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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

The Honorable William L. Hungate
Chairman, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice
Committee on the Judiciary
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter follows your two letters to me of September 17, 1974, one of September 18, 1974, and one of September 25, 1974. These letters referred to resolutions of inquiry, H. Res. 1367 and H. Res. 1370. With your September 18 letter you furnished copies of the respective resolutions.

This letter also follows my letters to you of September 20, 1974, and September 23, 1974, the first of which was accompanied by enclosures of the following:

- (i) Text of the proclamation by me granting pardon to Richard Nixon issued September 8, 1974;
- (ii) Transcript of my televised message to the American people on the same day;
- (iii) Transcript of my news conference on September 16, 1974;
- (iv) Additional background information provided at White House briefings on September 8 and 10.

By your letter of September 25, 1974, you seek a separately stated response to each inquiry in the two resolutions.

My position remains as I have stated publicly in my words to the Nation, of which you have exact copies. It was in no way my intent to be



less than serious in my initial replies to your letters, but to show that the information already available did give a much more complete account of the circumstances surrounding the pardon than the resolutions implied and that it covered the controlling factors.

If, as indicated by the resolutions before you, my proclamation for pardon of the former President has not immediately had its intended effect to allow this Nation to concentrate on its urgent present problems, I make this further response in the earnest hope of overcoming those concerns which are still directed toward past events. I do so as an extraordinary measure and without prejudice in other circumstances to reliance on rights granted or inuring to the President of the United States under our Constitution and to the full protection of such rights, not only for myself while in this Office but for all future Presidents.

Further response to H. Res. 1367

"1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowledge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were these charges?"

The only information I had which is in any way related to these questions has been disclosed through release on September 10, 1974, of copies of the enclosed memorandum of September 3, 1974, prepared by Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski by Henry Ruth of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force.* So far as I know, no representative of mine had any related information beyond what appears in such memorandum.

* See Tab A



"2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representatives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4, 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes, transcriptions or notes."

I have no knowledge of the matters covered by these questions except as stated in my response below to question 4(a) and as I have read the following in Time magazine of September 30, 1974, at page 31:

"There was every idea imaginable around," he [Alexander M. Haig, Jr.] declared, "including the idea that Nixon should pardon himself and everybody else." There were only two options seriously considered. The first was to resign unconditionally, as he did, or see it through and let the system work to the end. He knew the outcome. He felt an obligation to the country."

The time referred to was just after the nature of transcripts, which became public on August 5, 1974, first became known at the end of July 1974, to Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and others within the White House.

"3. When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first referred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representatives of Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides, including the period when you were a Member of Congress or Vice President?"

While I was a member of Congress, the possibility of a pardon for Mr. Nixon was not ever a subject of discussion with Richard M. Nixon or any of his representatives. While I was the Vice President, the possibility of a pardon for Mr. Nixon was not ever a subject of discussion with Richard M. Nixon or any of his representatives except on



August 1 and 2, 1974, as related in the response below. Further, to the best of my knowledge, no representative or aide of mine had any discussions with Mr. Nixon or his representatives on the subject of a possible pardon for him until September 1974.

"4(a). Who participated in these...discussions or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and locations?"

On August 1, 1974, at my Vice Presidential office, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., reported to me about developments and suggestions that were current within the White House staff. On August 2, 1974, I discussed some of this information with James St. Clair, at my office. Later the same day, I called General Haig at his office to tell him that I was opposed to any consideration by Mr. Nixon, or by anyone advising him, of a pardon or any promise of a pardon as a precondition or inducement for his resignation; and General Haig was in full agreement with this position. At no time was I asked for, nor did I make, a promise of a pardon or give any assurance, express or implied, on the subject of pardon if I should become President.

"4(b). Who participated in...subsequent discussions or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and locations?"

After I became the President, the only discussions by me or on my behalf with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives about a possible pardon for him, which I know about, took place starting September 4, 1974.



Counsel to the President Philip W. Buchen met with Herbert J. Miller, Counsel for Richard M. Nixon, on the morning of that day and again on the morning of September 5, 1974, both times in Washington, D. C. The only other participant in those discussions was Benton Becker. He had been asked by Mr. Buchen starting August 31, 1974, to assist him as a lawyer in researching for answers to legal questions relating to a possible pardon for Richard M. Nixon and otherwise to assist on matters related to the Nixon papers and tape recordings. Other discussions occurred enroute to California and at San Clemente, California, during the evening of September 5, 1974, and on September 6, 1974. They were partly between Mr. Becker and Mr. Miller, who flew together to California, and partly between them and Mr. Nixon or his aide, Ronald Ziegler, or both, although these discussions related predominantly to unresolved matters of the Nixon papers and tape recordings.

"5. Did you consult with Attorney General William Saxbe or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities did they give to you?"

