute the landscape plan for Watergate. Execution of the complex, curvilinear design exhibited at Watergate precipitated the use of a computer to efficiently calculate measurements of building elements, making Watergate one of the earliest known examples of computer-aided design in the country.

Watergate possesses exceptional significance under Criteria A for Politics and C for Architecture, justifying its eligibility under Criterion Consideration G. The periods of significance for Watergate are 1964 to 1971, during which the complex was constructed, and 1972, the year in which the Watergate break-in took place.

Due to its exceptional national political significance, Watergate is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A.

On June 17, 1972, five men were arrested on the sixth floor of the Watergate office complex at 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., for breaking into and electronically bugging the offices of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The discovery and subsequent indictment of these burglars, who had direct association to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the White House, metastasized into one of the biggest scandals and constitutional crises in modern United States history. Thus began the scandal that became known by a single word: Watergate. *Washington Post* reporters, led by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, methodically linked the bugging at the Watergate to the White House and the Committee for the Re-election of the President (CRP or CREEP) and defined "investigative reporting." With the eventual recognition that the Watergate burglary was not an isolated event but a broader massive campaign of political spying and sabotage, a special prosecutor was appointed in May 1973 to investigate and prosecute if necessary. Up to this point, the U.S. attorney and the Justice Department, bending under White House and other political pressures, had failed to support a true investigation of the matter by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The sabotaged FBI investigation prompted one of the most highly placed government officials to act as informant for the *Washington Post*. Dubbed "Deep Throat" by Woodward and Bernstein, the unidentified source was W. Mark Felt, then Acting Associate Director of the FBI, who believed he had to protect the integrity and independence of the justice system. The physical evidence of Nixon's involvement and the abuse of executive privilege by the White House eventually uncovered by the journalists and official investigations were irrefutable. Soon after three Articles of Impeachment were adopted by Congress in July 1974, President Richard M. Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974. Ultimately, more than thirty of his administrative officials, Republican campaign officials, and financial contributors were convicted of charged including perjury, burglary, wiretapping, and obstruction of justice. The cumulative impact of the Watergate scandal has been so significant that it has

made a permanent imprint on the American psyche and earned "Watergate" a place in the American lexicon as a term synonymous with scandal and corruption.

> ***As an exceptional example of the Modern Movement in Washington, D.C., and as a master work of international architect Luigi Moretti and local landscape architect Boris Timchenko, Watergate is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion C.***

Apart from this more well-known cultural significance is Watergate's marked architectural importance as an unconventional and exuberant expression of the Modern Movement in Washington, D.C., a city self-consciously dominated by neoclassicism. Watergate is among the most flamboyant and widely-recognized examples of the Modern Movement in Washington, D.C., along with such notable contemporary works as Roman Fresnedo-Siri's Pan American Health Organization building of 1964, Marcel Breuer and Associates' Department of Housing and Urban Development of 1968, and Edward Durrell Stone's Kennedy Center of 1971. Watergate was designed by notable Italian architect Luigi Moretti, who rose to prominence through his connections in the Fascist party and enjoyed a long and successful career spanning from the early 1930s to his death in 1973. One of the most significant twentieth-century Italian architects and a notable European Modernist, Moretti specialized in large-scale apartment buildings and public spaces, executing his most notable works for Benito Mussolini, Fascist dictator of Italy from 1922 to 1943, and later, for the Societa Generale Immobiliare (SGI) development company. Watergate possesses exceptional significance as the sole example of the European Modernist architect's work in the United States, and one of only two commissions that the Moretti executed in North America.

Watergate represents the maturation of Moretti's design aesthetic during which he departed from the restrained, minimalist, rectangular forms and stark surfaces characteristic of Fascist architecture and experimented with the more organic plasticity of concrete in large, undulating elliptical forms. The complex exhibits Moretti's characteristic design elements, including the use of concrete as the principal building material, highly sculptural masses combining rectangular and elliptical shapes, strong horizontality created by bands of windows or balconies, and a regular repetition of alternating linear solids and voids. As such, Watergate represents one of

Moretti's master works. The challenge of executing Moretti's massive curvilinear forms necessitated the use of computers to calculate the measurements of various building elements, making Watergate one of the earliest known uses of computer-aided architectural design.

Within the context of the Modern Movement, Watergate represents a spirited response to a major current in Italian (and Catlan and Latin American) architecture of the 1950s and 1960s, which was inspired by natural forms and structural configurations.[1] Often referred to by its proponents as "organic architecture," this thrust was spearheaded by theorist Bruno Zevi. Among its most celebrated practitioners in Italy was Carlo Scarpa. Watergate's architect, Luigi Moretti, on the other hand, looked to develop an equally bold, plastic approach to design through the application of the mathematical principles, or quantitative parameters – what he called "parametric architecture." He founded the National Institute for Mathematical Research and for Urban Planning in 1957 to pursue this goal. Watergate is famous in Italian architectural circles not for its political associations, but as Moretti's most ambitious and most fully developed manifestation of this pursuit.

Luigi Moretti's architecture was complemented by the landscape designs of noted Washington, D.C., landscape architect Boris Timchenko, who executed gardens for many prominent Washington residents and received numerous awards for his designs for public and commercial buildings from the 1920s though the 1960s. A Russian immigrant and prominent member of Washington's White Russian community, Timchenko's clients included Jacqueline Kennedy, Mamie Eisenhower, and The George Washington University. Significantly, Timchenko was recognized with awards from the American Association of Nurserymen and the First Lady's Committee for a More Beautiful National Capital.

The planning and execution of the Watergate complex required the utilization of the Planned Urban Development (PUD), at the time a largely obscure and unused provision of the 1958 D.C. Zoning Code that created an alternative to the restrictive single-lot zoning envelope by establishing incentives for large-scale, mixed-use urban developments. The PUD was intended to

[1] This paragraph on the significance of Watergate as an example of a multi-national trend in Modernism is derived from Richard W. Longstreth in his *Letter to Tersh Boasberg, Chairman of the Washington, D.C., Historic Preservation Review Board*, 15 February 2005. This letter is on file at the D.C. Historic Preservation Office.

curb the trend towards suburbanization by providing comparable public amenities within the city and thereby stabilizing the urban residential population. Described as a "town within a city," Watergate incorporated all of the character-defining elements of the PUD: mixed-uses, mixed-incomes, common amenities, and cooperative occupant ownership. Since then, the PUD has become a common urban planning solution and major factor in the revitalization of cities across the nation. Watergate possesses exceptional significance on a local level as the first private-initiative PUD in Washington, D.C., as well as the oldest intact PUD in the city.

Watergate has achieved significance within the last fifty years justifying its eligibility under Criterion Consideration G.

Watergate possesses exceptional significance within its historic context for its association with the political events that toppled the presidency of Richard M. Nixon and changed the course of national politics. Beginning with a disastrous burglary and bugging of the Watergate office complex in 1972 to the unprecedented resignation two years later of a discredited president facing almost certain impeachment, the Watergate story mesmerized the nation. The president, sworn to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States, had been implicated with his top aides in an elaborate conspiracy to cover up criminal behavior and political sabotage. The ramifications of the political scandal exposed during the presidential term of Richard Nixon have extended into subsequent White House presidencies, which are often embroiled in their own forms of government cover-up or corruption that is commonly published by unbounded investigating journalists to an already suspicious public. The Watergate is the best, and only architectural resource that represents the break-in, the cover-up, the first resignation of an American President, and the subsequent changes in politics in the 1970s.

Constructed between 1964 and 1971, Watergate's creative planning and imaginative Modern design make it one of the most significant Modern buildings in Washington, D.C., and an important national example of the style. Watergate is exceptionally significant as the only representative of the work of Italian Modernist and master architect Luigi Moretti in the United States, and as an example of local master landscape architect Boris Timchenko.

Having had no major alterations and few minor alterations since its completion in 1971, Watergate possesses historic integrity more than sufficient to convey, represent and contain the values and qualities for which it is significant. The property possesses all seven aspects of integrity required for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, including location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.

PLANNING OF WATERGATE

The planning and execution of the Watergate complex required the utilization of the Planned Urban Development (PUD) provision of the 1958 D.C. Zoning Code, what was then a largely obscure zoning application that created an alternative to the restrictive single-lot zoning envelope by establishing incentives for large-scale, mixed-use urban developments. The PUD was intended to curb the trend towards suburbanization by providing comparable public amenities within the city and thereby stabilizing the urban residential population. Described as a "town within a city," Watergate incorporated all of the character-defining elements of the PUD – mixed-uses, mixed-incomes, common amenities, and cooperative occupant ownership. Since then, the PUD has become a common urban planning solution and major factor in the revitalization of cities across the nation. Watergate was the first private-initiative PUD in Washington, D.C., and remains the oldest intact PUD in the city.

The Planned Unit Development. While the mixed-use apartment-hotel was a widespread residential typology in European and American cities at the turn of the twentieth century,[2] restrictive zoning practices that gained prevalence during the twentieth-century favored single-use residential neighborhoods.[3] Concurrently, changes in home financing policies and transportation accessibility encouraged suburban growth and urban depopulation. By the 1950s, Washington, D.C., like most American cities, had experienced a precipitous decline in urban real-estate values and in the municipal tax base. Rising dialogue within professional

[2] Dick Urban Vestbro, "From Collective Housing to Cohousing: A Summary of Research," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 17, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 167.

[3] Richard Plunz, *History of Housing in New York City: Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

organizations of urban planners presented the "planned unit development" of large tracts of urban land as a solution.[4] Although surveys showed that in the 1950s about half of the large cities in the United States had a provision for special zoning review of large projects,[5] smaller municipalities had no such provision, and those that did rarely employed them.[6] The "single lot zoning envelope" dominated zoning practice, encouraging mass-produced, cheap, built-to-bulk architecture. Moreover, single-use zones discouraged commercial activity and social vitality. Fostering lively and marketable communities required that cities adopt flexible zoning procedures that facilitated "beyond the box" contemporary architectural design and on-site amenities that had been prohibited by as-of-right use zones.

Consequently, when the District of Columbia commissioned Consulting Engineer and City Planner Harold M. Lewis of New York to prepare a rezoning study in 1956, the planned unit development was offered as a means to urban repopulation and revitalization. The Lewis plan, mitigated with slightly higher densities than recommended, became the D.C. Zoning Code on May 12, 1958. For the most part, Lewis's plan prescribed that the city become more like the suburbs, with lower densities and more detached single-family houses with garages, as a remedy for depopulation. Large-scale developments, however, were considered an exception. Lewis's report recommended that:

> ...a broad loophole in the height limits can be achieved through submission of plans for the development of large acreages to the Planning Commission. By the procedure provided in the regulations, it is contemplated that exceptions to permit dramatically tall buildings can be made where review of the whole design assures the controlling body that fundamental purposes of the zoning controls are satisfied. Redevelopment projects form another path through which the strict application of blanket height controls can be set aside in favor of a more refined

[4] Frank S. Bangs, Jr., "PUD in Practice," in *Frontiers of Planned Unit Development*, ed. Robert W. Burchell (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 1973), 24.

[5] Eli Goldston and James H. Scheuer, "Zoning of Planned Residential Developments," *Harvard Law Review* 73 (1959): 252.

[6] Goldston and Scheuer, 241-42.

system of design control.[7]

Specifically, Lewis recommended the creation of "SP" (Special Purpose) and "R-5-D" zones allowing high-density eight-story apartment buildings. The Watergate site in Foggy Bottom was initially zoned R-5-D, then rezoned SP in 1962. These zones specifically intended to "provide attractive close-in living facilities that might assist in winning back numbers of high-income families who moved to the suburbs years ago."[8] Lewis conceived of these special large-scale developments as a dramatic departure from conventional urban form. They would be self-sufficient, insular towns within the city. Rather than creating vitality within the existing urban fabric, they would create safe new environments insulated from the urban blight that had driven residents to the suburbs in the first place. To ensure that projects conformed to this conception, an intensive review was instituted as part of the PUD approval process. According to the PUD process set forth in Article 75 of Lewis's *Final Report*, the newly-created office of the Zoning Administrator would forward plans for a large-scale development to the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC), which would evaluate the project in terms of use mix, open space, attractiveness, as well as in typical terms of size and mass.[9] PUD approvals were to run with the land.

