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Watergate

June 17, 1972 25th Anniversary June 17, 1997



The Watergate Hotel

Far More Than Just A Burglary

'Watergate' as shorthand for a slew of official misdeeds

- [Senate Hearings And Courtroom Dramas](#)
- [Nixon's Downfall](#)

By Craig Staats/AllPolitics

WASHINGTON (June 12) -- Some 25 years have passed since the bungled break-in at the Watergate hotel, a so-called "third-rate burglary," triggered a first-rate national crisis whose consequences still color the nation's politics. Like many other political scandals, Watergate grew to encompass far more than just the break-in at the Democratic National Committee headquarters. Here's a look backward at everything that is Watergate.

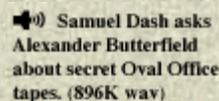
By the time Richard Nixon resigned in August 1974, the term Watergate had become a catch-all for a breathtaking range of high crimes and misdemeanors. In all, more than 30 officials were convicted in the nation's worst political scandal ever.

There were other break-ins, like the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office



Resignation Speech

🔊 (224K wav)



Samuel Dash asks Alexander Butterfield about secret Oval Office tapes. (896K wav)



Senate Hearings

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🔊 Nixon repeatedly denies knowledge of the break-in. (128K wav)



🔊 (192K wav)

in September 1971. There was "national security" wiretapping of news reporters who revealed information the Nixon White House did not want uncovered.

There was misuse of the FBI and CIA for political purposes. There were allegations that Nixon intervened in an antitrust action against ITT in return for political contributions and raised milk support prices for similar considerations, and obstructed justice by firing special prosecutor Archibald Cox.

Finally, there was the smoking gun -- taped evidence that Nixon discussed a cover-up just a week after the Watergate burglary. Three days after the White House released those transcripts, Nixon announced his resignation. And soon Vice President Gerald Ford took office. "Our long national nightmare is over," he declared to a nation exhausted by a long cascade of scandal.

Senate Hearings And Courtroom Dramas

But beyond the crimes, Watergate conjures up other memories, too: a bold press in pursuit of a real whodunit as well as riveting Senate hearings and courtroom dramas that helped establish that no one, not even a president, is above the law.

The seeds of Watergate and Nixon's downfall were contained in the man himself, as tragic and twisted a figure as ever occupied the White

House. Nixon was a gut fighter who came back from early political defeats to win the presidency -- narrowly in 1968, but by an epic margin in 1972.

Yet Nixon never seemed comfortable in his success. In a tumultuous time, with the country wracked by anger over the Vietnam War and racial conflict, he brought a siege mentality to the White House. For Nixon, it was an us-versus-them world, and them included academics, the Eastern establishment, the press, liberals and antiwar protestors.

That bunker mentality led, some three years before the Watergate break-in, to the placing of wiretaps on White House aides and news reporters, as Nixon tried to discover how word about the secret bombing of Cambodia had leaked out.

A secret White House unit, known as the "Plumbers," searched for leaks and tracked the president's political opponents. There was the famous "Enemies' List," which backfired and became a badge of honor in certain circles. Were you on it? Why not?

Nixon's Downfall

Nixon brought on his own destruction in the way he dealt with the crisis, too -- in fits and starts, with outright lies and half-truths.

As TIME noted in January 1974: "First there were blanket denials, lavish claims of executive privilege and

invocations of national security. Then came repeated clarifications, previous statements declared 'inoperative,' and multiple promises of full disclosure. Subpoenas were resisted. The persistent Special Prosecutor was fired. Next a sudden yielding to the courts, followed by an Operation Candor that was far from candid, claims that crucial tapes were 'nonexistent' and the revelation of a mysterious flaw in one recording."

The White House's approach, dubbed a "limited hangout" strategy by some, satisfied neither Judge John J. Sirica nor Congress.

Releasing information in dribs and drabs only succeeded in converting Watergate into a riveting serial mystery. The question, as Sen. Howard Baker put it during the Senate hearings, was always, "What did the president know and when did he know it?"

In the end, on Aug. 5, 1974, Americans got their answer. The president knew a lot, and he knew it early.

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Who Was Deep Throat?

There never has been a shortage of guesses about the identity of "[Deep Throat](#)," Washington Post reporter Bob Woodward's celebrated source during the newspaper's Watergate coverage. But everyone who has been fingered -- from presidential aide Al Haig to press assistant Diane Sawyer to presidential lawyer Leonard Garment -- has denied it, and it remains a mystery to this day.

The Sound And Fury

The nation watched and listened in rapt attention as Watergate unfolded on the tube. Revisit those [sights and sounds](#), including Nixon's entire resignation and farewell speeches in V Xtreme streaming video. And here are Quicktime highlights of the Watergate hearings: Haldeman, Dean, Baker, Hunt and McCord. And more.



The Legacy Of Watergate

Watergate exposed lies, crimes and corruption. The investigation established that no president is above the law. Now many say government is more honest, presidents more accountable. But the public believes government is corrupt, untrustworthy and ruled by money and personal ambition. Last November, only 49 percent even bothered to vote.

TIME's Watergate Coverage

Look back at [TIME's coverage](#) of the scandal in words, pictures and cartoons from 38 issues of the magazine from July 1972 through August 1974.



Still Divided

Americans remain divided on the meaning of the Watergate scandal, according to a [new CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll](#)



place).

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A Watergate Glossary

The names, dates and quotations that defined a scandal

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WASHINGTON (AllPolitics, June 11) -- Even a quarter century later, many of the people, sights, sounds and quotes from the Watergate affair remain enduring icons in American political lore.

They evoke memories of a scandal that grew and grew until Aug. 9, 1974, when a disgraced Richard Nixon said goodbye to the White House staff and lifted off in a helicopter on his way to political exile in California.

Here are some of the names and comments from Watergate that live on today:



Agnew

Spiro Agnew -- Nixon's vice president stepped down in a tawdry kickback scandal in October 1973. He pled no contest to income tax evasion and resigned. Agnew felt that Nixon threw him overboard in an attempt to mollify critics. He died in 1996.



Baker

Howard Baker -- Tennessee Republican who helped chair the Senate Watergate Committee and who asked: "What did the president know and when did he know it?"



Barker

Bernard L. Barker, Virgilio R. Gonzalez, Eugenio R. Martinez, James W. McCord Jr., Frank A. Sturgis -- The five Watergate burglars



Bernstein

Carl Bernstein -- One of the Washington Post reporters who broke many of the stories as the scandal grew



Bork

Robert Bork -- The solicitor



place).

