

DID NIXON INTERFERE WITH THE PARIS PEACE TALKS IN VIETNAM BEFORE HIS PRESIDENCY?

THIS ARTICLE WILL REMOVE ANY DOUBT!

HISTORIAN SAYS HE DID SO TO BOLSTER HIS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IN 1968
ACTUAL CONFLICT ENDED IN 1973 - FIVE YEARS LATER

THIS WAS BEFORE AND PERHAPS THE REASON FOR "WATERGATE"!

POLITICS? / TREASON? COULD THE CONFLICT HAVE BEEN ENDED 5 YEARS EARLIER?

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ARE POLITICS MORE IMPORTANT THAN AMERICAN LIVES?

SUMMARY OF THIS ARTICLE

Declassified tapes of President Lyndon Johnson's telephone calls provide a fresh insight into his world. Among the revelations - he planned a dramatic entry into the 1968 Democratic Convention to re-join the presidential race. And he caught Richard Nixon sabotaging the Vietnam peace *talks...* but said nothing. This article also contains information about the Watergate sage showing comments about it and the actual speeches made nationally by President Nixon, on his resignation and President Ford concerning the pardon granted to Nixon. These speeches are available to read or view as each addresses the nation on television.

FORWARD/INTRODUCTION

Written By – John Chamberlin

My personal opinion based on the data available (This is not intended to be a political article)

This is a long article but it contains a lot of detailed information about how Mr. Nixon and his political "in crowd" and how their manipulations and lies deceived America. It is not about Watergate which everyone knows about. It is about what happened before the Watergate Saga. This is the unknown story behind the scenes that most people are probably unaware of. The crimes we will talk about in this letter are far worse than those of Watergate.

It's taken me weeks to put this together because the more I checked the Web Sites the more I found about this "unknown" bit of Mr. Nixon's campaign and eventual presidency. It's hard to call a man President when you realize what he did. Originally I had highlighted the sentences that I felt were important and then I found the whole article was full of yellow highlights so I removed them to let you pick your highlights. This article is not designed to have any political implications at all.

If you are Democrat or Republican we must all accept the fact that Mr. Nixon was a dishonest, egotistical man. Even when he was pardoned by President Ford (for Watergate) the pardon was written on Nixon's terms.

Even though this happened many years ago it should still infuriate every American alive today. It's a story about greed, lies, blackmail, threats, misleading, egos, disregard, false loyalty, disrespect, and most of all "An Act Of Treason" in its broadest definition. It's the unknown/unpublished story of a man who would do anything, including risking the lives of our American Soldiers, to enhance his ego regardless of the cost. What compounds the situation even further is that this man was a Presidential candidate who was eventually elected president and continued these actions while in office and he did all of this with his political "in crowd", not only knowing but helping him to do it. As you find in the story President Johnson also knew about this and did absolutely nothing!

Some or, perhaps many of you, may know this story and some may not and you might be very surprised when you realize this happened. It is another example of how our leaders in Congress and even in the Presidency can do their "little deeds" without us, "the American public" ever being aware of the lies being passed on to us.

We know he resigned from office (a very simple way out) but what about the other politicians that were involved or knew about this and did nothing? Aren't they guilty too or did Mr. Nixon, as President, have the right to order other members of his staff or members of Congress to commit treason without consequences? This includes Henry Kissinger.

Before I mislead you about this article let me explain that we all know that Mr. Nixon resigned from office rather than face impeachment because of the Watergate break-in. What we didn't know is what happened before the Watergate situation, in some way may be related to it. If we knew the facts then about Mr. Nixon before Watergate he would most likely have been tried and convicted of treason. He undoubtedly knew this and, after he continued to lie about it eventually admitted guilt and responsibility for the Watergate fiasco. He accepted the Watergate punishment while he kept the "treason" actions quiet.

That sealed letter (letter "X" in my article) has been opened and this story is about the contents of that letter. Let me say before you read this article that I realize that if the meeting of the US and North Vietnamese that was delayed because of Mr. Nixon's interference would have taken place there may have been no Peace Accord, but his actions removed any possibility of that. Most "experts" agreed that Peace seemed more possible at that time because in 1968 Russia had urged the North Vietnamese to seek peace and a very short stand-down was in place on both sides, to negotiate at the scheduled meeting.

After the manipulation of Mr. Nixon to delay the meeting, the war went on for another 4 years. Not only did it cost us, the taxpayers, millions more but, most important is the fact that it cost the lives of 21,000 more American soldiers and thousands of Vietnamese civilians.



Remember Those That Died in Vietnam - Could there have been less?



THE REAL STORY BEGINS

Historians have long surmised that Richard M. Nixon, the presidential contender in 1969, interfered with peace talks to end the Vietnam War, to bolster his campaign.

Recently discovered notes written by [H.R. Haldeman \(#1\)](#), who became Nixon's White House chief of staff, showed that during a telephone conversation with Nixon, he was instructed to continue 'working on' South Vietnamese leaders to coax them not to agree to a settlement in peace talks that would possibly end the Vietnam War before the election in 1968. He asks, "Any other way to monkey-wrench it?" He even asks if there's "anything RN can do?"

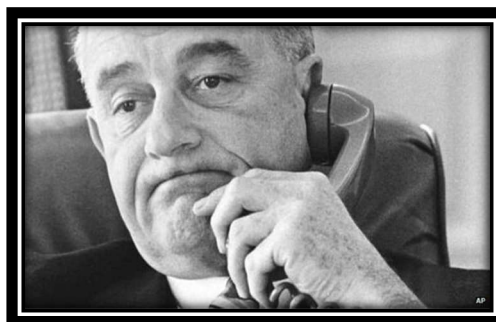
Nixon, as the Republican candidate, was sure that President Lyndon Johnson, who didn't seek re-election, was purposefully attempting to disrupt his campaign with a politically motivated peace effort meant to enhance the candidacy of Vice President Hubert M. Humphrey.

Nixon had entered the fall campaign with a lead over Humphrey, but the gap was closing that October. Henry A. Kissinger, then an outside Republican adviser, had called, alerting Nixon that a deal was in the works: If Johnson would halt all bombing of North Vietnam, the Soviets pledged to have Hanoi engage in constructive talks to end a war that had already claimed 30,000 American lives.