Watergate Planning. In light of the 1958 rezoning, the formerly undesirable industrial land in Foggy Bottom became attractive to developers. Perceiving the value of its proximity to the Capitol, the White House, Downtown, and Georgetown, the prominent Italian development company Societa Generale Immobiliare (SGI) purchased the irregular 9.4-acre Watergate site in June 1960.[10] A number of obstacles delayed PUD implementation. Confusing and complicated PUD procedures had precluded large-scale urban redevelopments in years immediately following the passage of the 1958 Zoning Code. These complications seem to have stemmed from

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[7] Harold M. Lewis, *A New Zoning Plan for the District of Columbia: Final Report of the Rezoning Study* (New York: 1956), 55.

[8] Wes Barthelmes, "Commission Calls Code 'Acceptable, Workable,' " *Washington Post*, 10 May 1958, Sec. P, p. C11.

[9] Harold M. Lewis, 175-76.

[10] Jean M. White, "More Woes Plague Watergate Project: New Arts Commission Objects," *Washington Post*, 18 Oct 1963.

Constitutional uncertainties regarding a clause stating that the zoning code did not apply to Federal land and/or land designated for urban renewal.[11] In May of 1961, the D.C. Zoning Commission amended the 1958 zoning code to make mixed-use development less restrictive.[12] Use of the PUD provision immediately ensued. On March 14, 1962, the Zoning Commission Official Notice for an "Application of Island Vista, Inc., for consideration under provision of Article 75, a large-scale planning development known as 'Water Gate'" appeared in *The Washington Post.*

The 1958 D.C. Zoning Code clearly stated that, to be approved, a PUD must demonstrate that it "enhances the neighborhood" and "provides present or future occupants of planned unit developments with a living or working environment and amenities superior to those that could be achieved by applying the other provisions of this title."[13] As summarized by Washington urban planner Julius S. Levine, PUD communities "are directed at the private sector which through incentive programs is designated as the vehicle of implementation for public policy."[14] Although public housing projects provided the benefits of affordable housing, they were not in a position to benefit from amenity-incentive bargaining like private-sector developers were. From Watergate's inception, developers grasped the value of amenities not only in exchange for zoning incentives, but also for marketing. To qualify for PUD incentives, SGI persuaded regulatory authorities that Watergate's open space, population density, mix of uses, cooperative occupant ownership, and

[11] As stated in Goldston and Scheuer, 262-63: "It has been proposed that redevelopment areas be treated as unique and excluded from the general zoning provisions, and that reliance be placed instead on the controls inserted by the redevelopment agency in its deeds, lend-disposition agreement, and redevelopment plan. This has been done, in part, in Washington, D.C., where the new comprehensive zoning plan does not apply to areas designated for redevelopment or urban renewal. [Unfortunately, the interpretation given to this exclusion of urban redevelopment areas is that the zoning regulation in effect when the redevelopment plan was adopted, even though superseded for all the rest of the District of Columbia, continues to apply to the redevelopment area.] Such treatment of redevelopment areas may be subject to constitutional infirmities, and seems hard to justify as being "in accordance with a comprehensive plan."

[12] "Zoning Changes Asked to Lift Bars on Stores," *Washington Post*, 18 May 1961.

[13] D.C. Law 2400.7.

[14] Julius S. Levine, "New Communities American Style," in *Frontiers of Planned Unit Development*, ed. Robert W. Burchell (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 1973), 46.

income diversity all would constitute public benefits.[15] Architecture also was considered a public benefit and a matter subject to public review, as emphasized by Goldston and Scheuer in their concluding statement that, "There is increasing recognition that the concept of general welfare is broad enough to include a public interest in community appearance and that planning laws can properly include beauty along with the traditional objectives of safety, health, and morals."[16] On April 13, 1962, the D.C. Zoning Advisory Council approved the Watergate PUD.[17]

Riverview Realty Corp., the sales agency partnered with SGI at Watergate, transferred these benefits directly to their marketing agenda. Harold A. Lewis of Riverview advertised that Watergate would catalyze a new urban vitality for Washington. He even espoused the virtues of the "city town" at Watergate to the local Kiwanis Club.[18] In an article in *National Capital Area Realtor,* Harold A. Lewis described Watergate's pivotal role in Washington's revitalization:

> I don't wish to over-simplify a complex situation, but to my way of thinking the plight of our cities has been largely due to the desire of the people for things the city should have and could have, but did not provide – a little fresh air, a little space, a little privacy, a little greenery, and a chance for an ordered, human existence.
>
> Whether or not the people actually found these things in suburbia is beside the point. The important thing is that they left the cities to look for them. I think we can put some of the guilt on the cities for failing to provide a real alternative for their disaffected inhabitants.

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[15] Martha Strayer, "O.K. Assured for Watergate Towne," *Washington Daily News*, 5 Feb 1964, p. 16. Although the cost of living at Watergate rapidly escalated, the developers' original intention to provide income diversity does seem genuine. In 1963, cooperative units in Watergate East ranged from $17,600 for efficiencies to over $200,000 for large penthouses. By 1969 Watergate West efficiencies started at $28,000, and by 1970 Watergate South efficiencies started at $32,000. *See* James M. Goode, *Best Addresses* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 436.

[16] Goldston and Scheuer, 265.

[17] D.C. Zoning Advisory Council, File 62-19, Transcript from Public Hearing, 13 April 1962.

[18] "New Urban Housing Pattern," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), 11 September 1964, sec. B, p. 19.

> ...We believe that Watergate is the forerunner of the planned urban community. We are creating a town within a city.[19]

Watergate was intended to provide the busy urban citizen with everything that they needed and a little piece of the American dream, without ever having to leave the city. And the various uses, in addition to providing residents with amenities, would also provide twenty-four hour activity, as opposed to more traditional urban development that were either commercial, and thereby inactive at night, or residential and largely inactive during the day.

Realizing a viable development with such ample amenities required involved negotiations regarding zoning incentives with the D.C. Zoning Commission. Federal review by the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) and NCPC further influenced the project, with NCPC initially questioning whether the site should be developed at all. As a result, the site plan, height, and program for Watergate evolved between the original proposal in July 1962 to final approvals in 1969.[20] The D.C. Zoning Commission conditionally approved the PUD on July 17, 1962, stipulating additional review by Federal commissions and agencies.[21] CFA and NCPC reviewed the proposal in much further detail. The original site plan was composed of five organically curved building footprints around a series of open courtyards featuring fountains, a swimming pool, green space, and nineteen freestanding villas. Only 3 acres of the 9.4-acre site were to be built, with the balance remaining open parkland, but the 3 acres were allowed to be built to a very dense floor-to-area ratio (FAR) of 7.5.[22] This planning concept remained largely intact through the rounds of CFA and NCPC review. The elimination of the villas was a significant change made by the CFA in November 1963. The location and design of pools and ponds were shifted in response. As built, the general composition and balance of built to open space closely resembled the original July 1962 drawings.

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[19] Harold A. Lewis, "Watergate...Town within a City," *National Capital Area Realtor,* 7.

[20] Sue A. Kohler, *The Commission of Fine Arts: A Brief History, 1910-1976* (Washington, D.C.: The Commission of Fine Arts, 1985), 77.

[21] D.C. Zoning Commission File 62-19, Letter to Mr. Joseph Luria, 17 July 1962.

[22] James M. Goode, *Best Addresses* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 435.

The originally proposed building heights of 130 feet throughout the complex generated disapproval from CFA and NCPC due to concern about visual interference with the monumental Federal core – particularly the Lincoln Memorial and the proposed Kennedy Center. The height of each building within the Watergate complex was considered by CFA as construction proceeded. The first building, the Watergate East apartments, was originally proposed at fourteen stories in height in November 1963. The CFA disapproved the fourteen-story height at that time and again in January of 1964. In May 1964, CFA approved the height at thirteen stories. Both the hotel and the office building were approved with heights of thirteen and eleven stories respectively in June 1964. In October 1964, CFA withheld approval of the proposed fourteen-story Watergate West apartments, granting discretion to D.C. BZA. In June 1965, CFA granted Watergate West general design concept approval. After a series of changes to the design of the building section and setbacks, Watergate West was approved at thirteen stories in 1967. In March 1968, the apartments at Watergate South were proposed at a fourteen-story height. After additional study, the height was approved. In January 1969, the twelve-story offices proposed at the 600 Office Building were approved, concluding seven years of Federal review of the Watergate project. In sum, CFA and NCPC reduced heights to 112 feet for most of the complex, allowing only 25% of the built area to rise to 130 feet.[23]

Although the balance of uses in the functional program at Watergate changed slightly throughout the planning and review process as a result of elimination of some residential space, including the villas, the building's mixed-use program did not change significantly. Uses remained segregated by height – while ground floor and sub-grade spaces contained commercial or service uses open to the general public, upper levels were exclusively private residential or office spaces. The original PUD approved by the D.C. Zoning Commission called for 1,300 dwellings including nineteen "villas;" 300 hotel rooms; 185,000 square feet of office space; 80,000 square feet of retail and service space including a shopping mall; and 1,250 underground parking spaces.[24] With the exception of Watergate West, the arcaded ground floors would contain commercial space. The types of uses proposed went uncontested by both the Zoning Commission and the CFA. In February 1964, immediately before receiving CFA approval, the project had

[23] Kohler, 77. Goode, 433.

[24] D.C. Zoning Commission File 62-19, Final Setdown Report for Zoning Commission Case Number 03-16/62-19, 19 January 2004, Attachment II.

been reduced to "apartment buildings, a residential hotel, three restaurants, a shopping center and an underground parking garage for 1300 cars."[25] The shopping mall included a supermarket, drug store, restaurant, dress shop, beauty and barber shops, liquor store, and a bank. The concept of an integral mixed-use program – though the most unconventional element of the project – remained intact throughout the life of the project. Another key element that remained intact through the many evolutions of the project was its designation as a single building: as stated in the March 14, 1962 Official Notice, "The project will be designated as one structure under applicable law, since all parts of building will be connected at one or more floors." The six above-ground units of Watergate remain connected by the parking garage to the present day.

The legacy of the Watergate PUD continues to influence private-sector urban redevelopment in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. Upon its completion, Watergate was considered by both developers and the public to fulfill the hopes vested in the 1958 and 1961 zoning changes – to affirm that decades of urban investment could in fact be salvaged through strategic policy change. The marketability and reproducibility of the Watergate PUD concept stimulated projects such as Columbia Plaza, Van Ness Centre, Grosvenor Park, the Rotunda, and Sutton Towers. Although several of these also contain shops, none can equal the facilities at Watergate, which remains the best example of self-contained living.[26] As stated by Harold A. Lewis in *National Capital Area Realtor*:

> There is no question in my mind that Watergate has a special character – that it really is unique. But I also am convinced that there is no question but that the principles of urban design and planning embodied in Watergate offer valuable lessons to cities, to developers, and to homeowners, that can be applied generally.[27]

[25] Strayer, 16.
[26] Goode, 440.
[27] Harold A. Lewis, 7.

WATERGATE DESIGN

Architects. Watergate was designed by Luigi Moretti (1907-1973), one of the most significant twentieth-century Italian architects. Moretti was born in Rome where he studied architecture and, a passionate Fascist, quickly rose to prominence under the regime of Benito Mussolini, Prime Minister of Italy from 1922 to 1943. Moretti was one of the principal architects of the political party prior to World War II (1941-1945). His pre-war designs are a powerful synthesis of abstracted Classical forms, Bauhaus Modernism and Fascist political principles expressed in audacious spaces, massive concrete forms and rigid geometry. Although inspired by traditional Greek and Roman Classicism, Moretti's pre-war designs were undeniably Modern in their expression. Major works during this phase of Moretti's career include the Casa del Balilla in Travastere, Rome (1932-1937), his works at the Foro Mussolini in Rome, including the Casa delle Armi (1933-1936), and the Onb Pavilion for the Exhibition of the Summer Colonies at the Circus Maximus in Rome (1935-1937).

