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and U.S. News & World Report, 1974-1994**

Russ Witcher

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Russ Witcher entitled "After the fall: coverage of Richard M. Nixon in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report, 1974-1994." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Communication.

Herbert Howard, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Dorothy Bowles, Paul Ashdown, Charles Maland

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

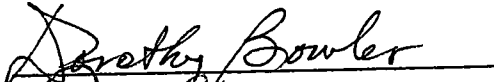
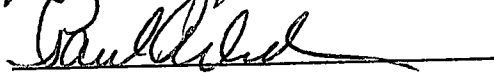

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To the Graduate Council:


I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Russell Yates Witcher entitled "After the Fall: Coverage of Richard M. Nixon in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report, 1974-1994." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Communications.

  
Herbert Howard, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation  
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

  
Associate Vice Chancellor and  
Dean of The Graduate School

**AFTER THE FALL: COVERAGE OF RICHARD M. NIXON IN  
NEWSWEEK, TIME, AND U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, 1974-1994**

**A Dissertation  
Presented for the  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Degree  
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**Russell Yates Witcher**

**May 2000**

## **DEDICATION**

**This dissertation is dedicated in loving memory to my parents,**

**Kenneth and Maitred Witcher**

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my colleagues at Tennessee Technological University, Earl Hutchison and Hix Stubblefield, who took care of business when I was required to be on the road to Knoxville in pursuit of my doctorate. I would also like to thank my cousin and friend Todd Witcher who allowed me to have a place to sleep during those times when it was too late to drive back to Cookeville. I thank my friend Lisa Key for the gift of many books about Richard Nixon and in supporting me in my enthusiasm about Nixon although her Democratic ideology kept her from fully sharing my interest.

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Finally, I thank my daughter, Lydia, who has become such a happy addition to my life, and my wife, Tera, whose encouragement and love allowed me to have the confidence to continue my work at a point when I'd almost given up hope.

## ABSTRACT

This study compared coverage of Richard M. Nixon in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report from Nixon's resignation from the presidency in August 1974 until his funeral in April 1994. In a chi-square analysis of the direction of assertions about Richard Nixon in the three newsweeklies, it was discovered that there was a highly significant difference in the direction of coverage among Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report. As a result, this analysis examined each of the newsweeklies' coverage of Richard Nixon on an individual basis rather than collectively. In all three newsweeklies, assertions about the former president were, for the most part, neutral. Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report each had more than 80 percent of neutral assertions during the 20-year period under study. What these findings suggest is the presence of objectivity in all three newsweeklies. Newsweek and Time were similar to each other in that each had a slightly higher percentage of negative than positive assertions about Nixon. Conversely, U.S. News & World Report, though containing less than half the number of assertions overall than either Newsweek or Time, had approximately four times the number of positive assertions than negative about President Nixon.

There was an increase, in percent, in the positive assertions about Nixon in each of the newsweeklies over time from August 1974 until his funeral in 1994; however, the increase wasn't a steady increase over the 20-year period under study.

Nonetheless, Newsweek had only 3 percent of positive assertions about Richard Nixon in 1974 and 11 percent of positive assertions in 1994. Time had 6 percent of positive assertions about Nixon in 1974 and ended with 12 percent of positive

assertions in 1994. Finally, U.S. News & World Report started with 1 percent of positive assertions in 1974 and had 15 percent of positive assertions about President Nixon in 1994.



## PREFACE

**Always remember: Others may hate you, but those who hate you don't win unless you hate them -- and then you destroy yourself.**

**--Richard Nixon,  
addressing his White House  
staff, August 9, 1974**

**Perhaps Nixon will grow old in America as a kind of strange, unregenerate presence viewed with indifference, curiosity or eventually the respect that is accorded, with a short laugh and an incredulous shake of the head, to the unrepentant survivor.**

**--Time, July 17, 1978**

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This research is a content analysis of newsweekly coverage of Richard Nixon from his resignation from the presidency in August 1974 until his funeral in April 1994, a period that is not as heavily studied as Nixon's presidential years but is an important period because of Nixon's careful campaign to recover his public standing.

Richard Nixon was perhaps the most polarizing political figure in the United States in the 20th century. Nixon was the 37th President of the United States, serving in that capacity from January 1969 until his resignation following his involvement in the cover-up of the Watergate scandal in August 1974. Nixon came to national prominence as a young congressman from California in the 1940s during his investigation of Alger Hiss of the U.S. State Department. At the State Department, Hiss rose to secretary general of the international assembly that created the United Nations. Hiss was ultimately convicted of perjury for testifying he had not stolen State Department documents. Nixon was elected a U.S. Senator from California in 1951 and was tapped by General Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 to run as his vice president on the Republican ticket. Early in that campaign, Nixon became the focus of stories that accused him of having access to a campaign slush fund, but Nixon appeared on the new medium of television and argued his case effectively to the American people, leading Eisenhower to keep him on the ticket. Nixon served as Eisenhower's vice president, even taking on the role of acting

president during Eisenhower's recovery from a heart attack in 1955 and a stroke in 1957.

Nixon was the Republican nominee for president in 1960 and lost in a close race to the Democratic candidate, John F. Kennedy. The race was particularly noteworthy for the first live network TV debates between the two candidates. Then, in 1962, Nixon lost his bid to become governor of California, leading many experts to write Nixon's political obituary (Ambrose, 1987). However, in perhaps the greatest political comeback in American history, Nixon gained the Republican nomination for president in 1968 and went on to defeat Democratic nominee Hubert H. Humphrey and independent candidates George Wallace and Eugene McCarthy to become President of the United States. Nixon was later re-elected in a landslide in 1972 over Democratic challenger George McGovern (Ambrose, 1989).

Nixon's political career was closely covered by the three national newsweeklies. Lentz (1990) writes of their societal function:

Freed of the unrelenting tyranny of the daily deadline, the news magazines engaged in a pseudo-historicity, reconstituting the world week by week on terms understandable and acceptable to readers who, nuances of ideology aside, resembled each other more than they differed. (pp. 338-339)

Although Lentz was writing about the newsweeklies in the 1960s, their function remains the same today. Lentz also contends that the newsweeklies direct their content to the middle class. Weiss (1974) found that U.S. News & World Report, Newsweek, and Time, respectively, were the top three periodicals mentioned among political leaders in a rank order of magazines read on a regular basis.

Murdock (1980) writes that objectivity is based on the notion that "news is accurate, comprehensive and neutral, and consists of independently verifiable facts that are clearly separated from expression of opinions or values" (p. 460). No assertion is made here that the newsweeklies are or even claim to be objective. Focusing on them allows one to examine positive, negative, and neutral coverage during the years of attempted rehabilitation by Nixon.

### Statement of the Problem

The question explored here is whether Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report differed in their coverage of the post-presidency of Richard Nixon and whether the former president received increasingly positive coverage in these three periodicals as time passed during this 20-year period (1974-1994). This study examines how the three national newsweeklies covered Richard Nixon during the years of his attempted rehabilitation, from the grim days of late-summer 1974 when Nixon, in exile at San Clemente, called his small, post-presidential staff together for a meeting and asked that it determine what could be done about the nation's economy (Anson, 1984) to that overcast day in April 1994 when the former president was eulogized by presidents and reporters alike (Kalb, 1994).

A review of various American magazine histories helps account for the ideological differences among the three newsweeklies.

Although Time magazine, under the direction of its co-founder Henry R. Luce, was decidedly conservative, the magazine became less so with Luce's death in 1967 (Taft, 1982). Henry Grunwald (1997), managing editor of Time from 1968 to 1977, wrote he was opposed to Time adding an editorial page, preferring instead to

continue the magazine's "old recipe of blending information, interpretation and judgments" (p. 441) within the news articles. Henry Luce once told a college audience when asked how he could call Time a newsmagazine when it was so full of opinion: "Well, I created the word 'newsmagazine.' I guess I can define it any way I damn well please" (Clurman, 1988, pp. 2-3).

Magazine historian James Playsted Wood (1971) wrote that Time magazine subscribes to the hero theory of history by focusing on newsmakers rather than events and that this people-centered perspective of reporting has been characteristic of Time since its founding in 1923. Although Wood was writing more than a quarter of a century ago, this perspective continues at Time with its Person of the Year covers and its special issues devoted to the 100 most influential people during the 20th century, culminating in a Person of the Century in December 1999.

Newsweek, which was founded in 1933, was merged in 1937 with Today, a magazine founded by Vincent Astor and Averell Harriman (Lentz, 1990).

Newsweek was a supporter of Franklin Roosevelt until Astor and editor Raymond Moley became disillusioned with the New Deal (Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991). It was purchased by Washington Post owner Philip Graham in 1961 (Taft, 1982), and it has been left-leaning ever since (Gans, 1980). Lentz (1990) agrees that Newsweek moved to the left on the ideological spectrum after its purchase by Graham.

Graham also brought close connections with the Kennedy White House. Shaw (1986) maintains that although Time and Newsweek are less partisan than Time was during the days of Henry Luce's conservatism, they still "regularly blend -- and blur -- fact and opinion" (p. 215). In fact, Time and Newsweek are both seen by some critics as liberal media organs (Lentz, 1990; Shaw, 1986).

Meanwhile, U.S. News & World Report has been consistently conservative in outlook, even after its purchase in 1984 by liberal Mortimer Zuckerman (Nourie and Nourie, 1990). Zuckerman, who made his fortune in real estate, named himself editor-in-chief of the magazine in 1985 (Nourie and Nourie, 1990), a position he holds today. Lentz (1990) agrees that U.S. News' position as a conservative publication has been steady since its founding in 1948 by David Lawrence. Lawrence was a critic of the New Deal, communism and the civil rights movement. At its height, his syndicated column ran in more than 300 newspapers as well as in U.S. News & World Report (Lentz, 1990).

Therefore, it is suspected that there will be differences among the three newsweeklies in their viewpoints of Nixon.

### Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study will answer four research questions:

1) Was there a statistically significant difference in the total number of positive and negative assertions about former president Nixon in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994?

A chi-square analysis was performed to determine whether there was a significant difference in coverage among the three newsweeklies. If there was no difference, all positive and negative assertions were to be combined for the remainder of the analysis. If there was a statistically significant difference, the positive and negative assertions were to be analyzed separately for each newsmagazine.



2) Was U.S. News & World Report more favorable in its assertions about former president Nixon than Newsweek and Time were from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994?

3) Was there an increase, in percent, in the positive assertions about Nixon in the newsweeklies over time from August 9, 1974, until his funeral in 1994?

A percentage of positive, negative, and neutral assertions was determined for each year, and the percentage of positive, negative, and neutral assertions was charted for each year of that 20-year period.

4) Were there themes that were predominant about Nixon in the three newsweeklies' coverage from August 9, 1974, until coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994?

The study's hypotheses are:

1) There will be a statistically significant difference in the total number of positive and negative assertions about former president Nixon in the three newsweeklies from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994.

2) U.S. News & World Report will be more favorable in its assertions about former president Nixon than Newsweek and Time were from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994.

3) There will be an increase, in percent, in the positive assertions about Nixon in the newsweeklies over time from August 9, 1974, until his funeral in 1994.

4) There will be themes that are predominant about Nixon in the three newsweeklies' coverage from August 9, 1974, until coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994.

## Purpose and Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to assess Nixon's coverage in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report by employing quantitative methods to carry out a content analysis of the articles about the former president published in the three major newsweeklies during his post-presidential years.

The significance of this study rests in the fact that Nixon's attempt at rehabilitation presented a difficult and historically unprecedented challenge for the interpretive press. Journalist Marvin Kalb (1994) maintains that the reason Nixon attempted to remain on the world stage was primarily because he was trying to erase the negative image of Watergate rather than the altruistic reason Nixon gave of trying to establish world peace. It is difficult to ascribe motives, however. Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution claims that Nixon's attempts at rehabilitation made him a great *ex-president* if not president (Hernandez, 1994).

Nixon cultivated relationships with young reporters during his post-presidential years in an effort to influence those reporters who didn't have first-hand knowledge of Watergate and other controversies throughout Nixon's career that had hardened many older reporters' attitudes against him (Ambrose, 1991). This list included Morton Kondracke of The New Republic, Strobe Talbott and Roger Rosenblatt of Time, Sara Fritz of The Los Angeles Times, and Gerald Boyd of The New York Times (Kalb, 1994). David Halberstam (1994) quotes fellow journalist Bob Woodward, the Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter from The Washington Post, as believing that Nixon courted White House reporters during his post-presidential years so he could favorably contrast his qualities to those of the incumbent. For example, his eloquence at discussing policy was favorable to Reagan's inability to

speaking coherently without a script, or his geopolitical vision contrasted favorably with President Bush's problem at discerning a clear vision for America's future. Nixon (1982) touched on this quandary of a former leader in his book Leaders:

One who believes that his own judgment is best, even though fallible, and who chafes at seeing lesser men mishandle the reins of power yearns, even aches, to hold those reins himself. Watching another bungle and blunder can be almost physically painful. Once he has the reins, he relishes their use. (p. 321)

Late in his life, Nixon liked to quote Herbert Hoover on Hoover's desire to outlive his enemies (Crowley, 1996). While Nixon certainly didn't accomplish that goal, he did have an opportunity to explain his controversial actions as president through his writings and interviews.

Benton Becker, a legal counsel in the Ford White House who had been dispatched by President Ford to meet with President Nixon a month after Nixon resigned the presidency, told Ford that he doubted Nixon would live to see the end of the year. Becker's prediction almost came true as President Nixon suffered a life-threatening blood clot in his leg later that year that required surgery. Following surgery, Nixon almost died again because of hemorrhaging (Aitken, 1993). However, by December of 1974, Nixon was already planning his comeback. He recorded in his diary:

I simply have to pull myself together and start the long journey back -- live through the agony of the balance of the tapes whatever they are; fight over

the papers, whatever comes at the trial [of John Mitchell, Bob Haldeman, and John Ehrlichman], and do the only creative thing that perhaps I have left to do which is to write a book -- maybe one, maybe more -- and to follow it with speeches, television of course where possible, which will maybe put some of these things in perspective. . . .

I do not want to feel depressed today. I rather feel it however, and yet maybe such a day is the day to start coming back -- maybe this afternoon -- to make the first outline on the book and during the next week to try to continue along this process. (Aitken, 1993, p. 535)

Still, the comeback was just beginning. As daughter Julie Nixon Eisenhower (1986) put it: "Christmas 1974 was the lowest point in my father's life" (p. 437).

Newsweek ran a cover story about Nixon's rehabilitation in 1986. Katharine Graham, chairperson of Newsweek's parent, The Washington Post Company, had heard Nixon speak to the American Newspapers Publishers' Association and was so impressed that she instructed Newsweek to do a feature on Nixon's comeback. Nixon agreed to an interview and photo session with the magazine in return for cover story treatment (Aitken, 1993). Nixon (1990) commented on the reaction to the cover story in his book In the Arena:

The Columbia Journalism Review even went so far as to urge the national press not to report my future activities, except presumably my obituary. Most of its readers, I am sure, shared that view. But the same pattern that had plagued or benefited me all of my public life repeated itself: While they liked me even less than before, I was news. (p. 81)

The commentary from The Columbia Journalism Review included this paragraph:

Under the circumstances, soliciting Nixon's views as a foreign policy expert is rather like asking John Wilkes Booth, as he dashes from Ford's Theater, for an actor's evaluation of the play. There are experts available who rival Nixon when it comes to foreign policy expertise and who share his basic geopolitical outlook -- among them Kissinger, Brent Scowcroft, and Alexander Haig. If a reporter needs a comment from such a person, or if an editor needs an article, why not go to one of them? (Boot, 1987, p. 21)

Nixon told a Time magazine reporter in 1988 that people were interested in his comeback because "Americans are crazy about renewal" (Ambrose, 1991, p. 557). Halberstam (1994) contends that Nixon used his status as "a class of one" to his advantage during his comeback attempt:

When Nixon began to shake the bonds of his singular disgrace, he returned as something else that television news likes: an aberration -- a disgraced former official trying to come back, gradually working to transform himself from exiled hermit and the man of disgrace to would-be elder statesman. (p. 37)

Historian Joan Hoff (1994) maintains that Watergate was "a disaster waiting to happen" (p. 341) because of the decline in political ethics during the Cold War. While not excusing Nixon's behavior during Watergate, Hoff (1994) insists it would

be a grave mistake to view Nixon's actions as "an aberration" instead of seeing them as taking place within the larger context of an "aprincipled American political system" (p. 341). Shenkman (1999) agrees that as the country became more complex, the actions of presidents became more reprehensible as they sought to hold on to power. Perhaps it was an arrogance of power. For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation wiretapped Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. The Kennedy administration was complicit in the assassination of South Vietnam President Diem. Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon were bugged during the 1964 and 1968 campaigns, respectively (Lasky, 1977). President Truman ordered the FBI to release no information about Alger Hiss to the congressional committee that was investigating Hiss for traitorous activities (Ambrose, 1987), just as Nixon ordered his aides to tell the FBI not to proceed with its investigation of the Watergate break-in in the "smoking gun" tape of June 23, 1972. However, perhaps the most accurate assessment of Watergate was put forth by Nixon himself late in his life when he said that extra-legal activities by previous presidents didn't absolve him of the responsibility for Watergate (Crowley, 1998).

### Literature of Bias

In the early days of America, the press was much more partisan in its coverage of events. This approach changed over time, however, as newspapers sought higher circulation and revenues by reporting the news from a less ideological perspective (Bennett, 1996; Glasser, 1984; Joslyn, 1984; Ognianova & Endersby, 1996). The penny newspapers of the 1830s weren't underwritten financially by political parties

as their predecessors had been. Instead, the penny press went for a mass audience, requiring it to be less politically oriented (Glasser & Ettema, 1989; Ognianova & Endersby, 1996; Schiller, 1981). With the beginning of the Associated Press in 1848, it became apparent that this subscription news service would be more profitable without revealing a political ideology. Therefore, newspapers of all political persuasions would be more apt to become customers (Altschull, 1984; Bennett, 1996; Carey, 1981; Gans, 1980; Ognianova & Endersby, 1996; Roscho, 1975; Schudson, 1978).

In the 1920s, newspaper mergers became more common. Oftentimes, these mergers were between Republican and Democratic papers. It made economic sense as well for the merged paper to be less ideological (Streckfuss, 1990). By the 1950s, many journalists began to question the benefits of objectivity in the aftermath of Senator Joseph McCarthy's use of the press to espouse his charges of communists infiltrating the American government. The practice of dutifully reporting what public officials said without challenge was a pitfall many reporters wished to avoid in the future (Altschull, 1984; Folkerts & Teeter, 1994; Graber, 1976; Roscho, 1975; Rowley & Grimes, 1984).

Nevertheless, it is cost-effective for the press to be largely non-interpretive. It saves money if a reporter is trained as a generalist who can cover all types of stories rather than as a specialist in a field (Bennett, 1996; Blankenberg & Walden, 1977; Roshco, 1975). This generalist approach left the press open to charges that it served only as a mouthpiece for official sources since many reporters didn't have the expertise to challenge the official version of events (Bennett, 1996; Graber, 1976; Schudson, 1978). However, the credibility of reporting would, ironically, be

undermined if reporters constantly attacked their official sources, for the media depend so heavily on these established institutions for stories (Bennett, 1996).