I did not consult with either Attorney General Saxbe or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski on any steps leading to my decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon, but consultations were carried on at my direction by Counsel to the President, Philip W. Buchen. In regard to the Attorney General, my directions to Mr. Buchen were to request on my behalf from the Attorney General a legal opinion only on the ownership of Nixon papers and tape recordings and on the effects upon my administration



of court orders and subpoenas in respect of such materials. This direction and request occurred on or about August 22, 1974, but the final draft of the opinion, which was confined to the points mentioned and did not relate to the pardon, was not received until the first week of September.* In regard to Special Prosecutor Jaworski, my directions to Mr. Buchen and his requests on my behalf to Mr. Jaworski were limited to questions which brought the responses quoted by Mr. Buchen at pages 3-4 of the transcript, already furnished you, of September 8, 1974, press briefing and described at pages 1-2 of the September 10, 1974, press briefing, already furnished you.** No other facts or legal authorities were given me by either of the men in question.

"6. Did you consult with the Vice Presidential nominee, Nelson Rockefeller, before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities did he give to you?"

Mr. Rockefeller gave me no facts or legal authorities on the pardon subject. However, I advised him on September 6, 1974, of my pending decision to issue a pardon for Mr. Nixon, but I did not seek or receive his advice on the subject.

"7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or professors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they give to you?"

I consulted with no attorneys or professors of law other than Philip W. Buchen and Benton Becker. However, John O. Marsh, Counsellor

* See Tab B

** See Tab C



to the President, is also an attorney, and I did have discussions with him but not solely on legal questions.

"8. Did you or your representatives ask Richard M. Nixon to make a confession or statement of criminal guilt, and, if so, what language was suggested or requested by you, your representatives, Mr. Nixon, or his representatives? Was any statement of any kind requested from Mr. Nixon in exchange for the pardon, and, if so please provide the suggested or requested language."

X No confession or statement of criminal guilt was asked of Richard M. Nixon by me or my representatives, but I concurred in what Mr. Buchen did ask of Herbert J. Miller as attorney for Mr. Nixon. Mr. Buchen reported to me that he asked Mr. Miller and received his concurrence that, if a pardon were granted and accepted, the acceptance should include what Mr. Buchen referred to as a "statement of contrition," but no one acting for me to my knowledge suggested or requested the language of such a statement.

"9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon immediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made known to you or your representatives prior to its announcement, and was it approved by you or your representatives?"

X An initial draft statement by Richard M. Nixon was brought back to me by Mr. Becker from California on September 7, 1974, and was made known to me that day, but neither I nor any representative of mine considered that this draft or the final statement as issued was subject to our *advance* approval.



"10. Did you receive any report from a psychiatrist or other physician stating that Richard M. Nixon was in other than good health? If so, please provide such reports."

I received no psychiatrist's or other physician's report of any examination of the condition of Mr. Nixon's health, except as explained below in response to ^{paragraph} ~~inquiry~~ (2) of H. Res. 1370.

Further response to H. Res. 1370

To the extent that H. Res. 1370 may appear to call for different information from that given above in answers to the questions of H. Res. 1367, I add the following separate responses.

(1) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon " as to "any representations made by or on behalf of Richard M. Nixon to the President?"

No representations were made by or on behalf of Richard M. Nixon to me that provided any information or facts upon which I based my decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon.

(2) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which, was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any information or facts presented to the President with respect to the mental or physical health of Richard M. Nixon?"

Information or facts I had with respect to the mental or physical health of Richard M. Nixon were dealt with at pages 3 and 4 of the transcript of my news conference on September 16, 1974, copy of which has been furnished to you.* The reports I have had from Dr. Lukash, which

* See Tab D



I mentioned at the press conference, came after my pardon decision and are not relevant to the inquiry. Observations came to me from Benton Becker concerning Mr. Nixon's appearance and conversations on September 6, 1974, but these, like similar observations coming to me over a period prior to then, were not those of persons qualified to evaluate medically the condition of Mr. Nixon's health and, therefore, also were not a controlling factor in my decision. However, I did believe and still do, that a ~~prolonged~~ ^{delayed} prosecution ^{and prolonged trial} of the former President would be a threat to his health, as I stated in my message on September 8, 1974.

(3) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any information in possession or control of the President with respect to the offenses which were allegedly committed by Richard M. Nixon and for which a pardon was granted?"

The only special information in my possession or control bearing on alleged or possible offenses covered by the pardon of Richard M. Nixon was the information provided in the memorandum of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force dated September 3, 1974, copy of which is enclosed.* The balance of my information involves the transcripts of Presidential conversations made public August 5, 1974, matters reported from the inquiry and investigation of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives on the impeachment resolutions against former President Nixon, and the publicly disclosed intent of the Watergate

* See Tab A



Grand Jury to have found probable cause for naming him earlier as an unindicted co-conspirator.