President Johnson had at the time a habit of recording all of his phone conversations, and newly released tapes from 1968 detailed that the FBI had "bugged" the telephones of the South Vietnamese ambassador and Anna Chennault, one of Nixon's aides.

Based on the tapes, says Taylor for the BBC, we learn that in the time leading up to the Paris Peace talks, "Chennault was dispatched to the South Vietnamese embassy with a clear message: the South Vietnamese government should withdraw from the talks, refuse to deal with Johnson, and if Nixon was elected, they would get a much better deal. ([This information is taken from Smithsonian.com See the link at the end.](#))

President [Lyndon B. Johnson \(#2\)](#) called Richard Nixon on November 2, 1968. In the call, the president in no uncertain terms, accused the presidential candidate of treason.



One of Johnson's many phone calls during this period

Johnson threatened Nixon that he would go public with this information, just days before the election.

But Johnson never did publicize his evidence that Nixon was interfering with peace in Vietnam. In part, it was due to the emphatic denial Nixon made in person the next day. But, more importantly, Johnson didn't have the smoking gun he needed to conclusively prove Nixon's involvement.

There's little doubt interfering in the peace talks was a step beyond the norm. This was likely more serious than anything he did in Watergate, said author John A. Farrell. Farrell found Haldeman's notes during his research at the Richard Nixon Presidential Library for his upcoming biography of Nixon, to be published in March.

Throughout the campaign, Nixon loyalists kept a secret communications channel open to the South Vietnamese leaders using [Anne Chennault \(#3\)](#), widow of Claire Lee Chennault who led the Flying Tigers during the Second World War. She had become a notable Washington hostess and Republican fund-raiser. She was the channel for encouraging the South Vietnamese to wait for a better outcome under Nixon. Understandably, Johnson was enraged when he learned of Nixon's machinations.



[Anne Chennault](#)

The notes unearthed by Farrell originated from a phone call on Oct. 22, 1968. Johnson was ready to order a pause in the bombing to promote peace talks in France. Haldeman wrote down what he was told by Nixon, 'Keep Anna Chennault working on SVN,' referring to South Vietnam.

In 1968 there was a real chance to negotiate for peace. All that was needed was for the US to get South Vietnam to agree to it too. At the beginning of November, there were goodwill gestures from each side in preparation for the negotiations. The Communists stopped their artillery attacks on cities and stopped firing across the Demilitarized Zone between North and South Vietnam. Johnson stopped the US bombing campaign, and there were 24 hours of peace as of November 2.



The Paris peace talks may have ended years earlier if it had not been for Nixon's subterfuge

In a conversation with the [Republican senator Everett Dirksen \(#4\)](#), the minority leader, Johnson lashed out at Nixon. "I'm reading their hand, Everett," Johnson told his old friend. "This is treason."

"I know," Dirksen said mournfully.

Johnson's closest aides urged him to unmask Nixon's actions. But on a Nov. 4 conference call, they concluded that they could not go public because, among other factors, they lacked the "absolute proof," as [Defense Secretary Clark Clifford \(#5\)](#) put it, of Nixon's direct involvement.

By Election Day, it was clear Johnson's long shot had failed. Thieu kept his people home. Nixon won the election and then spent his time as president trying to cover up his involvement in scuttling the talks. **Memos from White House aides, including Henry Kissinger warned that any White House investigation into the bombing halt would only cause leaks and potentially embarrass the White House so nothing was done.**



Richard Nixon during the 1968 presidential campaign

Historian John Farrell believes he has found the evidence Johnson needed to accuse Nixon himself of being involved in the treasonous activity

Later, he wrote that Nixon wanted Illinois Republican Senator Everett Dirksen to contact the president and discredit the proposed bombing pause. 'Any other way to monkey wrench it?' Haldeman wrote. 'Anything RN can do.'

Moreover, Nixon added later, that his vice-presidential running mate should talk with [Richard Helms, director of the Central Intelligence Agency \(#6\)](#), and threaten him with termination in the new government if he refused to furnish additional insider information.

After resigning from the presidency, Nixon denied knowing about Mrs. Chennault's role in passing messages to the South Vietnamese in the 1968 campaign, even though there was proof she had been in contact with Nixon's campaign manager, [John N. Mitchell \(#7\)](#), who later became Attorney General.

Researcher Ken Hughes at the Miller Center of the University of Virginia, author of 'Chasing Shadows,' a book exploring the episode, published in 2014, said Farrell had discovered a smoking gun. This appears to be the missing element of the puzzle in the Chennault matter, he said. The notes verify that Nixon perpetrated a crime to emerge victorious in the presidential election, The New York Times reported.

Scholar Luke A. Nichter at Texas A&M University, one of the leading students of the Nixon White House secret tape recordings, doesn't agree with the conclusions about Haldeman's notes. From his perspective, they don't provide any new information and are too weak to make larger deductions.

Throughout his life, Nixon feared disclosure of this skullduggery but never confessed to being involved in efforts to stop the peace process. In an interview on November 3, 1968, Nixon stated, "My God. I would never do anything to encourage [South Vietnam] *not to come to the table.*"

Farrell claims that was a lie and that the lives that were at stake and the ten years of war that followed make Nixon's efforts to stop the peace process "more reprehensible than anything Nixon did in Watergate."



Nixon went on to become president and eventually signed a Vietnam peace deal in 1973

Time has yielded Nixon's secrets. Haldeman's notes were opened quietly at the presidential library in 2007, where I came upon them in my research for a biography of the former president. They contain other gems, like Haldeman's notations of a promise, made by Nixon to Southern Republicans, that he would retreat on civil rights and "lay off pro-Negro crap" if elected president. There are notes from Nixon's 1962 California gubernatorial campaign, in which he and his aides discuss the need to wiretap political foes.

The 37th president has been enjoying a bit of a revival recently, as his achievements in foreign policy and the landmark domestic legislation he signed into law draw favorable comparisons to the presidents (and president-elect) that followed. A new \$15 million face-lift at the Nixon presidential library, while not burying the Watergate scandals, spotlights his considerable record of accomplishments.

