Journal of American Studies of Turkey

47 (2017): 99-114

Submitted: 2015.02.07

Accepted: 2016.02.15

ORCID # 0000-0001-6864-7685

Still Awaiting Nixon's Place in History

Roger Chapman

Abstract

Watergate continues to overshadow how President Richard Nixon is remembered in American society. Perhaps one reason for this is because not all of the various actors—perpetrators, investigators, and prosecutors of the scandal—have died. Until the last obituary of a Watergate figure is written, it is unlikely the perception of Nixon will significantly change. However, as the dust of history settles, the thirty-seventh president of the United States may come to be regarded as a standard American politician, only unique in that his political misdeeds and abuse of power were thoroughly exposed. Of long-term significance is the evidence that suggests Nixon's legacy has largely contributed to the growing American public cynicism toward politicians and public institutions.

Keywords

Watergate, President Nixon, Nixon Presidential Library, US Presidents

Nixon'ın Tarihteki Yerini Saptamaya Çalışmak

Özet

Watergate Skandalı, Amerikan toplumunun Başkan Richard Nixon'ı hatırlayış biçimine gölge düşürmeye devam etmektedir. Belki

de bunun bir sebebi skandalın öznelerinin - skandala adı karışanların, soruşturmacıların ve savcıların - henüz hepsinin ölmemiş olmasıdır. Skandalda adı geçen son kişinin ölüm ilanı yazılana dek, Nixon algısının değişmesi mümkün görünmemektedir. Sadece politik suçları ve gücünü kötüye kullanmış olması tamamen ifşa edilmiş olduğu için emsalsiz olan, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin otuz yedinci başkanı, ancak tarihin tozları dağıldığında, standart bir Amerikan başkanı olarak düşünülebilecektir. En önemlisi Nixon'ın politik mirasının Amerika'da politikacılarla kamu kurumlarına karşı yaygınlaşan alaycı tavrı büyük ölçüde körüklemiş olmasıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Watergate Skandalı, Başkan Nixon, Nixon Başkanlık Kütüphanesi, Amerikan Devlet Başkanları

On April 22, 1994, Richard Milhous Nixon, America's thirty-seventh president, died. Although the Watergate scandal that prematurely ended the Nixon presidency was by this time sepia-like in historical consciousness, the American cynical mistrust of politicians remained vibrant. On the twentieth anniversary of Watergate, just two years prior to Nixon's death, *Newsweek* reported how "the century's worst political scandal reverberates in the voters' disgust with politics" (Mathews 24). At the Nixon funeral President Bill Clinton remarked of his tarnished predecessor, "Today is a day for his family, his friends, and his nation to remember President Nixon's life in totality … may the day of judging President Nixon on anything less than his entire life and career come to an end" (Clinton 594). Nixon's place in history, more than two decades later, seems fixed as it was on the day in which Clinton uttered those words. Clinton's admonishment seems to suggest that it is unfair and inappropriate to presuppose that Watergate is the heaviest piece of evidence on which to make judgment on Nixon. Until all of the living American witnesses of the Nixon era shuffle off America's mortal coil it seems unlikely there can be a verdict offered on this president without Watergate being the focal point.

Clinton and Nixon

Clinton's eulogy, as it was obvious then and even more so later, had an ironic aspect. In January of the same year as Nixon's death, Robert

Fiske was appointed as special prosecutor to head an investigation pertaining to a failed land investment during the 1970s when Clinton was governor of Arkansas. Some believed that the Ozark Mountains real estate development, known as Whitewater, involved political corruption and financial irregularity on Clinton's part. In addition, Fiske was tasked to investigate an ethics scandal pertaining to the White House travel staff (Wittes 127-29). The matter came to be dubbed "Travelgate"—the suffix implying a taint similar to the Watergate scandal of the Nixon presidency. The ad hoc office of independent counsel was, ironically, first conceived as a tool to investigate Watergate.