(4) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any representations made by or on behalf of the President to Richard M. Nixon in connection with a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States?"

No representations were made by or on my behalf to Richard M. Nixon or his representatives in connection with a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States.

(5) What are "the full and complete information and facts in [the President's] possession or control and relating to any pardon which may be granted to any person who is or may be charged or convicted of any offense against the United States within the prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force?"

There are no information and facts in my possession or control relating to any possible pardon for any person in the category, except that a letter requesting a pardon has been sent to me in behalf of Charles W. Colson by his attorney and a reply has been sent to such attorney by Counsel to the President as follows:

"Your September sixteenth letter requesting executive clemency for Charles W. Colson has been received.

"The President has decided that all applications for executive clemency should be submitted through the appropriate procedures of the Department of Justice. You might want to communicate directly with that Department."



I have made no offer or assurance of pardon to any person convicted of an offense within the prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force or to anyone who is charged or may yet be charged with such an offense.

I believe the foregoing provides you with the full information called for by the resolutions submitted and, together with previously supplied documents, covers the entire subject of my decision to grant a pardon to former President Nixon. I have responded freely and fully, because I am convinced it is in the national interest at this time, despite my reservations about inquiries which could have the effect of infringing upon the Constitutional principle of separation of powers. Therefore, I am sure you will understand why I must respectfully decline your request for the appearance of a witness to testify on questions which I have already answered.

Sincerely,



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1974

The Honorable William L. Hungate
Chairman, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice
Committee on the Judiciary
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter follows your two letters to me of September 17, 1974, one of September 18, 1974, and one of September 25, 1974. These letters referred to resolutions of inquiry, H. Res. 1367 and H. Res. 1370. With your September 18 letter you furnished copies of the respective resolutions.

This letter also follows my letters to you of September 20, 1974, and September 23, 1974, the first of which was accompanied by enclosures of the following:

- (i) Text of the proclamation by me granting pardon to Richard Nixon issued September 8, 1974;
- (ii) Transcript of my televised message to the American people on the same day;
- (iii) Transcript of my news conference on September 16, 1974;
- (iv) Additional background information provided at White House briefings on September 8 and 10.

By your letter of September 25, 1974, you seek a separately stated response to each inquiry in the two resolutions.

My position remains as I have stated publicly in my words to the Nation, of which you have exact copies. It was in no way my intent to be



less than serious in my initial replies to your letters, but to show that the information already available did give a much more complete account of the circumstances surrounding the pardon than the resolutions implied and that it covered the controlling factors.

If, as indicated by the resolutions before you, my proclamation for pardon of the former President has not immediately had its intended effect to allow this Nation to concentrate on its urgent present problems, I make this further response in the earnest hope of overcoming those concerns which are still directed toward past events. I do so as an extraordinary measure and without prejudice in other circumstances to reliance on rights granted or inuring to the President of the United States under our Constitution and to the full protection of such rights, not only for myself while in this Office but for all future Presidents.

Further response to H. Res. 1367

"1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowledge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were these charges?"

The only information I had which is in any way related to these questions has been disclosed through release on September 10, 1974, of copies of the enclosed memorandum of September 3, 1974, prepared ^{for} by Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski by Henry Ruth of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force.* So far as I know, no representative of mine had any related information beyond what appears in such memorandum.

* See Tab A. The further memorandum mentioned in the 1st sentence of Tab A was not furnished to me or my representatives.



"2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representatives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4, 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes, transcriptions or notes."

I have no knowledge of the matters covered by these questions except as stated in my response below to question 4(a) and as I have read the following in Time magazine of September 30, 1974, at page 31:

"There was every idea imaginable around," he [Alexander M. Haig, Jr.] declared, "including the idea that Nixon should pardon himself and everybody else." There were only two options seriously considered. The first was to resign unconditionally, as he did, or see it through and let the system work to the end. He knew the outcome. He felt an obligation to the country."

late July and early August of 1974. When information made
The time referred to was ~~just after the nature of transcripts, which became public on August 5, 1974, first became known at the end of July 1974, to Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and others within the White House.~~

"3. When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first referred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representatives of Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides, including the period when you were a Member of Congress or Vice President?"

While I was a member of Congress, the possibility of a pardon for Mr. Nixon was not ever a subject of discussion with Richard M. Nixon or any of his representatives. While I was the Vice President, the possibility of a pardon for Mr. Nixon was not ever a subject of discussion with Richard M. Nixon or any of his representatives except on



August 1 and 2, 1974, as related in the response below. Further, to the best of my knowledge, no representative or aide of mine had any discussions with Mr. Nixon or his representatives on the subject of a possible pardon for him until September 1974.

"4(a). Who participated in these...discussions or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and locations?"