Since Nixon was a private citizen, it was illegal under Federal Law for him to interfere with the peace talks. Both men were willing to use the war to further their initiatives.

It's not clear whether the peace talks would have been successful, had they occurred. The South Vietnamese boycotted the talks which proceeded to collapse, Public Radio International reported.

VARIOUS WEBSITES TO VIEW MORE INFORMATION OR CONFIRM THE STATEMENTS I HAVE INSERTED INTO THIS ARTICLE (COPY THE LINK BELOW AND PASTE IT INTO YOUR BROWSER

<http://www.truth-out.org/progressivepicks/item/13994-how-richard-nixon-sabotaged-1968-vietnam-peace-talks-to-get-elected-president>

<http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/nixon-prolonged-vietnam-war-for-political-gainand-johnson-knew-about-it-newly-unclassified-tapes-suggest-3595441/>

<http://www.commondreams.org/headlines/080900-01.htm>

<http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/06/yes-nixon-scuttled-the-vietnam-peace-talks-107623>

<http://www.newsny.com/stories/notes-support-claim-that-nixon-wanted-to-delay-vietnam-talks/>

<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-21768668>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/aug/09/martinkettle1>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/02/us/politics/nixon-tried-to-spoil-johnsons-vietnam-peace-talks-in-68-notes-show.html>

<http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow/watch/nixon-betrayal-of-vietnam-peace-talks-confirmed-by-aide-s->

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/michael-putzel/proof-that-nixon-monkey-wrenched-vietnam_b_14010950.htmlnotes-846198339634

<https://www.warhistoryonline.com/war-articles/historian-finds-evidence-nixon-interfered-peace-talks-vietnam.html>

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2015/03/10/senators-letter-doesnt-rise-to-nixons-level/24695093/>

<https://m.warhistoryonline.com/war-articles/historian-finds-evidence-nixon-interfered-peace-talks-vietnam.html>

<https://consortiumnews.com/2012/03/03/lbjs-x-file-on-nixons-treason/>

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/books/chap1/nopeacenothonor.htm>

MAJOR SITE (Includes actual phone conversations between Johnson & Nixon and others)

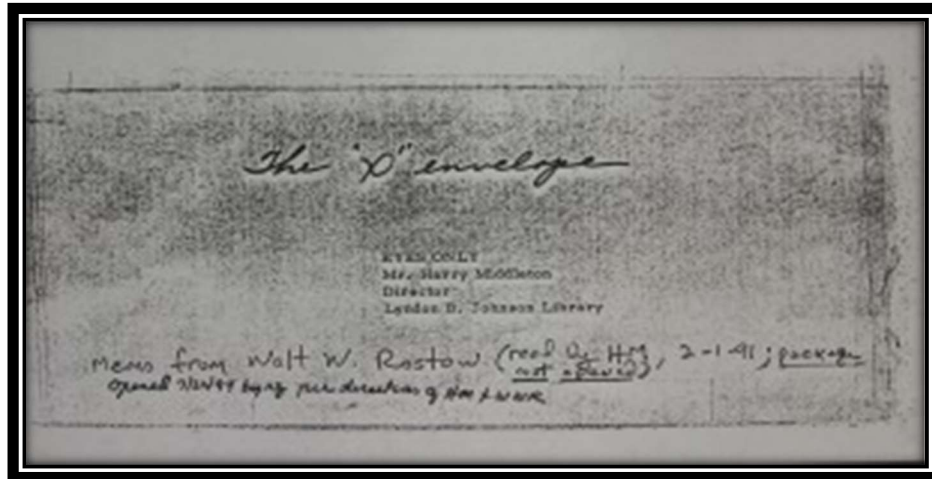
<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-21768668> 22 March 2013**

Declassified tapes of President Lyndon Johnson's telephone calls provide a fresh insight into his world. Among the revelations - he planned a dramatic entry into the 1968 Democratic Convention to re-join the presidential race. And he caught Richard Nixon sabotaging the Vietnam peace talks... but said and did absolutely nothing.

THE REST OF THE STORY & "THE 'X' ENVELOPE" OPENED JULY 22, 1994

THE DAY OF RECKONING

POSSIBLE (PROBABLE) WATERGATE CONNECTION?



The "X" envelope

After Nixon's victory, Johnson tried to get the peace talks back on track. He appealed directly to Nixon in another phone call on Nov. 8 and again raised the implied threat of going public with his growing file on Republican contacts with the South Vietnamese.

"They've been quoting you [Nixon] indirectly, that the thing they ought to do is to just not show up at any [peace] conference and wait until you come into office. Now they've started that [boycott] and that's bad. They're killing Americans every day. I have that [story of the peace-talk sabotage] documented. There's not any question but that's happening. ... That's the story, Dick, and it's a sordid story. ... I don't want to say that to the country, because that's not good."

Faced with Johnson's threat, Nixon promised to tell the South Vietnamese officials to join the peace talks. However, nothing changed. For LBJ, there would be no peace.

As Inauguration Day approached, an embittered President Johnson ordered his [National Security aide Walt Rostow \(#8\)](#) to remove from the White House the file containing the secret evidence of this "sordid story," a decision that would have its unintended consequences.

But Johnson did know that the file was no longer at the White House because he had ordered Walt Rostow to remove it in the final days of his presidency.

[Nixon instructed H.R. Haldeman, his chief of staff, to find and destroy the secret Rostow file on the Nixon campaign efforts to undercut the Paris peace conference. Haldeman had told Nixon that the file was being safeguarded at the Brookings Institute.]

On June 30, 1971, Nixon again berated Haldeman about the need to break into Brookings and "take it [the file] out." Nixon even suggested using former [CIA officer E. Howard Hunt \(#9\)](#) (who later oversaw the two Watergate break-ins in May and June of 1972) conducted the Brookings break-in.

"You talk to Hunt," Nixon told Haldeman. "I want the break-in. Hell, they do that. You're to break into the place, rifle the files, and bring them in ... Just go in and take it. Go in around 8:00 or 9:00."

