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October 7, 1974

Dear Sam:

Thank you for your letter of October first. I have indeed read Duncan's sermon and so has the President. In fact, I have several printed copies in my drawer. You might be interested to know that Hugh Sidesy of TIME magazine quoted the sermon in a recent editorial.

I will be happy, time providing, to review your report. I am pleased that you have become so involved in these events. We all appreciate your efforts.

Most sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Samuel M. Dix
320 Federal Square Building
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49502



Samuel M. Dix
110 Federal Square Building
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49503

October 1, 1974

Dear Phil,

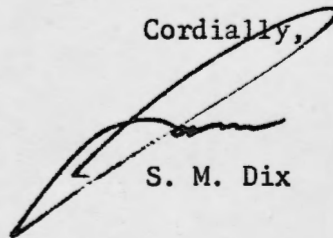
I am sure you received Dunc's sermon on the Nixon pardon, but you may not have had time to read it. My opinion is unchanged that this decision by the President was the right one and both the press and the public will be embarrassed by their reaction with the perspective of time.

However, I am most concerned with the President's remarks to the International Energy Conference September 23rd. The report which I sent to you a few weeks ago was prepared specifically for this conference (while Jerry was still Vice President). Mr. Kissinger's genius and the almost universal opinion of this country's economists, discounting the importance of the energy and petroleum problem, is probably responsible for the position which the President took.

Bill Seidman advises that my research is being made available to the team of economic advisers, but I am not sure that this is enough. The President's sword rattling was totally in context with his remarks years ago to the Committee of the 100 in the very early days of the Viet Nam and Cuban crises. Pleasing hawkish conservatives is no longer a safe position for him to take.

I hope you will find time to at least look over my efforts. There is no way that this country can avoid facing the problem of limited petroleum supplies and the fact of Arab sovereignty and economic advantage. This country can live within its petroleum production capacity and I see no other practical solution than to begin to demonstrate this kind of independence and this kind of political and economic strength.

Cordially,



S. M. Dix



October 7, 1974

Dear Miss Stardevant:

Thank you for your recent letter of October first, concerning the pardon granted to the former President. I was interested to read your comments about the prior administration.

I know the President will appreciate your kind words of confidence and encouragement.

Most sincerely yours,

Phillip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Miss Kittie C. Stardevant
303-4 Boston Building
105 North Broadway
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73102



MISS KITTIE C. STURDEVANT
ATTORNEY AT LAW
303-4 BOSTON BUILDING
105 NORTH BROADWAY
TELEPHONE 236-5803
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA 73102

October 1st 1974

Mr. Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President
Washington, D C

Dear Mr. Buchen:

Since the House Judiciary sub-committee has insisted on being told the details of the Nixon pardon, a lot of us here hope that President Ford may see fit to turn the tables on the democratic controlled committee members and use the opportunity to remind the committee and the country of the worth while accomplishments of the Nixon period and the contributions made by Nixon, some of which are still in process of completion.

Even in a change of an ordinary business concern, the outgoing executives usually need to maintain contact for a while. In the case of the Presidency of the United States, Nixon has had many plans, agreements and conferences and contacts with foreign nations and with domestic outfits, dealing with continuing problems. It is not to the interest of the country to snap all relations between the two heads, like you cut a thread from a needle in sewing. As I understand it, one of the main reasons why expenses are allowed for the transition period of an outgoing President is the necessity for continuous or repeated consultations between the two on what has been done in the past in order to continue the nation on an even course.

If Nixon's time had to be inundated with courtroom defenses, his mind would not be clear for the necessary consultations required for smooth continuation of many public interests.

This persistent comparison of draft evaders and deserters with Nixon on the question of amnesty seems to me to evidence a determined effort to degrade Nixon. His contributions to the country have been outstanding and "equal justice for all" demand that consideration be given to that service, Draft evaders, deserters and the like have not earned any "justice" as yet.

Yours truly

Nittie
(Kittie C. Sturdevant)



Some items in this folder were not digitized because it contains copyrighted materials. Please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library for access to these materials.

October 4, 1974

Dear Bob:

Thank you very much for your informative letter. The plans to have the old Federal Building in Grand Rapids to become a community arts center sound most promising.

I also appreciate your thoughtful and supportive comments about the pardon decision. We who have been tutored by Duncan Littlefair had an easier time of understanding this act than a great many people do. However, I believe in the long run it will be recognized as a truly great decision.

Sincerely yours,

Philip W. Euchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Bob Blatch
Vice President of Design
Herman Miller Inc.
Zeeland, Michigan 49464



September 18, 1974

Mr. Philip Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Phil

Sincerest congratulations on your elevation to cabinet rank,
a well earned honor.

While in Washington last week attending the Second Federal Design Assembly sponsored by the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities, I found myself, by virtue of being from Grand Rapids, very much in the center of both positive and negative issues. The positive of course is the leadership role played by Grand Rapids in the Arts and the apparent support of the President to the National Endowment due in part by his own admission to the Calder. As an individual who has been hanging in there through the Calder; Sculpture off the Pedestal show; Artist in Residence (Joe Kinnebrew) Robert Morris earthworks; Fishladder Sculpture and Mini-Park and now the proposed conversion of the old Federal Building to an Arts Center for Grand Rapids, I feel a great sense of pride in our accomplishments and in the local and national recognition we are now receiving.

I had the honor of meeting and discussing our various projects with John Richardson, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs; Rogers C.B. Morton; Michael Straight and Larry Roush, Commissioner of GSA, Public Buildings



September 18, 1974

Mr. Philip Buchen

Page Two

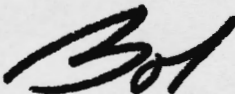
Service, and all were interested in what we have and are continuing to accomplish. I was most pleased to be in attendance when Commissioner Roush announced that the Old Federal Building and Courthouse will be conveyed to the city in the near future for use as a community arts center. We had only sent in our application three weeks ago and this was very fast action at least for the Government.

I will keep you posted on our continuing activity as I know you have been an interested supporter of the arts in Grand Rapids.

On the negative side, being in D.C. the "Week of the Pardon" was difficult, again because of my Grand Rapids residence many wanted to know my feelings on the subject. I came very close to calling you several times and especially on Friday while I sat in the director's office of the Renwick Gallery and could see the White House out the window. I wanted to tell you that I support this decision wholeheartedly.

I've not always been a supporter of Gerald Ford, but I am giving him the benefit of the doubt and especially with you as his counsel, for I believe in your integrity and compassion. I could not have said how I felt as eloquently as Duncan Littlefair did this morning in church, and I'm sure by now you have heard about his sermon which was very supportive and met with applause. I have never supported Nixon and held him in contempt as does Duncan, but I share President Ford's and I'm sure your compassion for the man. God bless you for such a Christian decision.

Most sincerely



Bob Blaich
Vice President of Design

enclosure



Study Plots New Life for Old Federal Building

By Paul Chaffee

Patient watchers and waiters may soon see Grand Rapids' old, but sturdy, Federal Building turned around, literally and figuratively.

Since the General Services Administration (GSA) decided to give the 63-year-old

proposed conversion show a switch in the main entrance from doors at the north and south to a glass-enclosed, fishbowl lobby facing N. Division Ave.

William F. Thrall, of Steenwyk & Thrall, Inc., proposes tearing down of the "added-on" loading dock on the east side of the building to restore its original silhouette.

The Grand Rapids Foundation has chipped in \$12,000 and Robert Blaich, a museum trustee and chairman of the committee seeking acquisition of the Federal Building, says securing private contributions of \$10,000 will be no

Blaich.

The Federal Building seems particularly suited to conversion to such a facility, Blaich contends. It is near the heart of downtown revitalization efforts, with Vandenberg Center and the riverfront projects to the north and west and College Park Urban Renewal and retail improvements

The Grand Rapids Press

EDITORIAL PAGE

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1974

14-A

Art Center Needed

It is refreshing to discover that a vacated downtown Grand Rapids building may be put to good use, perhaps to an even more versatile and attractive use than its original purpose.

A local committee believes that the old Federal (Post Office) Building shows enough promise to warrant detailed study as a possible community art

October 7, 1974

Pardon

Dear Ted:

How very kind of you to take time and write to me about Duncan Littlefair's sermon. I learned of his sermon shortly after it was given. You might be interested to know that I have already read it and so has the President. In fact, we have some printed copies here at the White House. Also, Duncan's sermon was quoted by Hugh Sidey of Time magazine in a recent editorial.

I sincerely appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing and expressing support and encouragement for the President.

Most sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Ted Wietke
4151 Baywood, S.E.
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506

PWB:em



4151 Baywood SE
Grand Rapids, Mich.
Oct. 1, 1974

Mr. Phelps Bucken
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bucken:

In the light of the controversy
brought on by Richard Nixon's
pardon, I thought you might be
interested in a recent article
in the N.Y. Press which quoted
Dr. Duncan Littlefair.

The article is attached.

If President Ford had not
seen this, I trust it might be
of interest to him.

I personally felt that the
statements which I underlined
make good sense.

Of course, we are 100% with
the President on the pardon
decision.

Sincerely,

Fred Wetke



Pardon

October 8, 1974

Dear Mr. Brachares:

I would like to personally acknowledge your kind letter of October third, enclosing a copy of your letter to the Editor of THE WASHINGTON POST.

Your opinion is very articulate and the President will, no doubt, be pleased to read your letter when it is published in the POST. On behalf of President Ford, may I take this opportunity to thank you for your public expression of support of his difficult decision to grant the former President a pardon.

With appreciation,

Most sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. William C. Brachares
Gore, Cladonhos and Brachares
1750 New York Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20006



GORE, CLADOUHOS & BRASHARES

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

1750 NEW YORK AVENUE, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

202 - 833-1101

TELEX NO. 89-2662

1900 AVENUE OF THE STARS, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90067

213-556-2295

October 3, 1974

ALBERT GORE
OF COUNSEL

HARRY W. CLADOUHOS
WILLIAM C. BRASHARES
PAULINE GORE
MELVIN J. DUVALL, JR.*
SARAH C. CAREY
ROGER M. GOLDEN
THOMAS V. VAKERICS
PAUL M. LAURENZA
LORNA PARNELL*

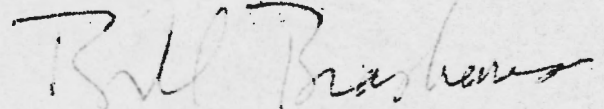
*ADMITTED ONLY IN CALIFORNIA

Philip Buchen, Esquire
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Buchen:

I wrote the enclosed letter to the Washington Post
several weeks ago. It may have some ideas that would be of use
in connection with the President's testimony on the pardon next
week.

Sincerely yours,



William C. Brashares

Enclosure



GORE, CLADOUHOS & BRASHARES

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

1750 NEW YORK AVENUE, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

202 - 833 - 1101

TELEX NO. 89-2692

1900 AVENUE OF THE STARS, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90067

213 - 556 - 2295

HARRY W. CLADOUHOS
WILLIAM C. BRASHARES
PAULINE GORE
MELVIN J. DUVALL, JR.*
SARAH C. CAREY
PAUL H. DELANEY, JR.
ROGER M. GOLDEN
THOMAS V. VAKERICS
J. COURTNEY SHEVELSON

September 11, 1974

ALBERT GORE
OF COUNSEL

* ADMITTED ONLY IN CALIFORNIA

Editor
The Washington Post
1150 Fifteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20071

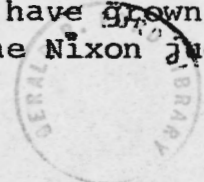
Sir:

The Nixon pardon might have been handled more professionally, and the many criticisms going to tone, style and timing may well resurrect the public feelings of distrust that became so finely honed over the Nixon years in office. But, all that aside, the case for the pardon and the case for it now are to me rather convincing.