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Butterfield

general who eventually dismissed Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox in "The Saturday Night Massacre." He was rejected by the Senate for a Supreme Court appointment in the 1980s.



Cohen

Alexander Butterfield -- The former White House aide who disclosed the existence of the president's secret taping system



Dean

"A cancer growing on the presidency" -- White House counsel John Dean's warning to Nixon about Watergate



Cox

Class of '74 -- The name for reform-minded Democrats who swept into Congress in the 1974 mid-term elections



Dash

William Cohen -- One of six Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee who voted to begin impeachment proceedings against Richard Nixon. He became Secretary of Defense under Democratic President Bill Clinton in 1997.



Dean

Charles Colson -- Special counsel to the president who set up the White House "plumbers" unit. He served 207 days for obstruction of justice and is now a born-again Christian.



Ehrlichman

Archibald Cox -- Appointed special Watergate prosecutor in May 1973, he is later fired during the "Saturday Night Massacre" in October 1973.



Ellsberg

"I am not a crook." -- Nixon's line to a group of newspaper editors



Ervin

Samuel Dash -- Senate Watergate Committee chief counsel



Ford

John W. Dean III -- The White House counsel who warned Nixon of a cancer growing on the presidency and was dismissed;



Gonzales





Haldeman

some revisionist Watergate buffs blame him for the coverup.



Hunt

"Deep Throat" -- Named after a pornographic movie of the era, this was Washington Post reporter Bob Woodward's still-secret Executive Branch source.



Jaworski

John Ehrlichman -- One of Nixon's most powerful aides; he resigned as the scandal grew.



Kleindienst

Daniel Ellsberg -- A Defense Department official who leaked a secret study of the Vietnam War to The New York Times. The White House investigative unit known as the "Plumbers" later broke into office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist, looking for information to discredit him.



Liddy

Sam J. Ervin -- The folksy chairman of the Senate Watergate Committee, who offered homespun lessons on constitutional law in televised Watergate hearings; those hearings dramatized the issues and personalities, allowing Americans to weigh the credibility of Watergate's key players for themselves.



Magnuder



McCord

"Expletive Deleted" -- When transcripts of Nixon's Oval Office tapes begin to surface, Americans were surprised at the coarse tone and the frequent notation, "expletive deleted."



McGovern



Mitchell

Gerald Ford When he took over after Nixon's resignation, Ford said, "I assume the presidency under extraordinary circumstances ... This is an hour of history that troubles our minds and hurts our hearts." A month later, Ford offered a complete pardon to Nixon for any crimes he might have committed.



Nixon



"Katie Graham's gonna get her



Richardson

tit caught in a big fat wringer if that's published." -- Former



Attorney General John Mitchell's crude warning to Washington Post reporter Carl Bernstein, when Mitchell was asked to comment on a story

Ruckelshaus



H.R. Haldeman -- Another of Nixon's closest aides, he resigned as the scandal tumbled out of White House control.

Sirica



E. Howard Hunt -- A sometime White House consultant, CIA agent and mystery novelist and one of the original seven defendants in the break-in case

Sturgis



Leon Jaworski -- On November 1, 1973, the Houston lawyer was appointed to replace the fired Cox as Watergate special prosecutor.

Wills



Richard Kleindienst -- On April 30, 1973, the same day Dean was dismissed and Haldeman and Erlichman resigned, Kleindienst resigned as attorney general. He was replaced by Elliot Richardson.

Woods



G. Gordon Liddy -- One of the original Watergate defendants, the unrepentant Liddy wrote a book, "Will," about the affair.

Woodward



Jeb Magruder -- As assistant to John N. Mitchell, director of Committee to Re-elect the President, Magruder worked most closely with Dean.

Ziegler

James W. McCord, Jr. -- McCord, one of the original burglars, kept the case alive by writing a letter to Judge John Sirica that higher-ups had approved the break-in.

George McGovern -- Despite the first inklings of Watergate, Nixon defeated McGovern in 1972 in a landslide of epic proportions, winning 49 states.

John Mitchell -- Director of the Committee to Re-Elect the President. Mitchell resigned as attorney general, saying his wife, Martha, demanded he spend more time with his family. He was replaced by Kleindienst.

Richard Nixon -- The first U.S. president to resign, Nixon sowed seeds of his own destruction a week after the break-in when he ordered a coverup of the burglary. His secret taping system, installed to help him write his memoirs, preserved evidence that destroyed him. Nixon died in 1994 at age 81, after partially rebuilding his reputation in foreign policy.

"This is the operative statement. The others are inoperative." -- Nixon Press Secretary Ron Zeigler's classic shuffle during a press briefing

"Plumbers" -- A secret White House team, dating to 1970, that tried to stop news leaks and kept track of the president's political opponents

Elliot Richardson -- After Kleindienst's resignation, Richardson became attorney general. On October 20, 1973, Nixon ordered Richardson to dismiss Special Prosecutor, Archibald Cox. Richardson refused to do so and resigned.

William Ruckelshaus -- Deputy attorney general under Richardson, he was fired on October 20, 1973, for refusing to carry out Nixon's order to fire Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox.

"Saturday Night Massacre" -- On Oct. 20, 1973, Nixon ordered Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson to dismiss special prosecutor Archibald Cox. Richardson quit in protest. His

deputy, William Ruckelshaus, also refused and was fired. The "Saturday night massacre" created a storm of protest, among the public and in Congress.

Senate Watergate Committee -- Chairman Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.); Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R-Tenn.); Herman E. Talmadge (D-Ga.); Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii); Joseph M. Montoya (D-N.M.); Edward J. Gurney (R-Fla.); Lowell P. Weicker (R-Conn.). Only Inouye remains in the Senate.

John J. Sirica -- The tough judge who pushed to make sure the full story of the break-in came out. Sirica offered leniency in sentencing in exchange for more information from the original defendants. He also knocked down Nixon's blanket claim of executive privilege for the tapes, asking, "What distinctive quality of the presidency permits its incumbent to withhold evidence?"

"Smoking Gun" -- When Nixon released tapes in August 1974 that showed he ordered a cover-up and knew of the involvement of White House officials and the Campaign for the Re-election of the President, the tapes became known as "the smoking gun" and sealed his fate. Three days later, he quit.

"A third-rate burglary attempt" -- Nixon Press Secretary Ron Zeigler's first comment on Watergate

The 18 1/2-Minute Gap -- Three days after the Watergate break-in, Nixon and Haldeman discussed the arrests. A tape made then contained a suspicious 18 1/2-minute gap.