Haldeman: "Inspect the safe." (?)

Nixon: "That's right. You go in to inspect the safe. I mean, clean it up."

For reasons that remain unclear, it appears that the planned Brookings break-in never took place, but Nixon's desperation to locate Johnson's peace-talk file was an important link in the chain of events that led to the creation of Nixon's Plumbers unit and then to Watergate.

The 9 individuals shown above with numbers by their names are people who more than likely knew about or participated in this "Act of Treason" based on the comments and accusations in the paragraphs which identify them by name. These "gentlemen" at the time, were all prominent Americans who were supposedly caring for and protecting our country. (jet)

THE VERY, VERY IMPORTANT 'X' ENVELOPE

Ironically, Walt Rostow made that link in his mind when he had to decide what to do with the file in the wake of Johnson's death on Jan. 22, 1973. In the preceding four years, Rostow had come to label the file "The 'X' Envelope," a name that he wrote in longhand on the file's cover.

On May 14, 1973, as he pondered what to do with the file, the Watergate scandal was spinning out of Nixon's control. In a three-page "memorandum for the record," Rostow summarized what was in "The 'X' Envelope" and provided a chronology of the events in fall 1968.

Rostow reflected, too, on what effect LBJ's public silence may have had on the unfolding Watergate scandal. Rostow had a unique perspective in understanding the subterranean background of Nixon's political espionage operations.

"I am inclined to believe the Republican operation in 1968 relates in two ways to the Watergate affair of 1972," Rostow wrote. He noted, first, that Nixon's operatives may have judged that their "enterprise with the South Vietnamese" - in frustrating Johnson's last-ditch peace initiative - had secured Nixon his narrow margin of victory over Hubert Humphrey in 1968.

"Second, they got away with it," Rostow wrote. "Despite considerable press commentary after the election, the matter was never investigated fully. Thus, as the same men faced the election in 1972, there was nothing in their previous experience with an operation of doubtful propriety (or, even, legality) to warn them off, and there were memories of how close an election could get and the possible utility of pressing to the limit - and beyond."

Rostow struggled with this question for the next month as the Watergate scandal continued to expand. On June 25, 1973, White House counsel John Dean delivered his blockbuster Senate testimony, claiming that Nixon got involved in the cover-up within days of the June 1972 burglary at the Democratic National Committee.

Special Investigator John Dean also asserted that Watergate was just part of a years-long program of political espionage directed by Nixon's White House.

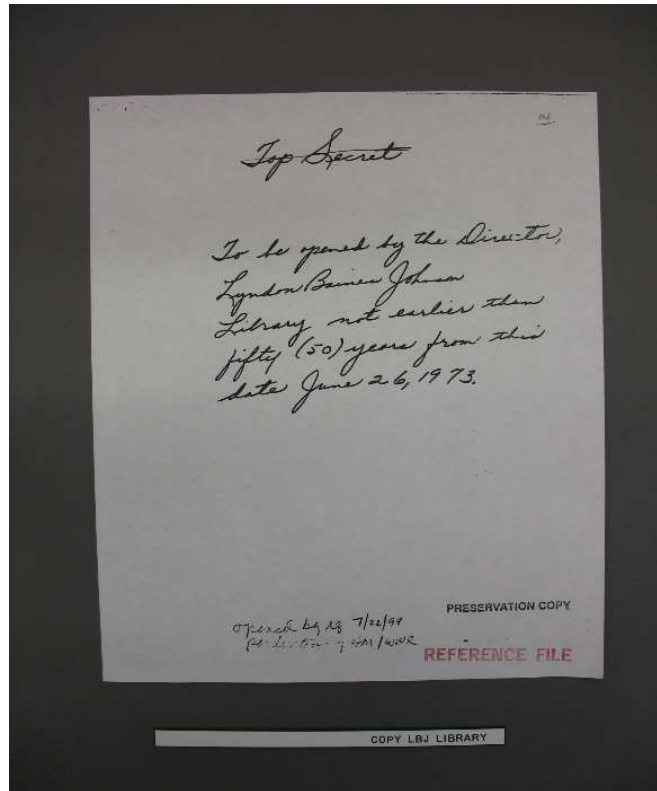
The very next day, as headlines of Dean's testimony filled the nation's newspapers, Rostow reached his conclusion about what to do with "The 'X' Envelope." In longhand, he wrote a "Top Secret" note which read, "To be opened by the Director, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, not earlier than fifty (50) years from this date June 26, 1973." (see copy on next page)

Ultimately, however, the LBJ Library didn't wait that long. After a little more than two decades, on July 22, 1994, the envelope was opened and the archivists began the process of declassifying the contents.

Since the audiotapes from many of Johnson's phone conversations have also been declassified, it is now possible to overlay the information that Johnson had from the FBI wiretaps upon his conversations with Nixon and other principals and thus get a fuller sense of the high-stakes

Yet, Rostow's delay in releasing "The 'X' Envelope" had other political consequences. Since the full scope of Nixon's political intelligence operations was not understood in 1973-74, Washington's conventional wisdom adopted the mistaken lesson that "the cover-up is worse than the crime."

What wasn't understood was how deep Nixon's villainy may have gone.



Rostow's Top Secret note on the envelope

THE "RESIGNATION" AND THE "PARON" OF RICHARD NIXON

(Comments BY JEC)

Because of a lot of Political Bullshxx and the fear that someone high up in the White House would get their fingers burned Nixon and his buddies were never taken to task for their part in delaying the Peace Talks On Vietnam and thus possibly delaying the end of the War by 5 years and costing the lives of 21,000 additional American Soldiers. How all of them could ever live with that thought is beyond me.

Please read the below statement very slowly, because it might be hard to understand or ever accept our Government's thoughts on this deliberate "Act of Treason".

This was taken from one of the references in earlier parts of this article and is copied word for word. Please remember when reading this that the reason for the Watergate break-in may have been to retrieve the "X" envelope as explained above in the section entitled "The "X" Envelope.

So...there was never any investigation whatsoever concerning any possible wrongdoing of the Peace Talks in Vietnam. It was Nixon and Johnson's own personal "disagreement". So Nixon was only guilty of the Watergate Break-in...and the rest was forgotten.....