President Ford and the country are entitled to an atmosphere free of the passions of Watergate as serious national problems are being confronted. Our deep-seated economic ills, our changing role in world alliances and our new, demanding social needs cannot be understood or approached in the midst of the ultimate spectacle of Watergate, the indictment and prosecution of a former President. Witness the failure of our leadership and the paralysis of Congress over the last two years. It would be no better with new leadership if the public attention remains so consumed.

We simply cannot afford it. Our American passion for the final "shootout", the bringing to earth of the evil mastermind, must yield to a more pressing national agenda. And the new President deserves more than the role of presiding over the final bloody chapter of Watergate and Richard Nixon.

The decision, in my view inevitable, would have ~~grown~~ more divisive and explosive with every step toward the Nixon judgment.



The furor now could only be enhanced by specific charges or the momentum of court proceedings. A pardon at the moment of conviction -- possibly after months of minute public digestion of the horrible evidence of corruption and public betrayal -- would be the hardest of all. But even then, of course, it would fail totally in its main purpose of sparing the country the further distraction of the chase. It had to be now, when the passions had cooled for the first time in many months and the new President's public standing still held the euphoric affection and confidence of a deeply relieved people.

We should, as the Post suggests in its editorial of September 10, separate the man Nixon from the Presidency, and that is precisely why he, or rather it, had to be pardoned. Mr. Nixon has no greater right to relief from legal process and consequent grief and anxiety than any other citizen, but the office entrusted to him in a sense subsumed him, and is therein the subject and the innocent victim of passions aimed truly at the man. Richard Nixon as a private felon would be neither newsworthy nor pardon-worthy. He is, however, a necessary beneficiary of our proper unwillingness to let him drag the institution, indeed our total institution of government, into further national paralysis in the obsession for vengeance.

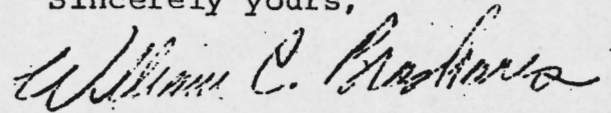
Finally, what have we lost? A public record complete enough to warn all present and future public servants what the public demands of this trust? If that message is not now clear, it is doubtful that any more elaborate public view of Mr. Nixon's private and public machinations would make it so. Have we lost the ability to punish others? Certainly not. Indeed, having received federal immunity, Mr. Nixon's usefulness as a witness in other investigative or prosecutorial forums is greatly increased, and he remains subject to the laws against perjury. And, in my view, only if we badly misunderstand the meaning of the pardon and the Presidency do we grieve seriously of a disparity in treating Messrs. Magruder, Dean, Erlichman, et. al. By the same token, President Ford should quickly dismiss any notion of a wholesale Watergate pardon.

We have been deprived of the story's end for the man whose sometimes sinister and obscure nature made the initial chapters a consuming national interest. We should hope that perhaps our baser



instincts, more than our sense of public good, are at the heart of our frustration. We should hope of our President that this resort to an extraordinary power is a rare exception to his trust that our people and our institutions can handle the full truth and pursue its ultimate course in the national interest.

Sincerely yours,



William C. Brashares

jw



[ca. Oct. 11-16, 1974]

Pardon

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ron Nessen:
Thought you
and Jack would
like to see a
copy of the
sermon which the
President mentioned
in his interview
with Hugh Sidey.
It's good.

J.W.B.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

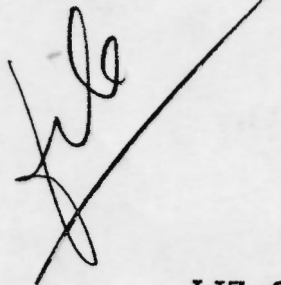
Date 10/14

TO: Phillip's Bureau

FYI

ACTION

OTHER

A handwritten signature, possibly "Liz", is written in cursive. A large, bold checkmark is drawn over the signature and extends diagonally across the page.

LIZ O'NEILL
Room 149



ROBERT H. YOAKUM
Lakeville, Connecticut 06039

*Central
files*

*Ron Nease
encl*

October 7, 1974

President Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Ford:

Instead of replying to your form reply to my letter on the subject of the pre-indictment, pre-trial Nixon pardon I am enclosing my syndicated column on the subject. I think it clearly presents the moral and legal consequences.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Yoakum

Robert Yoakum



ANOTHER LOOK by Robert Yoakum

RELEASE DATE: Friday, September 13, 1974

A PRISONER WRITES THE PRESIDENT

by Robert Yoakum

Dear President Ford,

I have just read about your pardoning Nixon and I would like to have you do the same thing for me. You can find me in the Scrimshaw Prison as you can see from the return address.

I am writing to tell you about my case because you said that the laws of God are higher than the laws of the Constitution and you said you got guidance from God with prayers about Nixon's case, but I knew you couldn't have discussed my case at the same time because you didn't know about my case, which is why I am writing you to tell you about it.

To begin with, I pleaded guilty to taking a colored TV set (Zeenith) and a blender (Hoover, for my wife), but I didn't do any of the damage like they said in court. That was the guy who was with me, Perk Stilton.

You and God both helped Nixon and he also had about 20 lawyers which I read cost \$600,000 of the tax payers money.

(Paragraph continues)



Page Two...THE YOAKUM COLUMN...Sept. 13...money.

But I couldn't pay for one lawyer because I've been unemployed a lot, so all I got was about 10 minutes with a legal aid man who was so busy that he said his wife was divorcing him.

The judge was a real tough guy, you know the kind, who said that if people like me werent punished that other people would do the same thing, although I guess its different for Presidents.

The legal aid man said if we pleaded guilty that he (the judge) would take it easy on us but he didn't. He gave me one to four years even though it was only second degree larcany.

I shure wish I had your statement pardoning Nixon then because I could have told him (the judge) what you said about showing mercy and how he (Nixon) and his loved ones have suffered enough, which is what me and my loved ones have done.

Now when you pray again for gidance on my case please tell how lousy it is in this prison. I mean it is really lousy. There is nothing to chose between the prisoners and the guards because they are both awful mean.

(Paragraph continues)



Page Three...THE YOAKUM COLUMN...Sept. 13...mean.

Like some of the guards enjoy hurting people and some of the queer men prisoners actually rape other men prisoners and you can even hear them screaming and nobody does nothing because it would get them into lots of trouble.

As for my family while I'm sorry about the Nixons, frankly they have it a lot better. They have got two terrific homes and more money than our whole naborhood has got and I read that Nixon is getting \$850,000 plus \$150,000 every year for the rest of his life. Also he can work, like on writing that book for another \$2,000,000 or so but I cant work here which is one of the reasons my wife has to although the kids need her home.

Agnew also had a lot of charges against him but the Justice Departmant people made a deal with him and he is also doing OK with business and books and traveling all over. One guy here who was a lawyer said Agnew and Nixon did a lot worse things than I did.

I have two girls like Nixon. My wife says they are no good but I said it was the naborhood they grew up in that was no good and also the lousy school.

(MORE)



Page Four...THE YOAKUM COLUMN...Sept. 13...school.

Anyway, you said you believe in mercy and equal justice for all Americans so I trust you to discuss my case in your next prayers. If anybody needs mercy I do.

Respectfully,

Warner Blount

P.S. I am willing to make a public statement like Nixon that I made some errors of judgment and mistakes.

Copyright 1974, Los Angeles Times



ROBERT H. YOAKUM

Lakeville
Connecticut 06039
USA



VIA AIR MAIL

President Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D.C.

20500

*file
Ford or
Gawronski*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 16, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

WHITE HOUSE STAFF
AND
CABINET MEMBERS

FROM:

PAUL A. MILTICH

SUBJECT:

ATTACHED

I thought the attached article by Karen Elliott of the Wall Street Journal in the October 16 issue of the Journal would be of interest to you.



The Pardon of Nixon Was Timely, Legal, Jaworski Believes

He Says Nixon's Acceptance
Clearly Shows His Guilt
And More Evidence Is Due

By KAREN J. ELLIOTT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski sees nothing wrong with President Ford's decision last month to

The special prosecutor said he has kept silent on the pardon and on Mr. Nixon's role in the Watergate cover-up for two reasons: He wanted to wait until a jury was chosen and sequestered for the trial of five of Mr. Nixon's former top aides, and he wanted to wait until he had announced his resignation. All that has happened, and now Mr. Jaworski is talking: There will be more newspaper interviews, and on Sunday he is scheduled to appear on NBC's "Meet the Press"



whether he would have prosecuted the former President if Mr. Ford hadn't pardoned him. "Nothing is served by talking about hypothetical situations now," he declared.

But Mr. Jaworski said that if the former President had been charged, his trial wouldn't have come for many months. "We gave no consideration to doing anything with the former President until after the cover-up jury was sequestered," he said.

A major task still facing the special prosecution force is a report to Congress on the Nixon investigation and on other aspects of the Watergate case. That report will exclude much evidence against the former President unless Congress specifically authorizes its inclusion. Without such authority, Mr. Jaworski believes, a prosecutor can't ethically disclose evidence against a man who hasn't been charged; Mr. Jaworski has asked Congress for authority to

October 8, 1974

Parkin

Dear Congressman Corman:

We appreciate the interest of the student of one of your constituents, Mr. Jess Nathan, to study legal precedents for exercise of the President's Constitutional power to grant pardons in relation to the recent pardon of former President Nixon.

However, it is the established policy of Counsel to the President not to distribute the work product of legal research done for the President. Cases on the use of the pardon power are numerous and are all contained in published law digests and case reporters available in law libraries and many law offices. A leading Supreme Court case is Ex Parte Garland, 71 U.S. 366 (1867) and one involving Presidential pardon of an individual before indictment or conviction is Burdick v. U.S., 236 U.S. 79 (1915).

I hope this reply to your letter will serve to help you reply to the request made to you from Mr. Nathan.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

The Honorable James C. Corman
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515



WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2252 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
202-225-5811

ROBERT C. RUBEN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

ALICE GORDON
LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS
COMMITTEE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON
SMALL BUSINESS

JAMES C. CORMAN
22D DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

DISTRICT OFFICE:
14545 PRIAR STREET
VAN NUYS, CALIFORNIA 91401

213-787-1776

IRENE SLATER
FIELD DEPUTY

SARAH ETHEREDGE
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE

NELDA BARRETT
CASE WORKER

September 24, 1974

Mr. Phillip Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Buchen:

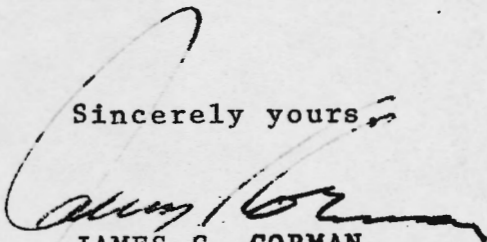
Enclosed please find a letter from my constituent
Jess Nathan relative to the legal precedents referred
to in the issuance of the full, free and unconditional
pardon to Richard M. Nixon.

I would appreciate your response to his request
so I may furnish him with the appropriate material
for the study.

Thank you.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours


JAMES C. CORMAN
Member of Congress

JCC:em



Jess Nathan, Ph. D., D.C.L.

COUNSELOR AT LAW

PRACTICE LIMITED TO FEDERAL APPEALS
PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS
MEMBER OF THE BAR SUPREME COURT OF THE U.S.

6128 GOODLAND AVENUE
NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA 91606

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IF NO ANSWER CALL
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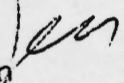
September 20, 1974.

Honorable James C. Corman
Member of Congress
New House Office Building
Washington D. C.

Dear Jim,

I have been following your career as usual with deep interest and appreciation for the service you are rendering the district and the nation. One of my many activities I am Associate Dean of Graduate Study for the Glendale College of Law. One of my students is working on a research project relative to the pardon granted Mr. Nixon by President Ford. Newspaper accounts had attributed the research sustaining the pardon based on findings made by Phillip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President. I would greatly appreciate if you could obtain from the Executive Office or Mr. Jaworski what precedent pardons were used to establish the legal grounds for the issuance of a pardon by the President to Mr. Nixon.