The Watergate-- The condominium-office complex

along the Potomac River in downtown Washington where the Democratic National Committee had its offices

"What did the president know and when did he know it?" --

The famous question by Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) during the Watergate Senate hearings

Frank Wills -- The Watergate security guard who noticed tape on a lock and called police at 1:47 a.m. on June 17, 1972 to report the break-in. Police came and took five men into custody.

Rose Mary Woods -- Nixon's personal secretary, Woods is best remembered for bizarre testimony about the 18 1/2-minute tape gap. She said she had inadvertently kept her left foot on the pedal of a tape recorder while stretching behind her to answer a telephone call, at the same time mistakenly pushing the "record" button on the machine, and thus erased perhaps five minutes of the taped conversation. Asked to re-enact it in court, Woods reached for an imaginary phone -- and lifted her left foot.

Bob Woodward -- One of the Washington Post reporters who broke many of the stories on the scandal

Ron Ziegler -- Nixon press secretary whose utterances include this classic: "This is the operative statement. The others are inoperative."

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Cynicism Didn't Start With Watergate

But the scandal has had a long-lasting impact on public confidence in government

By Bill Schneider/CNN

WASHINGTON (June 17) -- What's been the most powerful force in American politics for the last 25 years? In a word, it's cynicism. Americans have come to believe the worst about government, politics and politicians.

It didn't start with Watergate, but Watergate turned an erosion of public confidence into a collapse.

Remember when government worked and Americans trusted their leaders? No? Then you must be too young to remember the Eisenhower and Kennedy eras. The federal government had rescued the country from the Great Depression. It had won a world war. And it was using its power to bring about social justice in America.

Kennedy was the last president of that golden era. "The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to

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this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it, and the glow from that fire will truly light the world," Kennedy declared.

Polls taken in 1958 and 1964 showed three-quarters of Americans believed they could trust the government in Washington to do what was right. Three quarters. Imagine!

In 1965, everything began to fall apart. There was the escalation of the Vietnam War, a wave of campus protests, and a race riot in Los Angeles. Government could not cope. Public trust began to erode.

The percentage of Americans who said they trusted the government in Washington fell to 65 percent in 1966, 61 percent in 1968, and 53 percent in 1970.

The downturn came to a climax with Watergate. Americans saw a presidency disintegrate before their eyes, criminal conspiracies at the highest level of government and a president driven out of office.

The effect on public trust was immediate and dramatic.

Watergate crushed the public's faith in government. In 1974, a little more than a third of Americans -- 36 percent -- said they still trusted the government. Since Watergate, nothing has happened to restore public trust. In the 1970s, the economy began a long period of deterioration. We suffered military

humiliation, first in Vietnam, then in Iran.

Not only did government fail to solve those problems, but people believed government caused problems like inflation. Ironically, the collapse of confidence in government gave Republicans a big opportunity. After all, they're the party that claims government doesn't work.

By 1980, Americans believed it, and elected Ronald Reagan.

The Reagan economic boom had the unintended consequence of boosting trust in government, which rose to 44 percent in 1984, but nowhere near where it used to be. And only until the next recession. Right now, times are pretty good. The economy is booming. Crime is down. The U.S. is the world's only superpower. What's happening to public trust?

It's up -- to 32 percent. That's nowhere near where the country was before Watergate. In fact, it's just about where the country was after Watergate. As the saying goes, "Been down so long, it looks like up to me."

Watergate also heightened public contempt for professional politicians and created a market for outsiders and non-professionals, like Jimmy Carter, Reagan, Ross Perot and Colin Powell.

People expect them to rescue the country from all that cynicism.



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Victory In Defeat

Richard Nixon failed more spectacularly than any other U.S. President, yet by sheer endurance he rebuilt his standing as the most important figure of the postwar era

BY John F. Stacks/TIME

The significance of any person in history, no matter how complex, can be captured in one sentence, Clare Booth Luce once told Richard Nixon. "You will be summed up: He went to China," she declared.

Her estimation came before Watergate. "Now," Nixon said a few years ago, "historians are more likely to lead with 'He resigned from office.' The jury has already come in, and there's nothing that's going to change it. There's no appeal. Historians will judge it harshly."

He was right of course, as hard-eyed and tough about himself as he had been about other people all his life. It was the same sort of ruthless judgment he had applied to opponents as well as friends, to opportunities and risks, to domestic politics and international diplomacy.

But as he lay dying three years ago, the verdict on his life and career was becoming, if not softer, at least more complicated. Messages from around the world poured into the hospital in New York City from the statesmen who admired his reach and strength, from the politicians he had dominated and from the citizens who loved him despite his gaping flaws. By the time he died, something close to affection, born of such long familiarity, could be discerned, even from his enemies.

Other politicians came and went, but Nixon was always coming back. By sheer endurance, he was the most important figure of the postwar era. Nixon put the country through some of its worst times, leading the red-scare politics of the 1950s, escalating the war in Vietnam in order to end it, trying with all his enormous energy and guile to defeat the legal processes that closed in on him during the Watergate scandal. Yet an outsize energy and determination drove him on to recover and rebuild after every self-created disaster that he faced.

To reclaim a respected place in American public life after his resignation, he kept traveling and thinking and talking to the world's leaders. After leaving the White House nearly 20 years ago, he produced nine books. Just a month before his death, he was in Russia

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trying to get a current sense of the bizarre politics of the nation he fought against for so long. On his return from that trip, he stopped in Washington, where he lectured a room packed with members of America's foreign policy establishment. He spoke for 90 minutes without notes and drew a standing ovation for his lucid presentation. On the day that an embolism struck him mute, page proofs for his last book arrived at his office.

That book, titled Beyond Peace, is a kind of last testament from Richard Nixon. It is a tartly apt critique of American foreign policy. His timing was uncanny. The book arrives just as a welter of post-cold-war crises, from Bosnia to Korea, have thrown American policies into deepening disarray. And, as always, his focus on foreign affairs was designed to draw attention to the area of his presidency in which his accomplishments outweighed his failures.

Still, Watergate was the dark monument Richard Milhous Nixon built for himself. No other President in American history had been forced to resign the office. No other President in American history had been revealed to be so cynically, so selfishly breaking the law to preserve his own power. Other Presidents may have acted as ignobly, but none was caught so nakedly. More than 30 of the men who were closest to him went to jail for their roles in Watergate. Nixon himself was pardoned by his successor. But John J. Sirica, the judge who presided over much of the Watergate case, concluded later that Nixon too should have gone to jail.

It was always easy to be angry with Richard Nixon. He had an unerring instinct for the divisive thrust in politics. He succeeded over and over again by making personal attacks on those who opposed him. His own childhood sufferings were transposed into a powerful need to win at all costs. It began with his first campaigns in California and ended with his famous enemies list when he was President.