Time marked a return to the days of interpretive journalism, making its debut in 1923 (Emery and Emery, 1988). Shaw (1986) notes that because newsmagazines must compress their stories, they must develop a subjective viewpoint. Shaw maintains that the reason for this subjective viewpoint is that story compression often leads to throwing "all subtlety and contradiction out the window" (p. 214): "A typical story might run only 600 words -- compared with perhaps 6,000 words (or 16,000 words) that a major newspaper might print on the same subject in several stories over the same week" (p. 214). Gans (1980) writes that the newsmagazines, in particular, often "eschew neutral terms for stylistic reasons" (p. 42), making them easier to analyze for subjectivity than television.

These magazines' style of relying on the connotations of certain affective words as opposed to more neutral, value-free words is at the crux of identifying bias. As Gans (1980) further maintains: "The magazines compete against each other and the remaining news media with dramatic writing, and unfair but picturesque adjectives sometimes remain because they liven up a story" (pp. 189-190).

The number of newspapers per household in America this century has dropped from a high of about 1.3 in 1915 to a low of approximately .7 in 1995. Meanwhile, the number of magazines per household has risen from about 1.9 in 1920 to approximately 3.8 magazines per household in 1995 (Leonard, 1995). In 1986, Time had a circulation of 4.8 million; Newsweek had 3 million; and U.S. News & World Report had between 2.2 and 2.3 million (Emery and Emery, 1988). An examination of such national newsweeklies as Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report



can add significantly to knowledge about what was on the public agenda concerning Richard Nixon during the 20-year period under study.

A modification of John Merrill's (1965) study of bias in Time magazine, this study looks at assertions about former President Nixon. Merrill's (1965) study found that Time magazine "subjectivizes" (p. 563) its news through the use of descriptors such as adjectives, adverbs, attribution, and outright opinion that are positively or negatively affective. This reporting practice is particularly problematic because opinion is not labeled as such but is instead interspersed throughout a news story.

In his study, Merrill (1965) randomly selected 10 consecutive issues of Time during the presidencies of Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy. The Truman coverage that was studied began with the April 2, 1951 issue of Time; the Eisenhower coverage started with the January 24, 1955 edition; and the Kennedy coverage that was examined began with the November 23, 1962 issue of Time. Merrill found that Time's coverage of President Truman was overwhelmingly negative, its coverage of President Eisenhower was strongly positive, and its depiction of President Kennedy was relatively balanced. Merrill (1965) found Time used "colorful and subjective" (p. 567) language to portray individuals in the news. He discovered that the periodical was guilty of "preferential or prejudicial treatment" (p. 569) of its news subjects through the use of words that were either positively or negatively affective. In this regard, then, Merrill considered Time to be biased.

Two follow-up studies of Merrill's original study in Journalism Quarterly have been published. Fedler, Meeske, and Hall (1979) found that Time was neutral toward President Johnson, supported President Nixon before Watergate and

opposed him after the scandal broke, supported President Ford, and opposed President Carter. In their study Fedler et al. (1979) defined bias as "any expression of opinion or variance from neutrality" (p. 354). That study also found that the magazine, through the use of language that carried either favorable or unfavorable connotations, was preferential in its news treatment of individuals. The authors concluded that Time remained subjective in its news coverage. The second follow-up study examined the Democratic primary campaign coverage of John F. Kennedy in 1960, Robert Kennedy in 1968, and Edward Kennedy in 1980 appearing in both Time and Newsweek (Fedler, Smith, and Meeske, 1983). Two of the hypotheses Fedler et al. (1983) examined in this study were that Time's coverage would be more slanted, positively or negatively, than Newsweek's and that both periodicals would be more favorable toward John Kennedy than his brothers. The first hypothesis wasn't supported, while the second was.

Therefore, this research was conducted with the knowledge that subjectivity exists in newsweekly coverage, and the present study is concerned with identifying such bias. No assertion is made here that the newsweeklies are or even claim to be objective. Their use in this study is to serve as a record of positive, negative, and neutral coverage during the years of attempted rehabilitation by Richard Nixon.

This study is more directly influenced by Ogles and Howard's (1984) examination of Father Charles Coughlin's coverage in the periodical press over time. The researchers looked at assertions about the radio priest in Newsweek and Time concerning the direction of the statements and conducted a trend analysis of those assertions. The trend analysis accounted for positive, negative and neutral statements about Father Coughlin from 1931, when he was first cited in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, until 1942, the last consecutive annual

mention of Coughlin in the Reader's Guide. They found no statistically significant difference in direction between Newsweek's and Time's coverage and found more negative than positive assertions about Coughlin over time in three different types of periodicals, including the two newsweeklies. The authors also conducted a trend analysis of five major themes about Father Coughlin appearing in the periodicals. The themes that were charted in the coverage of Father Coughlin during the 1931-1942 period were anti-Semitism, pro-Nazism, pro-fascism, demagoguery and rabble-rousing, and questionable veracity.

### **Limitations**

The major limitation of this study is that it covers only newsweekly coverage of the subject. Therefore, the findings cannot be generalized to include other media such as television or newspapers during the period under study. Also, the findings cannot be generalized to other subjects.

### **Plan of Organization**

Chapter II includes a literature review of the philosophy of history pertaining to the subject; a review of literature about Richard Nixon and the post-presidency; and an explanation of content analysis and, more narrowly, direction analysis.

Chapter III is an explanation of the study's methods. Chapter IV contains the results of the study, while Chapter V is a discussion of those results. Chapter VI presents the author's conclusions and suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### "The wooing that precedes the winning"

One of the long-held philosophies of history holds that the history of mankind is the history of its heroes -- good and bad. This historical philosophy, known as the Great Man theory, was first posited by Thomas Carlyle, a noted 19th-century British historian. This historical philosophy views men not as products of their age but instead views epochs arising out of the actions of great individuals. Cazamian (1966) sees this paradigm as a "need for inspired despotism" (p. 179). Although this philosophy has fallen out of favor among scholars because of its steadfast reliance on leaders controlling events, there can be no doubt that great events are often shaped by the actions or inactions of individuals. Rosenberg (1974), however, views Carlyle as rejecting the hero as a totalitarian ruler but instead seeing him as acting within the limits of the consent of the governed. The greatness of the hero, according to Rosenberg's interpretation of Carlyle, is his ability to "act in response to the social needs" of the culture that chose him (p. 192). It is within this dichotomy of the Great Man as inspired despot or as leader reflecting the will of the people that Richard Nixon is examined.

Nixon defined himself by the Great Man yardstick. It was an essential part in his campaign to regain credibility. Nixon (1982) writes of the leader's relationship with the people:

He should have a clearer perception than they of where the country should be

going, and why, and of what it takes to get there. . . . He has to win the people's consent to the vision he holds out. In the process -- in the wooing that precedes the winning -- he can learn a great deal about their concerns, their reservations, their hopes and fears, all of which are things that, as a leader, he must deal with. In that same process he can also get a better idea of the kinds of compromises he is going to have to make. (p. 333)

Since 1974, a virtual library about Watergate and Nixon has developed, beginning with books written by people involved in the scandal and by reporters who covered the story. Ultimately, many of these books were turned into screenplays for the big or small screen, including Nixon aide Charles Colson's Born Again (1978), reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein's All the President's Men (1978) and The Final Days (1989), Nixon counsel John Dean's Blind Ambition (1979), and Nixon operative G. Gordon Liddy's Will (1982). However, over time, Nixon as a man and as a symbol has come to be represented in popular culture as both a hero and as an anti-hero. There has even been an opera written about Nixon, Nixon in China (1987). After Nixon's death, two notable films attempted to place Nixon beyond Watergate as the player of hardball diplomacy in the tv drama Kissinger and Nixon (1995) based on the biography by Walter Issacson of Time and as a victim of the political system, referred to as "The Beast" in director Oliver Stone's epic Nixon (1995) (Monsell, 1998). These screen images are important to Nixon's legacy, for as Parenti (1992) notes, "In the minds of many Americans, movie and television dramas are the final chapter of history, the most lasting impression they have of what the past was like" (p. 68). A favorable media image is essential if Nixon is going to be rehabilitated in history's judgment. Johnson (1995) found that people

who learned of Watergate events through media use after the fact were more likely to forgive Nixon for Watergate and less likely to implicate him in the scandal than were those who directly remembered Watergate. In fact, subsequent media reports can even influence the memory of those who witnessed the original event.

Social philosopher Sidney Hook (1943) writes of a leader operating inside the constraints of a democratic society:

The "potential hero" in a democracy sees what others do not. His will to action is stronger. His knowledge of what must be done to realize what he sees is surer. For these reasons, he finds himself, more likely than not, in a minority. His sense of vocation impels him to fight for his insight. His loyalty to the democratic ideals compels him to make this insight the common faith of the majority. If the latter remain stubbornly intractable, his chances of heroic action as a democrat are lost. (pp. 232-233)

Although Hook was writing 30 years prior to the Watergate revelations, his words were prescient about Richard Nixon as a "potential hero" and Nixon's failure in that capacity. Hook notes that the hero who has total belief in his vision may use demagoguery to accomplish his purposes. Thus, he becomes a threat to democracy. However, Hook maintains that even the hero who doesn't resort to demagoguery may threaten democratic principles:

Let us now assume that the majority is properly persuaded that the hero is right. The latter may still regard the processes of democracy as a fetter upon his

calling. For these processes grind too slowly, and many things will not wait. If he is confident that he knows the community's good and convinced that it hangs in the balance, the hero is tempted to confront it with a *fait accompli*. Well-intentioned opposition that delays and obstructs appears to him as objective betrayal and can easily be pilloried as such. And he knows that, if he succeeds, a great deal will be forgiven him. . . .

The hero always presses for greater powers. It is natural to his vocation that he should do so. He is as eager to accept new powers as he is reluctant to surrender them after they are granted. And it is true that, in a troubled world, no democratic community can survive for long unless it entrusts its leaders with great powers. At the same time, what it gives with reluctance, it must take back with eagerness. The timing is all -- and it is not likely that the hero and the community will agree on what time it is. (pp. 234-235)

Hook argues that the hero in a democracy isn't the soldier or the statesman, but the teacher -- someone who can impart a vision to people. Ambrose (1991) criticizes Nixon for leaving out the quality of being a teacher as an important characteristic for a leader to possess in Nixon's book Leaders. Ambrose also notes that the three actions of his administration that Nixon was proudest -- ending the Vietnam war, opening China, and establishing detente with the Soviet Union -- were all established through secret negotiation. However, Ambrose also maintains that had Nixon more fully involved the American people in his actions as president, there may have been more support for South Vietnam from Congress to prevent the fall of Saigon in 1975, and there may have been a more lasting legacy with detente with the Soviet Union. Nixon was well aware of what had been thrown away by his actions.

As he told interviewer David Frost (1978): "I let down an opportunity that I would have had for two and a half more years to proceed on great projects and programs for building a lasting peace, which has been my dream" (p. 272).

**"Nixon's twenty-year quest for renewed respectability"**

Nixon biographer Stephen Ambrose (1991) writes that Nixon rehabilitated himself following Watergate "without admitting to any wrongdoing, much less apologizing" (p. 555). This is not entirely true. For instance, on accepting President Ford's pardon in September 1974 "for all offenses against the United States which he . . . has committed or may have committed" (Ambrose, 1991, p. 461), President Nixon wrote in part: "No words can describe the depths of my regret and pain at the anguish my mistakes over Watergate have caused the nation and the Presidency -- a nation I so dearly love and an institution I so greatly respect" (Ambrose, 1991, p. 461). In addition, Nixon told interviewer David Frost in 1977:

I let down my friends. I let down the country. I let down our system of government and the dreams of all those young people that ought to get into government but think it's all too corrupt. . . . I let the American people down. And I have to carry that burden with me for the rest of my life. (Frost, 1978, p. 272)

Ambrose (1991) also argues that Nixon always put himself first and had a lack of respect for the American people. Journalist and Nixon biographer Tom Wicker (1991) disagrees with such an assessment. He cites Nixon's refusal to contest the



1960 presidential election even as he was sure Kennedy had stolen it and his willingness to turn over the ruinous White House tapes when the Supreme Court ordered as examples of Nixon's unwillingness to put the American people through unnecessary trauma. What Wicker makes clear is that Nixon turned over the Watergate tapes only *after* he'd exhausted his appeals all the way to the Supreme Court. The thing that was admirable about this to Wicker, though, is that Nixon obeyed the Supreme Court. Andrew Jackson had set a precedent to ignore a Supreme Court ruling concerning presidential powers. When Chief Justice John Marshall ruled in Worcester v. Georgia that the Cherokee people retained rights in their lands, Jackson was quoted as saying, "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it" and went ahead with his Indian removal policy (The Annals of America, 1976, p. 418). Of course, what is still mystifying today to both Nixon supporters and detractors is why Nixon didn't just burn the tapes, knowing the incriminating evidence that was on them and what the likely result of their public release would be.

Still, Nixon could have an uncomplimentary view of Americans. As he once told Hugh Sidey (1987) of Time magazine: "You've got to be a little evil to understand those people out there. You have to have known the dark side of life to understand those people" (p. 312). Kennedy speechwriter Richard Goodwin said the Kennedy forces in 1960 underestimated Nixon's knowledge of Americans: "He knew a lot about America. He could reach, with uncanny intuition, the buried doubts, the secret dreads, the nightmare panic of the threatened soul" (Matthews, 1996, p. 187).

Nixon's (1982) comments on leadership say a lot about how he felt about the people he led for five years:

Because the leader is busy, because he has a large ego, because he resents intrusions and distractions, because he considers himself superior, he may have little patience with those he perceives as his inferiors. The trouble with this inability to "tolerate fools" is threefold. First, the leader needs followers -- and a lot of those he needs have ideas he would consider foolish. Second, the man he is tempted to dismiss as a fool may not be. Third, even if he is, the leader might learn from him. Leadership requires a sort of mystical bond between the leader and the people; if the leader appears to show disdain for the people, that bond is likely to snap. However, one must always remember that leaders *are* uncommon men. They should not try to appear to be common. If they do try, they will come across as unnatural -- not only phony, but condescending. (p. 332)

Wicker (1996) quotes Nixon aide Raymond Price as saying that Nixon, in an effort to win votes during his political career, always attempted to present himself as an average American even though, in reality, he was more intellectual, more introverted, and more skeptical than he appeared to be.

Nixon began the long journey of his attempted comeback by looking back. In 1977, he filmed a series of reminiscences of his presidency with British interviewer David Frost. In 1978, he published his thousand-page memoirs, RN. (A list of Nixon's post-1974 books is given in the bibliography.) He also slowly began to emerge from his seclusion in San Clemente. In 1976, he returned to China on the fourth anniversary of his presidential visit to the communist country (Aitken, 1993). In 1978, Nixon returned to Washington for the first time since his resignation to attend the funeral of Hubert Humphrey. Humphrey, dying of cancer, had called

Nixon the month before he died and asked Nixon to attend (Kalb, 1994). Later in 1978, Nixon gave speeches in the South, a Nixon stronghold. He spoke in Kentucky, Mississippi and Louisiana and received an enthusiastic response at each location (Aitken, 1993). In 1979, President Carter, who had recently formalized relations with China, hosted a state dinner for Chinese Deputy Prime Minister Deng Xiaoping. Carter invited President Nixon to the dinner at the Chinese government's request (Ambrose, 1991).

President Nixon maintained that the most productive intellectual period of his life was the decade following the publication of his memoirs in 1978. Nixon wrote that he was able to meet with foreign heads of state to discuss international matters more frankly than he had been able to do as a political candidate and as a government official. Nixon (1990) also wrote that giving up Secret Service protection increased the quality of his foreign trips because it eliminated the agency's "intrusive presence" (p. 51).

Just as Nixon moved to New York City in 1962 after his defeat for governor of California, the former president moved back there in 1980 so he could be closer to the center of activity (Beschloss, 1992). Nixon followed his memoirs with publication of The Real War in 1980, a call for an increase in American military strength to combat Soviet aggression. Its advice was taken as a blueprint by the incoming Reagan administration (Aitken, 1993). Nixon invoked Ike's name in a memo to President-elect Reagan: "President Eisenhower said to me when I visited him at Walter Reed Hospital after the election of 1968, 'I am yours to command.' I trust that that can be our relationship in the years ahead" (Blumenthal, 1994, p. 37). As Reagan's National Security Adviser Bud McFarlane said of the relationship, "Nixon was consistently a strong source of advice to me and to the President,

particularly on Soviet affairs. He was way ahead of anyone else" (Aitken, 1993, p. 556). John Lehman, Secretary of the Navy, said Nixon was "the guiding intellectual hand of the Reagan foreign policy. . . . Reagan really listened to him because he always had something original to say" (Kalb, 1994, p. 24). Just as Humphrey's funeral in 1978 brought him back to Washington for the first time since his resignation, another funeral in 1981 would give him the same official standing as fellow former presidents Ford and Carter. He was invited by President Reagan to represent the United States at the funeral of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat (Kalb, 1994). Washington Post reporter Haynes Johnson wrote of the event:

there was both a poignancy and a fascination at seeing him standing at attention with the other presidents on the steps of that plane. . . . God knows what hurts he must hold inside, or what thoughts his return to that ceremonial public duty must have prompted. . . . [But] here he was, back in the full glow of the presidential spotlight as an official state funeral emissary . . . . What great repatriation, what ultimate way back from Elba, than to perform as a peacemaker? (Ambrose, 1991, p. 545)

During the Iran-Contra crisis in Reagan's second term, President Reagan called Nixon for advice. Nixon said Reagan should push for a U.S.-Soviet summit and arms treaty, thus changing the agenda toward the tensions of the Cold War. He also advised Reagan to fire two or three people involved in the scandal (Beschloss, 1992).

In 1986, Nixon hired an administrative assistant whose duties included sending updates to the press about his activities and in correcting misstatements in the press

about him and his career (Ambrose, 1991). As Nixon (1990) wrote, "Because I have been the target of so many vicious attacks by the media over the years, I now have a policy of trying to respond to most inaccurate stories" (p. 303). Clearly, Nixon believed in his ability to influence the agenda. Nixon wrote in 1990 that he used five methods to try to influence opinion leaders: books, speeches, columns, television interviews, and backgrounders to editorial boards of leading newspapers, newsmagazines, and TV networks. Nixon even published one of his books, Real Peace in 1983, at his own expense because he believed its message was too important to be delayed by the six-month editorial process of a publishing house (Ambrose, 1991). It called for the Reagan administration to soften its hard-line stance toward the Soviet Union. Nixon mailed copies to both national and international leaders as well as to prominent journalists (Kalb, 1994). Kalb (1994) maintains that Nixon published Real Peace at his own expense to give his message an added sense of urgency and importance by making it more unavailable and giving it "a very special cachet" (pp. 28-29). Reagan softened his anti-Soviet position shortly after its publication.

Nixon commented that in his post-presidential years he was liberated and could be "totally objective" in his books because he wasn't seeking political office (Ambrose, 1991, p. 530). Michael Korda (1994), Nixon's editor at Simon & Schuster, wrote that Nixon took to book promotion with the savvy that he once used as a campaigner and administrator. Nixon went over the heads of the reviewers of his books, correctly predicting that major reviews would be critical, to appear on TV news shows and appeal directly to his Silent Majority. However, a part of Nixon's strategy with the press was to do nothing. This was particularly true on the anniversaries of the Watergate break-in. Nixon believed it was best to let the press

report the anniversary without his commenting or perhaps appearing too adversarial toward the coverage (Crowley, 1998).