Four months after Clinton's magnanimous remarks at the Nixon gravesite in San Clemente, California, Kenneth Starr was appointed as Fiske's replacement. But now, due to a legislative act Clinton had signed into law, the old title of special prosecutor was changed to that of independent counsel. Starr's investigation piggybacked on Fiske's, despite the fact that Fiske had already issued a report clearing Clinton (Conason and Lyons 129-35). In the course of the continual investigation, Starr was asked to look into the matter of the White House's mishandling of FBI files, many of which were of individuals who had previously worked at the White House during Republican administrations (Wittes 137). This scandal quickly bore the name of "Filegate"—again, the invoking of Watergate.

When all was said and done, Watergate and Whitewater became in the public's mind synonyms for political scandal and political partisanship. Since the two major political parties were represented by these scandals—Watergate for Republicans and Whitewater for Democrats—a jaded sense of equal opportunity for all was manifested. As it turned out, the Clintons were cleared over Whitewater, as well as Travelgate and Filegate, but along the way the Starr investigation fixated on Clinton's sexual affair with Monica Lewinsky, a White House intern, and the belief that Clinton had committed perjury when questioned about the relationship (Posner 24-26).

When Nixon resigned from the presidency on August 9, 1974, he did so after a committee in the House of Representatives voted to proceed with articles of impeachment. Contrary to what many Americans now think, Nixon was *not* impeached. Had he remained in office, however, impeachment most certainly would have been his fate. He decided to step down after key Republican leaders went to the White House and

personally warned him of the pending action. Clinton, on the other hand, suffered impeachment in December 1998. At the trial in the US Senate the following year, he was acquitted and thus remained in office. In other words, Clinton, unlike Nixon, was able to finish out his second term as president.

Later, after the death of Richard Mellon Scaife, Bill Clinton once again demonstrated his knack for exercising graciousness at gravesites when he eulogized his former nemesis, a man who had bankrolled politically motivated private investigations of Clinton's alleged sexual misconduct (Klein 107), as one who had "fought as hard as he could for what he believed in" (qtd. in Lazar 68). Clinton surely hopes that on the day he is laid to rest someone will plead his case as a figure who must be remembered for his entire life, his career and public service, and not just the scandals that plagued his presidency.

Assessing US Presidents

After Nixon died even Meg Greenfield, the long-time editorial page editor at the *Washington Post*, the newspaper that brought down Nixon with its persistent investigative reporting by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, suggested that kindness should prevail on any funeral day, even the one for Nixon. As she wrote, "To choose the moment when someone is being lowered into the grave to dwell on what was worst about him would be inconsiderate of grieving families and friends, sacrilegious on its face and probably also bad luck" (Greenfield). Clinton's admonishment, however, was about more than polite custom. Rather, he seemed to be suggesting that any assessment of Nixon should not primarily dwell on that which is worst: Watergate.

Clearly, Richard Nixon's life was about more than Watergate, but it can be observed that many American presidents, rightly or wrongly, have been virtually reduced to a single, generally negative, signifier—e.g., James Madison (War of 1812), Andrew Jackson (Indian removal), James Polk (the US-Mexican War), James Buchanan (doing next to nothing while the nation lurched toward civil war), Andrew Johnson (impeachment), Ulysses Grant (federal corruption), Rutherford B. Hayes (the Compromise of 1877), William McKinley (Spanish-American War and America's entry into imperialism), William Harding (the Teapot Dome scandal), Herbert Hoover (the Great Depression), Jimmy Carter (national malaise), Bill Clinton (Monica Lewinsky), and

George W. Bush (the Iraq War). In general, the post-WWII presidencies have been disappointing to those Americans who have held "Olympian expectations" of their leaders and who naively wished to "cast presidents as supermen beyond the capacities of ordinary mortals," as Lawrence C. Dodd goes on to elaborate:

> [This] unreality was reinforced by the painful awareness that every president who served out at least one full elective term found himself confronted by scandals, health crises, or misjudgments that brought into question his sufficiency as president. Thus Truman faced charges of corruption among his critics; Eisenhower confronted heart attacks and accusations of lying to the American public; LBJ faced a credibility gap and the Vietnam fiasco; Nixon, Watergate; Carter, the Iran hostage crisis; Reagan, the Iran/Contra scandal. For his part, George [H. W.] Bush made the mistake of breaking his promise not to raise taxes. Though significant in their own right, each of these problems took on an added magnitude because of the exaggerated expectations of postwar presidents and helped produce a growing disillusionment with all aspects of government (259).