Following a brief imprisonment during World War II related to his political convictions, Moretti continued to practice as the preferred architect of the Church and the Roman aristocracy.[28] He also expanded his work to North America with such commissions as the Tower of Change in Montreal, Canada, completed in 1965, and Watergate in Washington, D.C. During the early 1950s, Moretti departed from his familiar rigid, rectilinear buildings and began to experiment with more organic, curvilinear forms in reinforced concrete, inspired by Baroque architecture. It is during this period that he develops such characteristic design elements as his concave cantilevered entry roofs and streamlined string courses, and rhythmic, undulating swells of concrete, one on top of the other. Watergate is highly representative of this mature phase of Moretti's work. Other examples of this later work include the dramatic Ettore Muti at Porto San Sebastian (1940), and the Villa La Saracena, Santa Marinella (1953), both in Rome. This latter concrete dwelling, faced in field stone, is a departure for Moretti, and its intimate relationship to the outdoor grotto bears similarities to the work of Frank Lloyd Wright. The Casa Girasole (1947-1950) with its split-front façade on narrow bases is remarkable in its unconventionality, and suggestive of the double lobbies of Watergate East. Moretti's creative San Maurizio in Rome

[28] Federico Bucci and Marco Mulazzani, *Luigi Moretti: Works and Writings* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2003), 137.

(1961-1963), is contemporaneous with Watergate and shares many design features. Similarly, the Hotel El Aurassi in Algeria (1968-1973), adopts a related form of the denticulated balconies that feature so prominently at Watergate.

In addition to his designs, Moretti contributed towards the development of the field of architecture by serving as an instructor in architecture at the National Academy in San Luca, and by co-founding the Italian scholarly journal Spazio. Moretti made regular contributions to the journal in which he described his Classical and Baroque inspirations and translated his understanding of architecture into words. Moretti was also an imminent urban planner as demonstrated through his work for the Societa Generale Immobiliare, including Watergate. Luigi Moretti, recently described as "ambitious, charismatic, and reliable, never conformist or conventional," remains one of the most talented and influential of the Italian Modernists.[29]

Although there are differences between Moretti's pre-war and post-war work, basic characteristics are exhibited in his designs throughout his career, and reflect a highly individualized expression of Modernism. To begin with, Moretti worked almost exclusively in concrete, finished in white or off-white colors. He preferred a minimalist approach, particularly on the exterior. His buildings were sculptural and geometric. During his early career he tended towards the rectangular forms, while his later career shows a preference for undulating, elliptical forms, or a contrast between rectangular and elliptical. Moretti frequently employed sharp angles in his designs, formed either by creating sharp corners that were less than ninety degrees, or in joining geometric shapes together at abrupt angles. His interiors reflect a delight in polychromed surfaces and fine, smooth materials, such as Italian marble. Moretti generally preferred strong horizontality which he emphasized in his bands of windows, projecting balconies, and streamline string courses. As many of his commissions were apartment buildings, Moretti frequently employed balconies, which he textured with denticulated balustrades or geometric protrusions. The horizontality of the balconies was broken at random, creating a staggered effect. To deal with the mechanical systems that occupied the roof of large-scale apartment buildings, Moretti enclosed them behind cylindrical, plastic shapes exhibiting an element of surrealism in their design and application. Moretti's entries often featured cantilevered canopies with shell-shaped, elliptical forms. Similarly, robust post-and-lintel shelters were placed throughout the landscape.

[29] Bucci and Mulazzani, inside jacket cover.

A highly ordered and methodical architect, Moretti preferred an ordered landscape and designed many planters, fountains, swimming pools and other permanent landscape features in his projects.

Taken within the entirety of Moretti's larger body of work, the design of Watergate, so unusual and unfamiliar in its Washington, D.C., setting can be clearly placed within the appropriate architectural context. One of Moretti's largest projects, Watergate exhibits the characteristic elements of Moretti's Modernist designs, and represents the maturation of his design aesthetic developed through thirty years of practice. The plan, combining the sweeping, curvilinear buildings as at Watergate East, with the sharp, angular buildings such as Watergate West, fully realizes Moretti's love of geometric contrast. The elevations exhibit the characteristic horizontality, emphasized by the alternating bands of windows and balconies, and represent Moretti's fascination with the relationship between solids and voids in architecture. A less common feature but incorporated in several other of Moretti's designs for large-scale apartment or hotel buildings, is the decidedly nautical feel to the buildings in the complex.[30] The various stories suggest the decks of a great ocean liner, capped by the cylindrical mechanical penthouses much like smoke stacks, and the sharp, forceful corner of Watergate West looking very much like a prow. Such nautical design elements may have been intended to reference the adjacent Potomac River. Also present at Watergate are the cantilevered canopies over the entrances, as at Watergate East, and the streamline string courses, as in the drive to the parking garage adjacent to Watergate South. Moretti also incorporates familiar designed landscape elements at Watergate, including the elliptical swimming pools and basin fountains. When viewed within the context of Moretti's entire body of work, Watergate stands out as a master work in which Moretti's concepts of urban planning and architectural design are fully realized.

Luigi Moretti was assisted in the execution of the design for Watergate by Corning, Elmore, Moore and Fischer, a Washington, D.C., firm that specialized in the construction of large-scale high-rise apartment complexes. Partner Milton Fischer appears to have been the principal associate to Moretti. Fischer, born in 1910 in New York State, obtained a B.S. in Architecture

[30] Other buildings designed by Moretti in this "nautical" vein include his Competition Project for the Palazzo del Littorio on the Via dell'Impero in Rome (1934), and the Casa Albergo on the Via Bassini in Milan (1947-1953).

from the University of Michigan in 1935.[31] His interest in housing was established early when he worked for the Detroit City Planning Commission study on slum clearance while in college. After graduating, Fischer worked for architect Henry Wright on various housing studies and projects including Chatham Village in Pittsburgh, followed by several years as the Chief of the Housing Section of the Westchester County, New Jersey, Planning Board. From 1939 to 1942, Fischer worked for the United States Housing Authority on the planning and development of low-income housing. In 1942, Fischer moved to Washington, D.C., to accept a job under Charles Palmer, the Housing Coordinator for the Executive Office of the President. For the next five years, Fischer worked for the National Housing Agency excepting one year active duty with the United States Navy in 1945. Fischer joined the firm of Corning & Moore in 1952, and became a partner in 1957.[32] Buildings credited to Fischer include housing at Fort Bennett in Arlington, Virginia, completed in 1954 and B'nai Brith in Washington, D.C., completed in 1956. Corning, Moore, Elmore and Fischer were prolific in the field of apartment house construction in Washington, D.C., and Northern Virginia during the 1960s, and often teamed with the Magazine Brothers Construction Corporation as the general contractor, as in the case of Watergate. Among the buildings designed by Corning, Moore, Elmore and Fischer are the Georgetown Inn on Wisconsin Avenue, completed in 1962, the Calvert House overlooking the Rock Creek Parkway, completed circa 1964, and Windsor Towers off Columbia Pike in Arlington, completed in 1964.[33]

Site Planning. The design of Watergate, inspired by the architecture of Bath, England, according to Moretti, was carefully planned to complement the site directly adjacent to the Potomac River and the Rock Creek Parkway, a site which the architect declared to be "one of the best, if not the best in Washington."[34] The placement of the buildings on the site took full advantage of the spectacular views of the Potomac, but also left the larger portion of the lot open adjacent to the

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[31] Milton Fischer, Application for Registration to Practice Architecture in the District of Columbia, 1 April 1952, D. C. Archives, Washington, D.C.

[32] *American Architects Directory*, ed. George S. Koyl (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1955), 172.

[33] "Georgetown Inn Nears Completion," *Washington Post*, 24 February 1962; "Calvert House Opens This Weekend," *Washington Post*, 29 August 1964; and "Windsor Towers Completed in Arlington," *Washington Post*, 18 January 1964.

[34] Jack Eisen, "Architect Plans 'Touch of Rome,' " *Washington Post*, 6 August 1963.

Rock Creek Parkway, so as not to detract from the intimate nature and scenic beauty of the public park. The curvilinear, "living shape" of the buildings echoed the river's edge and winding park land.[35] The site plan of the buildings, in a curved arrangement flush with the "back," or city side of the property, and open to green space and parkland does bear formal similarities to the Georgian crescents of Bath. Moretti did not completely turn Watergate's back to the city, however, incorporating several breaks into the buildings so as to preserve visibility from the interior of the city through the massive complex to the park and river beyond. Moretti's open loggia at Watergate East invites passers by from the city interior to view the natural landscape of the courtyard and frames the Potomac River beyond. This loggia, supported on concrete piers, was inspired by Renaissance models. However, Moretti struck a delicate balance between allowing access and views to the public and providing privacy to the occupants through artificial barriers, walls and planters that screen the ground-story levels from the street. Moretti further privileged the site and the landscape by relegating vehicular parking to underground garages. It is this massive, multi-level underground parking garage that connects all six of the buildings in the complex.

Architecture. Although Moretti's interpretation of Modernism was familiar to European audiences, its introduction in Washington, D.C., with the Watergate proposal caused quite a stir among building professionals and lay persons, alike. While the Commission of Fine Arts declared the design "a fresh and imaginative approach" in 1963, they also commented that "some of the ends of the proposed buildings...were too sharp," indicating an uncertainty about the appropriateness of such an exuberant Modernist expression in a city dominated by Classicism.[36] Others were vehemently opposed to the project on the grounds that the design and height of the building would compromise the integrity of the Rock Creek Park, the Lincoln Memorial and later, the planned Kennedy Center. In 1974, the building was listed among Washington's worst by Wolf Von Eckardt, who declared the design to be "as inappropriate...as a strip dancer performing at your grandmother's funeral."[37] The debate about the aesthetics and appropriateness of Watergate continues to the present day.

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[35] Lee Flor, "Architect Says Curves Will Give Watergate Project a 'Living Shape,' " *Washington Post*, 7 August 1963.

[36] Charles D. Pierce, "Watergate Towne Hit As Overpowering Mass," *Washington Star*, 19 April 1963.

[37] Wolf Von Eckardt, "Rating Washington's Architecture," *Washington Post*, 6 January 1974.

The execution of Moretti's graceful curvilinear design proved to be a considerable feat. With no typical floor plans or room shapes, and varying wall and balcony curvatures, determining the dimensions of the structural and finishing elements was a highly laborious and tedious task. Watergate East, alone, required 2,200 wall panels in 100 different sizes.[38] The construction team employed the Engineering Physics Company to run the necessary calculations on a computer, making the Watergate complex one of the earliest known construction projects in the nation to employ computer-aided design.[39] The use of computers eliminated human error, considerably reduced costs incurred from manufacturers miscalculations, and saved thousands of hours of labor. A *New York Times* Journalist heralded the time-saving benefits of the computer by citing a case of an engineer who took six weeks to work out the curvature of the walls in one apartment in Watergate East, while the computer was able to execute the same task in just eight hours.[40]

Landscape Design. As was characteristic of the architect's later career, Moretti expanded upon his idea of integration of the architecture with the landscape in his design at Watergate beyond mere siting by blurring the lines between the built and the natural. Moretti created architectural and sculptural elements that extended into the landscape like tendrils while similarly pulling the landscape into, and onto the architecture, itself. True to his Modernist, and perhaps Fascist roots, however, Moretti restrained the landscape with his architecture and did not allow wild, uncontrolled growth. His buildings crept out into the courtyard through concrete and paved curvilinear walkways, robust retaining walls that rise out of the landscape, and planters arranged neatly within or lining his carefully planned geometric architectural forms. Moretti's concept of integration of the built and the natural included the use of water on the site, both in the three swimming pools and the fountains placed at various locations at Watergate. Moretti's use of these integration techniques in his other large-scale residential projects, such as the San Maurizio Apartment Building in Rome, completed in 1965, and his unrealized project for a residential complex in Genova-Nervi, reveals the architect's recognition of the positive impact of nature on the health and well-being of people, and the ability of landscape to beautify architecture. His renderings and models for residential projects during the period indicate that Moretti intended for residents to further invite the landscape into the design by plantings on their balconies,

[38] "Prices of Houses in Development," *New York Times*, 12 December 1965.
[39] "Designers Throw Curves to a Computer," *Engineering News-Record*, 3 June 1965, 24.
[40] "Prices of Houses in Development."

particularly of the climbing variety that would grow onto the rails and over the side of the balconies.