At the opening of Nixon's Library and Birthplace in Yorba Linda, California, in 1990, President Nixon was praised by fellow Presidents Ford, Reagan, and Bush. It was the first time Nixon had received such public presidential praise since Watergate (Aitken, 1993). Even Nixon related to biographer Jonathan Aitken (1993) how far he had come:

Deep down I am basically a fatalist. You fight hard all the way but you never soar too high and you never allow yourself to sink too low. Even at the time of Watergate . . . and in that worse time after Watergate, I never gave up. I was always sure that the pendulum would swing. And it has. It has. So yes, I think that my fatalism did help me to weather the storm of the past. (p. 576)

Until the end of his life, Nixon was adept at using the media he professed to hate. Nixon aide Monica Crowley (1996) wrote of examples of Nixon's ability to leak his views during the 1992 presidential campaign. In one instance, Nixon leaked that independent candidate Ross Perot had met with him for 90 minutes, seeking his advice. In another case, Nixon alerted a Time reporter to a meeting he was having with Republican presidential candidate Pat Buchanan to urge Buchanan to end his campaign against President Bush. In yet another instance, Nixon sent copies of a memo to selected journalists, criticizing the Bush administration's modest financial aid package to a newly democratic Russia. Nixon had previously felt so strongly about aid to Russia that he approached Time magazine about submitting a column on the subject. Richard Duncan, an executive editor at Time, said that Nixon often

approached Time when he felt the need to publish a column. Time reporter Strobe Talbott, a friend Nixon had cultivated, called himself Nixon's "case officer" at Time concerning pieces that Nixon submitted to the magazine. Time published the column (Kalb, 1994, pp. 59-60). David Postman (1992) wrote that Nixon had previously published a nearly identical viewpoint to that contained in his famous memo, which was sent out to opinion-makers, in a January 1992 edition of Time, but the Time article had caused barely a ripple. Calling Nixon "a master of the leaker's art," Postman (1992, p. 10) maintained that the press responds more readily to a "leaked" story than to a previously published story. Nixon sent the memo with a message that it was going to 50 people he believed most likely to affect foreign policy. In reality, the memo was mailed to more people than that (Beschloss, 1992).

Subsequently, the Nixon library hosted a conference titled "America's role in the emerging world." At the conference, both Nixon and President Bush spoke (Aitken, 1993). The goal of the conference, from Nixon's point of view, was to influence President Bush to focus on the importance of Russian aid during a presidential campaign that emphasized domestic issues. So strong was the climate concerning the conference's newsworthiness that CNN carried former president Nixon's 35-minute address live (Kalb, 1994). Nixon said in his address that if Boris Yeltsin fell from power, the United States would have to spend even more money to rearm itself against a re-established dictatorial Russia. President Bush called Nixon "one of the greatest statesmen of the twentieth century" (Beschloss, 1992, p. 114). Two weeks after the conference, the Bush White House announced increased aid to Russia (Aitken, 1993).

Just as it took a strident anti-communist like Nixon to begin peaceful negotiations with China and Russia in the early 1970s, it took a Democratic

president like Bill Clinton to welcome *openly* the disgraced Republican president back to the White House for advice (Crowley, 1996). Marvin Kalb (1994) described Nixon's role in the Clinton administration as a "shadow minister of Russian affairs" (p. 160). Even the Russians were giving Nixon credit for changing the climate of public opinion in the United States toward aid to Russia. Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev said he saw a "shift of public debate" in America because of Nixon's actions on behalf of the issue (Kalb, 1994, p. 156).

On his final trip to Russia just a month before his death, Nixon offended Boris Yeltsin by meeting with Yeltsin's enemy, former vice president Alexander Rutskoi, who only recently had been released from prison for leading an armed insurrection against Yeltsin. As a result, Yeltsin cancelled all meetings with Nixon. President Clinton found himself in the ironic position of defending Nixon:

President Yeltsin should not assume that Mr. Nixon is not friendly toward his administration and toward democracy and toward reform because, quite the contrary, he's been a very strong supporter of our policy for the last year.

And I wouldn't overreact to the fact that he met with some people who are in opposition to the president. (Kalb, 1994, pp. 171-173)

Dimitri Simes, who accompanied Nixon to Moscow as head of the Richard Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom, located in Washington, said of Nixon's response to Yeltsin's snub: "he is a big boy, and he has had his share of disappointments in his life, some of them much more serious than this one. He will manage" (Kalb, 1994, pp. 171-174). Nixon himself said: "Democratic Russia, under the courageous leadership of Boris Yeltsin, gave the knockout blow to Soviet communism. I came



here as his friend, and I remain his friend. I wish him well" (Kalb, 1994, pp. 171-174). As a footnote, President Yeltsin invited President Nixon for a return trip to Moscow just shortly before Nixon's death (Kalb, 1994).

Even Marvin Kalb (1994), a journalist who was listed on John Dean's enemies list, wrote of the respect accorded to President Nixon at his funeral: "in a formal sense Nixon's twenty-year quest for renewed respectability had finally been crowned with success" (pp. 186-187, 210). Kalb (1994) finished with this analysis of the success of that "twenty-year quest":

Few politicians have better understood the power of the press to affect public policy. When Nixon wanted to awaken Bush to the many challenges of the new Russia, he did not request a private meeting in the Oval Office. He did not ask for an urgent session with congressional leaders. He did not arrange another news conference on Capitol Hill. . . . He turned to the press, the one institution in American public life capable of transforming his vision into policy. More specifically, he turned most often to The New York Times in recognition of its enormous influence in American journalism and politics. And because the Times was also television's most respected and valued tip sheet, he knew that he was, by way of a carom shot, directing his message at the tube as well. (p. 188)

Nixon, too, distinguished between the print media and the broadcast media:

The writing press is much fairer than the television press, which has no balance whatsoever. You cannot name a top television commentator employed by one of the three big networks who is on the conservative side. . . .

The writing press will stick the hook in you now and then, but they sort of feel that they have to live with you, and after they think about it, they are fairer.

The television press is far overpaid. That's one reason I admire people who stick in the writing press. What the hell, they aren't in it for the money but because they feel they are contributing something. It's life to them.

(Thimmesch, 1979, p. 65)

Undoubtedly, Nixon knew the importance of television in his political career, for it saved his career in 1952 when he was dealing with the fund crisis, damaged him in his 1960 debates with Kennedy, and helped him make a comeback in the campaign of 1968. However, Nixon (1990) remained firm in his belief that the print media were worthy of more respect than television.

Halberstam (1994) distinguished between the coverage of the broadcast and print media of Nixon's death and funeral:

Television far more than print . . . has an institutional bias against history, even contemporary history of the most relevant sort. . . . There seems in the end to be a profound institutional bias against going to archival film. . . . That meant that there was little inclination within the medium at a moment like this to go to any kind of serious record. (p. 37)

Halberstam (1994) also agrees with Kalb about Nixon's comeback to respectability, calling his post-presidential campaign for rehabilitation "the most successful of his entire career": "he waged it doggedly and with singular skill, knowing all the while that the people he depended on for its success were the very people he considered to be his sworn enemies -- the men and women of the media" (p. 36). However, journalist Sidney Blumenthal (1994) contends that Nixon's rehabilitation is short-lived, beginning with the release of The Haldeman Diaries a month after Nixon's death:

The diaries are a signal that his rehabilitation years must appear as a faded coda to his vivid political career. None of Nixon's own post-Watergate books have lasting merit as works of either literature or history. They were written as instruments to position him against the shifting politics of the moment, and their only future value is their role as a source of Nixonian hieroglyphics. (p. 39)

History will determine whether Blumenthal's assessment of Nixon is correct.

"The latter, more difficult path"

Franklin Roosevelt's first vice president, John Nance Garner, said the vice presidency wasn't "worth a pitcher of warm spit" (Curtis and Wells, 1972, p. 162). The same could not accurately be said of the post-presidency. Jimmy Carter, for instance, has been known for his involvement in Habitat for Humanity, an organization devoted to constructing low-income housing. Carter has also been active in improving public health and agricultural practices in developing countries

as well as monitoring elections in countries to determine if they were democratically held (Brinkley, 1998). Grover Cleveland, the only man who was an ex-President twice, said of the ex-presidency: "Not a few appear to think we should simply exist and be blind, deaf and dumb the remainder of our days" (Schlesinger, 1986, p. 326). Millard Fillmore said of the post-presidency: "It is a national disgrace that our Presidents, having occupied the highest position in the country, should be cast adrift, and, perhaps, be compelled to keep a corner grocery for subsistence" (Schlesinger, 1986, p. 326). Fillmore, however, moved instead into a mansion in Buffalo after marrying a wealthy widow five years after leaving the presidency (Presidents, 1982). Some former presidents have returned, or attempted to return, to public office. John Quincy Adams served in the House of Representatives after his presidency; Andrew Johnson served in the U.S. Senate after his controversial tenure as president. Martin Van Buren, Millard Fillmore, Grover Cleveland, and Theodore Roosevelt all ran for president again after leaving The White House. John Tyler was even elected to the Confederate House of Representatives (Schlesinger, 1986). William Howard Taft went on to become Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (Presidents, 1982). It could be said -- and has been, as previously noted -- that Richard Nixon ran for the office of Elder Statesman. Some former presidents looked upon the presidency as a steppingstone to better things. John Quincy Adams said of his election to Congress after having served a term as president: "My election as President of the United States was not half so gratifying to my inmost soul" (Chambers, 1979, p. 18). William Howard Taft contrasted being president to being Chief Justice of the Supreme Court: "The truth is that in my present life I don't remember that I ever was President" (Chambers, 1979, p. 22).

With congressional passage of the Former Presidents Act in 1958, the ex-presidency became institutionalized. Today, former presidents are entitled to such perks of their "office" as:

annual pensions . . . office space in federal buildings, free personal staff, free mailing . . . and telephone privileges, free hospital care at military hospitals, free subscriptions to newspapers and magazines, travel allowances, Secret Service protection, classified foreign policy briefings, a residence for their Washington visits and the maintenance of libraries for their papers (Schlesinger, 1986, p. 327).

As mentioned earlier, former President Nixon gave up his Secret Service protection. In addition, his library did not qualify as a presidential library under the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955. The Act "authorized the National Archives to accept and then administer any privately constructed structure housing presidential papers" (Ambrose, 1991, p. 577). Nixon's lawsuits fought the National Archives until his death over control of the papers of his administration (Ambrose, 1991). Many of these documents were unreleased during Nixon's lifetime because of privacy or national security reasons (Hoff, 1994).

Even though Richard Nixon, because of his resignation from the presidency, remains unique among presidents, parallels exist between Nixon and other presidents who left office as failures, either perceived or real. Nixon used to say that history would be kinder to him than his contemporaries were, depending, of course, on who wrote the history (Anson, 1984). Nixon (1982) writes of the problem concerning a leader's reputation in history: "Often causes, like leaders themselves,

look different in retrospect. Sometimes the judgment depends on who wins. Historians tend to be kinder to winners than to losers, among causes no less than among leaders" (p. 5). While presidents are indeed at the mercy of historians, those who live long enough after their presidency have the opportunity to give history a nudge. As Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (1986) wrote of the ex-presidency: "No one has a greater access than ex-Presidents to every forum; no one has greater opportunity to command every channel of public influence" (p. 329). Nixon was far from being the only former president to attempt to interpret his own legacy.

Herbert Hoover, for instance, was similar to Nixon in that he was largely ignored by his own party for nearly a decade following his presidency (Wilson, 1975). Hoover also sought out new friends in the press to replace those he had lost as a result of his policies during the Great Depression. Hoover encouraged revisionist historians during his post-presidency by giving them material from his files and by seeking financial support for their work (Best, 1983). Similarly, Nixon tapped conservative writers to assist him in his rehabilitation efforts. For instance, he encouraged Victor Lasky to write a book that maintained that Democrat presidents had used dirty tricks before Nixon did (Blumenthal, 1994). In addition, Nixon allowed biographer Jonathan Aitken a rare view at his post-presidential diary while Aitken was researching his sympathetic account of Nixon's life (Aitken, 1993). Not only was Hoover personally out of power but his party was also out of power for 20 years following his presidency. Not even Nixon suffered this fate as he was advising Ronald Reagan less than a decade after resigning the presidency. Although Hoover was ignored by President Franklin Roosevelt, President Harry Truman listened to Hoover's advice, even appointing him to head a commission on executive branch reorganization and to lead relief work in Europe following World War II (Wilson,

1975). In fact, President Hoover was so overcome with emotion at President Truman asking him for assistance that Hoover wept, telling Truman later: "Mr. President, since 1932 no one has asked me to do anything for my country. You are the first one" (Ferrell, 1994, p. 195). Nixon used Hoover's post-presidential years as a model to an extent except Nixon was more aggressive in his rehabilitation attempts than Hoover. However, this was perhaps because he had greater need to be aggressive. After all, Hoover was never accused of criminality (Ambrose, 1991). Hoover had told Nixon shortly before his death in 1964 at the age of 90, "You will discover that elder statesmen are little regarded . . . until they are 80 years of age -- and thus harmless" (Wilson, 1975, p. 229). Nixon lived until he was 81 and was never accused of being harmless and preferred it that way. As Nixon (1990) wrote:

The quicker road to "rehabilitation" would be to exploit the inevitable public sympathy that comes to even the most controversial public figure with the onset of old age. It would be easy to play the kindly, omnipresent elder statesman, attending Rotary conventions and Boy Scout jamborees by the score, offering the same warmed-over platitudes to audience after audience, and appearing before the TV cameras whenever I was asked to offer free, unsolicited advice to the President on the latest international or domestic crisis.

In short, to stop being a villain in some people's eyes, I would have to become a deadly bore in everybody's eyes. I could be less controversial but also less relevant, or I could remain controversial but retain a certain amount of influence. I chose the latter, more difficult path. (pp. 81-82)

Nixon (1990) said in 1988 on Meet the Press that his continued involvement in international affairs wasn't another attempt at a political comeback but was instead an effort to use his position as a former president to "get a message across, and then let history judge" (p. 80). Still, Nixon admitted privately later in his life to an aide that Watergate had been his "second-to-last political campaign" (Crowley, 1998, p. 315).

If Herbert Hoover were a president with whom Nixon compared himself during his post-presidential years, others have compared him to Warren G. Harding and his Teapot Dome scandal (Ambrose, 1991). Harding was not as fortunate as Nixon since he died while still in office just shortly before his administration became forever linked with scandal. Therefore, Harding never had the opportunity to defend his name as Nixon did. Ferrell (1996) writes that Harding's reputation may have been damaged by his wife burning many of his presidential papers. With the best of intentions, Mrs. Harding destroyed documents, leaving the impression, however, that everything destroyed was damning. Maybe some documents were, but in all likelihood, most weren't. In fact, such presumption of *total* corruption was the reason that historian Stephen Ambrose argued that Nixon should have stopped fighting the release of his records (Friedman and Levantrosser, ed., 1992). Actually, in 1964 the Harding Memorial Association donated to the Ohio Historical Society a large collection of Harding's papers previously thought burned. The opening of the papers, along with the papers of other members of his administration such as Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, led to a slow reassessment of Harding's personal involvement in scandal (Murray, 1969). Comparisons with Nixon's presidential materials are inevitable. However, initial reassessments of Nixon are likely to be more negative than positive since the National Archives must first



release recordings of Nixon's involvement in abuse of power (Hoff, 1994). Murray (1969) contends that a major reason for the negative impression of the Harding administration throughout the years is due to the reporting of liberal journalists who grew up during the Progressive Era. Murray further maintains that subsequent historians unquestioningly repeated the journalistic accounts of that day. Historian Joan Hoff (1994) mentions a similar situation in regard to the historiography about Richard Nixon. Gans (1980) argues that this liberal tendency exists in the media today:

That modern journalism should invoke values from the turn of the century does not suggest that the profession is operating with old-fashioned ideas, for Progressivism is hardly dead. Although no longer a movement, its ideas remain central to many political, social, and cultural reform efforts. More to the point, these ideas continue to be salient for journalists today. The values signify and maintain a proud chapter in American journalism, for during the Progressive period, journalists achieved a level of power and influence in American life they have not held since, except during the years of the Watergate scandals. (p. 205)

Therefore, Gans (1980) sees this conflict residing in a power struggle as well as in ideology: "when power holders violate enduring values which are widely shared, autonomy to expose the miscreants can make journalists quite powerful themselves for the moment" (p. 284). Political scientist Reo Christenson (1983) maintains that the differences between journalism and historical research are crucial, primarily because in journalism, frequently, "the negative is over-stressed and the positive is underplayed" (p. 313). Murray (1969) also contends that historians of the '30s and

'40s harbored a bias against the presidents of the 1920s because they, like their journalistic counterparts, had been trained during the Progressive Era or had been taught by professors who had been influenced by the liberal movement of that period. Again, there is a parallel to this charge regarding Nixon, which was largely put forth by Nixon himself. "History will treat me fairly," Nixon (1990) wrote. "Historians probably won't because most historians are on the left" (pp. 80-81). Historian Stanley Kutler (1995) disagrees with such an assessment, writing that Herbert Hoover's reputation has risen despite the fact that he was a conservative.

### Content and Direction Analyses

Since content analysis is the research method chosen for this study, it is appropriate to review several definitions from its most notable practitioners and scholars. For example, Berelson (1971) writes:

content analysis is ordinarily limited to the manifest content of the communication and is not normally done directly in terms of the latent intentions which the content may express nor the latent responses which it may elicit. Strictly speaking, content analysis proceeds in terms of what-is-said, and not in terms of why-the-content-is-like-that (e.g., "motives") or how-people-react (e.g., "appeals" or "responses"). (p. 16)

As defined by Berelson, content analysis depends on *syntactics-and-semantics*, what is said; *objectivity*, precise definitions of terms and categories; *system*, designed to secure data relevant to a scientific problem or hypothesis; and *quantification*, the

assignment of numerical values to the analytic categories. Concerning the possible dilemma of whether researchers should focus on the manifest or the latent content of documents, Holsti (1969) writes:

at the *coding* stage of research, the stage at which specified words, themes, and the like are located in the text and placed into categories, one is limited to recording only those items which actually appear in the document. "Reading between the lines," so to speak, must be reserved to the interpretation stage, at which time the investigator is free to use all of his powers of imagination and intuition to draw meaningful conclusions from the data. (pp. 12-13)

Budd et al. (1967) maintain content analysis is "a tool for observing and analyzing the overt communication behavior of selected communicators" (p. 2). Krippendorff (1980) notes that the results of content analyses must be capable of being replicated by other researchers.

As for direction analysis, Berelson (1971) writes that it "refers to the *pro* or *con* treatment of a subject-matter. Basically, the question is: is the communication for or against the particular subject, or neutral toward it?" (p. 150). Similarly, Budd et al. (1967) state:

Expressions of attitude are usually categorized by the analyst as favorable or unfavorable. . . . Generally, all these pairs include a third category, neutral, and the recording operations usually involve the assignment of a plus, zero, or minus to designate the category. (pp. 50-51)

**The strategy for this study is further discussed in the next chapter.**

## CHAPTER III

### METHODS

Richard Nixon was blessed with a long, relatively healthy life. Nixon said in 1978 at Oxford University:

While I've retired from politics doesn't mean I've retired from life or public life. Let me just make one thing clear. I'm not just going to fade away and live the good life in San Clemente, listening to the waves and playing golf . . . or sit and contemplate my navel by the Pacific. . . . If I did that, turned my mind off, I would be dead mentally in a year and physically, too. So long as I have breath in my body, I am going to talk about the great issues that affect the world. (Anson, 1984, pp. 200-201)

While Nixon denied that his continued involvement in foreign and political affairs was an attempt at a comeback because there wasn't anything "to come back to" (Nixon, 1990, p. 80), this research charts the coverage of his 20-year post-presidential career in the three national newsweeklies to determine whether, indeed, there was something to come back to: a measure of public respectability. For instance, Caudill (1989) notes that while a study of the press cannot necessarily reflect what the public at large thought about a person or issue, it can reveal what was on the public agenda and "the boundaries and critical points of debate" (p. xv).