The anger that trailed after him, which always intensified after his victories because he was rarely a gracious winner, obscured his accomplishments. He was perhaps the most practiced American statesman to occupy the White House in this century. He understood the world in a deep and subtle way. He also had a fine sense of his own country, exploiting the disgust of the "silent majority" as the social and intellectual elites turned first against the war in Vietnam and then against anything vaguely bourgeois.

For a man who used ideology early and often in his political career, he was an astonishingly pragmatic domestic leader. He loathed the Eastern monied establishment that ran the Republican Party as he was rising in it, but his presidential agenda was quite moderate by contemporary G.O.P. standards. He realized that the Great Society programs of the Lyndon Johnson era had failed, but he believed that they were aimed at real problems and that the government should try to solve them.

When he left Washington in disgrace, Nixon retreated to his home in California. It is almost impossible to imagine the pain of his fall, and equally impossible to imagine the strength that kept him going. He

nearly died after an attack of phlebitis and thought of taking his own life. Instead, he began a patient and calculated climb back to respectability. When he was still too much the pariah to be seen with sitting Presidents, he consulted quietly with their aides. And by the time Bill Clinton came to the White House, Nixon had virtually cemented his role as an elder statesman. Clinton, whose wife served on the staff of the committee that voted to impeach Nixon, met openly with him and regularly sought his advice. After his death, Clinton agreed to speak at the 37th President's funeral in California. It was a generous act. Nixon had been pardoned again.

To the end, it pained Richard Nixon that his ideas and advice were always diluted by the shame of his fall. "Oh, they say, this is the Watergate man and we're not going to pay any attention to him," Nixon lamented. But America had always paid attention to Nixon. For good and ill, he defined American politics and policy for a half-century, defined it by his successes and by his failures.

In the author's note to *Beyond Peace*, Nixon recalls that he told former Russian Vice President Alexander Rutskoi that politics, like war, could be hell. When Rutskoi was released from prison in February, where he had been held following his failed putsch against Boris Yeltsin, Nixon thought perhaps Rutskoi had learned "that, for some, there can be life after hell."

History will judge Richard Nixon as much more than the Watergate man. And he leaves another, brighter monument: his own superhuman determination and stamina. It seems almost impossible that he has finally been defeated.

This article adapted from the May 2, 1994 issue of TIME.

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Watergate

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Hillary Rodham Clinton

Watergate Survivors

While some careers ended, others were launched to political prominence

By Jeanne Meserve/CNN

WASHINGTON (AllPolitics, June 12) -- Watergate is known for the careers it ended, but for some, Watergate was a beginning. For several players, it was a launch pad to political prominence.

The televised hearings of the Senate Select Committee on Watergate catapulted Sen. Howard Baker to the front ranks of his party. He went on to become Republican leader of the Senate and a presidential contender.

Looking back, Baker says, "That was the meanest time in public life I've ever lived through. It probably conditioned the players, the people involved, in a way that probably served them well in years to come."

People like William Cohen, who served on the House Judiciary Committee.

Cohen voted to impeach his own party's president. During



Howard Baker

Howard Baker remembers the "meanest time in public life" (128K wav)



William Cohen



Trent Lott

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🔊 Trent Lott reflects on the Watergate years (64K wav)



Fred Thompson

🔊 Fred Thompson recalls Watergate (128K wav)

the Iran-Contra investigation he was critical of another Republican president: Ronald Reagan. Now he serves a Democratic president, as secretary of defense.

And that young fellow who sat next to Cohen during the Judiciary Committee hearings? Trent Lott. Lott supported his president then, and leads his party now in the U.S. Senate.

The House and Senate committees investigating Watergate drew their staffs from among the best and brightest young lawyers in the country. Now some of them are political players.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is now embroiled in a few ethics controversies of her own, served as a counsel to the House Judiciary Committee.

Bernard Nussbaum, former White House counsel, also worked for that committee. So did William Weld, now the Republican governor of Massachusetts.

Former Impeachment Committee member Rev. Robert Drinan says, "I think that they got a certain visibility and experience at that time and that law firms and government agencies would want them."

Now a senator, Fred Thompson was drawn to Washington to serve as Republican counsel to the Senate committee. His interrogation uncovered the Nixon tapes.

"It was a bad atmosphere, it was a real downer. I had enough of it after Watergate, I was ready to get out of town and resume my normal life," Thompson recalls.

But it seemed a logical segue when a star of the television hearings became a star of the silver screen. And logical too, when Thompson moved from the sound stage to the political stage.

Now Thompson is a lead actor in another investigation: this one into campaign finances.

Thompson says, "There are probably more pitfalls than advantages politically for a person doing what I'm doing right now. Most investigations are deemed a failure because they don't produce a smoking gun or a taping system or a John Dean."

But Thompson harbors presidential ambitions. And as a veteran of Watergate he knows as well as anyone that an investigation is a platform from which some politicians can rise ...

... while others fall.

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A Watergate Legacy: More Public Skepticism, Ambivalence

By Brooks Jackson/CNN

WASHINGTON (June 13) -- The Watergate burglars had rubber gloves on their hands and hundred-dollar bills in their pockets -- campaign money that led from the Watergate to President Richard Nixon's re-election committee, and then to the sordid secret of American politics: Illegal, underground financing of both parties.



A total of 21 corporations, were found guilty of illegal giving to Republicans and Democrats, including American Airlines, Ashland Oil, Braniff Airways, Carnation Company, Goodyear, Gulf, Hertz and Northrop.

The scandal produced reform - for a while. Only clean money in the election of 1976: nothing over \$1,000 in presidential primaries; only public money in the general election between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford; and a new Federal Election Commission to police the rules.

But it didn't last.

1976
PRIMARIES:
\$1000 limit
ELECTION:
only public money

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1996

SOFT MONEY

Democrats:	\$124 million
Republican:	\$138 millions

Says Brookings Institution scholar Thomas Mann, "We were better off for a while, but we've lost that advantage and now we're at a position where the law as interpreted by the courts and by the politicians permits behavior that we found absolutely appalling in the Watergate era."

The Supreme Court has ruled that money is speech protected by the First Amendment. And the election commission issued regulations allowing "soft money" from corporations, labor unions, and big donors.

So last year, more special-interest money than Richard Nixon ever dreamed of -- \$124 million in soft money to Democrats, \$138 million to Republicans -- flowed into the two major parties. And, this time, it was mostly legal.

"There is a lot of political ingenuity out there, and any rule you have you can find ways to evade it legally -- that's what politicians have done," said Stephen Wayne of Georgetown University.