Looking forward to seeing you. I remain as ever, cordially and with best to the family,

Jess Nathan 

JN:jos

456-
Buchen's 2632



October 8, 1974

Pardon

Dear Mr. Nicely:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 24, 1974 concerning the pardoning of former President Nixon.

I believe that our courts and juries must administer justice, but justice must and should be tempered with mercy. The pardon power is the President's exclusive right under the Constitution to show mercy. The case of the former President grossly divided our nation; to show mercy to him is also to bind our country's wounds. I hope in time you will come to believe that President Ford did make the right decision.

Most sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Daniel G. Nicely
163 Oak Park Drive
Holland, Michigan 49423



24 September 1974

Mr Philip Buchen
The White House
Washington, D C

Dear Mr Buchen:

This is sent to tell you how completely I disagree with the pardon of former President Richard M Nixon.

It is the ultimate coverup!

We, especially those of us who voted for him (and Agnew), are entitled to a full accounting of the complete Watergate. How can any man, especially two schooled in the law as you and Mr Ford, justify the pardon of this felonious man while young men who followed are leaving their wives and young children for jail sentences, disgrace and certain financial disaster?

I submit, Mr Buchen, that the pardon of Richard M Nixon was unjust, unfair, unChristian and uncalled for. It is an insult to justice. Give justice a chance, Mr Buchen, and have more faith in our great system. Let the course of justice follow the road to the end with no more presidential shortcuts.

We will do all within our power to make Mr Ford's term end with the 1976 election. At this point, I will vote against Mr Ford and encourage all I know to do the same.

Very sincerely,

Daniel G Nicely

Daniel G Nicely
163 Oak Park Drive
Holland, Michigan 49423



October 8, 1974

Pardon

Dear Mr. Benjamin:

Thank you very much for your telegram of October first, expressing support for the policies and accomplishments of the former President's Administration. I will be pleased to see that your suggestion is brought to the President's attention. As you are certainly aware, the hearing at which President Ford will appear will be sharply limited to the subject of why a pardon was granted to the former President and therefore, a general discussion on the matter you urge may not occur.

I do appreciate your interest and expression of concern.

Sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Edward B. Benjamin
Greensboro
North Carolina 27405

PWB:em



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The White House
Washington

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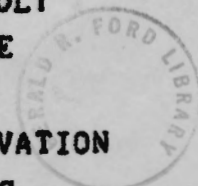
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4 PMS PRESIDENT GERALD FORD, DLR

5 WHITE HOUSE

6 WASHINGTON DC

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11 EVEN AS A DEMOCRAT I HOPE WHEN YOU TESTIFY ON PARDON YOU WILL
12 BRING OUT ALL NIXON DID FOR THIS COUNTRY IN MAKING PEOPLE AWARE
13 OF POLLUTION AND TAKING STEPS TO END VIETNAM WAR WHICH WOULD
14 HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE IF HE HAD NOT BEEN DISCREDITED, ALSO IN
15 MAKING SOME PROGRESS WITH RUSSIA, CHINA AND NEAR EASTERN STATES
16 AND IN SETTING UP WAGE - PRICE CONTROL COUNCIL WHICH UNDOUBTEDLY
17 DID DARN GOOD WORK BUT WAS SCRAPPED WHEN NIXON CAME UNDER FIRE
18 AND HAD TO TRY TO WIN ALL SUPPORTERS POSSIBLE PARAGRAPH THIS
19 VERY WEEK I AM CONSULTING JUDICIAL MEMBER OF CONGRESS ON MOTIVATION
20 BEHIND WATERGATE AND ELLSBURG BREAK-IN'S BUT MY IMPRESSION WAS
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THESE WERE TO ASCERTAIN EXTENT OF FOREIGN INFILTRATION AND NECESSITATED COVER UP TO AVOID ANTAGONIZING RUSSIA AND CHINA. CERTAINLY THESE ACTIVITIES COULD NOT HAVE BROUGHT NIXON ANY PERSONAL GAIN PARAGRAPH NIXONS DOWNFALL WAS ENGINEERED BY BEVY OF MAGAZINE, NEWSPAPER AND TELEVISION OWNERS WHICH ITSELF OUGHT TO BE INVESTIGATED FROM STANDPOINT OF CONSPIRACY AND PERHAPS TREASON ALSO. NIXON GAVE HIS ALL TO COUNTRY TO EXTENT OF SERIOUSLY IMPERILLING HIS HEALTH. HAVE PERSONALLY NO DOUBT SOME OF THIS MANS STATEMENTS EMANATED FROM MEMORY LAPSES WHICH OVERTAKE ON ALL WHO WORK UNDER STRAIN AND SOMETIMES APPLY TO OUR BEST DEEDS PARAGRAPH YOU ARE TO BE APPLAUDED AS HUMANE DECENT CITIZEN WHO TOOK IN MIND CONSEQUENCES TO NIXONS LOVELY FAMILY AS WELL AS TO MAN HIMSELF AND PRESTIGE OF COUNTRY PARAGRAPH YOU HAVE MY PERMISSION TO READ THIS TELEGRAM TO CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE IF SO DESIRE PARAGRAPH IF YOU LOOK

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ME UP IN WHOS WHO IN AMERICA WHICH HAS LISTED ME SINCE MY 40TH
YEAR, YOU WILL FIND ME THROUGHLY RESPONSIBLE. MRS BENJAMIN AND
I HAVE TAKEN A HAND IN THE FOUNDING OF A NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS
AND WE HAVE BUILT SOME OUTRIGHT. FURTHERMORE MY OWN WORK IN
DEVELOPING SOUND CONSTRUCTIVE NATIONAL POLICY GOES BACK TO MY
21ST YEAR. WHEN I WROTE THE LARGER LIBERALISM AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY
WHOSE SUGGESTED REFORMS ARE NOW THE LAW OF THE LAND

EDWARD B BENJAMIN
NNNN

Pardon

October 8, 1974

Dear Nancy:

I am sorry that the press of business has delayed my response to your note and editorial. Thank you for sending them along.

There has indeed been disagreement voiced by many citizens about the decision to pardon the former President. Hopefully, over a period of time more and more people will understand and approve of the pardon. The best and most eloquent defense of it that I know of has been Duncan Littlefair's sermon on the subject. Be sure to read it, if you have not already done so.

Very warmest regards.

Most sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Miss Nancy Dempsey
WZZM TV-Radio
Box Z
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49501

PWB:em





BOX Z GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN 49501

"From the desk of:"

NANCY DEMPSEY

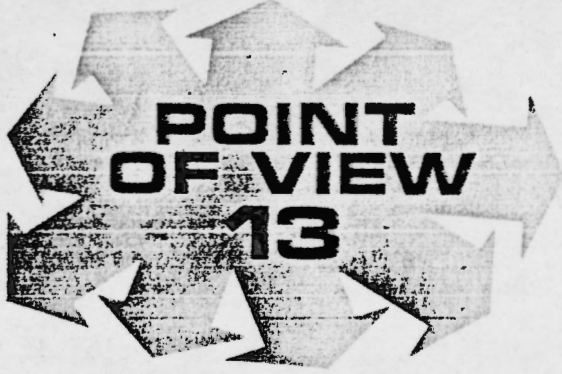
Dear Phil -

Sorry to have to do this -
but we think Pres. Ford
made a bad mistake,
based on information
available to the public.
Our mail seems to bear
this out.

Sincerely,

Nancy





Mr. Harold S. Sawyer

West Michigan Telecasters, Inc.

THE EDITORIAL VOICE OF WZZM-TV, GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

VIDEO

AUDIO

PARDON

Mr. Harold S. Sawyer

The reasons advanced for the unconditional pardon of former President Nixon at this time, are in our view, unpersuasive.

It is said that the former president has suffered enough. The same may be said of any person of previously good repute who is accused of criminality which has cost him his job and reputation, and threatens his liberty.

It is said that the threat of prosecution hangs like a sword, hazarding Mr. Nixon's health and the rebuilding of his life. So it undcutbtedly is, not only with all Watergate defendants, but with similarly situated people in all walks.

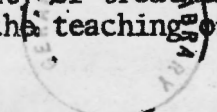
It is said that this action will with finality close the door on this whole sordid affair. It is already evident it has done the contrary.

It is said that the American people do not want the spectacle of a former president behind bars. This may well be so, but that choice was not yet presented. It would not be confronted until an indictment, a conviction and a prison sentence occurred, each of which was at least uncertain. Even if all these occurred, there would always exist the more palatable possibility of commutation to house arrest at San Clemente or something similar.

On the other side of the ledger, equal justice or mercy has not been done between the Watergate defendants, and if they all were now to be pardoned, what of the myriad other defendants in non-violent cases whose actions caused far less damage either in money or to the national well-being?

While it is true, as people in politics say, that Americans are vitally interested in their economics and peace, it would be a gross underestimation of the American people to say that they are not even more interested in equality of treatment under the law, fairness and honesty. This was the teaching of Watergate.

AIR DATES: 9/11/74 - 11:30 P.M.



October 9, 1974

Dear Ms. Cunningham:

The case of the former President grossly divided our nation. Further, it has diverted our attention from the search for effective solutions to many complex problems which we face today. President Ford has acted to bring our country together in order that we may deal more effectively with these problems. I would like to add that the power to grant a pardon is the President's Constitutional right to show mercy; and his action, far from circumventing the courts, is an essential ingredient in the judicial process.

The letter agreement between the former President and the Administrator of the General Services Administration is premised upon soundly legal and historical precedent. The papers and documents of every Administration have belonged to the President who served the Nation. The agreement properly recognized this precedent. Beyond this basic aim, it was our purpose to ensure that these records would be available if subpoenaed, and this was achieved by the creation of certain explicit procedures.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Ms. Estelle Cunningham
Locust Valley
New York 11560

PWB:em



West Valley, N.Y. 1560
Sept. 30, 1974

Buchen -

When you want to make a dirty deal
you use a dirty ~~deal~~ dealer.

The nation is apprehensive that its
president — himself quite venally tainted —
gets his legal advice from a shyster, who
is making that reprehensible deal whereby
an effort was made to obstruct justice by
making Nixon's tapes unavailable, used as his
emissary a man whom he then knew to be under
a federal criminal investigation.

This has all the elements of a brand new
conspiracy to obstruct justice — by providing for
the unmerciful destruction of the Nixon tapes.

It is to be hoped that you wind up
as the other conspirators did.

Perhaps I'm naive — but maybe the
system will work.

Estelle Cunningham



Ford Emissary Becomes A Nonperson

The White House has been embarrassed by a side development in President Ford's pardoning of Richard Nixon: The Washington lawyer who acted as Mr. Ford's secret emissary in conveying the pardon to Mr. Nixon is in danger of being indicted for scheming to take \$10,000 in spurious deductions on his Federal income tax return.

Dear Reverend Bell:

I have received your letter of September twenty-eighth, presenting your views and comments concerning the pardon granted to former President Nixon.

Your thoughts will be reviewed and given appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Phillip W. Suchen
Counsel to the President

The Reverend Charles R. Bell, Jr.
Bellevue Heights Church
10926 Meade Drive
Sun City, Arizona 85351

PWB:em



Bellevue Heights Church

AMERICAN BAPTIST
10926 MEADE DRIVE
SUN CITY, ARIZONA 85351

CHARLES R. BELL, JR.
PASTOR

September 28, 1974

My dear Mr. Buchen:

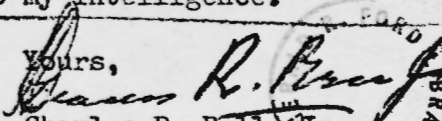
I am one of those people who watch the newscasts and read the papers and magazines very carefully where they comment on the National scene and what is now going on there.

I am writing to you on the assumption that you have much to say about what is being done in the White House these days and what is said about the things that have been done. My reaction may not have great effect, but I feel a compulsion from time to time to register it for I have the feeling that we are on skids as a Nation and that everybody had better speak his piece.