## Research Plan

This study is based on a directional analysis of news stories about Richard M. Nixon in the three major U.S. mass circulation newsmagazines -- Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report. The study covers the period from Nixon's resignation from the presidency in 1974 until his death in 1994. The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature was used to identify stories about Nixon in these newsweeklies. A total of 240 news stories was identified, and a census of all of those stories was conducted. (SEE APPENDIX C FOR A LISTING OF ALL STORIES.)

The author, serving as the primary coder, examined all articles and listed and counted instances of what he considered positive, negative, or neutral assertions. A second coder coded a random sample of 10 percent, or 24, of the articles for intercoder reliability. Of the randomly selected articles, seven came from Newsweek, eight from Time, and nine came from U.S. News & World Report. It was determined beforehand by the author that the lowest percentage of agreement needed to justify reliability was .70. The percentage of agreement between the two coders in the study was 97 percent. It is important to add, however, that Scott's (1955) formula reduces this raw percentage of agreement. Scott's pi is obtained using this formula:

$$Pi = \frac{Po - Pe}{1 - Pe}$$

Po = percentage observed agreement  
Pe = percentage agreement expected on the basis of chance

Pi is a formula used to account for any agreement between coders that might have occurred through chance. Scott (1955) maintains, "By chance alone, one would expect better agreement on a two-category than on a five-category scale. . . . (Pi) . . . corrects for the number of categories in the code" (pp. 322-323). To establish Pe,

the author squared and summed the percentage of positive, negative and neutral assertions. The Po was determined by finding the percentage agreement between the two coders. The number of agreements was divided by the number of assertions (Scott, 1955). The question still remains, however, concerning how high the percentage of intercoder reliability must be. Wimmer and Dominick (1997) maintain: "As a rule of thumb, most published content analyses typically report a minimum reliability coefficient of about 90% or above when using Holsti's formula, and about .75 or above when using *pi* or *alpha*" (p. 130). Budd et al. (1967) respond: "There is no level generally agreed upon" (p. 67). Krippendorff (1980) agrees: "there is no set answer" (p. 146). Budd et al. (1967) state that as long as the researcher determines *before* conducting the study what is an acceptable level, there is no magic percentage of intercoder reliability:

The analyst must decide what level of agreement is satisfactory to him and should state in his report how he carried out his reliability tests and what the results were. The tests should be made before the analysis of the results of coding and counting. (p. 68)

Using Scott's *pi* to account for agreement between the two coders that may have occurred through chance, the percentage of agreement is reduced to 86 percent. Thus, the 86 percent agreement substantially exceeds the original goal of 70 percent.

The author read the 24 articles and placed brackets around the assertions about Nixon. Assertions not dealing with Nixon were not bracketed. Quotations from Nixon were also excluded. The second coder was asked to read and evaluate each bracketed assertion. Copies of each of the 24 articles were available to the second

**coder in the event that the coder wanted to look at an article to place an assertion in context. The assertions were numbered and classified as "-" negative, "0" neutral, and "+" positive. The second coder was trained for the task by evaluating assertions in unrelated articles (SEE APPENDICES A AND B.). This research is intended to look at coverage by newsweekly reporters of Richard Nixon rather than at individuals quoted by the newsweeklies, so the opinions of those interviewed by the magazines aren't included in the content analysis. In addition, since the nature of newsweekly columnists is to give opinion, those columns are not studied. Finally, what few times Nixon's books were mentioned in the newsweeklies, it was in the context of a news story rather than as a back-of-the-book book review. Therefore, only news articles are included in the analysis.**

**A chi-square analysis was performed to determine whether there was a significant difference in coverage among the three newsweeklies. Even though a population rather than a sample is used in this study, Wimmer and Dominick (1997) note that nonparametric and parametric statistics aren't distinctly different from each other and that both methods can be used with any type of data. If there was no significant difference in the newsweeklies' coverage, all positive and negative assertions were to be combined for the remainder of the analysis. If there was a statistically significant difference, the positive and negative coverage was to be analyzed separately for each newsmagazine. A percentage of positive, negative, and neutral assertions was determined for each year, and the percentage of positive, negative, and neutral assertions was charted for that period.**

**After the direction analysis was completed, the author examined the assertion statements to determine if any themes about Nixon occurred in the newsweeklies. Subsequently, thematic categories were developed, and a trend analysis for these**



themes was charted for the 20-year period. The number of references per theme was depicted on a decade-to-decade basis.

### Definition of terms

An *assertion* is a single statement of meaning. "An assertion could be a sentence, part of a sentence, or even a single word." For example, in the sentence: "Alice is an attractive, intelligent girl," there are three assertions: "1) Alice is attractive; 2) Alice is intelligent; and 3) Alice is a girl" (Budd, Thorp, and Donohew, 1967, p. 34). The first two assertions would be judged favorable, while the third assertion is neutral.

Krippendorff (1980) defines *direction* as the balance in numbers of favorable and unfavorable attributes of a symbol, idea or subject.

A common pitfall in classifying *direction* is the tendency to isolate symbols and to equate them with a direction without reference to their context. . . . To account for context, the standards of favorableness and unfavorableness must be sensitive to the meaning of the content rather than merely the isolated set of symbols. (Budd et al., 1967, p. 51)

For example, Newsweek magazine referred to the Unabomber as a "brilliant sociopath" in 1996. Out of context, "brilliant" would be judged to be positive, but within context, the assertion is clearly negative. In this example, it would be incorrect to code these words separately, the first positive and the second negative. Instead, it should be coded as one negative assertion.

A *trend* is the "increase or decrease of the frequency of given symbols over a period of time" (Budd et al., 1967, p. 60).

A *theme* is "the plural of assertion. . . . A theme may contain a minimum of two assertions having the same essential meaning" (Budd et al., 1967, p. 48). Similarly, as Berelson (1971) points out, "A theme is an assertion about a subject matter" (p. 138). As used in this study, theme is actually the plural of assertion. A single statement of meaning is an assertion. When that assertion recurs, it is a theme.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

As stated previously, this study will answer four research questions:

1) Was there a statistically significant difference in the total number of positive and negative assertions about former president Nixon in *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U.S. News & World Report* from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994?

A chi-square analysis was performed to determine whether there was a significant difference in coverage among the three newsweeklies. If there was no difference, all positive and negative assertions about the former president were to be combined for the remainder of the analysis. If there was a statistically significant difference, the positive and negative coverage was to be analyzed separately for each newsmagazine.

2) Was *U.S. News & World Report* more favorable in its assertions about former president Nixon than *Newsweek* and *Time* were from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994?

3) Was there an increase, in percent, in the positive assertions about Nixon in the newsweeklies over time from August 9, 1974, until his funeral in 1994?

A percentage of positive, negative, and neutral assertions was determined for each year, and the percentage of assertions was charted for each year of that 20-year period.

4) Were there themes that were predominant about Nixon in the three newsweeklies' coverage from August 9, 1974, until coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994?

The study's four hypotheses are restated and incorporated with the following discussion of results:

Hypothesis #1: There will be a statistically significant difference in the total number of positive and negative assertions about former president Nixon in the three newsweeklies from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994.

Hypothesis #2: U.S. News & World Report will be more favorable in its assertions about former president Nixon than Newsweek and Time were from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994.

In a chi-square test analyzing the direction of assertions about Richard Nixon in the three newsweeklies, it was discovered that there is a highly significant difference (chi-square = 34.87, 4 d.f.,  $p < .001$ ) in the direction of coverage among Newsweek, Time and U.S. News & World Report (SEE TABLE 1.). Looking at the observed and expected values for the three newsweeklies, it is apparent that the Nixon coverage by U.S. News & World Report led to the statistically significant difference among the newsweeklies. Therefore, the first two of the study's hypotheses were upheld: There was a statistically significant difference in the total number of positive and negative assertions about Nixon in the three newsweeklies from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994. As a result, this analysis examined each of the newsweeklies' coverage of Richard Nixon on an individual basis rather than collectively.

TABLE 1\*

**DIRECTION OF ASSERTIONS ABOUT RICHARD NIXON  
IN NEWSWEEK, TIME AND U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, 1974-1994,  
IN PERCENT**

	<u>Newsweek</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>U.S. News &amp; World Report</u>
Positive	7.35	6.92	10.03
Negative	9.34	8.22	2.51
Neutral	83.31	84.86	87.46
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Number	1,402	1,532	638

Chi-Square = 34.87, 4 d.f.,  $p < .001$

Observed values (Expected values)

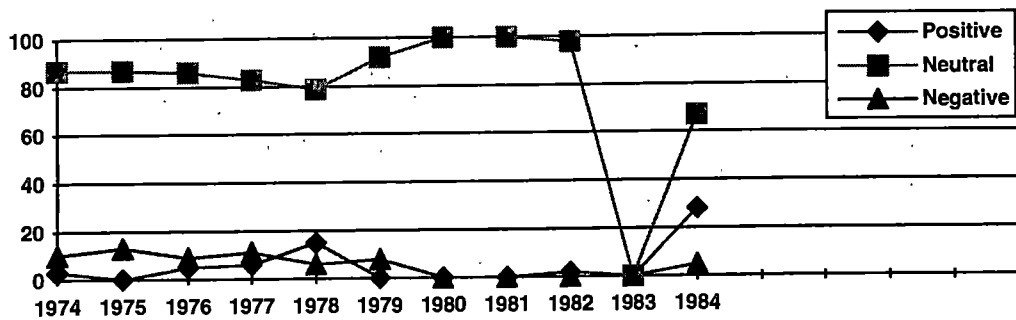
	<u>Newsweek</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>U.S. News</u>	Total
Positive	103 (107.15)	106 (117.09)	64 (48.76)	273
Negative	131 (107.15)	126 (117.09)	16 (48.76)	273
Neutral	1,168 (1,187.70)	1,300 (1,297.83)	558 (540.48)	3,026
Total	1,402	1,532	638	3,572

\*SEE APPENDIX D FOR EXPECTED VALUE CALCULATION.

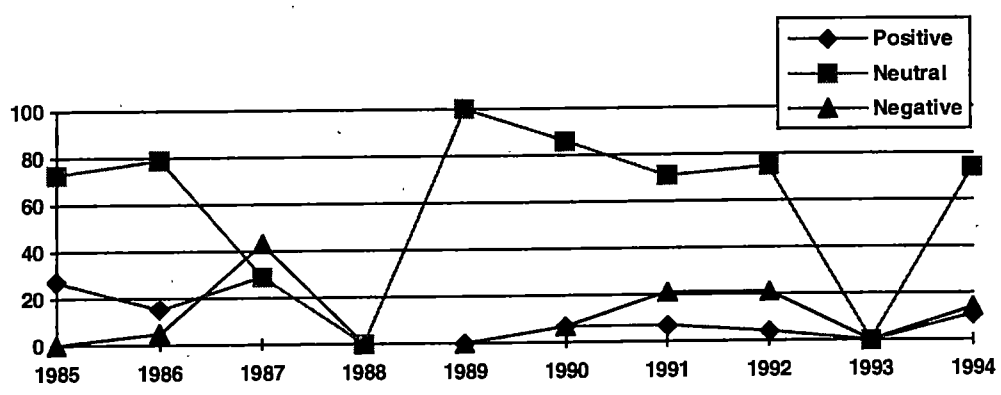
In all three newsweeklies, assertions about the former president were, for the most part, neutral. Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report each had more than 80 percent of neutral assertions during the 20-year period under study. What these findings suggest is the presence of objectivity in all three newsweeklies. Newsweek and Time were similar to each other in that each had a slightly higher percentage of negative than positive assertions about Nixon. Conversely, U.S. News & World Report, though containing less than half the number of assertions overall than either Newsweek or Time, had approximately four times the number of positive assertions than negative about President Nixon. While Table 1 gives an overall view of the newsweekly coverage of Nixon, a trend analysis was also done, depicting a percentage of positive, negative, and neutral assertions about Nixon on a year-to-year basis in each of the newsweeklies (SEE FIGURES 1 THROUGH 3.).

Hypothesis #3: There will be an increase, in percent, in the positive assertions about Nixon in the newsweeklies over time from August 9, 1974, until his funeral in 1994.

The third of the study's four hypotheses was only partially upheld: There was an increase, in percent, in the positive assertions about Nixon in each of the newsweeklies over time from August 9, 1974, until his funeral in 1994; however, the increase wasn't a steady increase over the 20-year period under study. Still, Newsweek had only 3 percent of positive assertions about Richard Nixon in 1974 and 11 percent positive assertions in 1994. Time had 6 percent of positive assertions about Nixon in 1974 and ended with 12 percent of positive assertions in 1994. Meanwhile, U.S. News & World Report started with 1 percent of positive assertions in 1974 and had 15 percent of positive assertions about President Nixon in 1994.



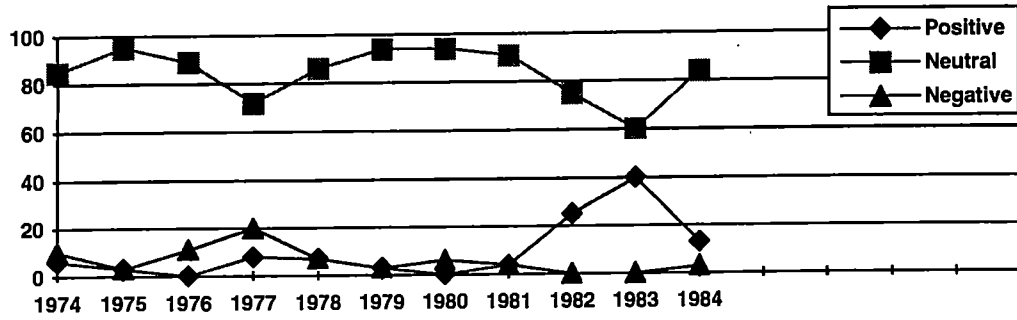
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Positive	3	0	5	6	15	0	0	0	2	0	28
Neutral	87	87	86	83	79	92	100	100	98	0	67
Negative	10	13	9	11	6	8	0	0	0	0	5
N =	420	149	93	132	85	13	23	20	59	0	61



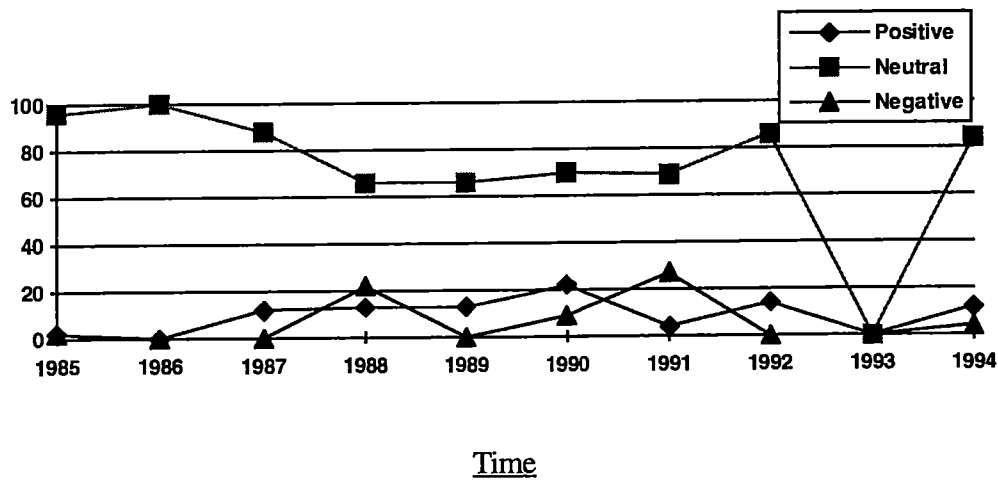
Newsweek

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Positive	27	15	29	0	0	7	7	4	0	11
Neutral	73	79	29	0	100	86	71	75	0	74
Negative	0	5	43	0	0	7	21	21	0	14
N =	30	91	7	0	7	14	14	24	0	160

**Figure 1**  
**Newsweek Coverage of Nixon, 1974-1994, Percentage of Yearly Assertions**



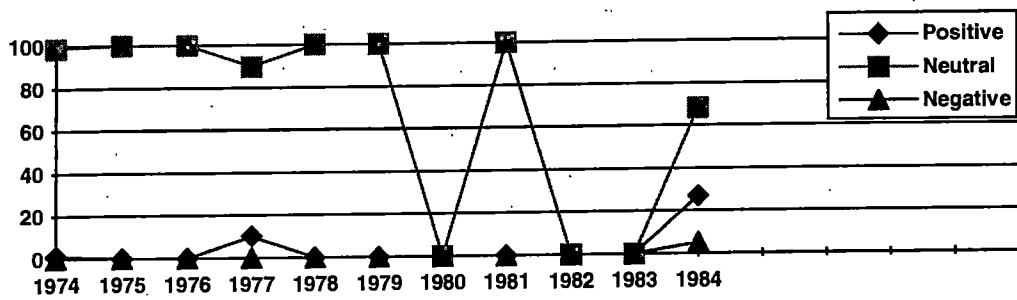
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Positive	6	3	0	8	7	3	0	4	25	40	13
Neutral	85	95	89	72	86	94	94	91	75	60	84
Negative	10	3	11	20	7	3	6	4	0	0	3
N =	514	171	81	121	86	34	16	68	12	5	63



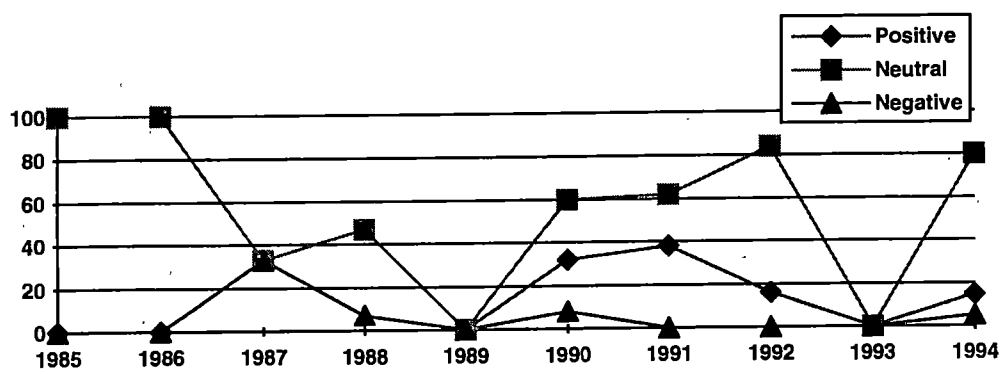
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Positive	2	0	12	13	13	22	4	14	0	12
Neutral	96	100	88	66	88	70	69	86	0	84
Negative	2	0	0	22	0	9	27	0	0	4
N =	45	1	17	32	8	23	26	7	0	202

**Figure 2**  
**Time Coverage of Nixon, 1974-1994, Percentage of Yearly Assertions**





	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Positive	1	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
Neutral	99	100	100	90	100	100	0	100	0	0	68
Negative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
N =	158	62	15	21	27	27	0	2	0	0	22



U.S. News and World Report

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Positive	0	0	33	47	0	32	38	16	0	15
Neutral	100	100	33	47	0	60	62	84	0	80
Negative	0	0	33	7	0	8	0	0	0	5
N =	2	16	3	15	0	25	13	19	0	211

**Figure 3**  
**U.S. News & World Report Coverage of Nixon, 1974-1994,**  
**Percentage of Yearly Assertions**

The actual number of assertions was listed per magazine per year to give context to the percentage of positive, negative, and neutral assertions. Obviously, one positive assertion in a year that had only three total assertions will yield a higher positive percentage than a year that had 59 overall assertions about Nixon. Each of the three newsmagazines had six instances where at least 20 percent of the assertions were either positive or negative toward Nixon. For instance, in 1991 and in 1992 in Newsweek and in 1991 in Time, there was a higher percentage of negative assertions about Nixon than there were in those magazines even in 1974 and 1975. However, the raw number of negative assertions puts those percentages in context. In 1974 and 1975, Newsweek published 40 and 20 negative assertions about Nixon, respectively. Meanwhile, Newsweek published only three and five negative assertions about Nixon in 1991 and 1992, but because there were only 14 and 24 assertions published about Nixon overall in those years, the percentages were higher. Similarly, Time published 50 negative assertions about Nixon in 1974 and published only seven negative assertions about Nixon in 1991, but because there were only 26 assertions published about Nixon overall that year in Time, the percentage of negative assertions was higher.