Had that author's deadline been a few years later, he would have added something about Clinton, of course.

According to a 1999 Gallup poll, conducted twenty-five years after Watergate, the American public continued to have low regard for Nixon: 40% rating him as a below-average or poor president and 73% believing that Watergate warranted his resignation from office; 51% agreeing that the scandal "was a very serious matter because it revealed corruption in the Nixon administration" while 46% dismissing the affair as "just politics" (Newport). Five years later, in 2002, 51% of Gallup respondents continued to rate Watergate as "very serious" while fewer, 42%, shrugged it off as "just politics" (Saad). Even if Nixon is to be judged in his totality, Watergate will in the foreseeable future remain a defining way in which he is remembered. If Watergate is regarded as "just politics"—which all public officials engage in—that may change how Nixon is judged.

Stories of the Dead

The question is how long after Nixon's demise will it take before his public life can be assessed in its totality with dispassion. One problem is the dust has not settled because individuals who had a shared history with Nixon in some way or another have been dying off in a gradual manner. Year after year, as such figures pass away, obituaries remind the living of the dark side of the Nixon era. For a long time such death notices with the negative Nixon narrative have been streaming in. This is no plot against Nixon. Nor is it the consequence of a biased media.

Prior to all the scandals that brought the Nixon presidency down, his vice president, Spiro T. Agnew, famously (or infamously) referred to the press as "nattering nabobs of negativism" (Schulman 200), just as First Lady Hillary Clinton later accused the reporters of her day as being part of a "vast rightwing conspiracy" (qtd. in Clinton 776). Nixon once told Henry Kissinger, his national security advisor, "The press is the enemy" (Woodward). The truth is few elected officials ever regarded their media coverage as ideal or fair. But when an associate or opponent of Nixon dies, it seems only natural that certain stories about the past would get told afresh because they provide context of the deceased's life. Whether just or unjust, such obituaries have tended to refer to the worst about the Nixon presidency. Here follows some examples:

* Rose Mary Woods, "the devoted secretary to President Nixon who said she inadvertently erased part of a crucial Watergate tape," thereby creating the highly suspicious "18½ gap" that was regarded by many as part of a cover-up (Williams);
* Jeb Magruder, a top Nixon aide "who went to jail in the Watergate affair and who years later made the startling assertion that Nixon himself ordered the break-in that set the scandal in place" (Martin, "Jeb);
* E. Howard Hunt, who had "joined the Nixon White House as a secret agent and bungled the break-in at the Watergate that brought the president down in disgrace" (Weiner);
* Frank H. Strickler, a Washington lawyer who represented two Nixon aides, H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, "in the tangled aftermath of the 1972 Watergate break-in and its cover-up" (Martin, "Frank");
* Henry S. Ruth, the Watergate prosecutor who persuaded the

Supreme Court to order Nixon to turn over the White House tapes to investigators (Martin, "Henry");

* John Doar, a Republican attorney whose "meticulous preparation" during the Watergate investigation "was credited with persuading some reluctant Republicans … to support a resolution of impeachment" (Reed);
* James Mann, a former South Carolina congressman who helped draft the articles of impeachment against Nixon while warning his fellow legislators, "But if there be no accountability, another president will feel free to do as he chooses" (Grimes, "James");
* M. Caldwell Butler, "who as a first-term Republican representative from Virginia wept after he voted [in committee] to impeach President Richard M. Nixon" (Martin, "M. Caldwell");
* James Neal, an attorney for the Watergate special prosecutor who had advised the jury that casting stones is "no fun," but in the case of prosecuting the Nixon White House conspirators it is necessary in order "to keep society going" (Weber);
* Harry Dent, an architect of Nixon's racist-tinged "Southern Strategy," who had "pleaded guilty to aiding an illegal [campaign] fundraising operation organized by the White House" (Stout);
* R. W. Thrower, an Internal Revenue Service commissioner who "did not voice his concerns publicly about the Nixon administration's growing appetite for prosecuting its putative enemies [by using the power of the IRS], and never disputed the White House explanation for his departure—that he had resigned for 'personal reasons'" (Vitello);
* William Safire, a former White House speech writer and Pulitzer Prize-winning author, who "As Watergate broke … supported Nixon, but retreated somewhat after learning that he … had been secretly taped [by Nixon]" (McFadden);
* Daniel Schorr, the CBS broadcaster who was number seventeen on "Nixon's notorious 'enemies list'" (Hershey, Jr.);
* Julian Goodman, a NBC journalist whose "name appeared on a White House 'opponents' list'" (Carter);
* Lawrence Phillips, a philanthropist and a vocal opponent of the