First of all let me give you my reaction to Ford's pardon of Nixon. Whatever Mr. Ford's true intention; it is not coming across as an honest, open and fair move. Talk about this being a move to put Watergate behind us all and heal the Nation's wounds - just does not have substance. It smacks much more of a "deal" and a continuing "cover-up" of the greatest scandal and conspiracy in our history and may I remind you that Ford has now done exactly what he promised he would not do. This is what Nixon did for five years. It seems that Ford is going along the same line.

Secondly let me comment on Mrs. Ford's little speech last night telling us all with sweet concern that the White House too was now serving covered dishes and fish in an effort to save money. My wife, who is a pretty fair person I think, watched the Pepsodent smile and heard the I-know-what-you-are up-against words of support and comfort. Her immediate comment was "I don't like her." And I had the same feeling. How could you speech-writers and aides ever feel that intelligent people could be conned by that sort of corn? We know full well that Ford draws \$ 200,000 salary, enormous travel expense and entertainment money, Serve covered dishes - as we do - to save money on that kind of salary? It's a joke.

One of the things that turned me so fully against Nixon was not only his venality; it was the way he tried to con me into taking him seriously. That was an insult to my intelligence.

Yours,

Charles R. Bell, Jr.

Pardon

October 9, 1974

Dear Jack:

Many thanks for your letter and warm congratulations. Yes, I have seen and was most pleased with Duncan's sermon on the garden.

The matter of a portrait of the President by Paul Collins, I believe I had best leave to others from here to work on.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

**Philip W. Buchan
Counsel to the President**

**Mr. Jack Hogan
News Director
WZZM-TV
West Michigan Telecasters, Inc.
Box Z
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49501**





WEST MICHIGAN TELECASTERS, INC.
 BOX Z GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN 49501 (616) 364-9551

October 2, 1974

Mr. Philip Buchen
 Legan Counsel
 The White House
 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Phil:

I am a little late in saying congratulations, but as you well know we are all very proud to have you serve in the Ford administration. I am sure that you have had a chance by now to read a copy of Duncan's sermon on the pardon. If for some strange reason you did not get a copy, please let me know.

I mentioned the possibility of having a local black artist, Paul Collins, do a portrait of the President. As I understand it there is a move underway in Grand Rapids to have this done with local people picking up the fee.

Apparently someone has been in touch with Bill Seidman about this, but I am still trying to get some prints of Paul's work so that you will know why we have recommended this man.

Dave Mehney, who has Kawasaki in Grand Rapids, is apparently in touch with Mr. Seidman so that all of the Grand Rapids people will know about this project.

Cordially,

Jack Hogan
 Jack Hogan
 News Director
 WZZM-TV

JH/tt



October 10, 1974

To: Roland Elliott

From: Phil Buchen

Subject: Attached letters

The attached letters are all addressed to the President concerning his appearance before the Hungate Committee.

Would you please assist my office in responding to them.

Thank you very much.



October 11, 1974

Parsons

Dear Mr. Miller:

Thank you for your letter of October sixth,
enclosing a memorandum concerning the President's
appearance before the Criminal Justice Subcommittee
of the House Judiciary Committee.

Please be assured that I will review your research
and suggestions.

I appreciate your interest.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. James L. Miller
Five East Market Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 42604



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Copy pages on
outside of file
for my personal
files.

P.

1/4/76

Xeroxed



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(P)

TO: Dick Cheney

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN *Bob*

COMMENTS:

*The attached is an eloquent
defense of the Nixon pardon.
Keyes is a black junior fellow
in Government at Harvard,
and a true genius, in his
20's.*

*The President might wish
to read it, too.*



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

Mr. Alan L. Keyes
I-22 Winthrop House
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass. 02138
July 20, 1976

To the Editor
The Boston Globe
135 Morrissey Blvd.
Boston, Mass. 02107

Dear Sir:

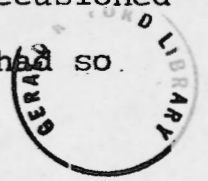
Enclosed you will find some thoughts on the criticism which has lately been leveled against President Ford for his pardon of former President Richard Nixon. I offer them for your consideration in the hope that you will see fit to communicate them to your readers. I must admit that I entertain little prospects for this hope, as you have displayed in the past a marked propensity to suppress views with which you disagree, especially when they come from a source that can claim no more important title than that of an American citizen. I have sent copies of my reflections and of this letter to several other newspapers and individuals. Perhaps there is among them someone who is not unwilling to let these thoughts be shared with my fellow citizens. In any event one can never feel that it is fruitless to have given thought to the best interests of his nation. I am,

Yours Truly,

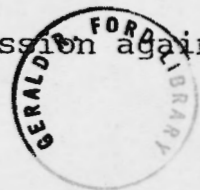
Alan L. Keyes



It certainly surprises noone that Jimmy Carter should attempt to use President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon as a tool in his campaign for the Presidency. No doubt it seems to him a sure means of forwarding his great personal ambition. However, the citizens of the United States would do well to consider what best serves the good of the nation as a whole, and to ask themselves whether President Ford did not show remarkable political courage and wisdom in sparing the nation a prolongation of the impeachment crisis. It is all well and good to talk of treating Richard Nixon as one would any other criminal, but it shows a decided lack of appreciation for the agony of conscience which the impeachment crisis produced in the minds of most Americans who love their country and are saddened by its troubles. Richard Nixon had been the President of the United States. He had been placed in that office by the sufferages of an overwhelming majority of the American people. The crisis of his tenure was not just a personal problem of Richard Nixon, it was a crisis for all of the American people, for their institutions and their judgement. Noone can condone the illegal and improper acts committed under Nixon's presidency, but only those who are blinded by personal ambition and partisan hunger for office can fail to see that those crimes and acts were a source of shame to the entire nation, and that they aggravated greatly the crisis of morale and confidence occasioned by the conflict in Vietnam in which President Johnson had so deeply involved the nation.

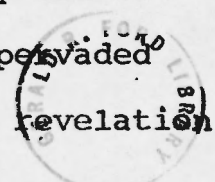


Perhaps Senator Mondale and Mr. Carter believe that the best way to have dealt with such a moral crisis would have been to offer Richard Nixon as a sacrificial scapegoat upon the altar of judicial process. But they need only reflect upon their own words to realize that it is the judicial process itself which would have been sacrificed, and with it the last refuge of insitutional confidence we Americans still maintain inviolate. Where could Richard Nixon have found a fair trial? What Americans were so isolated that they did not hear of the troubles of his administration, and how many were so lacking in concern for their country and its future that they did not form a judgement on the question which at that time was central to its welfare- the guilt or innocence of President Nixon? Judging by Senator Mondale's words, he certainly had formed a judgement, and judging by his criticism of President Ford's pardon he would have been willing to see Richard Nixon brought to a trial that made a mockery of the fundamental American tradition that no one should be tried by those who have prejudged his guilt or innocence. It is as important that this tradition be maintained in regard to those whom the people have elevated to greatness, as it is that the ordinary men and women among the people themselves should enjoy its protection. Perhaps it is even more important, because the breach of principle would be all the more glaring, all the more likely to arouse indignation and mistrust, in proportion to the unparalleled celebrity of the case, and the extent to which it aroused partisan passion against



the accused, or in his favor. It is clear from the way in which the Democrats are seeking to exploit the issue today that partisan self-interest would have surrounded any attempt to bring Richard Nixon to trial; and it is even more clear that in an atmosphere of partisanship such a trial could only have added to the burden of sorrow, shame and distrust which were the legacy of that unhappy period in our affairs.

Courage is not often a virtue of sophisticated men. Whatever unwillingness there may be in some quarters to grant President Ford credit for the accomplishments of his administration, whatever disposition there may be to criticize the simplicity of his style, or the awkwardness of his speech or manner, we should realize that, in pardoning Richard Nixon, he granted a reprieve to the whole nation. It was evident at the time, and it is even more so today, that in performing this act he risked his personal political future. He made the choice that was most consistent with the good of his fellow countrymen, sparing us the spectacle of our own vindictiveness, giving us a chance to take stock of our affairs in an atmosphere free of the passion and doubt which had troubled our polity for so many years. As Alexander Hamilton once observed, there is an "odium which must always attend even upon justice itself when directed by extreme severity." It no doubt would have served the political purposes of the Democratic party had we lived for the past two years in a political climate pervaded by such odium. It might have served to forestall the revelation



of the misdeeds of Democratic public men which have drawn our attention in recent months. We have learned that the framework for corruption which Nixon found when he came into office was an inheritance prepared by his Democratic predecessors. The Democrats would do well to remember that in the greatest crises in the affairs of a republic such as ours, no party, and indeed no citizen, is free of responsibility or likely to be untouched by blame. As the sovereign people of a free nation we are all responsible, and the hand of pardon which President Ford offered to Richard Nixon was in fact a hand of healing for us all.

I for one believe that we should take advantage of the opportunity which President Ford's simple courage has provided for us. As a nation we shall face many important choices in the years ahead, choices which may well determine the fate of free government for ages to come. Let this campaign be conducted with a view to such decisions. The indomitable personal ambition which would seek to exploit the troubles of the past to gain its object, even at the expense of the nation's calm judgement and peace of mind; such ambition is precisely what produced those troubles, and precisely what we need most of all to put behind us.

Alan L. Keyes
Cambridge, Mass.



July 19, 1976

Editor
Voice for the Defense
Texas Criminal Defense Lawyers Association
Suite 1632, American Bank Tower
Austin, Texas 78701

My attention has been called to an article appearing in the July, 1976 issue of "Voice for the Defense," written by Joel W. Westbrook and Jay Lawrence Westbrook, neither of whom I know. My reaction to the article is that the subject was not only sloppily researched but appears to have been written for the purpose of presenting a slanted submission of the issue, as I shall show in my comments below. Before doing so, I should add that the authors did not extend to me the courtesy of an interview on their article. Nor did you give me an opportunity to respond, which is rather unusual in view of the nature of the criticism. My initial reaction was to ignore this petty effort to distort history--then I thought of the many friends I have in your Association I greatly respect and admire and it is to them that I address this reply.

In December, following my decision in October that the Nixon pardon was constitutionally within the power of the President to exercise, the United States Supreme Court, in the Schick case (95 S.Ct. 379), stated that any limitation on the power to pardon must be found in the Constitution. If the authors of the article had been interested in what the Constitution said and had consulted its provisions, they would have found that there is no such limitation. How strange that the authors did not allude to this pronouncement in their article! Are they ignorant of it, or did they decide to shun it?

If they were aware of the Schick case, one is caused to wonder why the authors would quote the Time magazine excerpt in which I said "The



2.

pardoning power has no limitations whatsoever.", then fail to quote the subsequent Supreme Court pronouncement to the same effect.

My successor, Henry Ruth, who went into this issue independently (I resigned shortly after the pardon), publicly took precisely the same position as had I. He served for a full year after my resignation, and Charles Ruff, a professor at Georgetown University and Ruth's successor, also has followed Ruth's and my position. Either of them was at liberty to attack the pardon--yet this biased article has it appear as if I--and I alone--could have questioned the pardon. Instead of commenting on this unanimous succession of views, your fair-minded authors ignored them and chose to refer to the comments of a controversial former Assistant District Attorney, who was dismissed from office.

Although not necessary, I should add that the intent of the Special Prosecutor's Charter--of which the authors make so much--is better known to me than to these outsiders. I participated in its drafting and at no time was there the slightest intent to deprive the President of the pardoning power. Had an effort been made to exercise such an intent, it would have been of no value, as is so clearly shown by United States Supreme Court interpretation in the Schick case.

I request that this letter be published in your next issue and given the same prominence as the article you published. It has been my experience that in instances of criticisms of this nature, editors afford the adverse party an opportunity to comment or reply. I wonder why you did not do so in this instance. I wonder, also, how this article eventually found its way in your columns--almost two years after the fact.