Newsweek had three years in which Nixon received at least 20 percent positive assertions (1984, 1985, and 1987) and three years of at least 20 percent negative assertions (1987, 1991, and 1992). Meanwhile, Time also had three years in which Nixon received at least 20 percent positive assertions (1982, 1983, and 1990) and another three years of at least 20 percent of negative assertions (1977, 1988, and 1991). Finally, U.S. News & World Report had five years in which Nixon received at least 20 percent positive assertions (1984, 1987, 1988, 1990, and 1991) and one year of at least 20 percent negative assertions (1987).

Articles from these years were examined again to determine if there were particular events that might explain why these years contained a higher percentage than usual of either positive or negative assertions about Nixon. In 1977, for instance, Time had a relatively high percentage of negative assertions about Nixon. The magazine wrote several articles about the series of interviews that Nixon did with David Frost that was broadcast that year. In 1984, both Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report contained a higher percentage than typical of positive assertions about the former president. That was the year that CBS broadcast excerpts of a video memoir by Nixon on its 60 Minutes show. The broadcast received favorable coverage in the two newsweeklies. Also noteworthy for Nixon in 1984 was a particularly well-received speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. In 1985, Newsweek had a higher-than-average percentage of positive assertions about Nixon. Noteworthy events for Nixon that were mentioned in the Newsweek articles were his first appearance since Watergate at a Republican National Committee-sponsored event; being named arbitrator for a salary dispute between major league baseball owners and umpires, and an article about the previous year's presidential election that depicted Nixon as a major adviser in Ronald Reagan's re-election campaign.

Curiously, in 1987, there was an unusually high percentage of both positive and negative assertions about Nixon in Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report. A couple of events seem noteworthy in that year's coverage. First, Newsweek covered the Richard Nixon Presidential Conference at Hofstra University, while U.S. News & World Report wrote a story about Stephen Ambrose's publication of the first volume of his multi-volume biography of Nixon. Perhaps a reason Nixon had a high percentage of both positive and negative assertions is that both of these events

marked a beginning of a scholarly attempt to put Nixon and the Nixon presidency into a more balanced historical perspective. 1990 was a noteworthy year for positive assertions about Nixon in both Time and U.S. News & World Report. Both magazines published articles about the dedication of the Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace that year. Meanwhile, in 1991, both Newsweek and Time had a relatively high percentage of negative assertions about Nixon, by percentage worse even than 1974 and 1975. Both magazines ran stories about a new batch of unflattering Watergate audiotapes that had been released that year by the National Archives. Finally, in 1992, Newsweek had a high percentage of negative assertions about Nixon. The magazine ran a fairly long article about the 20th anniversary of the Watergate break-in. Crowley (1998) notes Nixon's reaction to Time magazine not covering the anniversary: "I see that Time didn't have anything on it. I can't believe that that was intentional, but good for them!" (p. 301)

In addition, chi-square analyses were done to determine if there was a significant difference among the coverage of the three newsweeklies during the first decade and the second decade of Nixon's post-presidency. (SEE TABLES 2 AND 3.) As the tables show, there was a significant difference among the coverage in *each* of the two decades (chi-square = 43.58, 4 d.f.,  $p < .001$ ; chi-square = 17.67, 4 d.f.,  $p < .005$ ). Looking at the observed and expected values for the three newsweeklies, it is apparent that the Nixon coverage by U.S. News & World Report led to the statistically significant difference among the newsweeklies.

Hypothesis #4: There will be themes that are predominant about Nixon in the three newsweeklies' coverage from August 9, 1974, until coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994.

**TABLE 2\***

**DIRECTION OF ASSERTIONS ABOUT RICHARD NIXON  
IN NEWSWEEK, TIME AND U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, 1974-1983  
IN PERCENT**

	<u>Newsweek</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>U.S. News &amp; World Report</u>
Positive	4.12	5.32	0.96
Negative	8.85	8.84	0.00
Neutral	87.02	85.83	99.04
Number	994	1,108	312

Chi-Square = 43.58, 4 d.f.,  $p < .001$

**Observed values (Expected values)**

	<u>Newsweek</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>U.S. News</u>	<b>Total</b>
Positive	41 (42.41)	59 (47.28)	3 (13.31)	103
Negative	88 (76.59)	98 (85.37)	0 (24.04)	186
Neutral	865 (875.00)	951 (975.35)	309 (274.65)	2,125
Total	994	1,108	312	2,414

**\*SEE APPENDIX E FOR EXPECTED VALUE CALCULATION.**

TABLE 3\*

**DIRECTION OF ASSERTIONS ABOUT RICHARD NIXON  
IN NEWSWEEK, TIME AND U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, 1984-1994  
IN PERCENT**

	<u>Newsweek</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>U.S. News &amp; World Report</u>
Positive	15.20	11.08	18.71
Negative	10.54	6.60	4.91
Neutral	74.26	82.31	76.38
Number	408	424	326

Chi-Square = 17.67, 4 d.f.,  $p < .005$

Observed values (Expected values)

	<u>Newsweek</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>U.S. News</u>	Total
Positive	62 (59.90)	47 (62.25)	61 (47.86)	170
Negative	43 (30.65)	28 (31.85)	16 (24.49)	87
Neutral	303 (317.45)	349 (329.90)	249 (253.65)	901
Total	408	424	326	1,158

\*SEE APPENDIX F FOR EXPECTED VALUE CALCULATION.

Finally, and more compellingly, an analysis was done to determine if any themes emerged from the 20-year coverage of the former president. A *theme* is defined as the plural of assertion. From positive and negative assertions about Richard Nixon, 18 themes were identified. Specific examples of these themes will be given in the next chapter. Meanwhile, it is instructive to examine the number of assertions pertaining to each theme on a decade-to-decade basis, for it gives an indication of how each of the newsweeklies framed its coverage of Nixon. (SEE TABLE 4.)

Twelve of the identified themes were determined to be negative. These include assertions depicting the former president as a discredited/disgraced figure, a rambling speaker, a haunting/haunted presence, a sympathetic/tragic figure, a liar, filled with self-pity, an isolated figure, a divisive figure, petty/resentful, malicious, amoral/corrupt, and physically awkward. On the other hand, six of the themes were determined to have a positive connotation. These include assertions about Nixon as a determined individual, a rehabilitated figure, an elder statesman, a master of foreign policy, intelligent, and an adept politician. The examination of themes was divided into decades because this gives a clearer indication of the degree of rehabilitation of Nixon's image in the nation's newsweeklies.

In the first decade following Nixon's resignation from the presidency, the largest number of assertions in Newsweek was associated with negative themes: Nixon as a discredited/disgraced figure, a haunting/haunted national presence, and a figure of sympathy or tragedy. As for the latter theme, one might interpret it as positive, but Ambrose (1991) in the epilogue to his three-volume biography of Nixon concludes that Nixon would not. To give perspective to these figures, all three of these themes in Newsweek had either disappeared or were negligible in the second decade of coverage. Additionally, the most prominent theme about Nixon in the second

TABLE 4

NEWSWEEK, TIME, AND U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT COVERAGE OF  
NIXON, 1974-94,  
 NUMBER OF ASSERTIONS PER THEME PER DECADE

	1974-83			1984-94		
	N	T	U	N	T	U
Discredited	23	18	0	3	3	3
Determined	3	3	1	2	6	1
Rambling speaker	4	1	0	0	1	0
Haunting presence	11	1	0	0	0	0
Sympathetic figure	10	5	0	0	0	0
Rehabilitated	2	2	0	25	17	18
Elder Statesman	0	1	0	5	2	5
Liar	0	8	0	1	1	0
Self-pitied	2	5	0	1	0	1
Isolated figure	1	4	0	4	0	0
Divisive figure	0	1	0	3	3	0
Petty	1	1	0	3	1	1
Malicious	4	3	0	6	2	1
Amoral/corrupt	2	0	0	2	0	2
Master of Foreign Policy	6	15	0	5	7	12
Intelligent	0	1	0	0	2	5
Adept politician	0	0	0	6	3	1
Awkward	0	1	0	1	4	1



decade of Newsweek's coverage was positive: Nixon as a rehabilitated figure. This theme was virtually invisible in the magazine's first decade of coverage, indicating that Nixon's image improved over time in Newsweek.

Similarly, Nixon had a high number of assertions pertaining to the discredited/disgraced theme in Time during the first decade under analysis -- a theme that was much less prominent in the magazine's second decade of coverage. In addition, the theme of rehabilitation was minor in the first ten years of Nixon's post-presidency but became the major theme in the last ten years. One difference between Newsweek and Time concerned the theme of Nixon as a master of foreign policy. This was a prominent theme in Time, particularly during its first ten years of coverage, the only positive theme to be prominent in the first decade of reportage in any of the newsweeklies.

Finally, no themes, positive or negative, were prominent in U.S. News & World Report's first decade of coverage of the former president. Therefore, U.S. News & World Report wasn't as opinionated as either Newsweek or Time during the first decade of coverage because all of the 18 themes identified were either positively or negatively connotative. Lentz (1990) comments similarly about U.S. News & World Report in comparison to Newsweek and Time in his study of coverage of Martin Luther King Jr. from 1955 until 1968. Lentz writes that U.S. News lacked the "vivid prose" (p. 15) of its two newsweekly competitors, even commenting: "Had its competitors not existed, U.S. News almost would have had to invent one or the other so that its drabness would not appear pointless" (p. 15). The vivid prose that Lentz found lacking was also lacking in this study, at least during its first decade of coverage of the former president. This was less true during U.S. News' second decade of coverage of former president Nixon because two major themes were noted

in the magazine's coverage during this period. Like Newsweek and Time, U.S. News & World Report had several assertions under the theme of rehabilitation during the second decade of coverage. The magazine also had another major positive theme, Nixon as master of foreign policy, in its second decade of post-resignation reportage.

The most obvious changes in the newsweeklies from the first decade to the second decade were the dramatic decrease of assertions under the discredited/disgraced theme in Newsweek and Time and, conversely, the major increase of assertions in the rehabilitated theme in all three newsweeklies.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

The years from 1974 through 1994 in America were fertile years for a geopolitical thinker such as Richard Nixon since they were highlighted by foreign policy concerns. In 1975 during the Gerald Ford presidency, South Vietnam fell to the communist forces of North Vietnam. In 1978, under the administration of President Jimmy Carter, the Camp David peace accords were signed between Egypt and Israel. That same year, the Carter administration completed the process, started by Nixon's trip to China in 1972, of restoring diplomatic relations with the communist nation. On a more turbulent note, the Carter presidency was effectively ended by the Iranian hostage crisis in which 53 American diplomats and staff were held hostage in Teheran for 444 days. Iran also proved to be the Reagan administration's biggest crisis. It was revealed that the United States had been selling arms to Iran in an attempt to win the release of American hostages in Lebanon. Moreover, the profits from these arms sales were being diverted half a globe away to the Contra rebels who were fighting to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Unlike the Watergate coverup, however, it could never be established for certain that President Reagan was personally involved in the scheme. During the Bush administration, Communist Party rule ended in Eastern Europe, highlighted by the fall of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of Germany, and the breakup of the Soviet empire. The Middle East was also the crisis area for the Bush presidency. Saddam Hussein's Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990. The

allied ground attack against the Iraqis commenced the following February, crushing the Iraqi army in four days (Tindall and Shi, 1996).

As he had promised in 1978 at Oxford University, Nixon didn't remain quiet during his post-presidency. More than his world travels, interviews with journalists, and opinion columns, Nixon's most lasting legacy during these years was the nine books he produced. Nixon's books can be divided into personal histories of his career and his views of the contemporary world situation. Fitting under the category of personal histories are his autobiography, RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (1978); Leaders (1982), an account and evaluation of world leaders he had known; No More Vietnams (1985); and In the Arena: A Memoir of Victory, Defeat and Renewal (1990). Under the heading of Nixon's contemporaneous views of geopolitics are The Real War (1980), a hawkish view of the Soviet empire on the eve of the Reagan presidency; Real Peace (1984), a more moderate view of Soviet communism just before Reagan's second term; 1999: Victory Without War (1988); Seize the Moment: America's Challenge in a One-Superpower World (1992) in which the old Cold Warrior examines a life without the threat of Soviet communism; and finally, Beyond Peace (1994), which was published just after Nixon's death (Ambrose, 1991; Crowley, 1998).

Bryce Harlow, White House Congressional Liaison during the Nixon administration, once remarked that if Nixon ever had a heart attack, he would rescue himself by giving himself mouth-to-mouth resuscitation (Ambrose, 1991). Americans watched him save his chances at the vice presidency in 1952 when he talked about his dog, Checkers, his spartan lifestyle, and his wife's "Republican cloth coat," assuring his audience that he was above malfeasance (Ambrose, 1987, p. 288). They watched him hurt his first chance at the presidency in 1960 by

appearing ill-shaven and in ill health before the cameras alongside his opponent's tanned good looks. They watched him apparently throw away forever his chances at the presidency in 1962 when he appeared to be a poor loser by lashing out at the press, but even here, his message resonated among those who felt that the media didn't play fairly in politics (Ambrose, 1987). He at last won the presidency in 1968 and again in 1972 by avoiding debates and saturating the airwaves with TV advertisements, carefully controlling his message and his image (Ambrose, 1989; McGinnis, 1969). In the end, Americans watched him surrender his presidency in 1974 after speaking of his sainted mother (Ambrose, 1991). It was a performance both gripping and unsettling, regardless of one's political persuasion. However, still there remained the question, unique to Richard Nixon among all Americans, of what a man could do after being pressured to resign the highest office in the land. With a tenaciousness that must have shocked even his firmest believers, Richard Nixon accomplished the best anyone could under the circumstances a measure of respect at the time of his death in 1994 that was unthinkable twenty years earlier.

### "The prisoner of his ghosts"

As mentioned before, a *theme* is "the plural of assertion. . . . A theme may contain a minimum of two assertions having the same essential meaning" (Budd et al., 1967, p. 48). Meanwhile, an *assertion* could be words, phrases or even entire sentences that express a belief or an attitude. The researcher found 18 different themes regarding the newsweekly coverage of Richard Nixon during the 20-year period under study.

A major theme of the Nixon coverage dealt with the former president as a discredited or disgraced figure. This was especially true of stories in the 1970s. A lot of the coverage pertaining to the discredited/disgraced theme immediately following Nixon's resignation in 1974 had a "get-out-of-town" quality: "The response of friend and foe alike to Nixon's resignation was overwhelmingly one of relief" (Newsweek, 1974); "the shreds of grace with which he made his sorry exit" (Newsweek, 1974); "the real tragedy of his passing last week was that nothing so honored his Presidency as his leaving of it" (Newsweek, 1974); "By his leaving, Nixon seemed at last to redeem the 1968 pledge he took from a girl holding up a campaign sign in Ohio: BRING US TOGETHER" (Time, 1974); "Apart from its stimulating effect on American morale, Nixon's departure will have some healthy practical effects" (Time, 1974).

Also related to this theme of disgrace, particularly in the years immediately following his resignation, is the idea that Nixon was an embarrassment both to President Ford and to the country: "Nixon threatened to be a costly embarrassment to Ford and his party for months" (Newsweek, 1974); "the spectacle of Nixon redux in Peking could hardly help his handpicked successor at the eve of his own struggle for survival in the New Hampshire primary" (Newsweek, 1976); "he profoundly embarrassed the U.S. and its policymakers at an extremely sensitive juncture in U.S.-Chinese relations" (Time, 1976); "The problem is that the President [Ford] has already been acutely and needlessly embarrassed [by Nixon's trip to China]" (Time, 1976).

There was also a connotation in Newsweek and Time from 1974 to 1976 that a part of the disgrace of the Watergate scandal was that Nixon was "getting away with it": "Disturbing as the thought of an ex-President behind bars may be to

many Americans, it is also upsetting to see Nixon's men standing trial and serving time for their part of a conspiracy while he remains unprosecuted" (Newsweek, 1974); "there was something equally absurd about the House Judiciary Committee and the Supreme Court painfully concluding that President Nixon was not above the law, only to have citizen Nixon placed somehow beyond it" (Newsweek, 1974); "the American people have also suffered -- and at Nixon's hands" (Time, 1974); "There was the ex-President, thoroughly disgraced in his own country, being treated in Peking as if he still occupied the Oval Office and Watergate meant nothing more than a fancy apartment building" (Time, 1976).

Even more crushing to Nixon's image as a discredited figure was the suggestion that he was beneath contempt, a non-entity in exile: "Nixon's humiliation was by then complete past celebration even by his enemies" (Newsweek, 1974); "America, in the year of his exile, has made him a kind of nonperson, and has yet to evince any great interest in what he has to say short of a confession" (Newsweek, 1975); "Richard Nixon has lived largely behind the walls of his San Clemente compound, a kind of persona non grata in his own country" (Newsweek, 1976); "the man who became and still remains America's anti-hero" (Time, 1977); "the rascal of the age" (Time, 1981); "there is a tiny whiff of The Man Without a Country around the nation's most prominent political scalawag" (Time, 1979); "a prisoner of his shame" (Newsweek, 1975); "the man who wrote the unhappiest passage in U.S. political history" (Newsweek, 1975); "That an ex-President should be required to submit [writing] samples [for a book contract] was itself an index of Nixon's lost credibility" (Newsweek, 1975); "a virtual hermit since his disgrace at home" (Newsweek, 1976); "something of a subversive" (Time, 1974).

There was some negative reaction to those rare occasions when Nixon appeared publicly in the early days after his resignation, particularly concerning his 1976 trip to China and his series of interviews with David Frost that were aired in 1977. The mood had shifted from "get out of town" to "stay out of town": "It appeared highly doubtful that Richard Nixon had any further role to play between Washington and Peking" (Newsweek, 1976); "The Chinese had shown, in their turn, that they could find a role for even a dishonored ex-President" (Newsweek, 1976); "it is a measure of the widespread cynicism Nixon has so long evoked that they [the Frost interviews] seem destined to do little to restore his lost respect" (Time, 1977).