Disclosure still works, maybe too well. What seemed a scandal then is old news now. So much money. And neither side will change: each blames the other.

Campaign finance reforms were not the only things to go sour. Watergate also produced systematic efforts to root out corruption. But watchdogs became attack dogs.

Hearings paid off for Democrats. They gained 49 seats in the House and four in

the Senate in 1974, and one in the White House in 1976.

Investigations paid off for reporters, too. They became heroes, some rich and famous.

Says Wayne, "The press no longer gives public officials the benefit of the doubt. They think it's all talk to protect their own ego and re-election chances, and they assume if not a person is lying, he's not telling the whole truth."

And they assume if a person is not lying, he's not telling the whole truth either. Practically anything triggers massive investigations: A money-losing real-estate deal such as Bill and Hillary Clinton's Whitewater venture; A college course with a political message, such as that of House Speaker Newt Gingrich; Nine million dollars spent to investigate former Agriculture Department Secretary Mike Espy, who may have taken free football tickets.

"We now criminalize what in the old days would have been normal political give-and-take," Said Brookings' Mann. "We have the independent counsel law, we have the public integrity section of the Justice Department, we have ethics committees and procedures, we have a lot invested now in detecting wrong-doing."

Watergate exposed lies, crimes, corruption. The investigation established that no president is above the law. Now many say government is more honest, presidents more accountable. But the public

believes government is corrupt, untrustworthy and ruled by money and personal ambition. Last November, only 49 percent even bothered to vote.

So after 25 years we're still feeling the effects. More money. Less trust. Fewer voters.

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Serious Or 'Just Politics'?

Americans are split on Watergate's import

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WASHINGTON (AllPolitics, June 16) -- A quarter century after Watergate rocked the government to its foundations, Americans remain deeply divided over the scandal's real import, according to a new CNN/USA Today/Gallup survey.

A surprising 44 percent of Americans think the Watergate affair was "just politics," while 52 percent say it was a serious matter, according to the survey.

But a more substantial majority of people -- 68 percent -- think that Watergate was serious enough to warrant former President Richard Nixon's resignation, while just 26 percent said it was not.

The poll, conducted May 30 and June 1, interviewed 935 adults and has a margin of sampling error of +/- 3 percentage points.

Sixty-three percent of those interviewed said they were somewhat or very familiar with the Watergate affair, while 36 percent said they were not familiar with it.

In a separate CNN/TIME Poll, people were asked to compare Watergate and the Whitewater scandal that continues to bedevil President Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

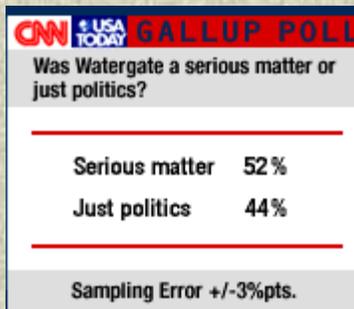
Forty-nine percent said Nixon's involvement in Watergate was the more serious of the two, while 20 percent said Clinton's involvement with Whitewater was more serious.

The CNN/TIME survey was based on interviews with 1,024 adults on June 4 and 5 and also has a margin of sampling error of +/- 3 percentage points.

Other questions in the CNN/TIME survey:

In connection to Whitewater,

Clinton is... Nixon in '73
Acting within his rights 46% 42%



place). Acting above the law 41 47

AllPolitics 'Toonist [Bob Lang](#) looks back at Watergate.

Nixon's Role in Watergate

Deserved impeachment 44%
No different than other presidents 38

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Was Watergate a turning point for trust in government?

Yes 78%
No 15

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[\(15:00 min. V Xtreme\)](#)

Nixon announces his resignation
[\(1.1MB QuickTime\)](#)

"...sometimes I have succeeded, sometimes I have failed."
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"I have never been a quitter..."
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"...if some of my judgments were wrong, and some were wrong..."
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place).

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President Richard Nixon's Resignation Speech

August 8, 1974

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Good evening.

This is the 37th time I have spoken to you from this office, where so many decisions have been made that shaped the history of this Nation. Each time I have done so to discuss with you some matter that I believe affected the national interest.

In all the decisions I have made in my public life, I have always tried to do what was best for the Nation. Throughout the long and difficult period of Watergate, I have felt it was my duty to persevere, to make every possible effort to complete the term of office to which you elected me.

In the past few days, however, it has become evident to me that I no longer have a strong enough political base in the Congress to justify continuing that effort. As long as there was such a base, I felt strongly that it was necessary to see the constitutional process through to its conclusion, that to do otherwise would be unfaithful to the spirit of that deliberately difficult process and a dangerously destabilizing precedent for the future.

But with the disappearance of that base, I now believe that the constitutional purpose has been served, and there is no longer a need for the process to be prolonged.

I would have preferred to carry through to the finish whatever the personal agony it would have involved, and my family unanimously urged me to do so. But the interest of the Nation must always come before any personal considerations.

From the discussions I have had with Congressional and other leaders, I have concluded that because of the Watergate matter I might not have the support of the Congress that I would consider necessary to back the very difficult decisions and carry out the duties of this office in the way the interests of the Nation would require.

I have never been a quitter. To leave office before my term is



August 8, 1974



place).

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completed is abhorrent to every instinct in my body. But as President, I must put the interest of America first. America needs a full-time President and a full-time Congress, particularly at this time with problems we face at home and abroad.

To continue to fight through the months ahead for my personal vindication would almost totally absorb the time and attention of both the President and the Congress in a period when our entire focus should be on the great issues of peace abroad and prosperity without inflation at home.

Therefore, I shall resign the Presidency effective at noon tomorrow. Vice President Ford will be sworn in as President at that hour in this office.

As I recall the high hopes for America with which we began this second term, I feel a great sadness that I will not be here in this office working on your behalf to achieve those hopes in the next 2 1/2 years. But in turning over direction of the Government to Vice President Ford, I know, as I told the Nation when I nominated him for that office 10 months ago, that the leadership of America will be in good hands.

In passing this office to the Vice President, I also do so with the profound sense of the weight of responsibility that will fall on his shoulders tomorrow and, therefore, of the understanding, the patience, the cooperation he will need from all Americans.

As he assumes that responsibility, he will deserve the help and the support of all of us. As we look to the future, the first essential is to begin healing the wounds of this Nation, to put the bitterness and divisions of the recent past behind us, and to rediscover those shared ideals that lie at the heart of our strength and unity as a great and as a free people.

By taking this action, I hope that I will have hastened the start of that process of healing which is so desperately needed in America.