Yours truly,

Leon Jaworski

cc: Hon. Fred Erisman
Hon. Richard Haynes
Hon. Fred A. Semaan
Hon. Clyde Woody
Hon. Phil Burleson
Hon. C. Anthony Friloux, Jr.



The Invalid Nixon Pardon: I. "Watergate Regulation" and II. Rex Non Concessit

By
Joel W. Westbrook
Jay Lawrence Westbrook

"I find no basis for attacking the pardon legally . . . [A] Challenge would . . . become a farce. The pardoning power has no

Agreeing with the concept expressed by the Kansas Supreme Court in *Jamison v. Flanner*, 228 Pac. 82 (1924), we do not here inquire into President Ford's motives, but we do believe his authority to grant this particular pardon can be judicially questioned, and we do believe that a full and complete judicial inquiry would result in invalidation of the pardon of former President Nixon.

We believe that President Ford lacked authority to grant this particular pardon because of the inhibitions of the special "Watergate Regulation".

Aside from this want of authority, we believe the pardon is void because it does not specify the offenses pardoned, and it is, therefore, a general pardon, intolerable to American and English law, and, furthermore, it was never legally "accepted" by ex-President Nixon.

Dictum of Ex Parte Garland

Those who contend that the President enjoys virtually unlimited discretion with respect to pardons under the constitutional provision of Article II, Section 2, Clause 1* are believed to rely prin-

Precisely what was in issue in *Garland* was the right of *Garland*, a former Confederate senator, and a former member of the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, to resume his practice in the Supreme Court without first taking an oath (required by the Congressional Act of July 2, 1862, as supplemented by the Act of January 24, 1865) that, inter alia, he had not exercised the functions of any office under any authority hostile to the United States—an oath that obviously he could not honestly subscribe.

In July of 1865 the Petitioner had been pardoned by President Andrew Johnson "for all offenses by him committed, arising from participation, direct or implied, in the said Rebellion", subject to certain conditions attached to the pardon, which was accepted by the Petitioner *Garland* in writing.

The Supreme Court, speaking through Mr. Justice Field, held that *Garland* could practice before it without taking the oath prescribed by the Act of July 2, 1862, as supplemented by the Act of January 24, 1865.

The Court rested its decision

Mondale's view
is challenged

Boston Globe
Ford 7/20/76
defends
F/NEWS
pardon

By Rachele Patterson
Globe Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Ford yesterday defended his pardon of former President Nixon and said he would "do it again" because it was "in the national interest."

At the time the pardon was granted, Ford said, the United States faced "serious economic prob-

Ford said the prosecutor would look into any crimes by the President, Vice President, key Administration officials, members of Congress and the Judiciary.

Under the congressional version, the prosecutor would be appointed by the attorney general or, if the attorney general failed to act, by the US Court of Appeals, and would handle individual cases. Ford said granting of judicial

Ford estimated that he has 1103 delegates in saying he was confident of a first-ballot victory. Later in the day, however, he met with the New Jersey GOP delegation to make certain there were no defections to Ronald Reagan. He is expected to meet several other delegations this week at the White House.

Ford talked during the press conference about party harmony after the

Boston Globe - 7-21-76

Mondale and the pardon

Walter Mondale has denounced President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon, Mr. Ford has defended it, and with that the issue should end. Mr. Nixon hurt this country, and Mr. Ford was morally wrong and perhaps politically motivated in setting him free without even an admission of guilt. But after figuring in the past six elec-

But a panel of judges in New York State has disbarred Mr. Nixon for committing crimes in office. The only dissenter agreed Nixon was a criminal but said the disbarment was unnecessary because everyone knew what Nixon had done.

The trial of Haldeman, Ehrlichman,

The Washington Star

JOE L. ALLBRITTON, *Publisher*

JAMES G. BELLOWS, *Editor*

SIDNEY EPSTEIN, *Managing Editor*

EDWIN M. YODER JR., *Associate Editor*

SATURDAY, JULY 24, 1976

Resurrecting the pardon issue

You can depend on it. President Ford's pardon of President Nixon will become an issue, or at any rate a consideration in the back of voters' minds, in the forthcoming presidential campaign — at least if Mr. Ford prevails at Kansas City.

Whether it becomes more than a mere consid-

Nixon would have availed himself of the protections of the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Ford seems to be saving for his memoirs a full explanation of the Nixon pardon. But two considerations must have figured in the decision. The first was that a long trial of Mr. Nixon would absorb public attention throughout much

Lisagor agreed with Eileen Shanahan of the New York Times, that it is curious that President Ford was still "prospecting" for delegates when the Ford committee was claiming such confidence. He added that there was some desperation in both camps, but that, ultimately, he felt the President would go into the convention with sufficient delegates to win. Wash.Wk.Review, Ag.&Co. -- (7/25/76)

Demo Campaign: Comment

Is Mondale Taking the Low Road?
(Editorial, excerpted, Detroit News)

Did Jimmy Carter pick Sen. Walter Mondale to do his dirty work for him? Accepting the role of low-road campaigner on the Democratic ticket, Mondale has within one week revived the issue of the Nixon pardon and called President Ford "not quite bright enough to be a good president."

Since the American voter has a very sharp sense of fair play, smart politicians scrupulously avoid personal attacks on their opponents. Sen. Mondale's attack on Mr. Ford's intelligence raises a question about Mondale's own brightness or his ethical sense.

First, the suggestion that Richard Nixon escaped punishment through Mr. Ford's pardon shows a total lack of understanding of the humiliation and tragedy of the former President. No president in American history ever paid so heavily for misconduct in office. To punish him further would have been to stab a political corpse.

Second, President Ford recognized that if the nightmarish struggle over Richard Nixon were allowed to continue, it would prevent the nation from directing its attention to neglected affairs and constructive work. He acted courageously to end the hatred, vindictiveness and turmoil that was consuming this country.

Third, there's something just a trifle hypocritical and contradictory about a political ticket that spouts brotherly love and national unity while trying to revive the bitterness and division of the Watergate era.

We find it hard to believe that the American people want to slog back into that quagmire. Certainly there is no dearth of other and more legitimate issues. If Jimmy Carter is the born-again Christian he claims to be -- and the smart politician -- he will use his influence to moderate the campaign rhetoric of his running mate. -- (7/21/76)



Origin of Pardon Idea in Question

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

J. Fred Buzhardt, President Nixon's White House counsel, says neither he nor the White House staff originated and then proposed to Nixon the idea that he be pardoned by his successor after resigning.

Buzhardt's recollection disagrees with President Ford's recounting of events to a House Judiciary subcommittee on Oct. 17, 1974.

The President testified that Aug. 1, 1974, a week before Nixon resigned, White House staff chief Alexander M. Haig, Jr. told him "a pardon to the

President Ford, during his Judiciary panel testimony, recalled that Haig, in the Aug. 1, pre-resignation meeting, "wanted...my attitude on the options of resignation," including the one that involved a Ford pardon for Nixon.

Asked about that Ford testimony, Buzhardt said, "I don't know if Al (Haig) was rattling off every idea, every possibility. I would assume that he would have discussed with President Nixon this matter before going to the Vice President because it was my observation that he just didn't make decisions on his



J. FRED BUZHARDT
...early discussions.

earlier presidential statements on Watergate were false, would be "devastating" and have what the former White House counsel described as "a terminal" effect.

At the meeting with Haig when he decided to send the tape transcript to Congress, Nixon authorized his staff chief, in Buzhardt's words, "to bring the Vice President up to date."

Buzhardt said he met with Haig just prior to the latter's session with then-Vice President Ford. At that meeting, Buzhardt and Haig discussed the potential Capitol Hill reaction to the tapes, resignation and Buzhardt's

RICHARDSON WARY ON NIXON PARDON

He Approved Ex-President's
Not Going to Prison, but
Criticizes Procedures

By ROBERT M. SMITH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28—Eliot L. Richardson, who resigned as Attorney General rather than obey President Nixon's order to discharge Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, said today that he did not believe that Mr. Nixon should have been pardoned.

Asked what he thought had caused the Nixon Administration its problems, Mr. Richardson pointed to "a compound of at least three things."

"One," he said, "is traceable to flaws in Nixon's own character," particularly his inclination "to be suspicious of his opponents and to cast them as enemies," together with his "secretiveness and manipulativeness."

Mr. Richardson said that a second element was "the aggrandizement of the Presidency, a culmination of long-developing trends."

'Went Over the Edge'

"The strong Presidency requires manipulative trends in dealing with Congress and the press," he added. "The Nixon White House pushed it further and went over the edge."

He said that the third component was the employment of the White House of "root-

Plans to Make Speeches

He did say that he would be making speeches in Massachusetts and New Hampshire in February and would probably make some other "incidental appearances," but added that he did not expect to do "any sustained campaigning."

Questioned about a proposal by Jimmy Carter, the former Georgia Governor who is a Democratic Presidential aspirant, that the Attorney General's post be made independent of the Administration, Mr. Richardson said that he thought that was unwise. The Attorney General's office "should be subject to the same policy processes as other departments," he said.

Origin of Pardon Idea in Question

By Walter Pincus

Washington Post Staff Writer

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Asked about that Ford testimony, Buzhardt said, "I don't know if Al (Haig) was rattling off every idea, every possibility. I would assume that he would have discussed with President Nixon this matter before going to the Vice President because it was my observation that he just didn't make decisions on his own without talking to

situations where no criminal indictment had yet been returned.

According to Buzhardt, Nixon took his suggested course under advisement though he and the staff recognized it was "drastic."

In the week following the

court decision, while the House Judiciary Committee held its public hearings and voted three articles of impeachment, the White House was turning over to Sirica the first group of subpoenaed

According to Mr. Ford's House subcommittee testimony, one pardon option presented by Haig was similar to Buzhardt's July 24 suggestion: "pardoning various Watergate defendants, then himself, followed by resignation."

"The question of whether the President could pardon himself," Mr. Ford testified, was also discussed. Haig said, according to the Ford statement, "it was his understanding from a White House lawyer that the President

Mr. Buchen
White House.

August 16, 1976

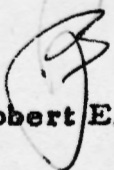
Mr. John B. Oakes
Editorial Page
New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear John,

You may not remember me from NATO visits. However, I remember you and am taking the liberty of passing along the attached in reaction to Ehrlichman's piece in the Times of August 16.

Try as he will to make something bizarre or sinister or foolish out of President Ford's pardon action, Ehrlichman is simply ineffective when compared with the sound and reasonable position taken by the President. Ehrlichman's career before, during and after the former Administration leaves ample room for doubt as to both his motivation and his credibility. President Ford's does not.

Yours sincerely,


Robert E. Button

REB/mpk

Att:

cc: President Ford

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1974

Per file

Dear Colonel Button:

Thank you for your comments concerning the pardon of former President Nixon. I appreciate receiving your views.

This was not an easy decision to reach, as I am sure you are aware. Before making it, I undertook a thorough examination of the entire matter. This included my right to grant pardons under the Constitution, the legal actions contemplated by the Special Prosecutor, the probable duration of the criminal proceedings and a number of other factors. Throughout this evaluation process, my main concern was to heal the wounds to the Nation. That was the top priority. I know there are deep and genuine differences among good people over the decision I made. But I felt then, and I feel now, that I made the right decision in an honest, conscientious effort to end the divisions in this country.

I am grateful that you support my decision and I appreciate your taking the time to let me know about it.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

Colonel Robert E. Button, USAR, Ret.
Seven Sylvan Lane
Old Greenwich, Connecticut 06870

Wednesday 10/16/74

Nichols
Dr.

(Woman)
4:25 Dr. Nichols called from Chicago.

She said when the President takes his oath, he might say something like this: At your gracious and conscientious request, I am grateful to come before you concerning this situation and on September 8 (Sunday) the pronouncement of the President's pardon in reference to the former President and I am again taking the oath of office of these United States and I did so with my hand placed on the Bible and on August 9 (Friday) I placed my right hand on the Bible while taking the oath of office of the Presidency of the U. S. A. and so today with your permission let us open that book that we may read together from the Bible. This time of year we have just passed Yom Kippur of the Jewish faith at completion of reading of the laws of Moses and now in reference to the book of ~~B~~/ Genesis, having completed the reading, Deuteronomy and now are beginning again with the book of Genesis so as Christians and Jews and those of all faiths under God let us read and enlighten ourselves with Genesis I, Book 1, verse 1-9.