PERHAPS THE MOST PROFOUND STATEMENT OF NIXON'S PRESIDENCY

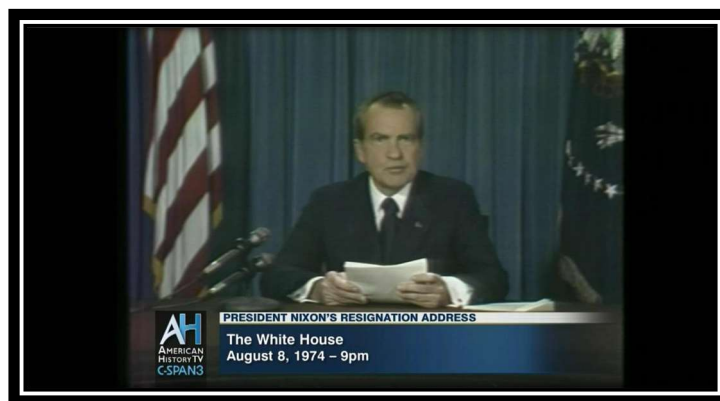
"Memos from White House aides, including Henry Kissinger, warned that any White House investigation into the bombing halt would only cause leaks and potentially embarrass the White House so nothing was ever done."

NIXON RESIGNS

On the evening of August 8, 1974, President Nixon addressed the nation and announced his intention to resign. The next morning, White House Chief of Staff Alexander Haig presented this letter to President Nixon to sign. The President's resignation letter is addressed to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who initialed it at 11:35 a.m.



"I AM NOT A CROOK"



THE RESIGNATION OF PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON

COMMENTS ABOUT THE RESIGNATION

On August 8, 1974, a unique and tragic event in American politics occurred as President Richard M. Nixon spoke on TV to the American public announcing his decision to resign the presidency. Nixon's decision came after the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives voted to recommend his impeachment.

The collapse of support in Congress marked the end of Nixon's two-year battle against news media, government agencies, the Senate and House of Representatives, and the U.S. Supreme Court - all stemming from a break-in that occurred on the night of June 17, 1972, when five burglars entered the Democratic National Committee offices at the Watergate office complex in Washington, D.C.

Subsequent investigations revealed the burglars were agents hired by the Committee for the Re-election of the President. A long chain of events then followed in which the president and top aides became involved in an extensive cover-up of White House-sanctioned illegal activities. The cover-up snowballed and increased the president's troubles as Nixon and White House aides attempted to use the prestige and power of the presidency to hide the truth and thereby obstruct justice.

The Senate then held televised hearings investigating the conduct of White House officials, leading to the resignation of several of Nixon's top aides as they became implicated. The House Judiciary Committee also began an inquiry as to whether Nixon had committed impeachable offenses.

During the Senate investigation, a Nixon aide revealed the President had installed a bugging system in the Oval Office and recorded most conversations on tape. Under intense pressure, Nixon released edited transcripts in the spring of 1974, containing his conversations. The transcripts caused a national sensation, exposing Nixon as a cynical man who frequently used obscene language, in contrast to his carefully tailored public image.

The transcripts also revealed the President was deeply involved in managing the cover-up, sometimes daily. As a result, Nixon lost most of his political support and following further revelations implicating him in more illegal cover-up activities, Nixon chose to resign and avoid the prospect of an impeachment vote by the full Congress. *He thus became the only President ever to resign.*

Vice President Gerald Ford succeeded him on August 9, 1974, and a month later granted Nixon a full pardon for any crimes he might have committed while president.

[NIXON'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION ANNOUNCING HIS RESIGNATION](#)

[SEE THE VIDEO](#)

COPY & PASTE THE BELOW LINK INTO YOUR BROWSER

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lzXL7C0JQDM>



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 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 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 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 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 from 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 the 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 a 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 that 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, and 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 at 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 a new relationship 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, millions of people 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 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 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.

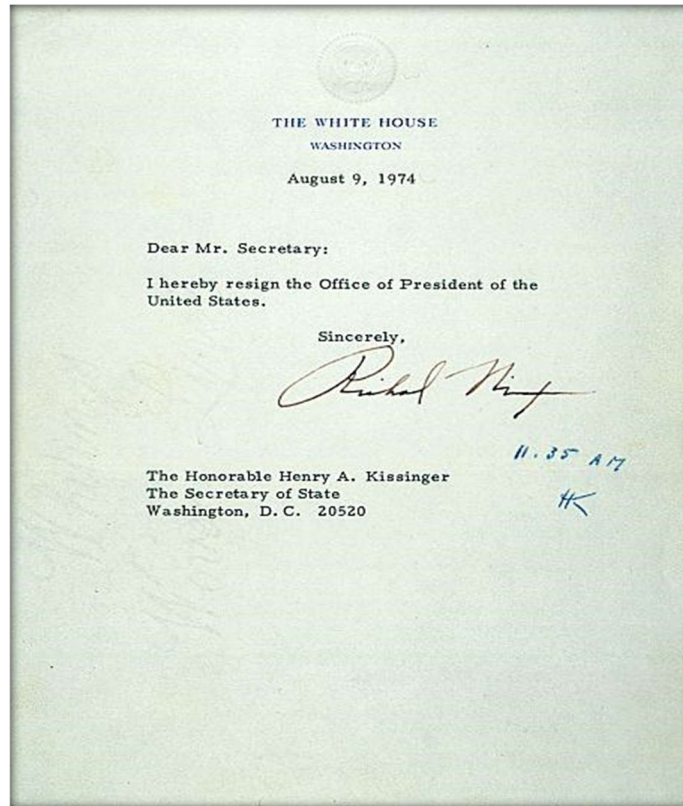
When I first took the oath of office as President 5 1/2 years ago, I made this sacred commitment, to "consecrate my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations."

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 every American. In leaving it, I do so with this prayer: May God's grace be with you.