To complete this integration of architecture and landscape, noted Washington, D.C., landscape architect Boris Timchenko was commissioned to design the landscape plan for Watergate. Timchenko designed gardens for many prominent Washington residents and received numerous awards for his designs for public and commercial buildings. Boris V. Timchenko (c. 1898-1975) was born in the Russian town of Lipezk, south of Moscow, and fought as a cavalry lieutenant in the White Army. He fled after the Army's defeat in 1920 and studied agriculture and landscaping in France. He came to the United States in 1926 and was prominent in Washington's White Russian community, and a founder of the St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Church. Timchenko was affiliated for many years with the Washington nursery and wholesale flower firm A. Gude Sons Co. Timchenko's clients included Mamie Eisenhower, and Jacqueline Kennedy, for whom he designed a Georgetown garden when John F. Kennedy was serving in the Senate. He was architect for the National Capital Flower and Garden Show for many years. His public and commercial commissions included the National Geographic Building, Tompkins Hall at The George Washington University, and the Equitable Life Insurance Co. building at 3900 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., which was selected as one of the top ten industrial landscape projects in the nation by the American Association of Nurserymen in 1959.[41] He received the American Association of Nurserymen award for his landscaping of the Washington Hilton Hotel in 1965.[42] Timchenko also designed a garden on the roof of the Shoreham Hotel's Regency Ballroom for which he received an award from the First Lady's Committee for a More Beautiful National Capital.[43]

At Watergate, Boris Timchenko faced the significant practical challenge of a strong-willed architect with an equally strong-willed design, and the technical challenge of building on top of the expansive parking garage that occupied the entire property. The landscaped "park" land of Watergate was critical to the success and beauty of the development, and had been heavily advertised by both planners and promoters, as exhibited in one promotional brochure that boasted

[41] "Equitable Building Landscaping Wins Award," *Washington Post*, 28 November 1959.
[42] "Landscape Award," *Washington Post*, 28 November 1965.
[43] "Shoreham Beautified," *Washington Post*, 30 July 1966

"seven acres of landscaped park overlooking the Potomac – and no grass to mow."[44] But for this to be true, the parkland first had to be created on top of the parking garages that connected the buildings so that the parking garages were, indeed, underground. Timchenko began by laying two feet of dirt on the roof of the parking garages, deep enough to support the grass, flowers and shrubs.[45] For the additional depth required for trees, Timchenko designed 150 special planters to be located throughout the site atop the load-bearing piers of Moretti's parking structures.[46] Timchenko's solution appears to have been so successful that he was later commissioned to design the rooftop garden of the Regency Ballroom of the Shoreham Hotel.

Once the technical challenges of the site had been met, Timchenko set about designing a landscape that would be interesting year round, and would be aesthetically pleasing when viewed from the ground as well as from the upper floors of the surrounding buildings. In the open areas between the buildings, he created grassy lawns for recreational activity with periodic breaks for clusters or flowers, bushes or trees. A 1964 description of the design described "clusters of trees with open spaces, flower beds and hedges between them. It will be a colorful view from the balconies, too, because the flowering trees, changing leaves and profusions of flowers will provide differing scenes throughout the year.[47]

Boris Timchenko's approach to landscape design was decidedly softer and more organic than Moretti's bold, geometric European Modernism, and Timchenko's landscape design suggests a conscious attempt on the part of the landscape architect to ease the transition between the built and the natural elements. Timchenko's design called for flora to soften the contrasts between Moretti's concrete architectural elements and parkland, both within the complex and along the retaining walls adjacent to the Rock Creek Parkway. A particularly creative and unconventional device employed by Timchenko was his use of creeping shrubs to soften and in some cases, obscure architectural elements, as in the case of the concrete stair access room protruding into the

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[44] "Watergate East: Washington's Consummate Cooperative Apartment Residence" [advertisement], *Washington Post*, 22 January 1965.

[45] Daniel Poole, "Landscaping at Watergate Will Create Many Effects," *Washington Post*, 19 December 1964.

[46] Poole.

[47] Poole.

park between Watergate East and the Hotel, and the concrete retaining walls around the pools. In the park of Watergate East, Timchenko designed a delicate, winding flagstone path to link the pool area with the buildings. At the point where the paths meet Moretti's wide, axial stairs, the path widens suddenly and somewhat awkwardly, revealing that perhaps the landscape architect was not always successful in his attempts to link his gentler art with Moretti's architecture.

Boris Timchenko's design included plantings to shield the recreational areas from automobile traffic on the interior of the site and along Virginia and New Hampshire Avenues. At several places at Watergate, Timchenko took a specialized approach, as in the case of the area around Moretti's Renaissance-inspired loggia of Watergate East, where Timchenko planned a "Renaissance-style garden." In the area between the Rock Creek Parkway and Watergate, Timchenko departed from the planned, formal approach of the park areas between the buildings in favor of more natural, organic plantings intended to complement the Rock Creek Parkway and serve as a buffer between the public and semi-public, natural and built, and informal and formal landscapes. Once completed, Timchenko's Watergate landscape design was described in a promotional brochure for Watergate South as

> A beautiful world landscaped by famous Boris Timchenko. Done with flair. Careful attention to overall impression. Artful curves. Extensive lawns patterned with walks. And a springtime show of magnolias, camellias, azaleas that is something to behold.[48]

Interiors. Also employed at Watergate was noted sculptor and muralist Pietro Lazzari, who executed the concrete polychromed sculptural frieze depicting horses in the lobby of Watergate West. Born in Rome, Italy, Pietro Lazzari (1898-1979) began an apprenticeship with sculptor, Jerace, at the age of fifteen, and subsequently attended the Ornamental School of Rome where he received a Master Artist degree in 1922. He moved to New York City in 1929 and became a United States Citizen in 1936. During the 1930s, Lazzari executed a number of murals and other artwork for the United States Section of Fine Arts and the Works Progress Administration. During this period, Lazzari began to develop his polychromed sculptural concrete technique for

[48] "Watergate South" [promotional brochure], c. 1970, Vertical Files, Washingtoniana Division, Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, D.C.

which he would become well-known. In 1942, Lazzari moved to Washington, D.C., where he was very active in the local art community and taught fine arts at American University and Dumbarton College. Among his most well-known works are his bronze busts of humanitarians, including Pope Paul VI and Eleanor Roosevelt. Lazzari was hired in 1968 by interior designer Don McAfee to execute a frieze in the Watergate West lobby.[49] For the frieze, Lazzari executed an original design of running horses in his distinctive sculptural polychromed concrete. McAfee offered Lazzari $5,000 to create an original panel that could then be reproduced and repeated around the entire length of the frieze. Rather than agree to "mechanical repetition," Lazzari agreed to do the entire frieze for that amount.[50]

SELLING WATERGATE

Watergate was conceived as a "town within a city," that fulfilled the goals of a Planned Unit Development by incorporating a diverse mix of uses, incomes, common amenities, and cooperative occupant ownership. These elements contributed significantly to the immediate and continued success of the development. Although the development technically fulfilled its "mixed-income" promise through the commercial shops and restaurants, Watergate was from the beginning specifically marketed towards the city's cosmopolitan elite. Promotional material was designed to appeal to an affluent population, offering an elegant urban lifestyle and proximity to both the political and cultural centers of the nation's capital. Brochures claimed that Watergate's buildings represented "a culmination of this century's best thinking in architecture, urban planning, interior design and landscaping" and offered "a standard of residential luxury heretofore unattainable."[51] By 1970, still not quite complete, Watergate was dubbed the "Snob Appeal" complex by the *Washington Star*.[52]

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[49] Don McAfee to John J. Foley, Watergate Construction Corporation, 11 April 1968, correspondence in the Pietro Lazzari papers, Smithsonian Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C.

[50] McAfee.

[51] Promotional brochures in the Vertical Files of the Washingtoniana Division, Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, D.C.

[52] Vera Glaser and Malvina Stephenson, "Watergate Residents Register Complaints," *Washington Star*, 4 January 1970.

The luxurious appointments of the individual apartments were a key element of the carefully crafted image of Watergate. As described in a Watergate East brochure, circa 1965:

> No detail has been overlooked, no expense has been spared, in creating the luxe ambience that surrounds apartment-owners at Watergate East. There are 150 variations in floor plans....There are duplexes, floor-through arrangements, elaborate penthouses with private landscaped roof gardens. Most apartments are wrapped in balconies of unusually generous dimensions...that open onto breath-taking views. Room sizes are enormous – living rooms up to 40 feet, 25-foot dining rooms, 22-foot libraries...apartment areas up to 5065 feet....Some apartments have marble-floored entrance foyers, wood-burning fireplaces, separate pantries and separate servants' quarters.[53]

This glamorous image was reinforced by the extensive spreads in the *Washington Post*, *The Evening Star*, and other real estate and society publications that featured detailed descriptions and photographs of the apartments of prominent individuals. Some interior designers received multiple commissions at Watergate, including prominent Italian designer Arturo Pini do San Miniato, President of the National Society on Interior Designers in the 1960s.[54] His opulent interiors, described as conveying a "classic Italian tradition of elegance," incorporated a variety of techniques showcasing materials and colors, including freestanding columns, wallpaper, mirrors, and tromp l'oeil.[55]

The amenities offered by the integrated complex of apartments, hotel, and offices added to the appeal of the development. Watergate promised potential buyers both a self-sufficient community and proximity to the attractions of the city. The retail shops offered everything from groceries to Gucci, and available services ranged from cleaners to limousines. "Everything you need or want at your fingertips (the one you use to ring for the elevator). Shopping. Parking.

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[53] "Watergate East" [promotional brochure], c. 1965, Vertical Files, Washingtoniana Division, Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, D.C.

[54] Frances Lide, "Watergate Apartment is Shown," *The Evening Star*, 11 June 1965.

[55] Lide.

Dining. Wining. Swimming. Sunning. Strolling."[56] While boasting the completeness of the goods and services available at Watergate, promotional material also noted the elegant grounds of Watergate. The landscaped grounds, partially shielded from the street by the complex of buildings, but open to views of the Potomac, provided a park-like setting and three outdoor pools for residents and guests. Adding to the convenience was the key location of Watergate. The complex was just eight blocks from the White House and two from the State Department. The Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts was just across New Hampshire Avenue and National Airport was a quick cab ride away.

The Watergate Hotel was represented as a particularly attractive amenity for Watergate's apartment residents and office tenants as well as for the out-of-town visitor. The hotel was also available to accommodate residents' overnight guests, as were the hotel's health club and year-round "Tropical Pool." The complex included restaurants and cafes, several of which were in the hotel. When the Watergate Office Building at 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W. opened in 1967, advertisements highlighted the advantages of the larger complex. "One of its unusual features is that it provides occupants with a broad range of commercial and recreational facilities" including the shopping mall reached by a covered walkway, banking facilities, and the Hotel's membership health club and pool accessible by a covered colonnade.[57] A brochure for the 600 Office Building stated that the "Watergate Hotel...provides superior accommodations for your out-of-town visitors and clients. When you require catering and function rooms for meetings, luncheons, dinner parties, Watergate's expert staff becomes a no-overhead addition to your office manpower."[58] The office building, in turn, was viewed as "a vital element in the Watergate plan: It insures that the community will have a daytime vitality that most other urban developments have lacked."[59]

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[56] "Watergate: A New Dimension in Living" [promotional brochure], c. 1971, Vertical Files, Washingtoniana Division, Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, D.C.

[57] "Watergate Office Building Meets Special Needs of Washington's Business-Professional Communities" [press release], 12 April 1967, Vertical Files, Washingtoniana Division, Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, D.C.

[58] "Watergate Six Hundred: Washington's Second Most Prestigious Address" [promotional brochure], Vertical Files, Washingtoniana Division, Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, D.C.