And now let us turn to Hebrews in the Bible and read Chapter 12 and 13 (full chapters) and those atwo chapters that mention the specifics with reference to the difficulties of Mr. Nixon and the correction of the pardon and grace under God which also mentions about leaders of countries. If you would read the book of Heba/rews therefore since we are surrounding time so great a cloud of witnesses let us lay aside every weight and sin that clings so closely and let us with ~~preservants~~ preservance the ?? race?? that is set looking to Jesus, the pioneer and protector of our faith. Who have the joy that was set for him endured the cross, despising the ~~eres~~ shame and is seated on the right hand of the throne of God.

Chapter 13, which mentions about leaders and following leaders and where the specifics are in the law and the faith and with grace.

Nixon did in the last sentence of his last speech from the White House -- said "Grace be with ~~fyb~~ each of you." So this mentions and brings out about the leaders and about grace and in the last word "Grace be with ~~all~~ of you. Amen."



Pardon

October 24, 1974

Dear Congressman Steiger:

Your letter of September thirteenth, to Max Friedersdorf, enclosing a letter from your constituent has been referred to me for further response.

The case of the former President grossly divided our nation. Further, it has diverted our attention from the search for effective solutions to many complex problems which we face today. President Ford acted out of an overriding concern in an effort to bring this country together so that we might deal more effectively with these problems.

The pardon was granted pursuant to the President's power under Article II, Section 2, Clause 1 of the Constitution. Further, while it is the Counsel's policy not to disclose any memorandum prepared for the President, I can state that a pre-indictment pardon has been given in the past. The pardon which I refer to was discussed in Burdick v. United States, 236 U. S. 79 (1915).

The other matters raised by your constituent cannot be answered by me because they are legislative in nature.

I hope this response assists you in replying to this inquiry.

Most sincerely yours,

Phillip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

The Honorable Sam Steiger
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

PWB:JF:em



October 7, 1974

Dear Sam,

This will acknowledge receipt and thank you for your September 13 letter on behalf of your constituent who has raised several questions with respect to the granting of a pardon to the former President.

I will be pleased to ask that this letter be reviewed and information sent that will be helpful to you in responding to your constituent.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

15/Max

Max L. Friedlander
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Sam Stelzer
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to Philip Buchen for DIRECT REPLY please.

MLP:EP:VD:mln



SAM STEIGER
3RD DISTRICT, ARIZONA

126 CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
202-225-4576

COMMITTEES:
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

DISTRICT OFFICE:
5015 FEDERAL BUILDING
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85025
602-261-4041

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

SEP 14 1974

September 13, 1974

Mr. Max L. Friedersdorf
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

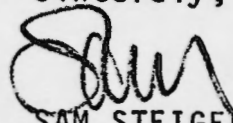
Dear Max:

I have had a request from a constituent (letter attached) asking that I obtain a reply to several questions from President Ford.

Any help you could give me on this would be greatly appreciated.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,



SAM STEIGER, M.C.

SS:bd
encl



SEP 13 1974

I

DEAR MR. CONGRESS MAN,

AFTER HEARING OF PRESIDENT FORD'S DECISION TO PARDON PRESIDENT NIXON, I FELT SO DISGUSTED THAT I FELT A LETTER TO YOU MIGHT ANSWER SOME OF THE QUESTIONS THAT THIS "EXECUTIVE PARDON" RAISES.

ARTICLE II, SECTION II OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION APPEARS TO PROTECT & DEFEND PRESIDENT FORD'S GRANT TO THE FORMER PRESIDENT, HOWEVER IT SEEMS THAT THIS GRANT IS A LITTLE PREMATURE. MR. NIXON HAS NEVER BEEN CALLED UPON IN A COURT OF LAW TO GIVE HIS TESTIMONY IN REGARDS TO WATERGATE. YET HERE IS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HANDING A FULL PARDON FOR WHATEVER THE FORMER PRESIDENT MIGHT HAVE DONE. I COULD UNDERSTAND A PARDON AFTER MR. NIXON GAVE A FULL DISCLOSURE IN COURT, BUT BEFORE HAND PROJECTS THE IMPRESSION THAT PRESIDENT FORD IS JUMPING TO A CONCLUSION. IS THIS THE WAY OF JUSTICE? THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO ALLOF THE FACTS ABOUT WATERGATE AND THE SUFFERING WHICH WAS BROUGHT ON BY IT. YET IT SEEMS THAT WITH ARTICLE II, SECT. II OF THE CONSTITUTION TUCKED IN HIS BACK POCKET, PRESIDENT FORD HAS DECIDED FOR ALL OF HIS COUNTRYMEN THAT WE WILL NOT HEAR FOR THE FACTS. IF PRESIDENT FORD IS TRYING TO "HEAL THE WOUNDS OF WATERGATE", IT IS MY OPINION THAT HE IS FAILING MISERABLY. →


II

IS PRESIDENT FORD'S PARDON TO MR. NIXON A LEGAL PRECEDENT WHICH CAN BE USED TO PROTECT FUTURE PRESIDENTS, PUBLIC SERVANTS, & ORDINARY, EVERYDAY IGNORED CITIZENS? IT BETTER BE!! BY GOD, IF IT'S GOOD ENOUGH FOR RICHARD NIXON & ALL OF THE CRIMES HE SUPPOSEDLY COMMITTED, THEN IT BETTER BE GOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL PEOPLE!

JUST THINK OF HOW ALL OF THE SMART LAWYERS IN THIS COUNTRY WILL TRY TO USE "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA VS. RICHARD NIXON" TO THEIR CLIENTS ADVANTAGE. DON'T LAUGH, IT WILL HAPPEN!

I GET SICK AT THE THOUGHT OF PAYING MR. NIXON'S SALARY AFTER LEAVING HIS OFFICE UNDER A CLOUD OF SUSPICION THAT HE MIGHT HAVE VIOLATED THE LAW. MAYBE I WOULDN'T MIND SO MUCH IF PRESIDENT FORD WOULD HAVE ACCORDED DUE PROCESS OF LAW TO MR. NIXON. BUT NO, MR. NIXON PROBABLY DIDN'T WANT DUE PROCESS, AND THE PRESIDENT HAS PROTECTED HIM AND LEFT THOSE OF US WHO PAY MR. NIXON'S BENEFITS HANGING HIGH AND DRY.

PRESIDENT FORD WANTS HONESTY TO PREVAIL IN HIS ADMINISTRATION, HE COULD START BY GETTING DOWN TO THE TRUTH IN WATERGATE. PARDONING RICHARD NIXON & IGNORING OTHERS INVOLVED IN WATERGATE WILL HEAL NO WOUNDS. IT WILL ONLY INFLICT NEW WOUNDS, INFLICTED BY THE MOST RESPECTED COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.



III

MR. CONGRESSMAN;

I AM HEREBY DIRECTING YOU AS MY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE TO SEND ME A WRITTEN REPLY FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS: MR. PRESIDENT,

1. WHAT BASIS IS THERE FOR PARDONING FORMER PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON?
2. DO YOU MIND PAYING PART OF THE FORMER PRESIDENT'S SALARY EVEN THOUGH HE MAYBE A CRIMINAL?
3. CAN I EXPECT A PRESIDENTIAL PARDON FOR ANY BODY STANDING TRIAL FOR OBSTRUCTION OF JUSTICE?
4. IS THERE ANY CONSTITUTIONAL POSSIBILITY OF CHALLENGING THIS PARDON?
5. COULD LEGISLATION BE INITIATED CHALLENGING FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON'S BENEFITS & PENSION?

A PROMPT REPLY WILL BE APPRECIATED.

SINCERELY,

Charles F. Murray

7000 W. BUTLER DR. #42

Glendale, AZ 85301



10/25/74

Pardon
Kaye
Janet

To: Jay *[Handwritten initials]*

From: Eva *[Handwritten initials]*

Attached is the background
for possible reply to
Miss Kaye's letter of 9/27.

Looks like it's been taken
care of -- but wanted you
to see if you feel the answer
is to your complete satisfaction
without further response.



3533 W. Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
September 27, 1974

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

On September 11th, 1974 I wrote to you requesting a copy of any memoranda recently received by President Ford on his power to grant the pardon of Richard M. Nixon. I realize that you are overburdened, and that this request is hardly top priority, and would be happy to follow any procedure that you might suggest in order to obtain any memoranda recently received by President Ford on his power to grant such pardons.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Kaye

Janet Kaye



September 24, 1974

Dear Miss Kaye:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 11th inquiring of certain memoranda relating to President Ford's exercise of his power to grant pardons. I appreciate your interest in this matter and I am enclosing some documents which might assist you. However, as the President's counsel, I do not feel it is appropriate to publish any memoranda which reflect my counsel to the President. I do think that you will be able to discover by your own research much of the relevant law concerning pardons.

Your interest is appreciated.

Most sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Miss Janet Kaye
3533 W. Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007



September 11, 1974

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am a third year law student interested in following the current controversy surrounding the pardon of Richard M. Nixon. Would it be possible for me to receive from you a copy of any memoranda recently received by President Ford on his power to grant such pardons?

Thank you.

Janet Kaye
3533 W. Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007



September 24, 1974

Dear Miss Kaye:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 11th inquiring of certain memoranda relating to President Ford's exercise of his power to grant pardons. I appreciate your interest in this matter and I am enclosing some documents which might assist you. However, as the President's counsel, I do not feel it is appropriate to publish any memoranda which reflect my counsel to the President. I do think that you will be able to discover by your own research much of the relevant law concerning pardons.

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Most sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Miss Janet Kaye
3533 W. Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007



September 24, 1974

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Your interest is appreciated.

Most sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Miss Janet Kaye
3533 W. Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007



Pardon

November 11, 1974

Dear Mr. Adams:

I have received your recent letter of October twenty-second, concerning the legality of the pardon granted to former President Nixon.

I have not seen Senate document 92-82 which states, according to you, that the pardon is invalid in law and under the Constitution. The President's power is sufficiently broad to allow the issuance of a pre-indictment pardon. In 1914, President Woodrow Wilson granted such a pardon to George Burdick, a newspaper reporter. I might also point out that numerous Presidents have granted pre-indictment pardons after armed conflicts. For example, President Andrew Johnson in 1868, pardoned all persons who may have committed treason against the United States during the Civil War.

Most sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Richard W. Adams
Analytical Service Company
261 North Fullerton Avenue
Montclair, New Jersey 07042

PWB:JF:em



Pardon

November 22, 1974

Dear Mr. Alsop:

Your appraisal in today's column of the vast differences between the situation when President Truman took office and that which existed August 9 of this year was, I thought, most perceptive.

Another significant difference, for which President Ford took two blows yesterday, was the condition of legislation pending when he took office. Questionable provisions in both the Freedom of Information Act amendments and the Vocational Rehabilitation Act had evolved earlier and had become virtually unchangeable because of the failure in the prior Administration to influence the development of bills at the Committee and Subcommittee levels.

I am an interested and regular reader of yours, and I will be sorry to see your regular column vanish at the end of this year.

Sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Joseph Alsop
2720 Dumbarton Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

PWBuchen:ed



Pardon

October 9, 1974

Dear Mr. Boudin:

I have received your letter of September
twentyeighth.

The only materials available for distribution
are the enclosed copies of transcripts of two
press briefings, the copy of the agreement
covering the former President's papers and a
copy of the opinion of Attorney General Saxbe.

Thank you very much for your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

Philip M. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Leonard B. Boudin
Rabinowitz, Boudin & Standard
30 East 42nd Street
New York, New York 10017

Enclosures

PWB:em



Pardon

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 7, 1975

Dear Congressman Young:

This is in further response to your letter of November eleventh, to William Timmons, concerning the pardon granted to former President Nixon.

