Ladies and gentlemen, I have come to a decision which I felt I should tell you, and all my fellow citizens, as soon as I was certain in my own mind and conscience that it is the right thing to do.

I have learned already in this office that only the difficult decisions come to this desk. I must admit that many of them do not look at all the same as the hypothetical questions that I have answered freely and perhaps too fast on My customary policy is previous occasions. Maximum policy is and get all the facts and to consider the opinions of my countrymen and to take counsel with my most valued friends. But these maximum seldom agree, and in the end the decision is mine.

I have promised to uphold the Constitution, to be do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best I can for America. I have asked your help and your prayers, not only when I became President, but many times since.

The Constitution is the supreme law of our land and it governs our actions as citizens. Only the laws of God, which govern our consciences, are superior to it. As we are a Nation under God, so I am sworn to uphold our laws with the help of God. And I have sought such guidance and searched my own conscience with special diligence to determine the right thing for me to do with respect to my predecessor in this place, Richard Nixon, and his wonderful

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wife and family.

Theirs is an American tragedy in which we all have played a part. It can go on and on or someone must write to it.

I have concluded that only I can do that. And if I can, I must.

There are no historic or legal precedents to which

I can turn in this matter, none that precisely fit the

circumstances of a private citizen who has resigned the

Presidency of the United States. But it is common know
ledge that serious allegations and accusations hang like

a **EXECUTE* a word over our Former President's head as he tries

to reshape his life, a great part of which was spent in the

its

service of this country and by the mandate of **EXECUTE* people.

After years of bitter controversy and divisive national debate, I have been advised and am compelled to conclude that more many months and perhaps years will have to pass before Richard Nixon could hope to obtain a fair trial by jury in any jurisdiction of the United States under governing decisions of the Supreme Court.

I deeply believe in equal justice for all Americans, whatever their station or former station. The law, whether human or Divine, is no respecter of persons but the law is a respecter of reality. The facts as I see them are that a former President of the United States, instead of enjoying equal treatment with any other citizen accused of violating the law, would be cruelly and excessively penalized either in

preserving the appealishing his presumption of innocence or in obtaining a speedy determination of his guilt in order to repay a legal debt to society.

During this long period of delay and potential litigation, ugly passions would again be aroused, our people would again be polarized in their opinions, and the credibility of our free institutions of government would again be challenged at home and abroad. In the end, the courts might well hold that Richard verdict of history Nixon had been denied due process and the recent would be even more inconclusive with respect to those charges xagainate the courts arising out of which which was the period of which

But it is not the ultimate fate of Richard Nixon that most surely it concerns me — though it wants deeply trouble every decent and compassionate person — but the immediate future of this great depend upon country. In this I dare not wants wants true my personal facts sympathy longtime ingreat as a a fraish of the Former President facts and I do not.

As President, my primary concern must always be the greatest good of all the people of the United States, whose servant I am.

As a man, my first consideration will always be to be true to my own convictions and my own conscience.

My conscience tells me clearly and certainly that I cannot prolong the bad dreams that continue to reopen a chapter that is closed. My conscience tells me that only I, as president, have the Constitutional power to firmly shut and seal this book. My conscience says it is my duty, not merely to proclaim domestic tranquillity, but to use every means I have to ensure it.

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that I cannot rely upon public opinion polls to tell me what is right. I do believe that right makes might, and that if I am wrong all the legions of angels swearing I was right would make no difference. I do believe with all not my heart and xxxxxx mind and spirit that I,/as President but and any heart and xxxxxx mind and spirit that I,/as President but any heart and xxxxxxx mind and spirit that I,/as President but any heart and xxxxxxxxxxx mind and spirit that I,/as President but any first president of God, will receive justice without mercy if I fail to show mercy.

"Now, therefore, I, Gerald R. Ford



NOW, THEREFORE, I, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, pursuant to the pardon power conferred upon me by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, have granted and by these presents do grant a full, free, and absolute pardon unto Richard Nixon for all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in during the period from January 20, 1969 through August 9, 1974.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 8th day of September in the year of our Lord Nineteen Hundred Seventy-Four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 199th.