Vietnam War who was proud to have been included on Nixon's "enemies list" (Grimes, "Lawrence").

When British broadcaster David Frost died in 2013, his famous series of Nixon interviews, televised in May 1977, were freshly examined and dissected, again reminding Americans of Watergate (Himmelman). Frost obituaries recalled how he got Nixon to apologize for Watergate (Stelter), a confession of Nixon's that could be regarded as either an outright admission of guilt or a humanizing moment that proved to be an important step toward rehabilitation. Perhaps the soft *mea culpa* moment represents both. Still, is the Nixon statement "I let the American people down and I have to carry that burden with me for the rest of my life" remorse over the wrong itself or remorse over having a tarnished legacy he has to busy himself trying to restore? That question probably does not matter. The four ninety-minute broadcasts rapt the nation at the time while making Nixon rich to a certain extent ($600,000 plus ten percent of the profits). Five years before Frost passed away, his Nixon interviews inspired the film *Frost/Nixon*, which was directed by Ron Howard and based on the Peter Morgan play by the same title. In the Howard production Nixon is played by Frank Langella and the film overall takes on a sentimentalizing tone (Dargis C10). On the other hand, the film reminded viewers of the audacious and telling pronouncement Nixon let slip out to Frost: "when the President does it, that means it's not illegal" (Denby 102).

Documents, History, and Interpretation

The trove of Nixon White House documents have proven to be less than sentimental. Released to the public over time and batch by batch, the records have often provided new details of less than noble conduct of the Nixon administration. In 1996, John Ehrlichman, one of Nixon's former top aides who spent time in prison due to the Watergate cover-up, lamented the newly released Nixon tapes that documented abuses of government power. "Anyone who watched Nixon's funeral in April 1994 had to be impressed," he wrote. "He fought his way back from the crushing resignation to become an elder statesman mourned by all the presidents. But I fear the 200 hours of Oval Office recordings just released by the National Archives—minute-by-minute history in Nixon's unmistakable voice—may undo much of his rehabilitation" (Ehrlichman). More tapes followed in subsequent years. And in 2011

there was the release of eleven hours of recordings of Nixon's secret grand jury testimony on the Watergate affair. At one point he argued that the Kennedy White House did worse dirty tricks on him during the 1962 California campaign, a race he dramatically lost (Nagourney and Shane).

Written documents, like the batch released in 2010, provided more evidence of the Nixon White House's brutal instinct to go after political adversaries. Included among those 280,000 pages of documents was a January 1973 "eyes only" memorandum in which Charles Colson, Nixon's special counsel, is scheming about the *Washington Post*—from seeking a new, Republican-friendly owner of the newspaper to having its managing editor, Ben Bradlee, fired to informing the paper that it cannot expect better relations with the White House until it quits running front-page stories about Watergate and starts offering "obviously friendly editorials" about how Nixon is handling the Vietnam War (Pincus). At the same time, just like the Frost interviews, some of these documents reveal the awkward side of Nixon, such as the bizarre eleven-page paper of December 1970 in which Nixon is expressing anger and hurt to top aide H. R. Haldeman over White House staffers not regarding their president as warm and caring (Lewis).