I regret deeply any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision. I would say only that if some of my judgments were wrong, and some were wrong, they were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interest of the Nation.

To those who have stood with me during these past difficult months, to my family, my friends, to many others who joined in supporting my cause because they believed it was right, I will be eternally grateful for your support.

And to those who have not felt able to give me your support, let me say I leave with no bitterness toward those who have opposed me, because all of us, in the final analysis, have been concerned with the good of the country, however our judgments might differ.

So, let us all now join together in affirming that common commitment and in helping our new President succeed for the benefit of all

Americans.

I shall leave this office with regret at not completing my term, but with gratitude for the privilege of serving as your President for the past 5 1/2 years. These years have been a momentous time in the history of our Nation and the world. They have been a time of achievement in which we can all be proud, achievements that represent the shared efforts of the Administration, the Congress, and the people.

But the challenges ahead are equally great, and they, too, will require the support and the efforts of the Congress and the people working in cooperation with the new Administration.

We have ended America's longest war, but in the work of securing a lasting peace in the world, the goals ahead are even more far-reaching and more difficult. We must complete a structure of peace so that it will be said of this generation, our generation of Americans, by the people of all nations, not only that we ended one war but that we prevented future wars.

We have unlocked the doors that for a quarter of a century stood between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

We must now ensure that the one quarter of the world's people who live in the People's Republic of China will be and remain not our enemies but our friends.

In the Middle East, 100 million people in the Arab countries, many of whom have considered us their enemy for nearly 20 years, now look on us as their friends. We must continue to build on that friendship so that peace can settle at last over the Middle East and so that the cradle of civilization will not become its grave.

Together with the Soviet Union we have made the crucial breakthroughs that have begun the process of limiting nuclear arms. But we must set as our goal not just limiting but reducing and finally destroying these terrible weapons so that they cannot destroy civilization and so that the threat of nuclear war will no longer hang over the world and the people.

We have opened the new relation with the Soviet Union. We must continue to develop and expand that new relationship so that the two strongest nations of the world will live together in cooperation rather than confrontation.

Around the world, in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, in the Middle East, there are millions of people who live in terrible poverty, even starvation. We must keep as our goal turning away from production for war and expanding production for peace so that people everywhere on this earth can at last look forward in their children's time, if not in our own time, to having the necessities for a decent life.

Here in America, we are fortunate that most of our people have not only the blessings of liberty but also the means to live full and good and, by the world's standards, even abundant lives. We must press on,

however, toward a goal of not only more and better jobs but of full opportunity for every American and of what we are striving so hard right now to achieve, prosperity without inflation.

For more than a quarter of a century in public life I have shared in the turbulent history of this era. I have fought for what I believed in. I have tried to the best of my ability to discharge those duties and meet those responsibilities that were entrusted to me.

Sometimes I have succeeded and sometimes I have failed, but always I have taken heart from what Theodore Roosevelt once said about the man in the arena, "whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who strives valiantly, who errs and comes short again and again because there is not effort without error and shortcoming, but who does actually strive to do the deed, who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, who spends himself in a worthy cause, who at the best knows in the end the triumphs of high achievements and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly."

I pledge to you tonight that as long as I have a breath of life in my body, I shall continue in that spirit. I shall continue to work for the great causes to which I have been dedicated throughout my years as a Congressman, a Senator, a Vice President, and President, the cause of peace not just for America but among all nations, prosperity, justice, and opportunity for all of our people.

There is one cause above all to which I have been devoted and to which I shall always be devoted for as long as I live.

When I first took the oath of office as President 5 1/2 years ago, I made this sacred commitment, to "consecrate my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations."

I have done my very best in all the days since to be true to that pledge. As a result of these efforts, I am confident that the world is a safer place today, not only for the people of America but for the people of all nations, and that all of our children have a better chance than before of living in peace rather than dying in war.

This, more than anything, is what I hoped to achieve when I sought the Presidency. This, more than anything, is what I hope will be my legacy to you, to our country, as I leave the Presidency.

To have served in this office is to have felt a very personal sense of kinship with each and every American. In leaving it, I do so with this prayer: May God's grace be with you in all the days ahead.

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The Farewell Speech



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"...those who hate you don't win unless you hate them..."
[\(1.2M QuickTime\)](#)

"...the best is au revoir."
[\(704K QuickTime\)](#) [\(196K wav\)](#)

Nixon leaves the White House
[\(1MB QuickTime\)](#)

place).

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President Richard Nixon's Final Remarks At The White House

August 9, 1974

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Members of the Cabinet, members of the White House Staff, all of our friends here:

I think the record should show that this is one of those spontaneous things that we always arrange whenever the President comes in to speak, and it will be so reported in the press, and we don't mind, because they have to call it as they see it.

But on our part, believe me, it is spontaneous.

You are here to say goodbye to us, and we don't have a good word for it in English -- the best is au revoir. We'll see you again.

I just met with the members of the White House staff, you know, those who serve here in the White House day in and day out, and I asked them to do what I ask all of you to do to the extent that you can and, of course, are requested to do so: to serve our next President as you have served me and previous Presidents -- because many of you have been here for many years -- with devotion and dedication, because this office, great as it is, can only be as great as the men and women who work for and with the President.

This house, for example -- I was thinking of it as we walked down this hall, and I was comparing it to some of the great houses of the world that I have been in. This isn't the biggest house. Many, and most, in even smaller countries, are much bigger. This isn't the finest house. Many in Europe, particularly, and in China, Asia, have paintings of great, great value, things that we just don't have here and, probably, will never have until we are 1,000 years old or older.

But this is the best house. It is the best house, because it has something far more important than numbers of people who serve, far more important than numbers of rooms or how big it is, far more important than numbers of magnificent pieces of art.

This house has a great heart, and that heart comes from those who



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serve. I was rather sorry they didn't come down, We said goodbye to them upstairs. But they are really great. And I recall after so many times I have made speeches, and some of them pretty tough, yet, I always come back, or after a hard day -- and my days usually have run rather long -- I would always get a lift from them, because I might be a little down but they always smiled.

And so it is with you. I look around here, and I see so many on this staff that, you know, I should have been by your offices and shaken hands, and I would love to have talked to you and found out how to run the world -- everybody wants to tell the President what to do, and boy, he needs to be told many times -- but I just haven't had the time. But I want you to know that each and every one of you, I know, is indispensable to this Government.