Even in the 1990s, there were hints that Nixon's attempts to erase the images of disgrace had been unsuccessful: "He knows Watergate will torment him forever" (U.S. News & World Report, 1990); "he will always be remembered, as he was at his death last week at 81, as the chief perpetrator -- and chief victim -- of the Watergate scandal, the only President ever to resign in disgrace" (Time, 1994). It is important to note, however, that when the disgrace theme appeared in the second decade of Nixon's post-presidency, it was always in reference to Watergate. So in that sense, the disgrace theme was used only in a historical context.

Conversely, another frequent theme in all three newsweeklies about Nixon concerned the former president's ability at rehabilitating his image. This motif was especially prominent in stories from the 1980s and 1990s, indicating that Nixon was largely successful in coming back from his disgrace in the 1970s to re-establish his credibility as a public figure. Although the rehabilitation theme appeared rarely in stories from the 1970s, when it did appear, it was in context of Nixon's trips abroad or as a writer: "As for Nixon, the trip [to China] was an ideal opportunity to begin his own rehabilitation at the scene of his greatest triumph" (Newsweek, 1976); "his



reception in both Britain and France encouraged Nixon's assumption that the world eventually will grow bored with Watergate and reassess his Presidency -- and his mettle" (Newsweek, 1978); "Richard M. Nixon's personal recollections of his roller-coaster career are a valuable contribution to the history of his times" (Time, 1978).

However, during the last ten years of his life, Nixon began earning plaudits for staying involved with the world: "his Lazarus-like qualities" (Newsweek, 1984); "Richard Nixon is well on his way back to respectability" (Newsweek, 1984); "a certain nostalgia has developed, particularly for his foreign policy" (Newsweek, 1984); "there is a new attitude toward Nixon in many quarters" (Newsweek, 1984); "His longtime adversaries were, mostly, enthralled" (Newsweek, 1984); "Nixon played the Great Conciliator [with the press]" (Newsweek 1984); "asked to handicap the 1984 presidential race, he gave a bravura performance" (Newsweek, 1984); "Nixon also won perhaps the most positive proof of his increased palatability: he was named arbitrator for a salary dispute between baseball owners and umpires" (Newsweek, 1985); "his conversations with the White House have been far from pro forma" (Newsweek, 1985); "his standing with the president [Reagan] is unquestioned" (Newsweek, 1986); "political technicians see Richard Nixon's rehabilitation as a near-flawless performance" (Newsweek, 1986); "The political figure who has been revived more times than 'Oklahoma'" (Newsweek, 1990); "He came back, as he always had, full of want and grit and political cunning" (Newsweek, 1994); "somehow he always seemed to survive, to thrust himself back into public life in a new, new guise that was still, at heart, the same old Nixon" (Newsweek, 1994); "Even some of his enemies set aside their grievances to pay tribute to his indomitable presence in American politics, which survived defeat and disgrace to span nearly half a century" (Newsweek, 1994); "After all that one knows

about Nixon, you would think it is impossible to feel admiration for him, much less affection, but then you realize that you are staring across the study at a man whom the citizens of your country elected to save it and to lead the world, not once but twice, nearly three times: who right now, today, senses enough about what America wants from its presidency to go on the stump and bring down the house" (Time, 1988); "He worked long, stubbornly and bravely, to rehabilitate his reputation" (Time, 1990); "(he) kept himself on a relentless forward trajectory" (Time, 1990); "He was performing yet again his old miracle of self-resurrection" (Time, 1990); "By the time he died at 9:08 Friday evening, something close to affection, born of such long familiarity, could be discerned, even from his enemies" (Time, 1994); "Other politicians came and went, but Nixon was always coming back" (Time, 1994); "By sheer endurance, he was the most important figure of the postwar era" (Time, 1994); "an outsize energy and determination drove him on to recover and rebuild after every self-created disaster that he faced" (Time, 1994); "To reclaim a respected place in American public life after his resignation, he kept traveling and thinking and talking to the world's leaders" (Time, 1994); "he began a patient and calculated climb back to respectability" (Time, 1994); "Nixon had been pardoned again" (Time, 1994); "History will judge Richard Nixon as much more than the Watergate man" (Time, 1994); "he has rebounded so often from past travails that he carries a reputation as a political Lazarus" (U.S. News & World Report, 1984); "Nixon's influence is sure to outlast Reagan's term" (U.S. News & World Report, 1988); "Nixon may yet win the battle for history" (U.S. News & World Report, 1988); "Nixon carefully orchestrated his climb back to influence" (U.S. News & World Report, 1988); "Nixon's reach is unparalleled" (U.S. News & World Report, 1990); "of late arguably the most dignified of our former Presidents" (U.S. News &

World Report, 1990); "Nixon left behind what historians probably will judge as an above-average legacy" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "he made a very calculated -- and very successful -- effort to rehabilitate his life and reputation" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "he applied that same kind of rigorous analysis to his own comeback" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "Nixon's road back from the humiliation of August 1974 was very long" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994).

That Nixon had come so far from the "disgrace" stories of the 1970s can be seen from these retrospective assertions following his death: "Yet along with the restrained murmurings came a surprising show of another sentiment that Richard Nixon craved and never quite got enough of: respect" (Newsweek, 1994); "Death delivered to Richard Nixon what he coveted most over the last 20 years: reconciliation with the political establishment" (Newsweek, 1994); "it was clear that Richard Nixon had finally gained [in death] that for which he had struggled so desperately for so long: the esteem of his countrymen" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "For Nixon, having Clinton's ear meant influence, respectability, even a measure of vindication" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994). Granted, Nixon received respectful treatment at his death, but he wasn't the first dead politician to become a statesman. Harry Truman once said that a statesman is a politician who's been dead 10 or 15 years (Augarde, 1991). Nixon was ahead of schedule.

A key theme toward Nixon's "rehabilitation" stories was that Nixon was able to magnify attention on his strength, foreign policy: "Foreign policy, however, was always Nixon's strong suit, and there, with the brilliant help of Henry Kissinger, he wrote himself a distinguished page in history" (Newsweek, 1974); "Nixon's diplomatic triumphs were real" (Newsweek, 1974); "It was apparent that the Chinese were eager to hear his views -- and even more eager for him to hear theirs"

(Newsweek, 1976); "Nixon's trip gave the United States a close-up view of Chinese political development at a critical moment" (Newsweek, 1976); "his artful diplomatic skills" (Newsweek, 1978); "Nixon's own deft diplomacy" (Newsweek, 1978); "He would know how to approach the Russians" (Newsweek, 1984); "his undeniable expertise in foreign policy" (Newsweek, 1984); "The importance of arms control and U.S.-Soviet relations play right into areas of his universally acknowledged expertise" (Newsweek, 1985); "his diplomatic victories have not been matched" (Newsweek, 1985); "Nixon is warmly remembered around the world, and especially in Russia" (Newsweek, 1994); "the conduct of foreign policy should resume the high level of competence Nixon and Kissinger established several years ago" (Time, 1974); "His foreign policy accomplishments were remarkable" (Time, 1974); "he and Kissinger in effect redefined America's role in the world" (Time, 1974); "The rapprochement with Peking was a bold reversal of a longstanding and ultimately unrealistic U.S. policy" (Time, 1974); "they [Nixon and Kissinger] achieved something that had seemed impossible for years: a U.S. departure that could not be called a sell-out of the non-Communist regime in Saigon" (Time, 1974); "a visionary of foreign policy" (Time, 1974); "He shows justifiable pride in his overtures to Peking" (Time, 1977); "(He) demonstrates a clarity about SALT that is pertinent to the impending U.S.-U.S.S.R. negotiations in Geneva" (Time, 1977); "he will perform at his best, describing for Frost his role in the big power politics of dealing with China, Russia, SALT and the Middle East" (Time, 1977); "Nixon's foreign policy accomplishments -- China, SALT, the Middle East and the rest -- look pretty good against the developing Democratic record" (Time, 1978); "he was the last President to conduct a coherent and largely successful policy for managing the rivalry between the superpowers" (Time, 1982); "During his six years in office,

Soviet mischief making in the Third World was more restrained than it has been since" (Time, 1982); "His optimism on the future of Sino-American relations is based not only on nostalgia but on cogent analysis and firsthand experience" (Time, 1982); "his book is a survival guide for civilized nations surrounded by global punks" (Time, 1983); "What is plain in this arresting little volume is that Nixon, were he President, would take the U.S. and its allies on a global crusade to sell the glories of our system to the Third World, to carry a big stick against bullies, to tone down our morality lectures to allies and instead listen more to their problems, to make the search for real peace an exciting competition" (Time, 1983); "Nixon most impressed the editors [at the annual meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors] with an informed survey of American foreign policy, which he delivered without notes" (Time, 1984); "Nixon brings back to mind the far-seeing foreign policy analyst whom Watergate, and Viet Nam, destroyed" (Time, 1985); "the past master of summitry, Richard Nixon" (Time, 1987); "If any outsider had the stature to force the Chinese leaders to conduct what a Western diplomat called a 'reality check' on their view of the world, it was Nixon" (Time, 1989); "He was perhaps the most practiced American statesman to occupy the White House in this century" (Time, 1994); "He understood the world in a deep and subtle way" (Time, 1994); "The master of geopolitics" (U.S. News & World Report, 1988); "Nixon wrote a three-page, single-spaced treatise on U.S.-Soviet relations that Bush now regards as prescient" (U.S. News & World Report, 1991); "the two men [Nixon and Bush] share a hard-headed, pragmatic view of international affairs" (U.S. News & World Report, 1991); "(he) provides a welcome antidote to the fanciful notion that history has ended because the world has put so many totalitarians to flight" (U.S. News & World Report, 1992); "a sure grasp of foreign policy" (U.S. News & World Report,

1994); "playing the international chessboard as adroitly as a grand master" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "Nixon held tough [with the Soviets]" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "In Vietnam, Nixon had fewer pieces on the board, but he made the best of those he had" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "Nixon probably produced the most deft and creative foreign policy performance by a president in this century" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "He had the satisfaction of contributing through his books and his skillful dealings with foreign leaders to achieving his 1940s goal in a world he had done much -- albeit not as much as he hoped -- to shape" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "In foreign matters, Nixon was always a shrewd strategic thinker" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "Like Nixon, Reagan was moving beyond his cold-war past to a more pragmatic view of the Communist world" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994). Every trip Nixon took to the Soviet Union or to China during his post-presidential years was a reminder to Americans that he was the author of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union and the man who opened the doors to Peking. He was the man who conceived of triangular diplomacy in playing off the Soviets and the Chinese against each other and winning concessions for the United States in the process. Nixon could only be helped by such reminders. Hugh Sidey (1987) states that as ex-president, Nixon even served Chinese dinners when entertaining journalists as a reminder of his greatest accomplishment as president. A good example of Nixon's increasing stature as a foreign policy analyst after his presidency is the fact that both Newsweek and Time wrote articles in 1989 following the Tiananmen Square massacre that depicted Nixon as an essential go-between for Washington and Beijing in helping to alleviate tensions. This was a far cry from stories in the 1970s that pronounced Nixon's visit to China as meddling and an

embarrassment both to President Ford and America. Equally stunning is Time and U.S. News & World Report calling Nixon's statesmanship the best of any president during the 20th century. This is especially high praise given the diplomatic legacy of the two Roosevelts and Woodrow Wilson.

In the 1980s and continuing for the rest of Nixon's life, the theme of elder statesman emerged: "(Nixon) was covered by the local papers [at a GOP rally in Indiana] as an elder statesman -- not a politician in disgrace" (Newsweek, 1984); "the unofficial gray eminence to the 1984 Reagan campaign" (Newsweek, 1985); "he is well launched in yet another new life, this time as the presiding sage of Saddle River, N.J." (Newsweek, 1986); "Nixon personifies the elder statesman" (Newsweek, 1986); "As the Republican Party's gray eminence on foreign policy, Nixon" (Newsweek, 1992); "ubiquitous elder statesman without portfolio" (Time, 1981); "he has made Saddle River a Delphi for the nation's politicians" (Time, 1988); "by the time Bill Clinton came to the White House, Nixon had virtually cemented his role as an elder statesman" (Time, 1994); "the master of secret diplomacy is at it again -- this time in the role of Wise Man" (U.S. News & World Report, 1988); "The former President can't really get his old job back, so he has opted to be an elder statesman" (U.S. News & World Report, 1988); "he has positioned himself as a sage" (U.S. News & World Report, 1988); "The newest 'new Nixon' is one of George Bush's most valued informal advisers" (U.S. News & World Report, 1991); "For Bush, Nixon's the one" (U.S. News & World Report, 1991).

Another positive theme from the newsweeklies is the determination with which Richard Nixon fought to reclaim his place in history: "even enemies admired his sheer cussedness" (Newsweek, 1994); "It is almost impossible to imagine the pain of his fall, and equally impossible to imagine the strength that kept him going" (Time,

1994); "he leaves another, brighter monument: his own superhuman determination and stamina" (Time, 1994); "It seems almost impossible that he has finally been defeated [by death]" (Time, 1994). Julie Nixon Eisenhower (1986) recounts the time when her mother asked her father how he kept going during that period following his resignation. Nixon replied, "I just get up in the morning to confound my enemies" (p. 439). The story is illustrative of the persistence with which Nixon fought to reclaim his legacy.

Two other positive themes about Nixon that were reserved almost exclusively to the 1980s and 1990s pertained to the former president's intelligence and adept political instincts: "still insatiably full of ideas" (Time, 1984); "his shrewd intelligence" (Time, 1994); "his mind continues to cut a deeper furrow than almost any other in American public life" (U.S. News & World Report, 1992); "brilliant" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "the thoughtful man" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "mature intelligence" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "after dinner he would often speak, never using notes and dazzling his audience with his apparently effortless brilliance" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "His knowledge of political gamesmanship is increasingly valued by Republicans" (Newsweek, 1985); "He is still regarded as one of the [Republican] party's premier handicappers" (Newsweek, 1986); "His rare mistakes [in political predictions] tell more about the flaws in other people's judgment than his own" (Newsweek, 1986); "a brilliant tactician" (Newsweek, 1987); "an agile and resourceful politician" (Newsweek, 1994); "His race against John Kennedy was a classic of the genre, pitting two immensely able young politicians in the tightest of election years" (Newsweek, 1994); "skillfully campaigning" (Time, 1984); "his mastery of political strategy" (Time, 1994); "Nixon knew more about politics than almost anyone else in



Eisenhower's Administration" (Time, 1994); "the old political street fighter showed that age had not dulled his instincts" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994).

Perhaps the strangest theme in the Nixon coverage cast Nixon as a haunting/haunted national presence. These assertions appeared exclusively in the 1970s and almost entirely in Newsweek: "the spectral presence of Richard Nixon" (Newsweek, 1974); "Richard Nixon returned to fill the nation's headlines and haunt the nation's psyche" (Newsweek, 1974); "Richard Nixon has been a ghostly national presence -- rarely seen and almost never heard in public" (Newsweek, 1975); "He materialized like a ghost on the suave greens of California's La Costa Country Club" (Newsweek, 1975); "Nixon thus remains the prisoner of his ghosts" (Newsweek, 1975); "He moved haunted through his fifteen-room mansion on the Pacific bluffs" (Newsweek, 1975); "The ghostly protocols survive" (Newsweek, 1975); "[Nixon's face is] still hauntingly familiar" (Newsweek, 1977); "Richard Nixon is still haunted by the 42 million documents and more than 5,000 hours of taped conversations he had to leave behind when he resigned his Presidency three years ago" (Newsweek, 1977); "The session left troubling questions unanswered, doubts unresolved, and Ford still struggling to find a way of exorcising the wraith of Nixon that haunts his presidency" (Time, 1974). Stephen King (1981) in his study of the horror genre maintains that what makes the ghost so frightening is that it often gives us an image of ourselves. Wicker (1991) writes that while Kennedy gave Americans an idealized version of themselves, Nixon presented a truer vision of what Americans are. In other words, Kennedy's was an image that America wished for itself -- vital, energetic, perpetually youthful and vigorous -- whereas Nixon's image was one of America's reality -- hardworking yet far from perfect. Nixon's image was much easier for Americans to relate to because of its glaring imperfections.

Rivele, Wilkinson, and Stone (1995) in the screenplay to the film Nixon hit upon this same theme in all its ghostly, doppelganger context. Near the end of the movie, the Nixon character, ravaged by the battles of the presidency, stands before a portrait of Kennedy hanging in the corridor of The White House and observes: "When they look at you, they see what they want to be. When they look at me, they see what they are" (p. 303). The scene is more than metaphoric. Woodward and Bernstein (1976) quote Nixon's son-in-law as saying that Nixon did indeed talk to the portraits of former presidents during the last nights of his presidency. Nixon's relationship with the American people seemed to be one of mutual mistrust arising from the knowledge that Nixon reflected an imperfect America. As Nixon told Hugh Sidey (1987) of Time magazine: "You've got to be a little evil to understand those people out there. You have to have known the dark side of life to understand those people" (p. 312). Because Nixon knew the imperfections that existed within America, he was never able to trust it fully as witnessed by the repeated secrecy of his administration both in foreign policy and domestically. Similarly, a large segment of the American population mistrusted President Nixon's comments about the Vietnam war as well as his involvement in the Watergate coverup. That Nixon may have haunted the American psyche was because he understood it so well and was even able to manipulate it cynically as seen in his Southern strategy for election in 1968 by playing to the fears of white Americans toward racial integration (Wicker, 1995). The portrait that Nixon painted of America and of himself was unflattering but accurate. Perhaps this was why Newsweek saw Nixon as a haunting/haunted character.

Nixon was also seen as a figure deserving of sympathy. However, the theme of Nixon as sympathetic/tragic figure only appeared in the 1970s: "It was a lonely and

suddenly vulnerable Nixon who bade a wet-eyed farewell to his assembled staff and cabinet" (Newsweek, 1974); "his rigorous self-control dissolving into bathos" (Newsweek, 1974); "Richard Nixon disappeared in melancholy silence behind the walls of his San Clemente compound" (Newsweek, 1975); "Nixon remains a severely reduced man" (Newsweek, 1975); "San Clemente, to an extent, is still his prison" (Newsweek, 1975); "He clings with equal fervor to any evidence that he is not entirely lovelorn outside his compound walls" (Newsweek, 1975); "so Nixon lives in a shadowland between his dreams of redemption and the unanswered judgement of the world" (Newsweek, 1975); "suddenly the former Chief Executive seems on the verge of tears, a tragic figure" (Newsweek, 1977); "his life in brooding exile in San Clemente" (Newsweek, 1977); "Richard Nixon, whatever his remaining perquisites or power, is a lost man" (Time, 1974); "The notion that Nixon was cynically slipping beyond punishment was just not true" (Time, 1974); "Nixon looks like a beaten man [in the Frost interview]" (Time, 1977).

Similar to the sympathetic/tragic figure theme is the Nixon self-pity theme. Again, most of the self-pity assertions were written in the 1970s: "There is a familiar touch of self-pity as Nixon reminds Frost that he is answering without notes" (Newsweek, 1977); "his mawkish . . . White House goodbye" (Time, 1974); "his . . . self-pitying White House goodbye" (Time, 1974); "there were tears of self-pity in that act" (Time, 1977). Ambrose (1991) states that even though Nixon was nominated for national office five times and won four of those elections -- very nearly winning the fifth against Kennedy in 1960 -- that Nixon still believed life had treated him unfairly. Self-pity was a part of his basic makeup.