[59] "Hotel and Office Building Openings Highlight Multi-Purpose Character of $66 Million Watergate Project" [press release], 12 April 1967, Vertical Files, Washingtoniana Division, Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial

The Watergate complex was successful in attracting residents who held prominent positions in Washington. The first apartment building, Watergate East, opened in 1965. The second apartment building, Watergate West, opened in January 1969, just as the Nixon Administration was taking office. The *Washington Post* noted that "The Watergate, with its convenient location, is luring a lot of those Republican newcomers who can afford the initial outlay and the upkeep."[60] A 1972 *Washington Star* article stated that "The prestigious Watergate apartments house many of the powerhouses of the Nixon Administration."[61] Several Cabinet members purchased Watergate apartments: Attorney General John N. Mitchell, Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, Secretary of Transportation John Volpe and Postmaster General Winton Blount. President Nixon's personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, was also a resident. She is best remembered for claiming to have accidentally erased eighteen-and-one-half minutes of a critical White House tape. Director of the Mint, Mary Brooks also resided at Watergate as did various White House assistants and two assistant secretaries of commerce. Senators living at Watergate in 1970 included Jacob Javits, Gordon Allott, Russell Long, Alan Cranston and former Senator Wayne Morse.[62] Senator Robert Dole and his wife Elizabeth Hanford Dole have lived at Watergate since the 1970s.

The Watergate Hotel described itself as an apartment hotel "designed to furnish luxurious, spacious apartments for the use of Washingtonians who prefer the convenience of apartment hotel living, as well as for the many people who, for business, political and other reasons, wish to maintain a Washington residence for a few months."[63] It offered both rooms and suites, suitable for "stays of a day, a week, months or years."[64] Among the long-term residents was President Nixon's Chief of Protocol Emil Mosbacher, Jr., who lived at the hotel for three-and-one-half years. It attracted an international clientele. Kennedy Center performers who stayed at the hotel in the early years included Ingrid Bergman, Dame Margo Fonteyn, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.,

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Library, Washington, D.C.

[60] Maxine Cheshire, "Magnificent Penthouse," *Washington Post*, 17 January 1969.

[61] Ymelda Dixon, "Mitchells Sell Duplex," *Washington Star,* 5 August 1972.

[62] Glaser and Stephenson.

[63] "Hotel and Office Building Openings Highlight Multi-Purpose Character of $66 Million Watergate Project."

[64] *Watergate Hotel Review* 1, no. 1 (August-September 1972): 3. Hotel newsletter in the Vertical Files of the Washingtoniana Division, Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, D.C.

Leonard Bernstein and Isaac Stern.[65] The Watergate Hotel has continued to serve as a residence for many prominent artists performing at the Kennedy Center. A 1986 article mentioned that the Hotel's prominent guests included Katherine Hepburn, Barbara Walters, Garry Trudeau, Andy Warhol and Dan Rather.[66]

WATERGATE BREAK-IN

Political Atmosphere of Nixon White House. The antecedents of the break-in at the Watergate can be traced back to the early years of President Richard M. Nixon's Administration, often referred to as an "Imperial Presidency." The President and his aides used the resources of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in unlawful ways against persons they regarded as political enemies, using the veil of national security. Nixon claimed presidential authorization meant that "what would otherwise be unlawful or illegal becomes legal."[67] In an attempt to uncover the source of leaked news between 1969 and 1971, Nixon authorized, without court approval, the wiretapping of telephones of various government officials and newspapermen, some of whom had no involvement with national security matters. Equally unlawful and unethical, and often thwarted by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, were Nixon's alleged approval of burglaries and the opening of mail to detect security leaks. The desire to control leaks led President Nixon to create the Special Investigations Unit in 1971. The unit became known as the "Plumbers." Its work, code named "Gemstone," was to include electronic eavesdropping, kidnapping political opponents, creating false press leaks, disrupting public gatherings sponsored by the opposition, and undertaking unethical tactics to compromise Democratic convention delegates. This work was undertaken, in the eyes of the White House, because the FBI could not be trusted to tackle the leaks aggressively. A budget of one million dollars was allotted.[68]

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[65] *Watergate Hotel Review*, 2.

[66] Ann Mariano and Phyllis C. Richman, "Uncertainty for the Watergate and its Chef," *Washington Post*, 18 March 1986.

[67] Bob Woodward, *The Secret Man: The Story of Watergate's Deep Throat* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005), 141.

[68] The text in this section was drawn primarily from the resources listed below. " 'Watergate,' The

In September 1971, for what the White House alleged to be national security reasons, the investigation unit broke into the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, the psychiatrist of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg. Ellsberg was responsible for providing the *New York Times* with copies of the Pentagon Papers, a secret account of the United States involvement in Indochina. E. Howard Hunt, Jr., who was an employee of the CIA and then also working as a part-time consultant to the White House, directed this break-in. G. Gordon Liddy is believed to have also had a direct involvement in the break-in. Liddy was an aide to John Ehrlichman, who was Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs. In 1974, former special counsel to the president, Charles W. Colson, testified that the agents of the unit were searching for derogatory information about Ellsberg. Egil Krogh, Jr., head of the plumbers unit who pleaded guilty to violating Dr. Fielding's civil rights, said he could not in good conscience assert national security as a defense.

Simultaneously in 1971, U.S. Attorney General John N. Mitchell and John W. Dean, III, who was counsel to the president, were beginning discussions on the need for political intelligence capability at the Committee for the Re-election of the President (CRP or CREEP). Mitchell, who became director of the CRP, discussed political espionage plans with Dean, Jeb S. Magruder, and G. Gordon Liddy. Magruder had been Deputy Director of White House Communication and was then serving as Deputy Campaign Director of the CRP. Liddy was then working as the Finance Counsel for the CRP. During these discussions, Mitchell is said to have approved a proposal by Liddy that included breaking into the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters at the Watergate office complex and placing electronic bugging devices throughout the office.

American Presidency," *Encyclopedia Americana* (accessed 9 February 2004); available from http://gi.grolier.com;presidents/ea/side/watergte.html; Internet. Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, *All the President's Men* (New York: Simon & Schuster Inc., 1974). Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Watergate (Summary) Parts 1 and 2," Freedom of Information Act File Number 139-4089, 1974. Leonard Garment, *In Search of Deep Throat: The Greatest Political Mystery of Our Time* (New York: Basic Books, 2000). General Watergate information (accessed 9 February 2004); available from http://www.watergate.info/burglary/burglars.shtml. Historical *Washington Post* [Proquest on-line database]; available from http://proquest.umi.com.proxygw.wrlc.org; Internet. Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, *The Final Days* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1976). Bob Woodward, *Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999). Bob Woodward, *The Secret Man: The Story of Watergate's Deep Throat* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2005).

Attempted Break-in: May 22, 1972. Recruited by Howard Hunt, six agents of the plumbers unit arrived in Washington, D.C., on May 22, 1972 to meet with G. Gordon Liddy at the Hay-Adams Hotel. Members of the unit included Edward Martin (alias James W. McCord, Jr.), Frank Sturgis, Eugenio R. Martinez, Virgilio R. Gonzales, and Bernard L. Barker. James McCord, a former FBI and CIA agent, was a security coordinator for the Republican National Committee (RNC) and the CRP. Frank Sturgis, who had served in the Cuban Military army intelligence, had direct CIA connections. Eugenio Martinez had worked covertly for the CIA since coming to the United States from Cuba in 1959. Virgilio Gonzales, a refugee from Cuba and reportedly a former member of the Cuban Secret Service, was a locksmith by trade. It has been alleged that Gonzales was associated with the CIA, an allegation the agency denies. Bernard Barker, who assisted in recruiting several of these men to participate in the operation, was a realtor and CIA operative.

The unit was initially preparing to find evidence that Senator George McGovern, who was campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination, was receiving money from Fidel Castro and other foreign governments. This endeavor was ultimately aborted and the men were relocated to the Watergate Hotel to prepare for another operation. The group was registered as members of the Ameritus Corporation of Miami. Hunt informed the men that money from Castro was actually being given to the Democratic National Committee, not McGovern, and that they were going to find the evidence at the DNC headquarters. The outlined plan called for the unit to hold a banquet for the Ameritus Corporation in a private dining room of the Watergate. The room had access to the elevators that ran up to the sixth floor, where the DNC headquarters was located. As recounted by Eugenio Martinez, Hunt was to show films while the food was being served and the men were to slip away and take the elevator to the sixth floor to complete the mission. Gonzales was to use his skills to unlock the door; Barker was to gather documents; Martinez was to take photographs; and the other men were to act as lookouts. The staff of the DNC continued to work late into the night, disrupting the unit's plan.

After more briefings, the unit planned to wait until all of the lights had gone out on the sixth floor of the Watergate and enter the DNC office through the front door. The group of eight men, which included Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy, entered the Watergate complex at midnight. The policeman on duty let the group into the building, where they registered as visitors of the Federal Reserve office on the eighth floor. They took the elevator to the eighth floor, and walked

down the stairs to the sixth floor where the offices of the DNC were located. The locked doors could not be opened and the operation was again canceled.

Successful Break-in: May 28, 1972. With a more than adequate supply of tools for unlocking the door, the group entered the Watergate on May 28, 1972. They gained access through the garage exit door and proceeded to unlock all doors leading to the sixth floor. Photographs were taken of lists of contributors to the DNC and three phones were bugged. Upon completion of the effort, the men returned to Miami, Florida.

Unsuccessful Break-in: June 17, 1972. The unit was assembled once again in Washington, D.C., arriving at National Airport on June 16, 1972. The plan included two operations to be performed that same night, with a briefing in a room at the Watergate Hotel. The first portion of the plan was the photographing of more documents in the twenty-nine-room office suite of the DNC headquarters. The second part involved the McGovern headquarters. The men's identifications were gathered by Hunt, who also provided them with $200 in cash for bribes should they get caught. Sturgis was given Hunt's CIA identification with the name Edward J. Hamilton. The men, wearing suits and ties, retained the key to their room where their real identification was located.

On the night of June 16th, McCord entered through the front doors of the Watergate office complex at 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., signed the security book, and proceeded to the eighth floor. He placed gray tape over the latches of the doors in the stair hall from the eighth floor to the first floor and exited through the garage. While waiting for the staff of the DNC to leave that evening, the tape had been discovered and removed by Watergate security guard Frank Wills; the plan was nearly aborted. Gonzales successfully unlocked the doors and retaped the latches to allow McCord access minutes later. McCord indicated he had removed the gray tape upon entering, but in fact he had not and it was discovered ten minutes later by Wills. Without their walkie-talkies for communication, the men proceeded to look around the office of the DNC, take photographs and check on the electronic bugging devices they had installed on May 28th. Additional bugging electronics were also to be set up. About 2:30 a.m., the men were discovered by the police, who had been alerted at 1:47 a.m. by Frank Wills. Barker was able to turn on his walkie-talkie and announce that the metropolitan police had caught the five-man unit. Liddy had

been keeping watch from the balcony of room 723 in the Howard Johnson Hotel (now part of George Washington University), which was located across from the Watergate office complex at 2601 Virginia Avenue, N.W.

The FBI accounts of the Watergate investigation, which were released in 1980, disclose that the men, who were wearing rubber-gloves, had photographic equipment, burglary tools, electronic equipment and what appeared to the police at the time to be an explosive device. Several of the bugs placed in the DNC office were not discovered until later by the FBI. In the Watergate hotel room of the suspects, the police found their real identification and two address books that contained the name and phone number of E. Howard Hunt, Jr. with the notations of W. House and W. H.

G. Gordon Liddy made every attempt to have the men released from prison, including calling Attorney General Richard Kleindienst. The role of chief damage controller was moved throughout the government, ultimately resting on John W. Dean, III, who was Counsel to the President. Simultaneously, Liddy, Dean, Jeb Magruder, Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray, and others were shredding, burning, burying, and otherwise destroying incriminating evidence, including "slush fund" money, documents related to the wiretapping equipment, Hunt's diaries and calendars, and the Gemstone files.