When Robert E. Herztein passed away in February 2015, and Benton Becker in August 2015, each was credited with having an important role in preventing the Nixon documents (46 million pieces of records and 950 reels of White House recordings) from being destroyed. Becker believed he had stopped what would have been "the final act of the Watergate cover-up" (Roberts, "Benton"). Herztsein was an attorney who took the case to court on behalf of historians, political scientists, and journalists (Roberts, "Robert"). Fearing that the records were in jeopardy, Congress in 1974 passed legislation requiring the Nixon papers, as well as the accompanying 3,700 hours of recordings, to be safeguarded by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). As archivists in the mid-1980s began the process of opening some of these records to historians and journalists, Nixon attorneys sought to have the Justice Department veto the decision. This was during the Reagan presidency and Nixon's wish was granted, but a court afterwards overruled the decision. In 1987, Nixon was successful in stopping the release of 150,000 pages of White House files. After Nixon died, much of those contested records were then made available to the public (Krusten). In 2004, Congress amended its law of three decades

prior to authorize the transfer of the Nixon papers to the Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace in Yorba Linda, California (Werner).

For years, the Nixon Library and Birthplace was known for being a shrine without much critical analysis of the Nixon presidency. The venue, which was founded by the Nixon family in 1990, seemed to one visitor to be interested in linking the Watergate president with 1950s nostalgia (Leo). The evident bias of the facility exceeded that of the typical veneration at presidential libraries, prompting sixteen scholars in 2005 to petition NARA to not transfer the Nixon presidential papers to the "partisan outpost" (Wills). The records that were already being kept at the Nixon library, the papers of the non-White House years, were under tight control, judging by the complaints of researchers over the years. On one occasion it was announced that Bob Woodward, the reporter who played a major role in exposing the details of Watergate, would never be allowed to do research at the library—a statement that was later retracted (Apple).

How to tell the story about Watergate was for years a major controversy at this site, which is now the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum. An original exhibit actually argued that Watergate was a Democratic conspiracy designed to overturn Nixon's reelection (Nagoruney, "Nixon"). Indeed, Nixon himself had "active involvement" in the design of the original exhibit, but after the NARA took over the library in 2007 it "insisted that the museum close down what was by all accounts an opaque and perfunctory depiction of Watergate" (Nagourney, "Watergate?"). In 2011, after much give and take with the Nixon Foundation, the museum unveiled a Watergate exhibit more in keeping with serious history. Panels of the gallery told the somber story with sections about "Dirty Tricks and Political Espionage," "The Cover-Up," and "The Road to Resignation." Each member of the Nixon Foundation boycotted the opening of the new exhibit, which was nonetheless attended by David S. Ferrior, the archivist of the United States. In his remarks on that occasion, Ferrior spoke as if he had been influenced by Clinton's eulogy of Nixon: "Nearly 40 years after President Nixon left office, Watergate remains a controversial and much studied subject. It is, however, just one chapter in the enormously consequential life and career of the 37th president of the United States." Still, the Watergate exhibit happened to be larger than any other exhibit in that museum (Nagourney, "Nixon").

Conclusion

Will the shadow of Watergate ever allow other light to shine in an equal manner on other episodes of Nixon's public career? In the foreseeable future this seems unlikely. But that does not mean Nixon automatically loses consideration for any positive accomplishments achieved during his presidency. Arguably, a future generation might even extend to Nixon a redemption that the witnesses of history have so far refused to even consider. Those witnesses, however, are now the minority segment of the American population. In 2014, when the fortieth anniversary of Watergate rolled around, over half of those living in the United States were not alive when Nixon resigned and others who were around were too young to remember the event (Baker). Although Watergate cannot help but be the elephant in the room, over the course of time it may be a sidebar. As Jonathan Adler points out, "Political redemption requires not that the unpleasant past be entirely blotted out, merely that it be placed in 'perspective'" (23). The perspective that may emerge out of the Nixon story is an idea Nixon himself often bluntly suggested: politics is a dirty business. He would be like a cook at a restaurant who informs diners that there are cockroaches crawling over everything in the kitchen. Such a cook cannot be liked, especially by those who are dining and have a preconceived notion that restaurant meals are supposed to be prepared in a sanitary environment.