President Richard Nixon - August 8, 1974



Nixon's resignation letter with Kissinger's initials and time

AFTER THE RESIGNATION

Following his resignation, the Nixons flew to their home La Casa Pacifica in San Clemente, California according to his biographer, Aitken, after his resignation, "Nixon was a soul in torment. Congress had funded Nixon's transition costs, including some salary expenses, by reducing the appropriation from \$850,000 to \$200,000. With some of his staff still with him, Nixon was at his desk by 7 a.m.—with little to do. His former press secretary, Ron Ziegler, sat with him alone for hours each day.

Nixon's resignation had not put an end to the desire among many to see him punished. The Ford White House considered a pardon of Nixon, though it would be unpopular in the country. Nixon, contacted by Ford emissaries, was initially reluctant to accept the pardon, but then agreed to do so. Ford, however, insisted on a statement of contrition; Nixon felt he should not have to issue such a document. Ford eventually agreed, and on September 8, 1974, he granted Nixon a "full, free, and absolute pardon", which ended any possibility of an indictment. Nixon then released the following statement;

"I was wrong in not acting more decisively and more forthrightly in dealing with Watergate, particularly when it reached the stage of judicial proceedings and grew from a political scandal into a national tragedy. No words can describe the depth of my regret and pain at the anguish my mistakes over Watergate have caused the nation and the presidency, a nation I so deeply love, and an institution I so greatly respect"....Richard Nixon

THE FULL TEXT OF RICHARD NIXON'S PARDON BY PRESIDENT GERALD FORD

THIS IS THE FULL TEXT OF PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD'S PROCLAMATION 4311, GRANTING
A FULL PARDON TO RICHARD NIXON

SEPTEMBER 8, 1974



NOTE: The proclamation granted Nixon a pardon for all offenses from January 20, 1969, the day he was first inaugurated as president. In reading the proclamation on national television, Ford inadvertently said 'July 20'. The text of the proclamation takes precedence.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA – A PROCLAMATION

Richard Nixon became the thirty-seventh President of the United States on January 20, 1969, and was reelected in 1972 for a second term by the electors of forty-nine of the fifty states. His term in office continued until his resignation on August 9, 1974.

According to resolutions of the House of Representatives, its Committee on the Judiciary conducted an inquiry and investigation on the impeachment of the President extending over more than eight months. The hearings of the Committee and its deliberations, which received wide national publicity over television, radio, and in printed media, resulted in votes adverse to Richard Nixon on recommended Articles of Impeachment.

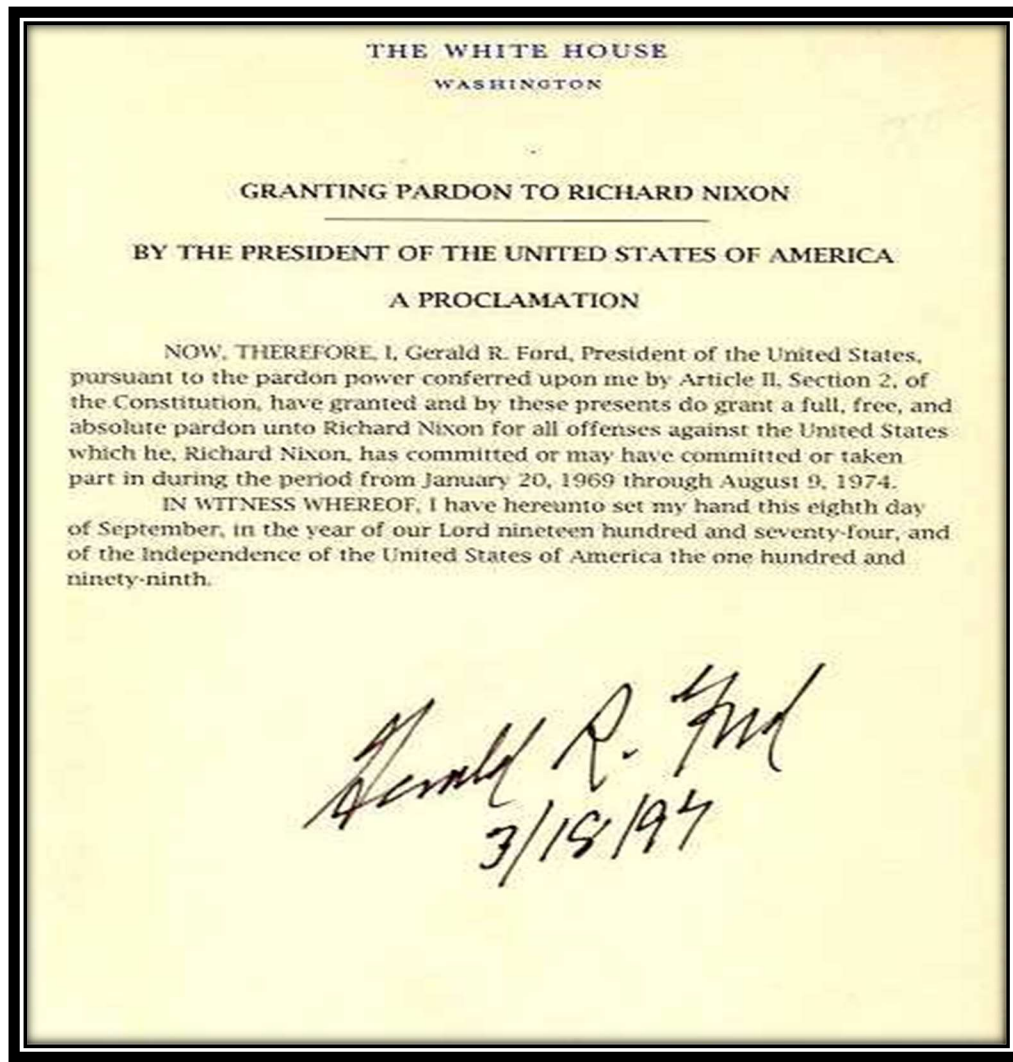
As a result of certain acts or omissions occurring before he resigned from the Office of President, Richard Nixon has become liable to possible indictment and trial for offenses against the United States. Whether or not he shall be so prosecuted depends on the findings of the appropriate grand jury and the discretion of the authorized prosecutor. Should an indictment ensue, the accused shall then be entitled to a fair trial by an impartial jury, as guaranteed to every individual by the Constitution.