The Washington Post and Deep Throat. At the arraignment, James McCord informed Judge James A. Belsen that he was a security consultant for the CIA. This fact, along with the notation of W. House/W.H. in the address books found in the room of the burglars, was sufficient motivation for *Washington Post* reporters, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein among others, to investigate the matter further. The reporters, methodically linking the bugging at the Watergate to the White House and the Committee for the Re-election of the President (CRP or CREEP), recognized the Watergate burglary was not an isolated event. The *Washington Post* investigation included staff of the CRP, who described in detail how Liddy and other assistants of John N. Mitchell, then head of the CRP, had been paid in cash to conduct espionage and dirty tricks. The detailed descriptions given to the reporters were exactly what had been told previously to the FBI, which was simultaneously conducting an investigation under the direction of White House counsel John Dean. Thus, the FBI and the White House incorrectly concluded Woodward and

Bernstein had access to the actual "302" reports. The reporters had in fact interviewed many, if not more, of the same persons questioned by the FBI. Yet, one highly placed source, not interviewed by the government, proved to be most beneficial to the journalists, although the informant never provided exact details. Howard Simons, managing editor of the *Washington Post*, christened this anonymous source "Deep Throat," after the pornographic movie because "the interviews were technically on 'deep background' – a journalistic term meaning that the information can be used but no source of any kind would be identified in the newspaper."[69]

The identity of Deep Throat remained a secret for 33 years, known only to Bob Woodward, Carl Bernstein, and Ben Bradlee of the *Washington Post*. His identity was disclosed in June 2005 by Deep Throat's family, who wanted him to have recognition for the role he had played. Ironically, Bob Woodward's highly placed source was acting FBI associate director W. Mark Felt, who "confirmed the breadth of questionable and illegal activities by CREEP and the White House, and their possible significance, and...carefully steered [the reporters] in important directions, supporting the theme [they] were discovering...."[70] Woodward and Felt, who had first met several years prior at the White House when Woodward was still in the Army, met discreetly at "2 a.m. on the bottom level of an underground garage just over Key Bridge in Rosslyn, Virginia" (1401 Wilson Boulevard, 1963).[71] From his position as "number two" at the FBI, Felt had the means and the motive to help uncover the wide-reaching "pattern of illegal, undercover activities aimed at perceived Nixon enemies such as Anti-Vietnam War leaders, members of the news media, Democrats, dissenters within the administration, and eventually those in the American justice system and FBI who were investigating Watergate."[72] Bob Woodward suggests that Felt strongly believed there was a real threat to the integrity and independence of the FBI, an organization he believed he had to protect.[73] Moreover, Felt, a career FBI agent, was passed over by President Nixon to replace J. Edgar Hoover, who died on May 2, 1972. Nixon appointed Assistant Attorney General L. Patrick Gray, III, as acting director. Gray, an FBI outsider, was a long-time Nixon loyalist and someone Mark Felt strongly believed would be manipulated by the

[69] Woodward, *The Secret Man*, 4.
[70] Woodward, *The Secret Man*, 6-7.
[71] Woodward, *The Secret Man*, 63-64.
[72] Woodward, *The Secret Man*, 7.
[73] Woodward, *The Secret Man*, 34.

White House for political reasons.[74]

The investigative reporting of the *Washington Post*'s relentless journalists resulted in the publication of astounding facts that had not been made public. This included stories that the phone number of a former CIA agent and consultant (E. Howard Hunt) to White House special counsel Charles W. Colson was noted in the address book of the burglars arrested at the Watergate on June 17, 1972; that a $25,000 cashier's check earmarked for the Nixon campaign was deposited into the bank account of Bernard Barker, another of the Watergate burglars; and that John D. Ehrlichman, a top Nixon aide, supervised the covert actions of a special unit known as the plumbers, who had burglarized the office of the psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg, who had leaked the Pentagon Papers.[75] Other significant points published by the journalists reported that Jeb S. Magruder, deputy director of CRP, and Herbert L. Porter, the scheduling director, each withdrew more than $50,000 from the secret fund for intelligence operations against the Democrats; how Attorney General John Mitchell controlled the secret fund; and that Nixon's personal attorney, Herbert W. Kalmbach, was authorized to approve payments from the fund.[76] Most significant to the newspaper accounts was the underlying evidence that the Watergate break-in was not just an isolated event but, as Mark Felt had warned, part of a broader, massive campaign of political spying and sabotage that led directly to the White House. The *Washington Post* won the Pulitzer Prize in 1973 for distinguished public service in recognition of its investigative reporting of the 1972 Watergate scandal.

Cover-up. The Oval Office tapes disclosed later document that President Nixon's direct attention to the Watergate break-in began the week of June 20, 1972. He made a public statement about

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[74] Woodward, *The Secret Man*, 46-47, 105-106.

[75] Eric Pianin, "How Watergate Unfolded," *Washington Post*, 1 June 2005, p. A7. *See also* Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "White House Consultant Tied to Bugging Figure," *Washington Post*, 10 June 1972, p. A1; Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "Bug Suspect Got Campaign Funds," *Washington Post*, 1 August 1972, p. A1; and Lawrence Meyer and Peter A. Jay, "Ehrlichman Cites National Security in L.A. Break-in," *Washington Post*, 25 July 1973, p. A1.

[76] Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "2 Linked to Secret GOP Fund," *Washington Post*, 18 September 1972, p. A1; Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "Mitchell Controlled Secret GOP Fund," *Washington Post*, 29 September 1972, p. A1; and Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "Lawyer for Nixon Said to Have Used GOP's Spy Fund," *Washington Post*, 16 October 1972, p. A1.

the event, directing the Justice Department and the FBI to conduct an investigation. Those in charge of the investigation were administration loyalists and the White House was given up-to-date reports on the progress. John Dean, who was effectively squelching the inquiry, approved and attended all interviews with prospective witnesses and had unprecedented access to confidential FBI reports related to the matter. Acting FBI Director Patrick Gray personally turned over many of the reports to Dean. Additionally, in December 1972, Gray had destroyed files taken from Howard Hunt's White House safe days after the Watergate burglary. One folder contained phone State Department cables implicating President Kennedy in the 1963 assassination of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem. The second folder was a dossier on Senator Edward Kennedy.[77] Mark Felt had divulged this information to Bob Woodward, who published the story in the *Washington Post* on April 27, 1973, the day Gray resigned.[78]

Despite the failed inquiries by the Justice Department, the investigation undertaken publicly by the press almost immediately began to make progress by following the money with detailed accounts provided by the banks. Bernard Barker, one of the Watergate burglars, had been laundering certain contributions to the Nixon campaign for reelection under the pretense of fundraising work with Liddy. Barker returned most of the $114,000 he had received in checks to the CRP. The cash Barker returned, which was believed to have been untraceable, was in sequentially numbered hundred-dollar bills and became part of the CRP's slush fund. Hugh Sloan, treasurer of the Committee, was directed by Liddy to use money from this fund to pay the expenses of the burglars. Some of the laundered money was discovered when the men were arrested on June 17, 1972, thus tying the burglar to the fundraising efforts of the CRP. The money would later tie together the burglars, the break-in, and the cover-up.

The White House directed the CIA to tell the FBI that the Watergate investigation was threatening CIA sources and must be stopped. The relationship between the White House and the Director of Central Intelligence, Richard Helms, was a difficult one, forcing John Dean to work with Vernon Walters, the Deputy Director and long-time friend of Nixon. The instructions for the directive to stop the FBI investigation by H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and Dean, in

[77] Woodward, *The Secret Man*, 96.

[78] Woodward, *The Secret Man*, 96-97; and Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "Gray Seen Destroying Hunt's Files," *Washington Post*, 27 April 1973, p. A1.

addition to Acting Director Patrick Gray of the FBI, were meticulously documented in a memo by Walters. This memo, which became public in May 1973, confirmed the White House was covering up the events of the Watergate burglary and the fundraising efforts of the CRP. Despite having helped initially, on June 26, 1972, Walters retracted the assistance of the CIA in the FBI's Watergate investigation, and refused to allow the CIA to pay the expenses of the arrested burglars. Ultimately, the FBI resumed its investigation with the verbal support of President Nixon. This forced the White House and CRP staff, including Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Colson, and Dean, to work step by step to thwart the investigation while at the same time denying the White House involvement.

Funding to pay the bail, legal expenses and living expenses for the burglars was paid through three sources: CRP's slush fund, a separate slush fund maintained by Haldeman, and contributions from unwitting donors approached by Herb Kalmbach, the Deputy Finance Chairman for the CRP and personal attorney to President Nixon. The first payment was made to the burglars on July 6, 1972 and the last was made March 22, 1973, totaling almost $430,000. Nixon officials also hinted at executive clemency for those arrested members of the unit who pled guilty without implicating any other Nixon officials. On September 15, 1972, the five men arrested on the sixth floor of the Watergate office complex, G. Gordon Liddy, and E. Howard Hunt, Jr. were indicted by a federal grand jury. James McCord and G. Gordon Liddy, who unlike the others had not pleaded guilty, faced trial before U.S. District Judge John Sirica and were convicted on January 30, 1973 of breaking into and illegally wiretapping the Democratic Party headquarters. Judge Sirica suspended sentencing for the seven men until March 23, 1973, believing the prison term would depend upon the men's willingness to reveal the truth about Watergate. The indictment had not exposed the entire conspiracy, however; the criminal investigation was not aggressively expanded because the Nixon White House and Justice Department had thus far successfully covered up the facts.

Despite the White House involvement in a cover-up, which was only alleged at this point, Richard M. Nixon was reelected in November 1972 in the biggest Republican landslide in history over Senator George McGovern. The Democrats had maintained control of Congress following the election, and, in January 1973, finally formed a Select Committee to investigate Watergate and the possibility of a conspiracy. Additionally, on February 7th of that year, the United States

Senate voted to establish a select committee to examine the Presidential election campaign of 1972. White House officials and CRP staff knew they would be called to testify and quickly began negotiating with the committees.

James McCord was the first to approach Judge Sirica with a full account of the Watergate activities and the plumbers unit. This gave new life to the Justice Department's investigation and supported the reports made by the *Washington Post, Los Angeles Times,* and the *New York Times.* Additional testimony regarding a White House cover-up was provided during the confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee of L. Patrick Gray, III, as permanent Director of the FBI. On April 5, 1973, Nixon withdrew the nomination, and Gray later resigned as Acting Director when his involvement in the cover-up was revealed. Moreover, the president was forced on April 30, 1973 to accept the resignations of Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Kleindienst because of their alleged involvement in the cover-up. John Dean had been fired.

The Senate Select Committee on the Investigation of the Presidential Election Campaign of 1972, under the Chairmanship of Senator Sam Ervin, began public hearings on May 17, 1973. The following day, Attorney General Designate Elliott Richardson named former Solicitor General Archibald Cox as Special Prosecutor in the Justice Department to probe the Watergate affair and prosecute as necessary. Up to this point, the U.S. attorney and the Justice Department, which often gave into White House and other political pressures not to investigate or prosecute, had failed to support a true investigation of the matter by the FBI. As Bob Woodward noted in *The Secret Man: The Story of Watergate's Deep Throat*, there was a lack of imagination by numerous "experienced prosecutors, including U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert, who could not initially bring himself to believe that the corruption ran to the top of the Justice Department and the White House."[79] Thus, only after Archibald Cox had been named as an independent special prosecutor did the investigation "go to the broader sabotage and espionage matters."[80] Mark Felt, who believed that the system of justice he was committed to defend had been forever corrupted and politicized by Nixon and his men, was compelled to resign on June 22, 1973.

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[79] Woodward, *The Secret Man*, 121.
[80] Woodward, *The Secret Man*, 121.

In May 1973, John Ehrlichman, former Assistant to the President, testified that President Nixon requested the FBI investigation of Watergate be curbed. Nearly a month later, John Dean testified about his role in the cover up of the Watergate investigation and the role of several other administration officials. Dean indicated that the President was aware of the cover up as early as September 1972. Alexander P. Butterfield, Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration and a former White House aide, provided the most enlightening testimony. Butterfield told the Senate Watergate Committee that all of President Nixon's conversations in the White House and his private office in the Executive Office Building were recorded beginning in the spring of 1971 by concealed microphones and telephone bugs. Knowledge of this taping system had been originally limited to Alexander Haig, who was then the Chief of Staff, Ron Ziegler, the press secretary, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, several Haldeman assistants, and the Secret Service technicians who ran the equipment.[81] Disclosure of the tape recordings by Butterfield was presumed by many to be a deliberate attempt by the White House to prove John Dean was committing perjury. A fight over access to the tapes ensued between the Senate Watergate Committee and Archibald Cox, both having subpoenaed specific recorded conversations. In October 1973, the Court of Appeals upheld Judge Sirica's order that the subpoenaed tapes be turned over by the President. Nixon attempted to stop the special prosecutors' attempts to hear the tapes by ordering Attorney General Elliot Richardson to fire Cox, a directive that prompted Richardson and his deputy to resign instead.[82] The firing of Cox by Solicitor General Robert Bork, the highest-ranking official remaining at the Justice Department, following what became known as the "Saturday Night Massacre," (October 20, 1973) prompted national outrage and demands for the President's resignation.