On October 17, 1974, President Ford testified before the sub-Committee on Criminal Justice of the House Committee on the Judiciary. In his remarks that day he made clear that the pardon was intended to benefit the American people. Its purpose was to prevent further division among our citizens by reason of a delayed prosecution and prolonged trial of the former President. Also, the President hoped to focus our national attention on the pressing problems which we faced at home and abroad. Therefore, in one sense, the answer to your question is that President Ford had no specific crime in mind when he pardoned Richard Nixon.

However, in another sense your question may be answered by reviewing the list of charges which have been brought against the former President's associates. It is probable that some or all of these charges would constitute a list of specific crimes for which the former President received Executive clemency.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

The Honorable Don Young
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515



99 8 11/19

Department of the Interior
Bureau of Reclamation

November 15, 1974

WASHINGTON OFFICE
DISTRICT OFFICES
P.O. BOX 1000
ALASKA DIVISION
600 EAST BROADWAY
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99501

Dear Don:

Thank you for your letter about inquiries you have received from your constituents regarding the pardon of the former President. I will ask for information which will be helpful in replying to your constituents.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

William E. Timmons
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Don Young
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc w/inc. to Phil Buchen - For Further Draft Reply, please

WET:EF:ld



INTERIOR AND INSULAR
AFFAIRS
MERCHANT MARINE AND
FISHERIES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

WASHINGTON OFFICE
1210 LONGWORTH BUILDING
TELEPHONE 202/225-5765

DISTRICT OFFICES
115 U.S. FEDERAL BUILDING
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99501
TELEPHONE 907/279-1587
202 U.S. FEDERAL BUILDING
FAIRBANKS, ALASKA 99701
TELEPHONE 907/456-6949

November 11, 1974

Mr. William Timmons
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Timmons:

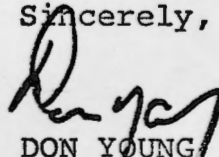
I am writing in reference to a number of letters I have received from my constituents in regard to the pardon of Richard Nixon.

The question I am often asked is, "For what specific crimes has the President pardoned Mr. Nixon?"

Your consideration of this matter at your earliest convenience will be greatly appreciated.

With best regards,

Sincerely,



DON YOUNG
Congressman for all Alaska

DY:pm



Pardon

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1975

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin:

Thank you very much for your kind and thoughtful letter of February 13, 1975, in support of the President's decision to grant a pardon to the former President.

The White House has received approximately 250,000 letters, mailgrams and telephone calls expressing an opinion about the pardon. The ratio of those against versus those in favor of the pardon decision was two to one.

With appreciation,

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. and Mrs. Philip C. Baldwin
933 Loma Vista Street
El Segundo, California 90245



13 February 1975

Mr. Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Buchen:

We are concerned with the fact that the news media constantly makes reference to the pardon of President Nixon as though it were the "mistake of the century" for President Ford. We cannot believe that there are so many vindictive people in the country. After the agony of "Watergate," the presidential pardon was a tremendous relief to us as we did not want to see President Nixon prosecuted. President Ford endeared himself to us by taking this action and we wrote and told him so, as did many of our friends.

We were wondering if the public response to the pardon was tallied and if we could be informed of the outcome -- if it would not be too much trouble.

Thank you.

2-1 against 250 000

Sincerely,

Juan Baldwin

Mr. & Mrs. Philip C. Baldwin
933 Loma Vista Street
El Segundo, California 90245



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 4, 1975

*Pardon
Presidential*

Dear Professor Morris:

In behalf of the President, this is in response to your letter of October 29, 1975, requesting copies of "...the memorandum, or other document, that was prepared for President Ford on the President's constitutional and other legal powers to grant a pardon to Mr. Nixon."

The materials which you seek consist of advice to the President that is considered to be confidential in nature, and is covered by the attorney-client privilege as well as the constitutional privilege recognized by the Supreme Court in United States v. Nixon, 418 U.S. 683 (1974). Accordingly, we are unable to comply with your request at this time.

As you may recall, the President stated his reasons for granting the pardon in his testimony last year before Congressman Hungate's Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. A transcript of those hearings can be obtained directly from the Committee and may be of assistance to you in this regard.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen
Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Professor Arval A. Morris
Condon Hall
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98195



Barry Rath

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98195

October 29, 1975

School of Law
Condon Hall

President Gerald Ford
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Ford:

My colleague Professor Arthur Bestor, a constitutional historian, and I, a professor of constitutional law, are interested in the memorandum, or other document, that was prepared for President Ford on the President's constitutional and other legal powers to grant a pardon to Mr. Nixon. We cannot identify a place where that memorandum or document has been published. We believe that the matter in question was prepared by Mr. Buchen, although it might well be that someone else did. In any event, we request that at least one copy, preferably two copies, of the memorandum or document be sent to us. We will, of course, bear the necessary expenses of reproduction and mailing. We look forward to its receipt.

Thanking you in advance for your kind consideration in this matter, I am,

Yours cordially,

Arval A. Morris

Arval A. Morris
Professor of Law

AAM/rc

cc: Professor Arthur Bestor
Dept. of History DP-20



Nixon
Pardon

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 9, 1976

Dear Mr. Leib:

Thank you for your recent letter to President Ford concerning the pardon power and former President Nixon. You suggest that a President, who has resigned, cannot be indicted and tried for offenses committed in office if he has not been impeached and convicted first. If this were true, then as you suggest, the significance of the pardon of the former President would be diminished.

Your conclusion is drawn from the text of Art. I, §3, cl. 7 of the Constitution which says that a party convicted in an impeachment shall "nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law."

I cannot give you an official opinion on this question since many questions relating to impeachment remain unsettled. It is worth noting, however, that the constitutional provision you cite uses the term "nevertheless." There is respectable authority that the clause does not mean that a person subject to impeachment may be tried criminally only after completion of that process. United States v. Isaacs, 493 F. 2d 1124 (7th Cir. 1974) cert. denied sub. nom. United States v. Kerner, 417 U.S. 976 (1974). Instead, it is said to permit criminal prosecution in spite of prior adjudication by the Senate, i. e., to forestall a double jeopardy argument. See, for example, the Commentaries on the Constitution of Mr. Justice Story, Vol. I, §782.

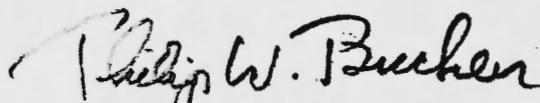
The practical interpretation of the Constitution has been to the same effect. During the life of the Republic impeachment proceedings have been instituted only against a handful of officers of the United States. In the same time presumably scores, if not hundreds, of officers of the United States, including those resigned, have been subject to criminal proceedings for offenses for which they could have been impeached. Therefore, it is not clear that the former



President could not have been indicted following his resignation. As you probably know, the Special Prosecutor was actively considering his possible indictment at the time of the pardon.

We do appreciate your effort to be of assistance. Thank you for your good wishes.

Sincerely,



Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Meyer W. Leib
Leib and Leib
Suite 106
24800 Northwestern Highway
Soughfield, Michigan 48075



Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

do in final

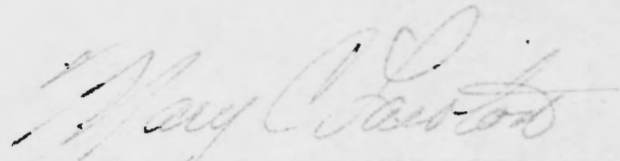
30 JUL 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE KENNETH A. LAZARUS
Associate Counsel to the President

Re: Letter from Meyer Leib

Attached in response to your request is a self-explanatory draft response to Meyer Leib concerning the impeachment power.

An alternative, of course, would be merely to thank him for his views.



Mary C. Lawton
Deputy Assistant Attorney General
Office of Legal Counsel



Meyer W. Leib, Esquire
24800 Northwestern Highway
Southfield, Michigan 48075

Dear Mr. Leib:

Thank you for your recent letter to President Ford concerning the pardon power and former President Nixon. You suggest that a President, who has resigned, cannot be indicted and tried for offenses committed in office if he has not been impeached and convicted first. If this were true, then as you suggest, the significance of the pardon of the former President would be diminished.

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The practical interpretation of the Constitution has been to the same effect. During the life of the Republic impeachment proceedings have been instituted only against a handful of officers of the United States. In the same time presumably scores, if not hundreds, of officers of the United States, including those resigned, have been subject to criminal proceedings for offenses for which they could have been impeached. Therefore, it is not clear that the



former President could not have been indicted following his resignation. As you probably know, the Special Prosecutor was actively considering his possible indictment at the time of the pardon.

We do appreciate your effort to be of assistance. Thank you for your good wishes.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President



THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

To: Leon Ulman
Office of Legal Counsel
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Date: 7/16/76

ACTION REQUESTED

- Draft reply for: *
 - President's signature.
 - Undersigned's signature.
- Memorandum for use as enclosure to reply.
- Direct reply.
- Furnish information copy.
- Suitable acknowledgment or other appropriate handling.
- Furnish copy of reply, if any.
- For your information.
- For comment.

NOTE

Prompt action is essential.

If more than 72 hours' delay is encountered, please telephone the undersigned immediately, Code 1450.

Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum, or comment is requested.

REMARKS:

* Please draft response to attached letter for Philip Buchen's signature.

Description:

Letter: _____ Telegram: _____ Other: _____
 To: President Ford
 From: Meyer Leib
 Date: 7/6/76
 Subject: impeachment charges

RECEIVED
 JUL 22 3 48 PM '76
 OFFICE OF LEGAL COUNSEL

By direction of the President:

Kenneth A. Lazarus

Kenneth A. Lazarus
Associate Counsel to the President



(Copy to remain with correspondence)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: KEN LAZARUS

FROM: PHILIP BUCHEN *P.*

Before I answer the attached letter, can you give me your thoughts as to whether the argument made has any validity.

It seems to me that Leon Jaworski has spoken on this issue. Also, I am sure there have been cases where an officeholder covered by the impeachment provision has been successfully charged with a crime which occurred during his term of office, even though he may have resigned rather than face impeachment.

Attachment



LEIB AND LEIB

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS

SAMUEL W. LEIB
MEYER W. LEIB
JEFFREY M. LEIB
SHELDON G. LARKY

SUITE 106
24800 NORTHWESTERN HIGHWAY
SOUTHFIELD, MICHIGAN 48075
(313) 352-1100

July 6, 1976

Hon. Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20000

Dear Mr. President:

Every civilized country recognizes and has therefore provided for the pardoning power to be exercised as an act of grace and humanity.

Without such a power of clemency, to be exercised by some department or functionary of a government, a country would be most imperfect and deficient in its political morality, and in that attribute of Diety whose judgments are always tempered with mercy.

Because you have been unjustly criticized by reason of your pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon and because I believe your action was just and proper, I have taken the liberty of analyzing the United States Constitution and Amendments there-to and have come to the legal conclusion that a President of the United States, who was not removed from office by impeachment proceedings, may not be charged with a crime alleged to have occurred during his term of office.

I have reached this conclusion on the basis of the following analysis.

Article I, Section 3(6) of the Constitution of the United States provides as follows:

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Article I, Section 3(7) of the Constitution of the United States provides as follows:



Hon. Gerald R. Ford

July 6, 1976

Page 2, continued

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

The Constitution of the United States is the Supreme Law of the Land.

By virtue of the supremacy clause of the Federal Constitution, statutes, whether enacted by the Congress of the United States or by State Legislatures, which are in conflict with the U.S. Constitution, are invalid.

I interpret Article I, Section 3(7) of the U. S. Constitution to require as a condition precedent to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law that the Party must be convicted by the U. S. Senate. Since President Nixon resigned prior to a trial, by the Senate, no criminal action may be brought against a President who voluntarily resigned from office.