Other negative themes in the newsweeklies included Nixon as liar, divisive figure, petty/resentful, malicious, and amoral/corrupt: "a frequent inability to face or tell

the truth" (Time, 1974); "However damning to Nixon's never really credible Watergate defenses" (Time, 1977); "he is destined to fail in these interviews to persuade any but his partisan followers that his Watergate lies and, yes, crimes, were the result of mere failures of judgment" (Time, 1977); "the same old distortions and deceptions (along with some new ones) on the now tedious details of the criminal cover-up in his White House" (Time, 1977); "Nixon's extension of the modified, limited hang-out to the TV interview did much to undermine the credibility of his apology" (Time, 1977); "the false premise on which he based most of his emotional self-defense" (Time, 1977); "Only on some highly specific points, including his familiar version of Watergate events, will critics wonder if his book lives up to its classification as nonfiction" (Time, 1978); "deceitful . . . character" (Time, 1991); "he was a divisive figure in national life" (Newsweek, 1994); "a polarizer" (Newsweek, 1994); "Nixon consistently failed to appeal to the better natures of American citizens" (Time 1974); "These were fiercely contentious times, and Nixon was partly to blame for that" (Time, 1994); "He had always been the fighter rather than the conciliator" (Time, 1994); "his White House, as revealed in the transcripts, was saturated with pettiness" (Time, 1974); "lowbrow . . . character" (Time, 1991); "an unrestrained aggressiveness in fighting a legion of real and imagined 'enemies'" (Newsweek, 1974); "The President's purveyors of 'dirty tricks' had tarnished the political process" (Newsweek, 1974); "It completed the self-portrait of a man who still blames his troubles on others, friends and foes alike, who has never quit listing his enemies or dreaming of vengeance on them" (Newsweek, 1977); "ruthless" (Newsweek, 1987); "vengeful" (Newsweek, 1991); "mean-minded" (Newsweek, 1991); "Nixon loved . . . long-range violence" (Newsweek, 1991); "he was also the man who contributed 'enemies list' to the annals and vocabulary of

abusive power" (Newsweek, 1992); "he was inclined to retaliate savagely, living under constant temptation to show up his enemies" (Time, 1974); "all his life he took his anger out on his opponents as well as himself" (Time, 1974); "he gave undue aid and comfort to the narrow and mean-spirited" (Time, 1974); "when it came to mud-slinging, she was up against a champion [Nixon]" (Time, 1994); "a fighter who revels in combat" (U.S. News & World Report, 1984); "Nixon ran, quite simply, the most corrupt Administration in U.S. history" (Newsweek, 1974); "in practice he violated enough of them [principles] to make all of his protestations suspect" (Newsweek, 1974); "the same moral blindspots that fueled his fall are still glaringly evident" (Newsweek, 1984); "it is evidence of a moral myopia that afflicted him all his life" (Newsweek, 1994); "whose shaky moral compass presaged his inevitable fall" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994); "by missing the public's new insistence on a moral political process, he undermined the old ideas of patriotism and traditional values of which he was the major symbol" (U.S. News & World Report, 1994).

It is easy to attempt to psychoanalyze the career of Richard Nixon, and all three newsweeklies did this in their coverage to varying degrees. There is an inherent fascination in the attempted comeback of a famous figure who has suffered a great fall. Most of the 18 themes concern the personality rather than the political career of Nixon. The complexity of Nixon seemed to spring from the fact that he was an outsider operating in the most social of occupations. One of Nixon's political heroes was the 19th-century British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli. Blake (1966) writes in his biography of Disraeli about two character traits, determination and isolation, that Disraeli possessed that were also identified as themes in the newsweekly coverage of Nixon:

it is certain that throughout his adult life he was conscious of dwelling apart from other men and it is probable that this awareness first came upon him when he was a schoolboy. Perhaps we need not look beyond it for the clue to his extraordinary determination to climb to the top. If he could not "belong," he could at least rule. To the end of his days he remained an alien figure, never truly merged in the social and political order which after a lifetime of vicissitudes he had so strangely come to dominate at last. (p. 16)

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to answer four research questions:

- 1) Was there a statistically significant difference in the total number of positive and negative assertions about Nixon in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994?
- 2) Was U.S. News & World Report more favorable in its assertions about former president Nixon than Newsweek and Time were from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994?
- 3) Was there an increase, in percent, in the positive assertions about Nixon in the newsweeklies over time from August 9, 1974, until his funeral in 1994?
- 4) Were there themes that were predominant about Nixon in the three newsweeklies' coverage from August 9, 1974, until coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994?

The study's hypotheses are:

- 1) There will be a statistically significant difference in the total number of positive and negative assertions about Nixon in the three newsweeklies from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994. [accepted]
- 2) U.S. News & World Report will be more favorable in its assertions about former president Nixon than Newsweek and Time were from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994. [accepted]

3) There will be an increase, in percent, in the positive assertions about Nixon in the newsweeklies over time from August 9, 1974, until his funeral in 1994. [partially accepted]

4) There will be themes that were predominant about Nixon in the three newsweeklies' coverage from August 9, 1974, until coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994. [accepted]

A chi-square analysis of the direction of assertions about Richard Nixon in the three newsweeklies indicated that there was a highly significant difference in the direction of coverage among Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report. Therefore, the first two of the study's hypotheses were upheld: There was a statistically significant difference in the total number of positive and negative assertions about Nixon in the three newsweeklies from August 9, 1974, until the coverage of Nixon's funeral in 1994. The Nixon coverage by U.S. News & World Report led to the statistically significant difference among the newsweeklies. As a result, this analysis examined each of the newsweeklies' coverage of Richard Nixon on an individual rather than collective basis. The most significant finding of this study is that in all three newsweeklies, assertions about the former president were, for the most part, neutral. Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report each had more than 80 percent of neutral assertions during the 20-year period under study. Newsweek and Time were similar to each other in that each had a slightly higher percentage of negative than positive assertions about Nixon. Conversely, U.S. News & World Report, though containing less than half the number of assertions overall than either Newsweek or Time, had approximately four times the number of positive assertions than negative about President Nixon.



A trend analysis was also conducted, depicting a percentage of positive, negative, and neutral assertions about Nixon on a year-to-year basis in each of the newsweeklies. The third of the study's four hypotheses was only partially upheld: There was an increase, in percent, in the positive assertions about Nixon in each of the newsweeklies over time from August 9, 1974, until his funeral in 1994; however, the increase wasn't a steady increase over the 20-year period under study. For instance, in 1991 and in 1992 in Newsweek and in 1991 in Time, there was a higher percentage of negative assertions about Nixon than there were in those magazines even in 1974 and 1975. However, the raw number of negative assertions puts those percentages in context. In 1974 and 1975, Newsweek published 40 and 20 negative assertions about Nixon, respectively. Meanwhile, Newsweek published only three and five negative assertions about Nixon in 1991 and 1992, but because there were only 14 and 24 assertions published about Nixon overall in those years, the percentages were higher. Similarly, Time published 50 negative assertions about Nixon in 1974 and published only seven negative assertions about Nixon in 1991, but because there were only 26 assertions published about Nixon overall that year in Time, the percentage of negative assertions was higher.

Newsweek had three years in which Nixon received at least 20 percent positive assertions (1984, 1985, and 1987) and three years of at least 20 percent negative assertions (1987, 1991, and 1992). Meanwhile, Time also had three years in which Nixon received at least 20 percent positive assertions (1982, 1983, and 1990) and another three years of at least 20 percent of negative assertions (1977, 1988, and 1991). Finally, U.S. News & World Report had five years in which Nixon received at least 20 percent positive assertions (1984, 1987, 1988, 1990, and 1991) and one year of at least 20 percent negative assertions (1987).

Articles from these years were examined again to determine if there were particular events that might explain why these years contained a higher percentage than usual of either positive or negative assertions about Nixon. In 1977, for instance, Time had a relatively high percentage of negative assertions about Nixon. The magazine wrote several articles about the series of interviews that Nixon did with David Frost that was broadcast that year. In 1984, both Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report contained a higher percentage than typical of positive assertions about the former president. That was the year that CBS broadcast excerpts of a video memoir by Nixon on its 60 Minutes show. The broadcast received favorable coverage in the two newsweeklies. Also noteworthy for Nixon in 1984 was a particularly well-received speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. In 1985, Newsweek had a higher-than-average percentage of positive assertions about Nixon. Noteworthy events for Nixon that were mentioned in the Newsweek articles were his first appearance since Watergate at a Republican National Committee-sponsored event, being named arbitrator for a salary dispute between major league baseball owners and umpires, and an article about the previous year's presidential election that depicted Nixon as a major adviser in Ronald Reagan's re-election campaign.

Curiously, in 1987, there was an unusually high percentage of both positive and negative assertions about Nixon in Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report. A couple of events seem noteworthy in that year's coverage. First, Newsweek covered the Richard Nixon Presidential Conference at Hofstra University, while U.S. News & World Report wrote a story about Stephen Ambrose's publication of the first volume of his multi-volume biography of Nixon. Perhaps a reason Nixon had a high percentage of both positive and negative assertions is that both of these events

marked a beginning of a scholarly attempt to put Nixon and the Nixon presidency into a more balanced historical perspective. 1990 was a noteworthy year for positive assertions about Nixon in both Time and U.S. News & World Report. Both magazines published articles about the dedication of the Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace that year. Meanwhile, in 1991, both Newsweek and Time had a relatively high percentage of negative assertions about Nixon, by percentage worse even than 1974 and 1975. Both magazines ran stories about a new batch of unflattering Watergate audiotapes that had been released that year by the National Archives. Finally, in 1992, Newsweek had a high percentage of negative assertions about Nixon. The magazine ran a fairly long article about the 20th anniversary of the Watergate break-in. Crowley (1998) notes Nixon's reaction to Time magazine not covering the anniversary: "I see that Time didn't have anything on it. I can't believe that that was intentional, but good for them!" (p. 301)

Nonetheless, Newsweek had only 3 percent of positive assertions about Richard Nixon in 1974 and 11 percent of positive assertions in 1994. Time had 6 percent of positive assertions about Nixon in 1974 and ended with 12 percent of positive assertions in 1994. Finally, U.S. News & World Report started with 1 percent of positive assertions in 1974 and had 15 percent of positive assertions about President Nixon in 1994.

Additionally, an analysis was done to determine whether any themes emerged from the 20-year coverage of the former president. A *theme* is defined as the plural of assertion. From positive and negative assertions about Richard Nixon, 18 themes were identified.

Twelve of the identified themes were determined to be negative. These include assertions depicting the former president as a discredited/disgraced figure, a

rambling speaker, a haunting/haunted presence, a sympathetic/tragic figure, a liar, filled with self-pity, an isolated figure, a divisive figure, petty/resentful, malicious, amoral/corrupt, and physically awkward. On the other hand, six of the themes were determined to have a positive connotation. These include assertions about Nixon as a determined individual, a rehabilitated figure, an elder statesman, a master of foreign policy, intelligent, and an adept politician. The examination of themes was divided into decades because this gives a clearer indication of the degree of rehabilitation of Nixon's image in the nation's newsweeklies.

In the first decade following Nixon's resignation from the presidency, the largest number of assertions in Newsweek was associated with negative themes: Nixon as a discredited/disgraced figure, a haunting/haunted national presence, and a figure of sympathy or tragedy. To give perspective to these figures, all three of these themes in Newsweek had either disappeared or were negligible in the second decade of coverage. Additionally, the most prominent theme about Nixon in the second decade of Newsweek's coverage was positive: Nixon as a rehabilitated figure. This theme was virtually invisible in the magazine's first decade of coverage, indicating that Nixon's image improved over time in Newsweek.

Similarly, Nixon had a high number of assertions pertaining to the discredited/disgraced theme in Time during the first decade of analysis -- a theme that was much less prominent in the magazine's second decade of coverage. In addition, the theme of rehabilitation was minor in the first ten years of Nixon's post-presidency but became the major theme in the last ten years. One difference between Newsweek and Time concerned the theme of Nixon as a master of foreign policy. This was a positive theme in Time, particularly during its first ten years of

coverage, the only positive theme to be prominent in the first decade of reportage in any of the newsweeklies.

Finally, no themes, positive or negative, were prominent in U.S. News & World Report's first decade of coverage of the former president. Therefore, U.S. News & World Report wasn't as opinionated as Newsweek or Time during the first decade of coverage because all 18 themes were either positively or negatively connotative. Lentz (1990) comments similarly about U.S. News & World Report in comparison to Newsweek and Time in his study of coverage of Martin Luther King Jr. from 1955 until 1968. Lentz writes that U.S. News lacked the "vivid prose" (p. 15) of its two newsweekly competitors, even commenting: "Had its competitors not existed, U.S. News almost would have had to invent one or the other so that its drabness would not appear pointless" (p. 15). The vivid prose that Lentz found lacking was also lacking in this study, at least during its first decade of coverage of the former president. This was less true during U.S. News' second decade of coverage of former president Nixon because two major themes were noted in the magazine's coverage during this period. Like Newsweek and Time, U.S. News & World Report had several assertions under the theme of rehabilitation during the second decade of coverage. The magazine also had another major positive theme, Nixon as master of foreign policy, in its second decade of post-resignation reportage.

The most obvious changes in the newsweeklies from the first decade to the second decade were the dramatic decrease of assertions under the discredited/disgraced theme in Newsweek and Time and, conversely, the major increase of assertions in the rehabilitated theme in all three newsweeklies.

As mentioned previously, this is not a study to determine whether the newsweeklies are biased. In fact, Time's debut in 1923 marked a return to the days of interpretive journalism. As Time co-founder Henry Luce once said:

I am a Protestant, a Republican and a free-enterpriser . . . which means I am biased in favor of God, Eisenhower and the stockholders of Time Inc. -- and if anybody who objects doesn't know this by now, why the hell are they still spending 35 cents for the magazine? (Swanberg, 1972, p. 383)

Obviously, Luce believed that objectivity is a myth, and the magazine under his leadership made no pretense of trying to achieve it. No assertion is made here that the newsweeklies are or even claim to be objective. Their use in this study is to serve as a record of positive, negative, and neutral coverage during the years of attempted rehabilitation by Richard Nixon. No previous president had been so closely associated with the press as had Nixon during his political career, a career that spanned from national coverage of the Alger Hiss case in 1948 to Nixon's death in 1994. In fact, with the ongoing release of presidential audiotapes and memoirs of Nixon associates, national media coverage of Nixon's career continues even today.

The purpose of this study is to assess Nixon's coverage in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report by employing quantitative methods to carry out a content analysis of the articles about the former president published in the newsweeklies during his post-presidential years.

The significance of this study rests in the fact that the three newsweeklies were not as biased as expected in the case of Nixon. All three newsweeklies had more than 80 percent of neutral assertions during the 20-year period under study. This is

not to say that the newsweeklies are always more biased than newspapers, however. For instance, Kenney and Simpson (1993) found 84 percent objective coverage in the Washington Post and 65 percent objective coverage in the Washington Times during the 1988 presidential campaign.

With the passage of time, emotions over the Watergate scandal have cooled somewhat and the Nixon presidency can be put into perspective in relation to controversial revelations about previous and subsequent presidencies. That perspective seemed to begin to unfold while Nixon was still alive with events such as the academic symposium on the Nixon presidency at Hofstra University in 1987 and the publication of Stephen Ambrose's three-volume biography of Nixon. Once the 1980s began, Nixon began to emerge from his seclusion to have an influence to varying degrees on Presidents Reagan, Bush, and Clinton, particularly on Russian affairs. While Nixon's legacy will never be free from Watergate, a more dispassionate look at the man and his career can only be healthy if it will allow future leaders to learn from his mistakes. Late in his life, even Nixon seemed to sense this. As aide Monica Crowley (1998) quoted Nixon's reaction to President Clinton's possible stonewalling of his own involvement in the Whitewater scandal: "Didn't anyone learn anything from Watergate?" (p. 310)

With this in mind, perhaps future researchers can examine other post-presidencies and their subsequent coverage in the national media to determine whether the coverage differed from outlet to outlet and whether the coverage was more positive than negative over time. Did Herbert Hoover's image improve over time after he left the presidency? Did Harry Truman or Jimmy Carter or George Bush have a more positive image after leaving the White House? Or, conversely, did the reputations of more popular presidencies such as those of Dwight

**Eisenhower or Ronald Reagan languish over time in the various national media outlets?**

**Nixon wrote in 1990 that he used five methods to try to influence opinion leaders: books, speeches, columns, television interviews, and backgrounders to editorial boards of leading newspapers, newsmagazines, and TV networks. Clearly, Nixon believed in his ability to influence the agenda. Each man who has lived beyond his tenure as president has had the opportunity to influence the legacy of his presidency. Some have been more successful in this endeavor than others, but all who have served in that office have done so with the knowledge that history will judge their presidency and that judgment is subject to revision.**

**Finally, future research should examine the assumption that the newsweeklies are biased based on the findings in this study that the overwhelming number of assertions in all three newsweeklies were neutral rather than positive or negative.**



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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**

**CODING SHEET**

**NEWS MAGAZINE** \_\_\_\_\_

**DATE** \_\_\_\_\_

<b>ASSERTION</b>	<b>POSITIVE</b>	<b>NEGATIVE</b>	<b>NEUTRAL</b>
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**1**

**2**

**3**

**4**

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**.**

## APPENDIX B

### CODER INSTRUCTIONS

It is your job to read all bracketed assertions and determine for each if it is biased and, if so, whether it is positive or negative. Bias could be words, phrases or entire sentences that express a belief or an attitude. Bias could be words and/or phrases that describe someone or something in either a favorable or unfavorable manner. An example of favorable bias is the word "warm" in the phrase "warm manner of speaking." An example of unfavorable bias is the sentence: "Seldom has a more popular man been fired by a more unpopular one." In its context, this statement occurred in a Time magazine article about Truman's firing of General Douglas MacArthur and was perceived to be biased in a negative sense toward President Truman.

Carefully read and evaluate each assertion regarding the subject, Richard Nixon. Classify each assertion as "-" negative, "0" neutral, or "+" positive. Note that a sentence can contain more than one assertion. For example, in the sentence: "Alice is an attractive, intelligent girl," there are three assertions: 1) Alice is attractive; 2) Alice is intelligent; and 3) Alice is a girl. The first two assertions would be judged favorable, while the third assertion is neutral.

There are no time limits as to how long you must complete your study, and you are free to skip any assertions that you are uncertain about and come back to them later. You are also free to change any decisions you have reached about any statement if you feel that it would more appropriately belong in another category.



## APPENDIX C

### ARTICLES ANALYZED

#### Newsweek

1974

- Brooding Exile of San Clemente.** Nov. 11, p. 30.
- Closing in on Elba West.** Aug. 26, pp. 19-21.
- Long Road to Nixon's Last Crisis.** Aug. 19, pp. 35-36.
- Nixon Album.** Aug. 19, pp. 37-38.
- Patient Nixon and the Law.** Sept. 30, p. 27.
- Probing Citizen Nixon.** Sept. 2, p. 23.
- Should Nixon be Granted Immunity?** Aug. 19, pp. 16-17.
- Tapes that Sealed his Doom.** Aug. 19, pp. 33-34.
- Will They Pick the Carcass?** Sept. 9, pp. 19-21.
- Back in the Hospital.** Nov. 4, p. 30.
- Helluva will to Live.** Oct. 7, p. 44.
- Nixon Medical File.** Sept. 23, pp. 35-36.
- Nixon's Fight for Life.** Nov. 11, pp. 26-27.
- Nixon's new Clot.** Oct. 7, p. 92.
- No to Nixon.** Dec. 30, p. 20.
- Nixon's Crisis -- and Ford's.** Sept. 23, pp. 30-35.
- Pardon Backlash.** Sept. 23, p. 86.