The White House began to listen to the tapes, weeding out what they identified as the relevant information on the subpoenaed tapes. On November 21, 1973, Judge Sirica and Leon Jaworski, who was the new Special Prosecutor, were informed that the tape made on June 20, 1972, when Nixon first became involved in the Watergate break-in, had an 18-1/2 minute gap.[83] The notes of White House Chief of Staff Bob Haldeman indicated the missing discussion was in fact related to Watergate. A panel of tape experts appointed by Judge Sirica concluded that the gap had been

[81] Bernstein and Woodward, *The Final Days*, 43.
[82] Bernstein and Woodward, *The Final Days*, 69-70.
[83] Bernstein and Woodward, *The Final Days*, 94.

produced by at least five separate hand operations of the stop and record buttons. The report clearly stated the gap had been caused by "intentional erasures, and evidence produced at earlier hearings showed that the erasures had occurred after the tape had been subpoenaed."[84]

On April 30, 1974, President Nixon turned over 1,254 pages of extensively edited transcripts from the recordings related to the Watergate investigation rather than the actual tapes to the Judiciary Committee. This did not satisfy Judge Sirica, the Senate Watergate Committee, Leon Jaworski, or the public. Despite the many attempts to quash the special prosecutor's subpoena of April 16, 1974, Judge Sirica directed the President to turn over sixty-four taped conversations by May 31st. When the White House appealed the order to the Court of Appeals because of "unreviewable executive privilege," Leon Jaworski expedited the hearing to the Supreme Court (*United States v. Richard M. Nixon*). One of the few times the court had to deal with such a declaration of governmental power, the Justices unanimously "concluded that the judiciary must have the last word in an orderly constitutional system even though its view of the Constitution is at variance with the construction given the document by another branch."[85]

Because of the controversies stemming from the Watergate break-in and the growing evidence of a White House cover-up, John M. Doar was appointed as Special Counsel to the House Judiciary Committee on December 20, 1973, for the purpose of conducting an inquiry into the possible impeachment of President Richard M. Nixon. On February 6, 1974, the House of Representatives authorized the House Judiciary Committee to commence an impeachment investigation and granted powers of subpoena and funds for the inquiry. The hearings began on May 9, 1974. On July 27, 1974, the first House article for the impeachment of President Nixon was submitted for obstruction of justice. The second and third Articles of Impeachment, abuse of power and contempt of Congress by refusing to comply with the committee's subpoenas of White House tapes, were adopted on July 29th and July 30th, respectively.

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[84] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Watergate (Summary), Part 2 of 2," Department of Justice Freedom of Information Act File Number 139-4089, Summary of October 1975, Report of Watergate Special Prosecution Force, 10.

[85] John P. MacKenzie, "Justices Reject Privilege Claim In 8-0 Ruling," *Washington Post*, 25 July 1974, p. A1.

No longer in control, Nixon released the first twenty of the sixty-four taped conversations along with a statement of advocacy in his own behalf. Included in the first submittal was the tape made on June 23, 1972, the day Nixon told Haldeman to order the CIA to get the FBI to impede the Watergate investigation based on national security. This tape became known as the "smoking gun" tape, proving Nixon had participated in the cover-up. Because of the 18-1/2 minute gap on the June 20th tape, the smoking gun tape was the earliest known reference to Watergate on a subpoenaed White House recording. With the July 1974 release of the June 23rd tape, the President's position became untenable. President Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974 and returned to his home in San Clemente, California.

Meanwhile, in March 1974, a federal grand jury in Washington, D.C., indicted seven former officials of the White House and President's Re-election Committee for conspiring to impede the investigation of the break-in at the DNC headquarters at the Watergate. The sealed indictment named H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, John Mitchell, Gordon Strachan, Charles Colson, Robert C. Mardian, and Kenneth Wells Parkinson. The grand jury also named President Nixon as an unindicted coconspirator, a step taken under the belief that indictment of an incumbent president might not be possible. The grand jury's March 1, 1974, action spoke volumes, suggesting the President was guilty of the same criminal conspiracy to obstruct justice for which his seven former aides were being indicated. A week later, a second grand jury handed down indictments in the conspiracy to burglarize the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. By late February 1974, the special prosecutor had obtained guilty pleas from Jeb Magruder, Herbert Porter, Donald Segretti, Herbert Kalmbach, Fred LaRue, Egil Krogh, and John Dean. The cover-up trial of John Mitchell and four codefendants – Charles Colson had pleaded guilty and Gordon Strachan had been granted a separate trial – took place during the fall of 1974. The verdict was returned on New Year's Day in 1975. After fifteen hours of deliberation, the jury found former White House chief of staff H.R. Haldeman, former White House chief domestic adviser John D. Ehrlichman, former assistant attorney general Robert C. Mardian, and John Mitchell guilty. The only defendant acquitted was Kenneth W. Parkinson, a Washington lawyer who had been hired by the reelection committee to represent it after the Watergate break-in. Ultimately, more than thirty Nixon administration officials, Republican campaign officials, and financial contributors were convicted of charges including perjury, burglary, wiretapping and obstruction of justice.

Aftermath of Break-in. The unraveling of the Nixon Administration began with the money (the bankers actually) and the subsequent cover-up, which involved operators who had exceeded their authority and acted without superiors' knowledge. When Mitchell, Ehrlichman, and Haldeman were indicted, the President was forced to portray himself as the only political person in the White House who did not know what was happening within his own reelection campaign and the criminal lengths to which his subordinates had gone to conceal the unlawful acts.[86] However, the physical evidence of Richard Nixon's involvement and abuse of executive privilege was irrefutable and his presidency ended in disgrace because five burglars with documented connections to the CIA and the White House were arrested on the sixth floor of the Watergate office complex at 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., on June 17, 1972.

Vice President Gerald R. Ford reluctantly assumed the presidency on August 9, 1974 when Nixon resigned. Ford, who served in Congress from 1948 to 1973, became vice president when Spiro Agnew resigned in 1973, making him the first Vice President and the first President to ascend to both positions without being elected under the terms of the 25th Amendment. Thus, the Watergate break-in and subsequent cover-up resulted in the promotion of an "inexperienced executive" to the White House.[87] On September 8, 1974, after only a month in office, President Ford pardoned Richard Nixon, a controversial move that is believed to have ended his political career. Although traditionally a former president owned all his papers, an agreement was reached that granted joint custody of the Nixon papers and tapes to the Ford White House. The complex agreement would allow Nixon to destroy the tapes after ten years and gain sole custody of his papers after three years.[88]

The identity of Deep Throat, the topic of much speculation for 33 years, was disclosed by Mark Felt and confirmed by Woodward and Bernstein in the *Washington Post* on June 1, 2005. The discovery of Deep Throat's high-ranking position as acting deputy director of the FBI renewed public focus in Watergate, prompting many to comprehend for the first time that the scandal exposed by the break-in was "the result of malfeasance at the highest levels of government, investigative journalists tirelessly chasing a story, [and] anti-Nixon leakers trying to shape the

[86] Garment, 101-102.
[87] Woodward, *Shadow*, 29.
[88] Woodward, *Shadow*, 19.

next day's news."[89] Regardless, Watergate and the Vietnam War prompted Congress to pass bills limiting the two most important areas of presidential decision making: budgets and war. In *Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate*, Bob Woodward states "it was as if the presidency were being penalized for the excesses and sins of Nixon and Lyndon Johnson."[90] Subsequent presidents have consciously attempted to end "the long national nightmare" of Watergate, although various other forms of government corruption and public distrust of high-ranking officials continue.

Impact of Watergate Scandal. The impact of the Watergate scandal has been so significant that it made a permanent imprint on the American psyche and earned "Watergate" a place in the American lexicon as synonymous with scandal and corruption. Since Watergate, journalists have used the powerful association of the word "Watergate" to sensationalize and label other political scandals, or potential scandals by creating shorthand catch-phrases with the suffix "-gate." One of the earliest uses of the suffix was "Koreagate," referring to the 1976 investigation of South Korean businessman Tongsun Park's illegal payments to Congressmen on behalf of the South Korean military dictatorship. Koreagate was utilized by the Republican Party as their primary campaign issue for the 1978 fall elections.[91] In 1980, it became public that President Jimmy Carter's brother Billy Carter was an agent for the government of radical Libya. The press labeled the controversial story "Billygate," as two of Washington, D.C.'s newspapers – Washington Post and Washington Star – began to overdo the story in a journalistic one-upmanship that must have had damaging effects on the President's bid for reelection.

In 1986, the Iran-Contra Affair revealed that the United States under President Ronald Reagan had covertly sold weapons to Iran and diverted the proceeds to the Contra rebels fighting against the leftist Sandinista government in Nicaragua. As in the case of Watergate, the affair became a scandal prompting a cover-up by the president's national security staff. President Reagan denied knowledge of the arrangement and no conclusive proof to the contrary was discovered. Although

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[89] Michael Dobbs, "Leaks Came Against Backdrop of a Post-Hoover Power Struggle," *Washington Post*, 2 June 2005, p. A13.

[90] Woodward, *Shadow*, 30.

[91] T.R. Reid, "Koreagate Emerging as Republicans' Number 1 Campaign Issue," *Washington Post*, 24 July 1977, p. A16.

the political scandal resulting from the Iran-Contra Affair did not reach the level of severity as Watergate, it was commonly referred to as "Irangate" in the news media. Similarly, the 1990 accusation that the Reagan and George Herbert Walker Bush presidential administrations, in addition to other Western powers, provided weapons and technology to Saddam Hussein prior to the Gulf War is frequently referred to as "Iraqgate," although the story never fully reached the level of an outright scandal. Most recently, the term "Lewinsky-gate" was applied to the political scandal resulting from the revelation in 1998 that President William Jefferson Clinton had engaged in extra-marital activity with White House intern Monica Lewinsky, and lied about it to a grand jury and the American public. Coincidentally, Monica Lewinsky resided at Watergate South at 700 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., during the time of her involvement with the President until October 14, 1998.[92] In each of these cases, the suffix "-gate" was applied to the scandals to directly draw and reflect parallels between the associated events and the Watergate break-in.

[92] "Monica Lewinsky Moves Out of Watergate" [article on-line] (14 October 1998, accessed 12 February 2004); available from http://www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1998/10/14/lewinsky.moves.

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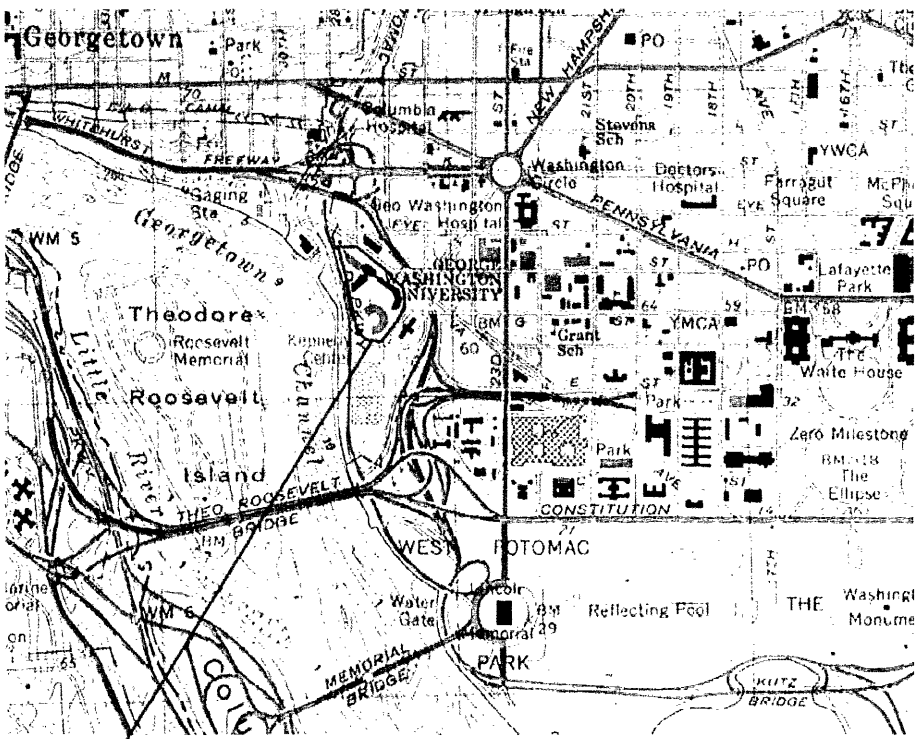

(Washington West)

Watergate
Washington, D.C.