I am proud of this Cabinet. I am proud of all the members who have served in our Cabinet. I am proud of our sub-Cabinet. I am proud of our White House Staff. As I pointed out last night, sure, we have done some things wrong in this Administration, and the top man always takes the responsibility, and I have never ducked it. But I want to say one thing: We can be proud of it -- 5 1/2 years. No man or no woman came into this Administration and left it with more of this world's goods than when he came in. No man or no woman ever profited at the public expense or the public till. That tells something about you.

Mistakes, yes. But for personal gain, never. You did what you believed in. Sometimes right, sometimes wrong. And I only wish that I were a wealthy man -- at the present time, I have got to find a way to pay my taxes -- and if I were, I would like to recompense you for the sacrifices that all of you have made to serve in government.

But you are getting something in government -- and I want you to tell this to your children, and I hope the Nation's children will hear it, too -- something in government service that is far more important than money. It is a cause bigger than yourself. It is the cause of making this the greatest nation in the world, the leader of the world, because without our leadership, the world will know nothing but war, possibly starvation or worse, in the years ahead. With our leadership it will know peace, it will know plenty.

We have been generous, and we will be more generous in the future as we are able to. But most important, we must be strong here, strong in our hearts, strong in our souls, strong in our belief, and strong in our willingness to sacrifice, as you have been willing to sacrifice, in a pecuniary way, to serve in government.

There is something else I would like for you to tell your young people. You know, people often come in and say, "What will I tell my kids?" They look at government and say, sort of a rugged life, and they see the mistakes that are made. They get the impression that everybody is here for the purpose of feathering his nest. That is why I made this earlier point -- not in this Administration, not one single man or woman.

And I say to them, there are many fine careers. This country needs good

farmers, good businessmen, good plumbers, good carpenters.

I remember my old man. I think that they would have called him sort of a little man, common man. He didn't consider himself that way. You know what he was? He was a streetcar motorman first, and then he was a farmer, and then he had a lemon ranch. It was the poorest lemon ranch in California, I can assure you. He sold it before they found oil on it. [Laughter] And then he was a grocer. But he was a great man, because he did his job, and every job counts up to the hilt, regardless of what happens.

Nobody will ever write a book, probably, about my mother. Well, I guess all of you would say this about your mother -- my mother was a saint. And I think of her, two boys dying of tuberculosis, nursing four others in order that she could take care of my older brother for 3 years in Arizona, and seeing each of them die, and when they died, it was like one of her own.

Yes, she will have no books written about her. But she was a saint.

Now, however, we look to the future. I had a little quote in the speech last night from T.R. As you know, I kind of like to read books. I am not educated, but I do read books -- and the T.R. quote was a pretty good one. Here is another one I found as I was reading, my last night in the White House, and this quote is about a young man. He was a young lawyer in New York. He had married a beautiful girl, and they had a lovely daughter, and then suddenly she died, and this is what he wrote. This was in his diary.

He said, "She was beautiful in face and form and lovelier still in spirit. As a flower she grew and as a fair young flower she died. Her life had been always in the sunshine. There had never come to her a single great sorrow. None ever knew her who did not love and revere her for her bright and sunny temper and her saintly unselfishness. Fair, pure and joyous as a maiden, loving, tender and happy as a young wife. When she had just become a mother, when her life seemed to be just begun and when the years seemed so bright before her, then by a strange and terrible fate death came to her. And when my heart's dearest died, the light went from my life forever."

That was T.R. in his twenties. He thought the light had gone from his life forever -- but he went on. And he not only became President but, as an ex-President, he served his country, always in the arena, tempestuous, strong, sometimes wrong, sometimes right, but he was a man.

And as I leave, let me say, that is an example I think all of us should remember. We think sometimes when things happen that don't go the right way; we think that when you don't pass the bar exam the first time -- I happened to, but I was just lucky; I mean, my writing was so poor the bar examiner said, "We have just got to let the guy through." We think that when someone dear to us dies, we think that when we lose an election, we think that when we suffer a defeat that all is ended. We think, as T.R. said, that the light had left his life forever.

Not true. It is only a beginning, always. The young must know it; the old must know it. It must always sustain us, because the greatness comes not when things go always good for you, but the greatness comes and you are really tested, when you take some knocks, some disappointments, when sadness comes, because only if you have been in the deepest valley can you ever know how magnificent it is to be on the highest mountain.

And so I say to you on this occasion, as we leave, we leave proud of the people who have stood by us and worked for us and served this country.

We want you to be proud of what you have done. We want you to continue to serve in government, if that is your wish. Always give your best, never get discouraged, never be petty; always remember, others may hate you, but those who hate you don't win unless you hate them, and then you destroy yourself.

And so, we leave with high hopes, in good spirit, and with deep humility, and with very much gratefulness in our hearts. I can only say to each and every one of you, we come from many faiths, we pray perhaps to different gods -- but really the same God in a sense -- but I want to say for each and every one of you, not only will we always remember you, not only will we always be grateful to you but always you will be in our hearts and you will be in our prayers.

Thank you very much.

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President Gerald Ford's Pardon of Richard Nixon

September 8, 1974

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Ladies and gentlemen:

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



September 8, 1974

I have learned already in this office that the difficult decisions always 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 previous occasions.

My customary policy is to try and get all the facts and to consider the opinions of my countrymen and to take counsel with my most valued friends. But these seldom agree, and in the end, the decision is mine. To procrastinate, to agonize, and to wait for a more favorable turn of events that may never come or more compelling external pressures that may as well be wrong as right, is itself a decision of sorts and a weak and potentially dangerous course for a President to follow.

I have promised to uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best that 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 loyal wife and family.

There is an American tragedy in which we all have played a part. It could go on and on and on, or someone must write the end to it. I have concluded that only I can do that, and if I can, I must.

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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 knowledge that serious allegations and accusations hang like a sword over our former President's head, threatening his health as he tries to reshape his life, a great part of which was spent in the service of this country and by the mandate of its people.

After years of bitter controversy and divisive national debate, I have been advised, and I am compelled to conclude that many months and perhaps more years will have to pass before Richard Nixon could 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 presumption of his 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. And 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 Nixon had been denied due process, and the verdict of history would even more be inconclusive with respect to those charges arising out of the period of his Presidency, of which I am presently aware.

But it is not the ultimate fate of Richard Nixon that most concerns me, though surely it deeply troubles every decent and every compassionate person. My concern is the immediate future of this great country.

In this, I dare not depend upon my personal sympathy as a long-time friend of the former President, nor my professional judgment as a lawyer, 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 is 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 tells me it is my duty, not merely to proclaim domestic tranquillity but to use every

means that I have to insure it. I do believe that the buck stops here, 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, 10 angels swearing I was right would make no difference. I do believe, with all my heart and mind and spirit, that I, not as President but as a humble servant of God, will receive justice without mercy if I fail to show mercy.