**Was Justice Done?** Sept. 16, pp. 19-21.  
**White House Deathwatch.** Aug. 19, pp. 77-78.  
**Seven Days in August.** Aug. 19, pp. 13-16.  
**Imperial ex-Presidency.** Sept. 23, p. 42.  
**\$9,880 a Day.** Oct. 14, pp. 37-38.  
**Nixon's new Cash Bind.** Aug. 19, p. 49.

1975

**At Last, Nixon under Oath.** July 7, pp. 12-13.  
**Dick and David Show.** Aug. 25, p. 51.  
**Last Picture Show.** April 7, pp. 32-33.  
**New Nixon: Signs of Life.** May 19, p. 19.  
**Nixon's new Life.** Oct. 20, pp. 21-24.  
**Watergate Blue Book.** Oct. 27, p. 25.  
**Nixon Speaks.** Sept. 1, pp. 17-18.  
**Impeachment a la Breslin.** May 5, p. 49.  
**Nixon and the Press.** Jan. 27, pp. 59-60.  
**Holding the Bag?** March 3, p. 15.

1976

**According to Nixon.** March 22, p. 25.  
**Back to China.** Feb. 16, p. 21.  
**Citizen Nixon in Peking.** March 1, pp. 16-17.

**Dean's Story: a Rats' Nest.** Oct. 18, p. 29.  
**Furor over the Book.** April 12, pp. 33-34.  
**Nixon on Nixon: First Look.** Oct. 11, p. 38.  
**Old China Hand.** March 8, pp. 38-41.  
**Richard Nixon's Final Days.** April 5, pp. 25-26.  
**Ghosts in the Hall.** Aug. 30, p. 40.

1977

**Last Nixon Show.** Sept. 12, p. 34.  
**Nixon on his Fall.** June 6, p. 24.  
**Nixon Speaks.** May 9, p. 25.  
**Nixon's own Final Days.** May 30, pp. 18-19.  
**Nixon's Two-Front War.** May 23, pp. 17-18.  
**On the Rebound.** May 9, pp. 26-27.  
**Nixon's Tapes -- Someday.** July 11, p. 17.

1978

**Different Sort of Notoriety.** July 17, pp. 32-33.  
**Haldeman Speaks Out.** Feb. 27, pp. 29-31.  
**Nixon's European Pilgrimage.** Dec. 11, p. 49.  
**Nixon's own Final Days.** May 8, p. 33.  
**RN -- Nixon on Nixon.** May 15, pp. 33-34.  
**Waiting for Nixon.** Dec. 4, p. 87.

**Well, Hello Richard! Dec. 18, p. 38.**

**Nixon Wins One. May 1, p. 29.**

**1979**

**Newsmakers. Sept. 17, p. 68.**

**Nixon: Walk on the Edge. Aug. 20, p. 25.**

**Nixon's Invitation. Jan. 29, p. 48.**

**Nixon Sells his Elba-by-the-Sea. June 4, p. 26.**

**1980**

**Master of the Power Game. Dec. 29, pp. 13-15.**

**More Dirty Tricks. Jan. 7, p. 30.**

**Richard Nixon Calling. Dec. 29, p. 15.**

**Richard Nixon on World War III. May 19, p. 48.**

**1981**

**Ehrlichman on Nixon. Dec. 21, pp. 20-21.**

**Korff: 'Setting History Straight.' Aug. 3, p. 8.**

**Presidential Hat Trick. Oct. 26, p. 30.**

**Why Nixon Settled a Suit out of Court. Aug. 24, p. 19.**

**For Nixon, 15 rms, gd vu, pvcy. June 22, p. 40.**

**Nixon Museum: A Weak Gate. Aug. 17, p. 16.**

1982

**The Legacy of Watergate.** June 14, pp. 36-40.

**Nixon at Home and Abroad.** Oct. 11, pp. 50-52.

**Nixon: Never Look Back.** June 14, p. 38.

**You Can't Sue the President.** July 5, p. 80.

1983

**The Nixon Pardon: Did Ford Make a Deal?** Aug. 1, p. 33.

1984

**Nixon in Prime Time.** April 16, pp. 34-35.

**Nixon: The Long Climb Back.** Feb. 20, pp. 53-54.

**Making it Perfectly Clear.** May 21, p. 32.

1985

**Campaign 1984: Nixon's Role.** June 10, p. 41.

**Nixon: The Comeback Kid.** Oct. 28, p. 45.

1986

**The Road Back. May 19, pp. 26-30.**

**The Sage of Saddle River. May 19, pp. 32-34.**

**Surf's Up! Nixon Tests the Waters. Aug. 25, p. 35.**

**1987**

**Requiem for a Deposed Leader. Nov. 30, pp. 60-61.**

**1988**

**A Bush-Baker Team? March 28, p. 7.**

**1989**

**'They Would not Understand.' Nov. 13, p. 61.**

**1990**

**Nixon's Last Campaign. April 16, p. 28.**

**The Remaking of the President. July 30, p. 24.**

**1991**

**Nixon: He's Back, Again. June 17, p. 32.**

**Nixon on Gorbachev; Not a Quitter. April 15, pp. 38-39.**

1992

**Watergate Blues.** June 22, pp. 24-29.

**The 'Who Lost Russia' Debate.** March 23, p. 37.

1994

**Obituary.** May 2, pp. 20-31.

**Coming to Praise Nixon.** May 9, pp. 22-23.

**Getting it Wrong in Russia.** March 21, p. 51.

Time

1974

**Down from the Highest Mountaintop.** Aug. 19, pp. 40-50.

**End to the Greatest Uncertainty.** Sept. 16, p. 14.

**Healing Begins.** Aug. 19, pp. 8-14.

**In Seclusion.** Aug. 26, p. 16.

**Legal Legacy of Watergate.** Aug. 26, p. 18.

**New Counsel for Nixon's Defense.** Sept. 9, pp. 13-14.

**Anatomy of an Embolus.** Oct. 7, p. 104.

**Nixon: Depressed and Ill.** Sept. 23, p. 17.

**Nixon: Surgery, Shock and Uncertainty.** Nov. 11, pp. 15-16.

**Nixon's Reclusive Recuperation.** Oct. 7, pp. 22-23.  
**Psychosomatic Phlebitis?** Sept. 30, p. 65.  
**Question of Fitness.** Sept. 30, pp. 30-32.  
**Trial Begins, Minus its Star.** Oct. 14, pp. 15-16.  
**Fallout from Ford's Rush to Pardon.** Sept. 23, pp. 19-22.  
**New Legal Tangles.** Sept. 16, p. 19.  
**Pardon: Questions Persist.** Oct. 28, pp. 16-18.  
**Pardon that Brought no Peace.** Sept. 16, pp. 10-12.  
**Second Sight on the Pardon.** Oct. 7, p. 23.  
**Theology of Forgiveness.** Sept. 23, pp. 35-36.  
**Coverage: Calm and Massive.** Aug. 19, pp. 73-74.  
**Kremlin Cover-up on Watergate.** Aug. 26, p. 41.  
**Fraud in Nixon's Taxes.** Nov. 18, p. 35.

1975

**End of a Painful Transition.** Feb. 10, p. 15.  
**Frost's Big Deal.** Aug. 25, p. 58.  
**Man Who Walks the Beach.** Aug. 11, pp. 15-18.  
**Nixon on Watergate.** July 7, p. 10.  
**Questioning of Conduct.** Oct. 27, p. 16.  
**Quiet, Private Dinner.** March 10, p. 34.  
**Evading the Questions.** Sept. 1, p. 10.  
**Toward a Nixon Library.** May 5, p. 36.  
**Post-mortem; the Unmaking of a President.** May 12, p. 72.



**Good Life at San Clemente. Sept. 29, pp. 32-34.**

**And where is the Palace Guard? Aug. 11, pp. 16-17.**

**Paying for Nixon's Taxes. March 3, pp. 17-18.**

**1976**

**And now, for the next Movie. March 29, p. 63.**

**Further Notes on Nixon's Downfall. April 5, pp. 26-28.**

**Instant Replay on Nixon. April 12, pp. 53-54.**

**Nixon's Embarrassing Road Show. March 8, pp. 22-25.**

**Phantom of the Campaign. Aug. 30, p. 41.**

**Re-viewing the '60 Debates. Sept. 13, pp. 12-13.**

**Sentimental Journey. March 1, p. 13.**

**1977**

**Henry ... Remember Lot's Wife. May 23, p. 41.**

**Kicking Nixon around the Couch. April 18, pp. 29-30.**

**Nixon; once more, with Feeling. May 16, pp. 21-22.**

**Nixon Talks. May 9, pp. 22-24.**

**No one knows how it Feels. June 6, pp. 11-12.**

**Not even Earplugs could Help. May 30, pp. 15-16.**

**Now, another Villian. Sept. 12, p. 23.**

**Teamsters' Watergate Connection. Aug. 8, p. 28.**

1978

**Much ado about Haldeman.** Feb. 27, pp. 17-20.

**Nixon as Grandfather.** Aug. 28, p. 17.

**Nixon's Memoirs: I was Selfish.** May 8, pp. 26-27.

**Nixon's Role: No Heroics.** Feb. 13, p. 30.

**Sightings of the last new Nixon.** July 17, pp. 22-23.

**Tape Tie-up.** May 1, p. 72.

1979

**Drum Rolls and Lightning.** Sept. 10, p. 27.

**Fan from San Clemente.** Oct. 8, p. 90.

**Damaging Tales.** July 9, p. 25.

**Trading Down.** June 4, p. 24.

1980

**Real Nixon.** June 9, p. 22.

**Richard Nixon's Tangled Web.** Oct. 20, p. 81.

1981

**All the President's Teamsters.** Aug. 31, pp. 17-18.

**Collect Call.** July 6, p. 21.

**Flight of Three Presidents. Oct. 26, pp. 22-23.**

**Nixon Encore. Oct. 5, p. 25.**

**Nixon Years Revisited. Dec. 21, p. 29.**

**Those Bedeviled Blue Devils. Sept. 14, p. 85.**

**Private Travels of Nixon. Nov. 2, p. 30.**

**1982**

**A Call for Hardheaded Detente. Dec. 27, p. 18.**

**Reflections of a China Hand. Nov. 1, p. 56.**

**Shielding the President. July 5, p. 48.**

**1983**

**Advice from an old Warrior. Sept. 19, p. 27.**

**1984**

**Nixon: Never look Back. Aug. 13, pp. 16-17.**

**The Nixon Tapes. April 16, p. 24.**

**Nixon Tapes. March 26, p. 67.**

**No Enemies. May 21, p. 53.**

**1985**

**Richard Nixon's Tough Assessment. April 15, p. 48.**

**"We in the U.S. are Suckers for Style." April 22, pp. 14-15.**

**What the President Saw: A Nation Coming into its Own. July 29, pp. 48-53.**

**Dropped Guards. March 25, p. 40.**

**1986**

**Advice from an Old Hand. Dec. 22, p. 25.**

**1987**

**Advice from the Third Man. Nov. 30, p. 18.**

**An Interview with Richard Nixon. May 4, p. 23.**

**How I made the Enemies List. June 8, p. 26.**

**1988**

**The Dark Comedian. April 25, pp. 54-56.**

**Of Myth and Memory. Oct. 24, pp. 21-24.**

**1989**

**Kissinger vs. Nixon. Dec. 25, p. 32.**

**Hard Words to Hard-Liners. Nov. 13, p. 37.**

1990

**A Conjunction of the Past. July 30, p. 21.**

1991

**Notes from Underground. June 17, p. 27.**

1992

**Blasts from the Past. March 23, p. 29.**

1994

**Obituary. May 2, pp. 26-29.**

**Obituary. May 2, pp. 42-51.**

**Fanfare for an Uncommon Man. May 9, pp. 48-49.**

**U.S. News & World Report**

1974

**For Richard Nixon, private citizen, Troubles aren't Over. Aug. 26, pp. 22-23.**

**Nixon: Roughest Road for an ex-President. Sept. 16, p. 26.**

**Richard Nixon's Story -- A Tumultuous Career. Aug. 19, pp. 33-36.**

**Rush to End Trial -- Without Nixon. Dec. 16, p. 29.**

**Watergate: Both Sides agree Nixon also is on Trial. Oct. 28, pp. 72-74.**

**Watergate Defense Strategy: Put the Blame on Nixon. Dec. 9, p. 62.**

**What happens to Nixon Now? Aug. 19, p. 16.**

**Did Watergate undermine Nixon's Health? Nov. 11, p. 25.**

**Nixon: Too Sick to Testify? Sept. 30, p. 18.**

**Nixon's Illness: The Outlook. Oct. 7, p. 39.**

**Effects of Nixon Pardon. Sept. 23, pp. 19-22.**

#### 1975

**Fresh Glimpse into Life of Richard Nixon. Aug. 11, pp. 16-17.**

**One More Comedown for Nixon; end of Six-Month Transition. Feb. 10, p. 32.**

**Watergate Prosecutors Tell Why Nixon was not Indicted. Oct. 27, pp. 65-66.**

**Why Nixon Claims Right to Tapes. Sept. 1, p. 41.**

#### 1976

**New Book About Nixon. April 12, pp. 24-25.**

**Nixon Comes Back into the Limelight -- and Controversy. March 1, p. 24.**

**Nixon in China -- a Trip that Kicked up a Storm. March 8, p. 20.**

#### 1977

**Nixon: A President May Violate the Law. May 30, pp. 65-66.**

**Nixon details Agony of his Final Days. June 6, p. 24.**  
**Nixon on TV; still more light on Watergate. Sept. 12, p. 81.**  
**Nixon: Pride in his Diplomacy. May 23, p. 35.**  
**Why Nixon went on the Witness Stand. May 16, pp. 27-29.**

**1978**

**Mixed Reaction for Nixon Abroad. Dec. 11, p. 13.**  
**Nixon and Ford: Staying in Public Eye. July 10, p. 40.**  
**Nixon looks Back at his Presidency. May 15, p. 25.**  
**Yet another version of Watergate Saga. Feb. 27, p. 34.**

**1979**

**\$800,000 yearly Tab for Nixon. April 16, pp. 30-31.**  
**Why Carter invited Nixon to White House. Jan. 29, p. 8.**

**1981**

**Nixon Library? Duke makes a Move. Sept. 14, p. 14.**

**1982**

**Court Rules: You can't sue the President. July 5, p. 66.**

1984

**His toughest Campaign gathers Steam. April 16, p. 13.**

1985

**As an ex-President Prunes his Perks. March 25, p. 14.**

1986

**A Rivalry that wrote U.S. History. Dec. 15, p. 15.**

**Invitation to a Banquet. May 12, p. 7.**

**The Secrets of the Oval Office. Dec. 15, p. 7.**

1987

**"The Best and Worst of Presidents." May 4, pp. 67-68.**

1988

**The Elder Statesman. Feb. 8, p. 57.**

1990

**The restless Spirit of Richard Nixon. July 30, p. 24.**



**All the ex-President's Men. June 4, p. 40.**

**1991**

**Nixon's the one for Bush. March 4, p. 31.**

**1992**

**Anatomy of a Sellout? Sept. 28, pp. 36-38.**

**Bush's Watergate Lessons. June 22, pp. 40-41.**

**Nixon on the Final Chapter. June 29, p. 43.**

**Unanswered Questions. June 22, pp. 34-36.**

**1994**

**Obituary. May 2, pp. 24-30.**

**Obituary. May 2, p. 37.**

**Obituary. May 2, pp. 34-36.**

**The Shrine at Yorba Linda. May 9, p. 22.**

**Washington Whispers. May 2, p. 22.**

**APPENDIX D**  
**EXPECTED VALUE CALCULATION**

	Positive			Negative			Neutral		
<u>News.</u>	<u>273</u>	X	1,402	<u>273</u>	X	1,402	<u>3,026</u>	X	1,402
	3,572			3,572			3,572		
	(107.15)			(107.15)			(1,187.70)		
<u>Time</u>	<u>273</u>	X	1,532	<u>273</u>	X	1,532	<u>3,026</u>	X	1,532
	3,572			3,572			3,572		
	(117.09)			(117.09)			(1,297.83)		
<u>U.S.</u>	<u>273</u>	X	638	<u>273</u>	X	638	<u>3,026</u>	X	638
<u>News</u>	3,572			3,572			3,572		
	(48.76)			(48.76)			(540.48)		

**APPENDIX E**  
**EXPECTED VALUE CALCULATION**

	<b>Positive</b>			<b>Negative</b>			<b>Neutral</b>		
<b><u>News.</u></b>	<b><u>103</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>994</b>	<b><u>186</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>994</b>	<b><u>2,125</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>994</b>
	<b>2,414</b>			<b>2,414</b>			<b>2,414</b>		
	<b>(42.41)</b>			<b>(76.59)</b>			<b>(875.00)</b>		
<b><u>Time</u></b>	<b><u>103</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>1,108</b>	<b><u>186</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>1,108</b>	<b><u>2,125</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>1,108</b>
	<b>2,414</b>			<b>2,414</b>			<b>2,414</b>		
	<b>(47.28)</b>			<b>(85.37)</b>			<b>(975.35)</b>		
<b><u>U.S.</u></b>	<b><u>103</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>312</b>	<b><u>186</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>312</b>	<b><u>2,125</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>312</b>
<b><u>News</u></b>	<b>2,414</b>			<b>2,414</b>			<b>2,414</b>		
	<b>(13.31)</b>			<b>(24.04)</b>			<b>(274.65)</b>		

**APPENDIX F**  
**EXPECTED VALUE CALCULATION**

	<b>Positive</b>			<b>Negative</b>			<b>Neutral</b>		
<b><u>News.</u></b>	<b><u>170</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>408</b>	<b><u>87</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>408</b>	<b><u>901</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>408</b>
	<b>1,158</b>			<b>1,158</b>			<b>1,158</b>		
	<b>(59.90)</b>			<b>(30.65)</b>			<b>(317.45)</b>		
<b><u>Time</u></b>	<b><u>170</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>424</b>	<b><u>87</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>424</b>	<b><u>901</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>424</b>
	<b>1,158</b>			<b>1,158</b>			<b>1,158</b>		
	<b>(62.25)</b>			<b>(31.85)</b>			<b>(329.90)</b>		
<b><u>U.S.</u></b>	<b><u>170</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>326</b>	<b><u>87</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>326</b>	<b><u>901</u></b>	<b>X</b>	<b>326</b>
<b><u>News</u></b>	<b>1,158</b>			<b>1,158</b>			<b>1,158</b>		
	<b>(47.86)</b>			<b>(24.49)</b>			<b>(253.65)</b>		

## VITA

**Russ Witcher was born October 13, 1959 in Lafayette, Tennessee. He graduated from Red Boiling Springs High School in 1977 and entered Western Kentucky University that same year. He received a bachelor of arts degree in journalism at Western in 1981.**

**After working for the Tennessee Department of Human Services for two years, he enrolled at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville in September 1983 to pursue a master of science degree in the College of Communications. He received his master's degree in June 1985.**

**He taught communication courses at Enterprise State Junior College in Enterprise, Alabama from 1985 until 1989 before accepting an instructor's position to teach journalism at Tennessee Technological University in Cookeville, Tennessee. He entered the doctoral program in the College of Communications at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville in August 1992 and received his doctorate in May 2000.**