It is believed that a trial of Richard Nixon if it became necessary, could not fairly begin until a year or more has elapsed. In the meantime, the tranquility to which this nation has been restored by the events of recent weeks could be irreparably lost by the prospects of bringing to trial a former President of the United States. The prospects of such a trial will cause prolonged and divisive debate over the propriety of exposing to further punishment and degradation a man who has already paid the unprecedented penalty of relinquishing the highest elective office in the United States.

Now, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States, according 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 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.

GERALD R. FORD



The Actual Pardon

COMMENTS

After a two-year battle against the news media, government agencies, the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, and the U.S. Supreme Court, Nixon wound up resigning amid the likelihood that he would not survive a full impeachment vote in Congress.

President Ford's subsequent decision to pardon Nixon eliminated the possibility of a humiliated private citizen Nixon going on trial. The decision to pardon Nixon also likely ended Ford's chances for re-election to the presidency in 1976.

Both the decision and its timing came under severe criticism. The pardon was announced by Ford on a Sunday morning, taking advantage of an off-beat time for Washington newsmakers in an attempt to minimize the initial political fallout.

It was a vain attempt; however, as the decision caused a firestorm of anger in the press and indignation among those who wanted to see Nixon go on trial and possibly to jail.

But among others, the decision evoked sympathy for Nixon, the only President ever to resign. Many saw Nixon as a victim of political infighting in Washington and considered much of Nixon's behavior to be no worse than that of his predecessors in the Oval Office.

The result was a further polarization of a nation already traumatized by the events surrounding Watergate.

Years later, Nixon made somewhat of a comeback, writing books and granting TV interviews commenting on Watergate and international politics.

By contrast, Gerald Ford was destined to obscurity after losing the 1976 election to Jimmy Carter.

PRESIDENT FORD'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION ABOUT GRANTING NIXON'S PARDON

SUNDAY MORNING - SEPTEMBER 8, 1974

[SEE THE VIDEO OF ADDRESS BELOW](#)

CUT & PASTE THE FOLLOWING LINK INTO YOUR BROWSER

https://video.search.yahoo.com/yhs/search;_ylt=A0LEVjmMuuFYRmkAC00PxQt.?p=Ford+pardons+Nixon+Speech&fr=ush-mailn_02&fr2=piv-web&hspart=att&hsimp=yhs-att_001&type=yahoo_pc_mail#id=26&vid=28187d5bbf36535ab1c43485b21dc54c&action=view



Ladies & Gentlemen

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

I have learned already in this office that 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 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. I have sought such guidance and searched my 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.

Theirs 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.

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 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. 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 be more inconclusive concerning 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 sympathy as a longtime 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 convictions and my 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 tranquility but to use every means that I have to ensure 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, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference. I do believe, with all my heart 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, under 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.

President Gerald R. Ford - September 8, 1974.

NIXON'S STATEMENT CONCERNING HIS PARDON

I have been informed that President Ford has granted me a full and absolute pardon for any charges that might be brought against me for actions taken during the time I was president of the United States. In accepting this pardon, I hope that his compassionate act will contribute to lifting the burden of Watergate from our country.

Here in California, my perspective on Watergate is quite different than it was while I was embattled during the controversy, and while I was still subject to the unrelenting daily demands of the presidency itself.

Looking back on what is still in my mind a complex and confusing maze of events, decisions, pressures, and personalities, one thing I can see now is that I was wrong in not acting more decisively and more forthrightly in dealing with Watergate, particularly when it reached the stage of judicial proceedings and grew from a political scandal into a national tragedy.

No words can describe the depths of my regret and pain at the anguish my mistakes over Watergate have caused the nation and the presidency – a nation I so deeply love and an institution I so greatly respect.

I know many fair-minded people believe that my motivations and actions in the Watergate affair were intentionally self-serving and illegal. I now understand how my own mistakes and misjudgments have contributed to that belief and seemed to support it. This burden is the heaviest one of all to bear.

That the way I tried to deal with Watergate was the wrong way is a burden I shall bear for every day of my life that is left to me.

NIXON'S ILLNESS

In October 1974, Nixon fell ill with phlebitis, the inflammation of the walls of a vein. Told by his doctors that he could either be operated on or die, a reluctant Nixon chose surgery, and President Ford visited him in the hospital. Nixon was under subpoena for the trial of three of his former aides—Dean, Haldeman, and John Ehrlichman—and The Washington Post, disbelieving his illness, printed a cartoon showing Nixon with a cast on the "wrong foot". Judge John Sirica excused Nixon's presence despite the defendants' objections Congress instructed Ford to retain Nixon's presidential papers—beginning a three-decade legal battle over the documents that was eventually won by the former president and his estate.

Nixon was in the hospital when the 1974 midterm elections were held, and Watergate and the pardon were contributing factors to the Republican loss of 43 seats in the House and three in the Senate.

NIXONS' DEATH AND FUNERAL

Nixon suffered a severe stroke on April 18, 1994, while preparing to eat dinner in his Park Ridge, New Jersey home. A blood clot resulting from the atrial fibrillation he had suffered for many years had formed in his upper heart, broken off, and traveled to his brain. He was taken to New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center in Manhattan, initially alert but unable to speak or move his right arm or leg. Damage to the brain caused swelling (cerebral edema), and Nixon slipped into a deep coma. He died at 9:08 p.m. on April 22, 1994, with his daughters at his bedside. He was 81 years old.



Nixon's funeral took place on April 27, 1994, in Yorba Linda, California. Eulogists at the Nixon Library ceremony included President Bill Clinton, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, California Governor Pete Wilson, and the Reverend Billy Graham. Also in attendance were former Presidents Ford, Carter, Reagan, George H. W. Bush, and their wives.



In keeping with his wishes, his funeral was not a full state funeral, though his body did lie in repose in the Nixon Library lobby from April 26 to the morning of the funeral service. Mourners waited in line for up to eight hours in chilly, wet weather to pay their respects. At its peak, the line to pass by Nixon's casket was three miles long with an estimated 42,000 people waiting to pay their respects.