Article II, Section 4 of the United States Constitution provides as follows:

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on Impeachment for, and conviction of Treason, Bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

The above Article simply requires removal from office on Impeachment for and conviction of Treason, Bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors by the U. S. Senate. No criminal penalties are provided therein.

It is likewise, in my judgment, a condition precedent to any anticipated subsequent proceedings that a President must be tried and convicted by the U. S. Senate of the crimes of Treason, Bribery or high crimes and misdemeanors.

It is my further opinion that where the U. S. Constitution provides for no penalties other than removal from office, the Congress of the United States may not enact legislation which provides for criminal penalties against a resigned President of the United States.



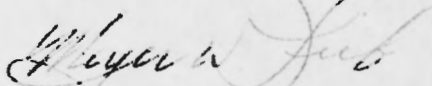
Hon. Gerald R. Ford
July 6, 1976
Page 3, continued

The above-mentioned Articles of the U. S. Constitution are the only ones dealing with impeachment of a President.

I am firmly convinced that my analysis is correct and I trust that it will be helpful to you in the days ahead.

You have my best wishes for continued success.

Very truly yours,



Meyer W. Leib

MWL:ph



ACTION MEMORANDUM

Date: August 27, 1976

Time:

FOR ACTION:

cc (for information):

*File
Nixon Pardon*

Phil Buchen

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: August 30, 1976

Time: 2 P.M.

SUBJECT:

Proposed letter to Mr. Alan L. Keyes
concerning letter regarding defense of the
Nixon pardon.

ACTION REQUESTED:

For Necessary Action

For Your Recommendations

Prepare Agenda and Brief

Draft Reply

For Your Comments

Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

August 30, 1976

Approved.

P.W.B.
Philip W. Buchen

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a
delay in submitting the required material, please
telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

Jim Connor
For the President



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 30, 1976

Dear Mr. Keyes:

Bob Goldwin passed along to me your eloquent defense of the Nixon pardon, and I just want you to know how deeply impressed I was by your analysis of it. I felt at the time, and I continue to feel certain that this decision was the right decision. The issue continues to be discussed, and that is why I especially appreciate your willingness to write at length, and to seek publication of your views supporting my actions.

With my best wishes,

Mr. Alan L. Keyes
I-22 Winthrop House
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1976

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ANNE HIGGINS

FROM:

JIM CONNOR JEG

The attached letter was returned in the President's outbox with the following notation:

"I've read and it is truly beautiful. Write and thank him."

Please prepare an appropriate response and return to this office for signature.

cc: Dick Cheney



Nixon Ford

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

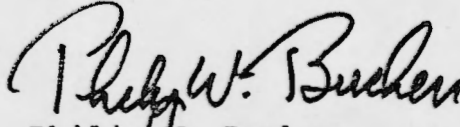
September 3, 1976

Dear Mr. Collins:

At Jack Marsh's request, I am enclosing copies of the President's proclamation of September 8, 1974, along with his accompanying message and a copy of his statement made October 17, 1974, before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the House Judiciary Committee.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

The Honorable James M. Collins
Room 5C48
1100 Commerce Street
Dallas, Texas 75202

Enclosures



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 30, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHIL BUCHEN

FROM:

JACK MARSH *JM*

In reference to the attached letter from Congressman Jim Collins, I would greatly appreciate your office providing me with some information for the Congressman concerning the President's pardon of former President Nixon.

Many thanks.

Attachment



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 1, 1976

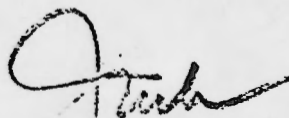
Dear Jim:

Many thanks for your recent letter concerning the inquiry from a constituent pertaining to the pardon of former President Nixon.

I have referred your letter to the Counsel's Office with the request that they communicate with you directly.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,



John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President

The Honorable James M. Collins
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515



JAMES M. COLLINS
THIRD DISTRICT, TEXAS

COMMITTEE:
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

2419 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
TELEPHONE: 225-4201

1100 COMMERCE STREET
ROOM 5C48
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202
TELEPHONE: 749-2453

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

August 26, 1976

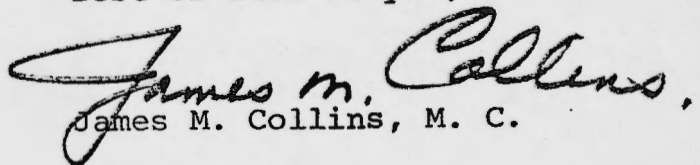
Mr. John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President
for Legislative & Public Affairs
The White House
Office of Legislative Affairs
Washington, D. C. 20501

Dear Mr. Marsh:

I have recently received an inquiry from one of my constituents regarding President Ford's pardon of former President Richard Nixon.

I would appreciate a copy of any formal statement which the President has issued on this subject. Please forward this information to my Dallas office.

Best of luck to you,


James M. Collins, M. C.

JMC: mlm



Pardon

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 28, 1976

Dear Mr. Cutler:

In behalf of the President, I acknowledge your letter to him of October 20.

At the time President Ford acted to pardon former President Nixon, the Special Prosecutor had submitted a description of various matters involving the former President which were under investigation. The pardon had the effect of applying to any offenses committed during the period from 1968 through August 9, 1974, involving violations of federal law.

I hope this information is what you are seeking.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. George V. Cutler
240 East 76th Street
New York, New York 10021



8 → request info re R.M.N.
GEORGE V. CUTLER
240 EAST 76TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10021

C/S-J
October 20, 1976

My dear President Ford.

Because the election is but two weeks off I must seek your advice. I realize you have a very heavy and busy schedule.

My problem besides being 78 years of age that I was conceived as a REPUBLICAN and have always so voted but right now I am on the fence. I will thank you to tell me the CRIMES Nixon committed for which you gave him a pardon.

I was very interested to read in the Sunday paper in San Francisco that on your whistle stop you were rather confused as to which towns and states you were in. Those things are hard to remember.

Looking forward to your advice.

Sincerely



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 7, 1976

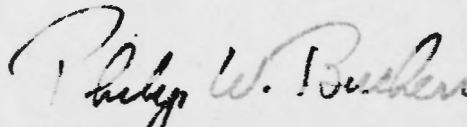
Pardon

Dear Mr. Cooper:

Many thanks for your thoughtful letter of July 25. We welcome your suggestions concerning statements that the President may make on the subject of his earlier pardon of former President Nixon.

We shall keep your suggestions in mind for use at an appropriate time and thank you very much for your interest.

Sincerely yours,



Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Robert S. Cooper
P. O. Box 3900 - GS
Springfield, Missouri 65804



P. O. Box 3900 - GS.
Springfield, Missouri 65804
July 25, 1976

Mr. Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President
West Wing
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Buchen:

For sometime I have intended to write to you as Counsel to President Ford on matters which I believe to be of special concern in the coming election. I am assuming that President Ford will receive the nomination at the Republican Convention in Kansas City.

However, there is one issue that has received prominence in the press in the last week, and which both the Democratic Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees have referred to although Mr. Carter says he will not make a campaign issue of it. Senator Humphrey, at Madison Square Garden referred to the matter in an oblique fashion. (See Time Magazine, page 17, July 26, 1976. I quote Time verbatim:

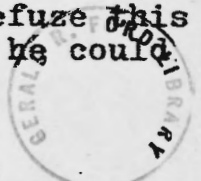
"Hubert Humphrey, in the second night's most resounding old-style oratory, drew sustained applause by assailing "these self-appointed experts on law-and-order" who took crime "off the street and put it in the White House."

This from a man who had to pay a deficiency in income taxes of \$200,000, one of whose principal aides received a jail sentence in connection with campaign contributions, and he himself allegedly received \$50,000 from Howard Hughes. Also this from a man who supported President Johnson in sending 500,000 American troops to a no-win war in Vietnam when that seemed expedient.

The issue with which I am concerned with is the pardon of former President Nixon by President Ford. I have no question about President Ford's decision - he did right.

However, I am concerned by the press treatment of the action and President Ford's expressed rationale for his action, i.e.: "The United States was faced with economic problems, we were still involved in war in Southeast Asia, and it was done in the national interest." I agree with those sentiments, but unfortunately the perception of Democrats and many Independents is that President Ford did what he did for political reasons. It would have been much better from the standpoint of the Democrats to have had Mr. Nixon convicted, sentenced to jail and then pardoned. Then they could accuse President Ford of keeping Mr. Nixon out of jail, and it would have made a much better campaign issue.

May I suggest a method for President Ford to permanently defuze this issue. I do not think he would convert any Democrats, but he could



change many Independents and some Republicans to his line of reasoning.

Immediately after President Ford is nominated, he should at a press conference or other suitable forum bring up the issue in this manner:

"My opponent and others in the Democratic party have questioned my pardon of former President Nixon. I want to settle this question once and for all in order that it will not be an issue in this campaign. I do not retract one thing that I have said in the past as my reason for issuing the pardon. However, I want to now firmly state that there were other reasons for my action which I could not express in September, 1974, because of the heavily super-charged political atmosphere at the time.

"I am sure that any American interested in a sense of fair play wants to see an individual receive a fair trial whether it is for the crime of armed robbery or whether in the case of Mr. Nixon there are allegations of obstruction of justice, conspiracy, etc.

"Bearing in mind these factors of fair play and equity, as a lawyer I discussed with eminent counsel the legal ramifications of the Nixon case in the light of public statements by the Special Prosecutor, Mr. Leon Jaworski. I would remind you that Mr. Jaworski was former president of the American Bar Association and that he was a special counsel at the Nuremberg War Trials. He is thus a man of unusual legal distinction. However, Mr. Jaworski is an active Democrat, not a Republican. He was closely affiliated with the late President Lyndon Johnson--as a matter of fact it was Mr. Jaworski who engineered the change in Texas law whereby then Senator Johnson could run both for reelection to the Senate in 1960 and also for Vice-President.

"So much for Mr. Jaworski's legal and political background. On - - - - - 1974, Mr. Jaworski said that "Richard Nixon could not get a fair trial anywhere in the United States for a year and perhaps longer." Bearing in mind that the United States Judges in Washington had refused to give a change of venue from Washington, D. C. to other legal jurisdictions in the case of lesser Watergate figures it is inconceivable that Mr. Nixon would have been tried anywhere else than Washington. Bearing in mind the statement of the Special Prosecutor as well as the fact that the Washington juries were overwhelmingly Democratic, I decided on strong legal and equitable grounds that justice would best be served by pardoning Mr. Nixon. I mean no implied criticism of the Federal judiciary, but I am satisfied that Mr. Jaworski was right.

"I would like to drop this matter now and will if it is not referred to again by my opponent or his running mate, or by his campaign staff. If, however, they do bring this up or if the press does in an obvious attempt to embarrass my campaign then I will have to



Mr. Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

3.

recite the illegal acts of the CIA, the FBI and the IRS in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations with reference to illegal surveillance, wiretapping, etc., with emphasis on plans of the CIA to kill foreign political figures, etc.. This would be extremely distasteful to me but I would have no alternative.

"In closing I would remind you that it was Richard Nixon who brought back 500,000 service men to the United States from Vietnam. Who was responsible for putting them there?"

I know that Mr. Jaworski made the statement that Mr. Nixon could not get a fair trial. You would have no difficulty finding the date from the New York Times index.

I know the mood of the people in Missouri to which I retired last year after 27 years with the National Office of Internal Revenue Service in Washington. In 1952, Eisenhower carried Missouri by about 20,000 votes; he lost it by about the same margin to Stevenson in 1956. In 1960, Nixon lost Missouri to Kennedy by less than 10,000 votes, and in 1968 he defeated Humphrey by about 20,000 votes.

If President Ford would come out with a forthright statement similar in substance if not words which I have set forth above, he could convert many Independent Missourians to his side as well as many Republicans. A headline on page 1 of the Springfield Sunday News & Leader today read as follows:

"NIXON PARDON STILL HURTS FORD"

It is time that this feeling is turned around, and that the monkey is placed on the back of the Democrats.

Very truly yours,

Robert S. Cooper

Robert S. Cooper