Perhaps an argument will later be made that Nixon did the nation a favor by undermining the notion of idealism in American politics. Even if Nixon's political crimes continue to be regarded as the worst form of abuse of power, the future verdict of history may be that the extent of his negative actions were a reflection of the actions most if not all modern chief executives have taken or at least considered. "Watergate," concludes Bruce J. Schulman, "added fuel to a widespread cynicism about politics, politicians, and government itself as an instrument of the collective good" (48). The Nixon scandal, adds Mark Hamilton Lytle, was "not only a consequence of criminal behavior and cover-up," but about "flaws in the structure of the federal government" (372). While this may not be a positive image for American political institutions, it seems to be one that is shared by Americans in growing numbers. Paradoxically, the cynicism that has brought about populism and heightened polarization, such as characterized by the 2016 election in which Donald Trump was elected the forty-fifth president of the United States, may in the due course of time give Richard Nixon a nice

scrub (if a consideration of those who followed leads to a collective realization that the thirty-seventh president "was not so bad after all") and elevate him to a higher ranking.

Works Cited

Adler, Jonathan. "Political Sin and Forgiveness," *Newsweek*, 25 Apr. 1988, p. 23.

Apple, Jr., R. W. "Another Nixon Summit, At His Library," *The New York Times*, 20 Jul. 1990. http://www.nytimes.com/1990/07/20/us/another-nixon-summit-at-his-library.html?pagewanted=all. Accessed 20 Sept. 2015.

Baker, Peter. "40 Years later, Still Trying to Define Presidential Power," *The New York Times*, 4 Aug. 2014, p. A14.

Carter, Bill. "Julian Goodman Dies at 90; Led NBC," *The New York Times*, 3 Jul. 2012, p. B9.

Clinton, Bill. *My Life*. Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.

Conason, Joe, and Gene Lyons. *The Hunting of the President*. St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Dargis, Manohla. "Mr. Frost, Meet Mr. Nixon." *The New York Times*, 5 Dec. 2008, pp. C1+.

Denby, David. "History in the Making." *The New Yorker*, 8 Dec. 2008, pp. 102-03.

Dodd, Lawrence C. "The New American Politics: Reflections on the Early 1990s." *The New American Politics: Reflections on Political Change and the Clinton Administration*, edited by Bryan D. Jones, Westview Press, 1995, pp. 257-74.

Ehrlichman, John. "Live from the Oval Office." *Newsweek*, 2 Dec. 1996, p. 57.

Greenfield, Meg. "Nixon: Final Thoughts." *Newsweek,* 9 May 1994, p. 76.

Grimes, William. "Lawrence S. Philips, 88, Philanthropist." *The New York Times*, 17 Sept. 2015, p. B15.

---. "James Mann, 90, Dies; Worked on Nixon Impeachment." *The New York Times*, 23 Dec. 2010, p. B18.

Himmelman, Jeff. "David Frost." *The New York Times Magazine*, 29 Dec. 2013, p. 50.

Hershey, Jr., Robert D. "Daniel Schorr, Aggressive Broadcast Reporter and Commentator, Is Dead at 93." *The New York Times*, 24 Jul. 2010, p. A16.

Klein, Joe. *The Natural: The Misunderstood Presidency of Bill Clinton*. Doubleday, 2002.

Krusten, Maarja. "The Nixon Papers Deal—An Archivist's Perspective." History News Network 21 Mar. 2005. http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/10862 Accessed 23 Mar. 2005.

Lazar, Zohar. "Among the Hillary Haters." *The Atlantic*, Mar. 2015, pp. 61-68.

Leo, John. "The shrine at Yorba Linda." *U.S. News & World Report*, 9 May 1994, p. 22.

Lewis, Neil A. "National Archives Release 11 Hours of Nixon Tapes." *The New York Times*, 12 Jul. 2007, p. A15.

Lytle, Mark Hamilton. *America's Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era from Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon*. New York: Oxford UP. 2006.

Mathews, Tom. "Watergate Blues." *Newsweek* 22 Jun. 1992: 24-26.