Richard Nixon is buried beside his wife Pat on the grounds of the Nixon Library. He was survived by his two daughters, Tricia and Julie, and four grandchildren.

**AN EDITORIAL WRITTEN ON NOVEMBER 2, 2016 CRITICIZING THE NEW YORK TIMES
FOR WHITEWASHING WHAT HAD HAPPENED**

SUBJECT

A SHORT DETAILED SUMMARY OF THE FACTS – WRITTEN BY GREG GRANDIN (see below)

**HOW THE 'NEW YORK TIMES WHITEWASHED THE 1968 OCTOBER SURPRISE
AND WHY IT STILL MATTERS**

Greg Grandin (born 1962) is a professor of history at New York University. He is the author of several books, including *Fordlândia: The Rise and Fall of Henry Ford's Forgotten Jungle City*, which was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for History, as well as for the National Book Award and a National Book Critics Circle Award.



Richard Nixon, left, meets with Henry Kissinger to discuss negotiations following the Paris Peace Accords, Washington, DC, and June 11, 1973

Ever since Nixon and Kissinger undermined the Vietnam peace talks to win that election, politicians have used militarism abroad to defeat domestic opponents.

This week, The New York Times, in an overview of October surprises past, whitewashed the crime that helped put Richard Nixon in the White House. It described that year's "surprise" as President Lyndon Johnson's October 31 announcement of a halt in the bombing of North Vietnam, as part of talks that promised to end the war.

That announcement wasn't a "surprise"—that is, a Machiavellian intervention designed for immediate political ends—but rather the culmination of long and hard secret talks between Hanoi and Washington in Paris, whereby Johnson, grudgingly, came to realize the United States couldn't win its war. The real "surprise" came a few days later.

Announcement of a deal by Washington, Saigon, and Hanoi might have pushed Democratic nominee Hubert Humphrey, who was closing in on Nixon in the polls, over the top. But there would be no deal: The South Vietnamese scuttled the settlement, after hearing from Nixon's campaign (which was acting on intelligence passed to it from Henry Kissinger) that they could get better terms *from* a Republican administration: **THEY SAY SAIGON COULD NOT JOIN PARIS TALKS UNDER THE PRESENT PLAN**, ran the above-the-fold headline of the November 2 New York Times. Later that day, Nixon, campaigning in Austin, Texas, said, "Because of early reports this morning, prospects for peace are not as bright as they were even a few days ago."

Nixon's people had acted fast. Using Kissinger's intelligence and working through Anna Chennault (the Chinese-born widow of World War II Lieut. Gen. Claire Lee Chennault, she had become a prominent conservative activist), they urged the South Vietnamese to derail the talks, promising better conditions if Nixon were to be elected. President Johnson was informed of the meddling—through wiretaps and intercepts, he learned that Nixon's campaign was telling the South Vietnamese that he was going to win and "to hold on a while longer." If the White House had gone public with the information, the outrage might have swung the election to Humphrey. But Johnson hesitated; fearing that "Nixon's conniving" was just too explosive. "This is treason," he said. "It would rock the world." Johnson stayed silent, Nixon won, and the war went on.

On May 14, 1973, just after Johnson's death, Walt Rostow, Johnson's national security adviser, deposited the so-called "bombing halt" file (the "X" letter) in the LBJ Presidential Library in Austin, Texas. He appended a note that, in part, read: "*The attached file contains the information available to me and (I believe) the bulk of the information available to President Johnson on the activities of Mrs. Chennault and other Republicans just before the presidential election of 1968.*" Rostow wanted the file to remain classified indefinitely.

"After fifty years the Director of the LBJ Library...may, alone, open this file.... If he believes the material it contains should not be opened for research [at that time], I would wish him empowered to re-close the file for another fifty years when the procedure outlined above should be repeated."

Rostow's instructions notwithstanding, the LBJ Library began declassifying the file in 1994. Despite renewed attention to the Watergate break-in on its 40th anniversary, scholars and reporters—aside from Ken Hughes, in his recent *Chasing Shadows: The Nixon Tapes*, the Chennault Affair, and the Origins of Watergate, and journalist Robert Parry—*have ignored its contents*.

Understanding the true nature of 1968's October Surprise—that is, the one the Times didn't feel was fit to mention—is key to understanding much of what came next: Having derailed the best chance to end the war, Nixon and Kissinger had to figure out a way to force Hanoi back to the negotiating table.

So they began to bomb Cambodia, hoping it would force North Vietnam's hand. But the bombing was illegal, so it had to be done in secret. Pressure to keep it secret spread paranoia within the administration about leaks to the press—especially after Daniel Ellsberg released the Pentagon Papers—leading to a series of covert actions resulting in the Watergate scandal and Nixon's downfall. The war, meanwhile, dragged on pointlessly for years, before finally ending on terms that were pretty much exactly like those on the table in 1968, *after costing hundreds of thousands more deaths and the destruction of Cambodia. Some surprise*

Politicians have been wagging the dog—subordinating foreign policy to domestic politics—at least since Gen. Andrew Jackson invaded Spanish Florida in 1817 as part of a successful bid to assert slaveholder power over the national government. FDR, JFK, and of course, LBJ all used militarism to best domestic opponents.

But 1968 marked a fundamental sea change, with extreme political division at home changing the relationship of the domestic to the foreign.

The more the Vietnam War—prolonged by Nixon and Kissinger’s maneuverings—polarized American society, giving rise to a growing grassroots conservative movement that would eventually coalesce behind Ronald Reagan—the more war, or at least the drumbeat of war, was needed to leverage that polarization to political advantage.

Grenada, Panama, the 1986 bombing of Libya, the first Gulf War, Bosnia, and so on revealed more about domestic politics—especially the need to, if not overcome then at least manage domestic divisions, anti-militarism, and dissent—than they did about global US interests. However self-aware and instrumental such a leveraging of militarism for domestic political gain is, it can only go on so long—Bill Clinton bombed Baghdad, killing civilians, to check his political opponents, who at that moment were trying to impeach him over his sex scandals—before reality itself becomes distorted.



The Nixon's' in happier times. She was admired by all

DISCLAIMER

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