Finally, I feel that Richard Nixon and his loved ones have suffered enough and will continue to suffer, no matter what I do, no matter what we, as a great and good nation, can do together to make his goal of peace come true.

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 July (January) 20, 1969, through August 9, 1974.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-ninth.

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June 17, 1972 25th Anniversary June 17, 1997



Larry King revisits Watergate 25 years after the crime, with guests:

Ben Bradlee, Bob Woodward, G. Gordon Liddy, George McGovern, Elliott Richardson, Al Haig, and Rolano Martinez

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I believe the second half of the 20th century will be known as the age of Nixon. Why was he the most durable public figure of our time? Not because he gave the most eloquent speeches, but because he provided the most effective leadership. Not because he won every battle, but because he always embodied the deepest feelings of the people he led.

One of his biographers said that Richard Nixon was one of us. And so he was. He was a boy who heard the train whistle in the night and dreamed of all the distant places that lay at the end of the track. How American. He was a grocer's son who got ahead by working harder and longer than everyone else. How American.

He was a student who met expenses by doing research at the law library for 35 cents an hour while sharing a run-down farmhouse without water or electricity. How American. He was the husband and father who said that the best memorial to his wife was her children. How American.

To tens of millions of his countrymen, Richard Nixon was an American hero, a hero who shared and honored their belief in working hard, worshiping God, loving their families and saluting the flag. He called them the silent majority. Like them, they valued accomplishment more than ideology. They wanted their government to do the decent thing, but not to bankrupt them in the process.

They wanted his protection in a dangerous world, but they also wanted creative statesmanship in achieving a genuine peace with honor. These were the people from whom he had come and who have come to Yorba Linda these past few days by the tens of thousands -- no longer silent in their grief. The American people love a fighter. And in Dick Nixon, they found a gallant one.

In a marvelous biography of her mother, Julie recalls an occasion where Pat Nixon expressed amazement at her husband's ability to persevere in the face of criticism, to which the President replied, "I just get up every morning to confound my enemies." It was what Richard Nixon did after he got up every morning that not just confounded his enemies, but turned them into admirers.

It is true that no one knew the world better than Richard Nixon. And as a result, the man who was born in a house his father built would go on to become this century's greatest architect of peace.

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But we should also not underestimate President Nixon's domestic achievements. For it was Richard Nixon who ended the draft, strengthened environmental and nutritional programs, and committed the government to a war on cancer. He leapfrogged the conventional wisdom to propose revolutionary solutions to health care and welfare reform, anticipating by a full generation the debates now raging on Capitol Hill.

I remember the last time I saw him -- at a luncheon held on the Capitol honoring the 25th anniversary of his first inaugural. Without a note, President Nixon stood and delivered a compelling speech, capturing the global scene as only he could and sharing his vision of America's future. When it was over, he was surrounded by Democrats and Republicans alike, each wanting just one more word of Nixonian counsel, one more insight into world affairs.

Afterward, the President rested in my office before leaving the Capitol, only he got very little rest -- for the office was filled with young Hill staffers, members of the Capitol police and many, many others, all hoping to shake his hand, get an autograph or simply convey their special feelings for a man who truly was one of us.

Today our grief is shared by millions of people the world over, but is also mingled with intense pride in a great patriot who never gave up and who never gave in. To know the secret of Richard Nixon's relationship with the American people, you need only to listen to his own words: "You must never be satisfied with success," he told us, "and you should never be discouraged by failure. Failure can be sad, but the greatest sadness is not to try and fail, but to fail to try. In the end, what matters is that you have always lived life to the hilt."

Strong, brave, unafraid of controversy, unyielding in his convictions, living every day of his life to the hilt, the largest figure of our time whose influence will be timeless -- that was Richard Nixon. How American. May God bless Richard Nixon and may God bless the United States.

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Burden Of Proof - Watergate Anniversary [3 part \(18:09 min. V Xtreme\)](#)

John Dean on Inside Politics [\(5:51 min. V Xtreme\)](#)

[Toonist Bill Mitchell](#) checks in on Richard Nixon (in a very hot

World Wide Watergate

WASHINGTON (AllPolitics, June 12) -- For a time, it looked like everyone involved in Watergate had written a book. Now, 25 years after the burglary, there is a slew of Web sites devoted to Watergate, Richard Nixon and some of the other characters involved in that slice of American history.



Here are some of them, starting with the good and descending to the goofy:

[Nixon Presidential Project](#) -- Home of the 4,000 hours of White House tapes, which were secretly recorded in the Oval Office and other locations

[TIME: 1973 Man of the Year](#) -- Judge John J. Sirica

[Watergate](#) -- An Australian political science professor's crisp and concise view of the scandal

[Grolier Online -- The American Presidency: Watergate](#)

[The Newseum Web site](#) -- A Watergate time line

[The Newseum](#) -- Watergate: Suggested Readings and Other Resources

[Watergate Resource Guide](#) -- Seton Hall's Peter W. Rodino Jr. Law Library

[Illusion and Delusion: The Watergate Decade](#) -- Striking black and white photographs

[National Archives and Records Administration: Nixon and Watergate](#) -- Some nice Watergate artifacts, including security guard Frank Wills' log entry about the break-in

[George Magazine: All the President's Women](#) -- The women of Watergate (December/January 1995)

[Nixon's Funeral](#) -- CNN Interactive's online coverage, including Bob Dole's comment: "May God bless Richard Nixon"

place). [Nixon's Will](#) -- 1994

AllPolitics 'Toonist [Bob Lang](#) looks back at Watergate. [Silent Coup](#) -- A revisionist history of the break-in that lays the blame on John Dean; the authors' Web site includes links, reviews and a synopsis of the charges

Transcripts: [Nixon's resignation speech](#), [Nixon's farewell speech](#), [Ford's pardon speech](#), [Dole's eulogy of Nixon](#) [The Nixon Links](#) A nice collection of Nixonia, including bios of his friends and a section called "The Wild World of Spiro Agnew"

Interactive [Voter's Voice](#): the Watergate legacy [The Nixon Library & Birthplace](#) -- On this respectful Web site, Nixon isn't a scoundrel who helped make people cynical about government; he's an "architect of peace."

[Related web sites](#) [Nixon's The One -- The Campaign Song That Made History](#) -- Do you know song writer Vic Caesar? Do you know the song "Nixon's The One?" Do you care?

Bulletin Boards [Join a thread, start a thread](#) -- it's your chance to sound off! [The Official G. Gordon Liddy Page](#) -- One of the original conspirators is now a radio talk show host.

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