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2. 18 / 321881 / 4373320
3. 18 / 321763 / 4371780
4. 18 / 321650 / 4372340

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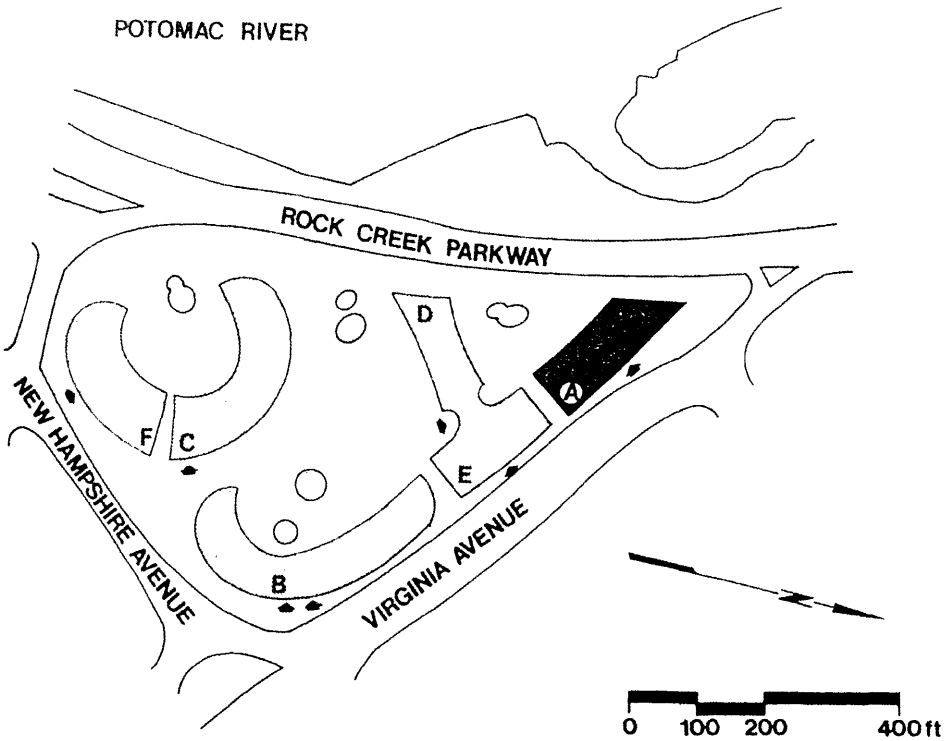
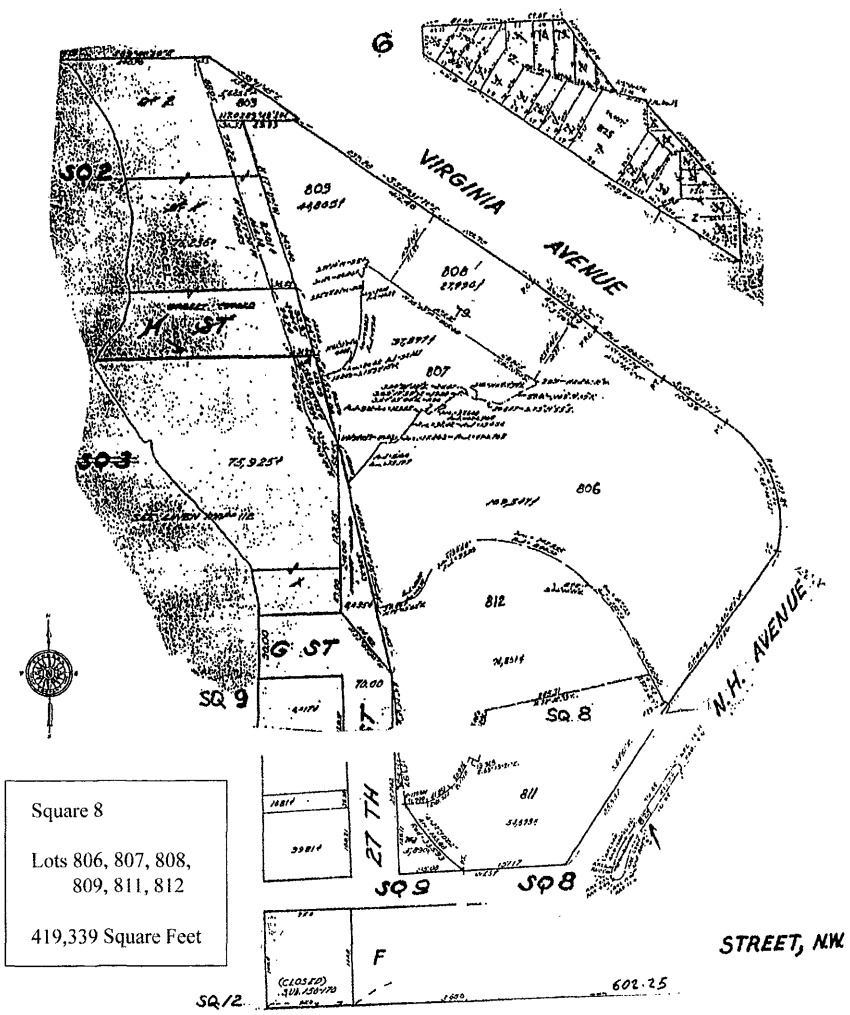


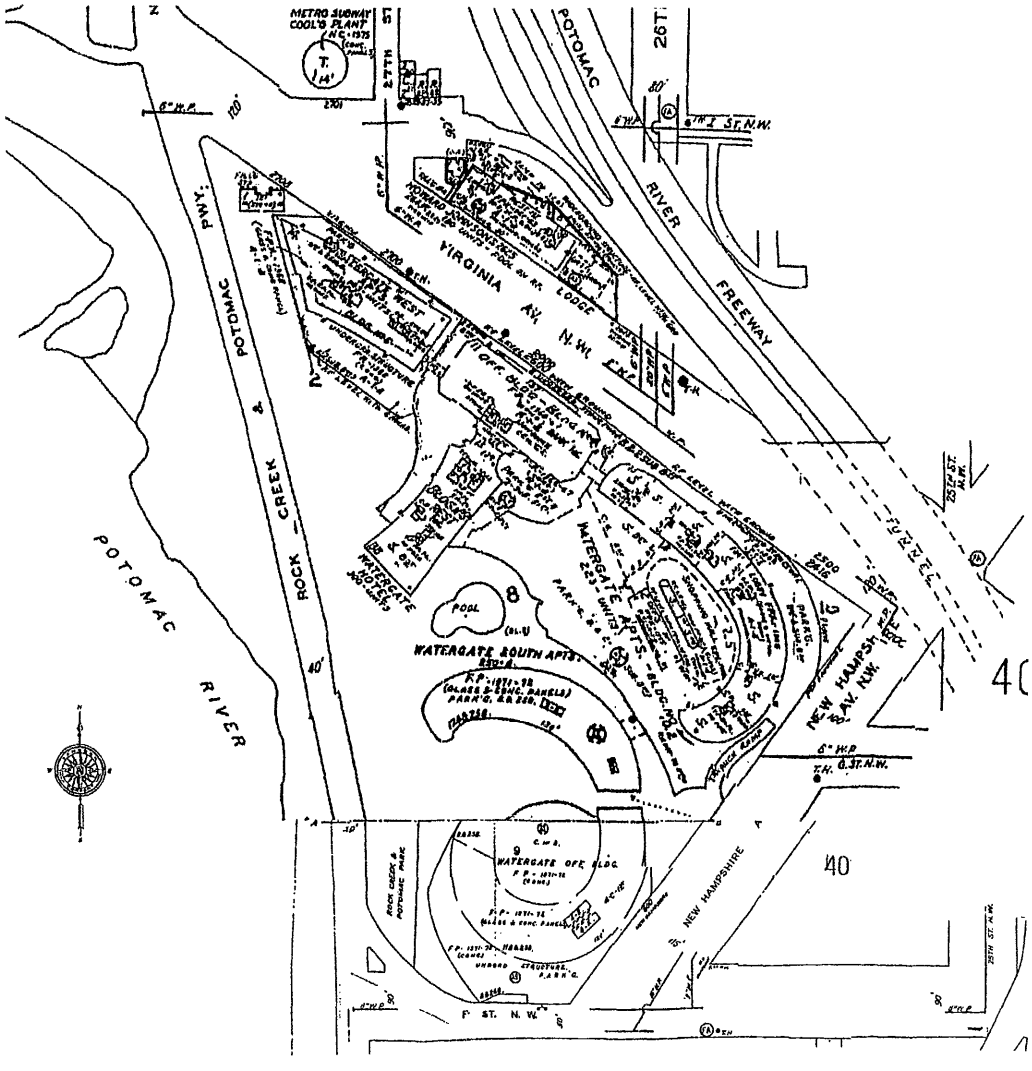
LEGEND

A WATERGATE WEST (2700 Virginia Avenue, N.W.)
B WATERGATE EAST (2500 Virginia Avenue, N.W.)
C WATERGATE SOUTH (700 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.)
D WATERGATE HOTEL (2650 Virginia Avenue, N.W.)
E WATERGATE '2600' OFFICE BUILDING (2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W.)
F WATERGATE '600' OFFICE BUILDING (600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.)

Base map from First American Real Estate Solutions, *The Sanborn Building and Property Atlas of Washington, D.C.*, Book 1, Vol. 1 (1999), sheets 39, 41.



Base map from First American Real Estate Solutions, *The Sanborn Building and Property Atlas of Washington, D.C.*, Book 1, Vol. 1 (1999), sheets 39, 41.



All photographs are of: WATERGATE
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc., photographer

All negatives are in the possession of EHT Traceries, Inc.

1) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
Looking Southeast at Watergate West
1 of 14

2) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
View southeast at Watergate Hotel and Watergate South, with Kennedy Center in background
2 of 14

3) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
Looking Southeast at Watergate West
3 of 14

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4) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
Looking Northeast at Watergate Hotel with 2600 Office, Watergate West, and Watergate East
4 of 14

5) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
Looking East at Watergate South and 600 Office
5 of 14

6) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
Looking Northwest at 600 Office, Watergate South, and Watergate East
6 of 14

7) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
Overview Looking Southwest toward Watergate East
7 of 14

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8) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
Looking Southwest at Watergate East and 2600 Office
8 of 14

9) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
Detail of Entrance to Watergate East
9 of 14

10) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
1/27/2005
EHT Traceries, Inc.
View Southeast toward Watergate East
10 of 14

11) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
View west from Watergate East Looking through Loggia to Courtyard
11 of 14

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12) Watergate
Washington, DC
1/27/2005
EHT Traceries, Inc.
View South toward Fountain
12 of 14

13) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
View northwest at Watergate Hotel and Shops (below grade)
13 of 14

14) Watergate
Washington, DC
EHT Traceries, Inc.
2/4/2004
EHT Traceries, Inc.
View west of Interior Lobby of Watergate West with Pietro Lazzari frieze
14 of 14

Watergate Office Building 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.	BRE/Watergate, LLC 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037 BRE/Watergate, LLC 345 Park Avenue New York, NY 10154
Watergate South 700 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.	Watergate South, Inc. 700 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037
Watergate East 2500 Virginia Avenue, N.W.	Watergate East, Inc. 2500 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037
Watergate Office Building 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W.	Trizec Properties 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037 Trizec Properties 1250 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20036
Watergate Hotel 2650 Virginia Avenue, N.W.	Monument Realty, LLC 2650 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037 Monument Realty, LLC 1155 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. 7th Floor Washington, DC 20036

Watergate West 2700 Virginia Avenue, N.W.	Watergate West, Inc. 2700 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037