

his predecessor by stating his belief that "truth is the glue that holds Government together." Ford acknowledged that that bond was "stained," both at home and abroad, and described the internal wounds of Watergate as "more painful and more poisonous than those of foreign wars." At the same time, Ford urged that Americans pray for Nixon and his family. His voice broke and his eyes clouded as he said: "May our former President, who brought peace to millions, find it for himself."

As Ford concluded, there was an almost tangible lifting of spirits in the East Room and across the nation. From the Congress that had repudiated Richard Nixon, there was almost universal acclaim. "It will undoubtedly bring the country together," said Senate G.O.P. Leader Hugh Scott. "It was magnificent." Agreed Mike Mansfield: "It was superb. He hit all the right notes. It was authentic Jerry Ford."

A Call from General Haig

The week that was to elevate Ford to the presidency began rather routinely for him. Monday morning he addressed the Disabled American Veterans in New Orleans. As he flew back to Washington in his 1954 Convair turboprop, he received a call from White House Chief of Staff General Alexander Haig. For the first time, Ford learned that tapes soon to be delivered to Judge John J. Sirica contained statements by Nixon that directly implicated the President in the Watergate cover-up. At that moment, Gerald Ford must have become aware that his accession to the presidency had suddenly become nearly certain. Aboard the Convair, he drafted a statement to the effect that "the public interest is no longer

served" by his continuing to speak out on impeachment.

That evening, while having dinner with his family at their Alexandria, Va., home, Ford was notified that Nixon had called a Cabinet meeting for 10 a.m. Tuesday. But that morning Ford was able to attend a previously scheduled breakfast with eight young G.O.P. members of the House to discuss their concern about Nixon's economic policies. When the conversation briefly touched on the impeachment crisis, one Congressman reported, Ford gave the "distinct impression" that he was prepared to assume the presidency.

After the Cabinet meeting, Ford rushed to a luncheon meeting of the Senate Republican policy group. For the remainder of the day, as pressures for the President's resignation grew within the G.O.P., Ford carried on with his routine duties. He met with a group of Japanese legislators, then with officials of the National Association of Home Builders, and gave two long-scheduled interviews, one to Syndicated Society Columnist Betty Beale.

Ford's manner, however, had become anything but routine. Usually voluble with reporters, he refused to comment about Nixon's resignation or his political future.

On Wednesday, Ford again went through the motions of performing his vice-presidential duties, including a session with Navy Secretary J. William Middendorf and Admiral James Holloway. They presented him with a picture of the U.S.S. Monterey, on which he served during World War II. Interspersed with the routine were an urgent meeting and phone calls with Haig. Ford's staff members had been instructed to say nothing about the crisis, but some began to talk more openly about Nixon's resignation. "From any rational evaluation, it is bound to come," said a senior aide. Ford knew it too.

Ford: "Our Nightmare Is Over"

Excerpts from the President's inaugural address last Friday:

Mr. Chief Justice, my dear friends, my fellow Americans.

The oath that I have taken is the same oath that was taken by George Washington and by every President under the Constitution. But I assume the presidency under extraordinary circumstances, never before experienced by Americans. This is an hour of history that troubles our minds and hurts our hearts.

Therefore I feel it is my first duty to make an unprecedented compact with my countrymen. Not an inaugural address, not a fireside chat, not a campaign speech. Just a little straight talk among friends. And I intend it to be the first of many.

I am acutely aware that you have not elected me as your President by your ballots. So I ask you to confirm me as your President with your prayers. And I hope that such prayers will also be the first of many. If you have not chosen me by secret ballot, neither have I gained office by any secret promises. I have not campaigned either for the presidency or the vice presidency. I have not subscribed to any partisan platform. I am indebted to no man, and only to one woman—my dear wife—as I begin this very difficult job.

I have not sought this enormous responsibility, but I will not shirk it. Those

who nominated me and confirmed me as Vice President were my friends and are my friends. They were of both parties, elected by all the people, and acting under the Constitution in their name. It is only fitting then that I should pledge to them and to you that I will be the President of all the people. Even though this is late in an election year, there is no way we can go forward except together, and no way anybody can win except by serving the people's urgent needs. We cannot stand still or slip backwards. We must go forward, now, together.

To the peoples and the governments of all friendly nations, and I hope that could encompass the whole world, I pledge an uninterrupted and sincere search for peace. America will remain strong and united, but its strength will remain dedicated to the safety and sanity of the entire family of man, as well as to our own precious freedom.

I believe that truth is the glue that holds government together, not only our Government but civilization itself. That bond, though stained, is unbroken at home and abroad.

In all my public and private acts as your President, I expect to follow my instincts of openness and candor with full confidence that honesty is always the best policy in the end.

My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over.

Our Constitution works; our great

Republic is a Government of laws and not of men. Here the people rule. But there is a higher power, by whatever name we honor Him, who ordains not only righteousness but love, not only justice but mercy.

As we bind up the internal wounds of Watergate, more painful and more poisonous than those of foreign wars, let us restore the golden rule to our political process, and let brotherly love purge our hearts of suspicion and of hate.

In the beginning I asked you to pray for me. Before closing I again ask your prayers for Richard Nixon and for his family. May our former President, who brought peace to millions, find it for himself. May God bless and comfort his wonderful wife and daughters whose love and loyalty will forever be a shining legacy to all who bear the lonely burdens of the White House.

I can only guess at those burdens, although I have witnessed at close hand the tragedies that befell three Presidents and the lesser trials of others.

With all the strength and all the good sense I have gained from life, with all the confidence of my family, my friends and my dedicated staff impart to me, and with the good will of countless Americans I have encountered in recent visits to 40 states, I now solemnly reaffirm my promise I made to you last Dec. 6: to uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best I can for America.

God helping me, I will not let you down.

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