Martin, Douglas. "M. Caldwell Butler, 89, Key Vote to Impeach, Dies." *The New York Times*, 30 Jul. 2014, A17.

---. "Jeb Magruder, 79, Nixon Aide Jailed for Watergate Dies." *The New York Times*, 17 May 2014, p. B14.

---. "Frank H. Strickler, 92, Watergate Defense Lawyer, Dies." *The New York Times*, 10 Apr. 2012, p. A17.

---. "Henry S. Martin, a Watergate Prosecutor, Is Dead at 80." *The New York Times*, 27 Mar. 2012, p: A18.

McFadden, Robert D. "William Safire, Political Columnist And Oracle of Language, Dies at 79." *The New York Times*, 28 Sept. 2009, p. B8.

Nagourney, Adam. "Nixon Library Opens a Door Some Would Prefer Left Closed." *The New York Times*, 1 Apr. 2011, p. A19.

---. "Watergate? Still Touchy Around Here." *The New York Times*, 7 Aug. 2010, p: A1+.

Nagourney, Adam, and Scott Shane. "Newly released Transcripts Show a Bitter and Cynical Nixon in '75." *The New York Times*, 11 Nov. 2011, A14+.

Newport, Frank. "Nixon's Image Remains Negative 25 Years After Watergate." Gallup News Service 7 Aug. 1999. www.gallup.

com/poll/3670/nixons-image-remains-negative-years-after-watergate.aspx. Accessed 20 Sept. 2015.

Pincus, Walter. "Nixon aide to Colson said The Post needed to curry favor with administration." *The Washington Post*, 2 Jan. 2010, p. A2. www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/01/11/AR2010011104160.html. Accessed 12 Jan. 2010.

Posner, Richard A. *An Affair of State: The Investigation, Impeachment, and Trial of President Clinton.* Harvard UP, 1999.

Roberts, Sam. "Benton Becker, Ford Aide, Dies at 77; Negotiated Nixon Pardon." *The New York Times*, 8 Aug. 2015. www.nytimes.com/2015/08/09/us/benton-becker-ford-aide-dies-at-77-negotiated-nixon-pardon.html.

---. "Robert E. Herztein Dies at 83; Foiled Nixon." *The New York Times*, 18 Feb. 2015, p. B13.

Saad, Lydia. "Thirty Years Later, Americans Still Believe Watergate Was A Serious Matter." Gallup News Service, 17 Jun. 2002. www.gallup.com/poll/6208/thirty-years-later-americans-still-believe-watergate-serious-matter.aspx. Accessed 20 Sept. 2015.

Schulman, Bruce J. *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics*. De Capo Press, 2001.

Stelter, Brian. "David Frost, Interviewer Who Got Nixon to Apologize for Watergate, Dies at 74." *The New York Times*, 1 Sept. 2013, p. B8.

Stout, David. "Harry Dent, 77, an Architect of Nixon 'Southern Strategy.'" *The New York Times*, 2 Oct. 2007, p. C13.

Vitello, Paul. "R. W. Thrower Dies at 100; Ran I.R.S. Under Nixon." *The New York Times*, 19 Mar. 2014, p. B14.

Weber, Bruce. "James F. Neal Dies at 81; Litigated Historic Cases." *The New York Times*, 23 Oct. 2010, p. A17.

Weiner, Tim. "E. Howard Hunt, Agent Who Organized Botched Watergate Break-In, Dies at 81." *The New York Times*, 24 Jan. 2007, p. C13.

Werner, Erica. "Nixon papers, tapes bound for his library." *The Indianapolis Star*, 6 Feb. 2005, p. A8.

Williams, Mark. "Rose Mary Woods was the secretary to President Nixon." *The Indianapolis Star*, 24 Jan. 2005, p. B4.

Wills, Eric. "Historians Ask Congress to Halt Transfer of Nixon Presidential Records to California Library." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 11 Mar. 2005. http://www.chronicle.com/article/Historians-Ask-Congress-to/11967. Accessed 13 Apr. 2005.

Wittes, Benjamin. *Starr: A Reassessment*. Yale UP, 2002.