On August 1, 1974, at my Vice Presidential office, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., reported to me about developments and suggestions that were current within the White House staff. On August 2, 1974, I discussed some of this information with James St. Clair, at my office. Later the same day, I called General Haig at his office to tell him that I was opposed to any consideration by Mr. Nixon, or by anyone advising him, of a pardon or any promise of a pardon as a precondition or inducement for his resignation; and General Haig was in full agreement with this position. At no time was I asked for, nor did I make, a promise of a pardon or give any assurance, express or implied, on the subject of pardon if I should become President.

"4(b). Who participated in...subsequent discussions or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and locations?"

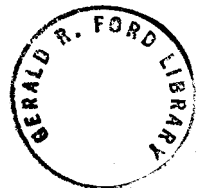
After I became the President, the only discussions by me or on my behalf with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives about a possible pardon for him, which I know about, took place starting September 4, 1974.



Counsel to the President,
~~Counsel to the President~~ Philip W. Buchen met with Herbert J. Miller, Counsel for Richard M. Nixon, on the morning of that day and again on the morning of September 5, 1974, both times in Washington, D. C. The only other participant in those discussions was Benton Becker. He had been asked by Mr. Buchen starting August 31, 1974, to assist him as a lawyer in researching for answers to legal questions relating to a possible pardon for Richard M. Nixon and otherwise to assist on matters related to the Nixon papers and tape recordings. Other discussions occurred enroute to California and at San Clemente, California, during the evening of September 5, 1974, and on September 6, 1974. They were partly between Mr. Becker and Mr. Miller, who flew together to California, and partly between them and Mr. Nixon or his aide, Ronald Ziegler, or both, although these discussions related predominantly to unresolved matters of the Nixon papers and tape recordings.

"5. Did you consult with Attorney General William Saxbe or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities did they give to you?"

X I did not consult with either Attorney General Saxbe or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski on any steps leading to my decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon, but consultations were carried on at my direction by *Philip W. Buchen,* Counsel to the President, ~~Philip W. Buchen~~. In regard to the Attorney General, my directions to Mr. Buchen were to request on my behalf from the Attorney General a legal opinion only on the ownership of Nixon papers and tape recordings and on the effects upon my administration



of court orders and subpoenas in respect of such materials. This direction and request occurred on or about August 22, 1974, but the final draft of the opinion, which was confined to the points mentioned and did not relate to the pardon, was not received until the first week of September.* In regard to Special Prosecutor Jaworski, my directions to Mr. Buchen and his requests on my behalf to Mr. Jaworski were limited to questions which brought the responses quoted by Mr. Buchen at pages 3-4 of the transcript, already furnished you, of ^{the} September 8, 1974, press briefing and described at pages 1-2 of the September 10, 1974, press briefing, already furnished you.** No other facts or legal authorities were given me by either of the men in question.

"6. Did you consult with the Vice Presidential nominee, Nelson Rockefeller, before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities did he give to you?"

Mr. Rockefeller gave me no facts or legal authorities on the pardon subject. However, I advised him on September 6, 1974, of my pending decision to issue a pardon for Mr. Nixon, but I did not seek or receive his advice on the subject.

"7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or professors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they give to you?"

I consulted with no attorneys or professors of law other than Philip W. Buchen and Benton Becker. However, John O. Marsh, Counsellor

* See Tab B

** See Tab C



X to the President, is also an attorney, and I did have discussions with him, ~~but not solely on legal questions.~~

"8. Did you or your representatives ask Richard M. Nixon to make a confession or statement of criminal guilt, and, if so, what language was suggested or requested by you, your representatives, Mr. Nixon, or his representatives? Was any statement of any kind requested from Mr. Nixon in exchange for the pardon, and, if so please provide the suggested or requested language."

X No confession or statement of criminal guilt was asked of Richard M. Nixon by me or my representatives, but I concurred in what Mr. Buchen did ask of Herbert J. Miller as attorney for Mr. Nixon. Mr. Buchen reported to me that he asked Mr. Miller and received his concurrence that, if a pardon were granted and accepted, the acceptance should include what Mr. Buchen referred to as a "statement of contrition," but no one acting for me to my knowledge suggested or requested the language of such a statement.

"9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon immediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made known to you or your representatives prior to its announcement, and was it approved by you or your representatives?"

✓ An initial draft statement by Richard M. Nixon was brought back to me by Mr. Becker from California on September 7, 1974, and was made known to me that day, but neither I nor any representative of mine considered that this draft or the final statement as issued was subject to our advance approval.



"10. Did you receive any report from a psychiatrist or other physician stating that Richard M. Nixon was in other than good health? If so, please provide such reports."

I received no psychiatrist's or other physician's report of any examination of the condition of Mr. Nixon's health, except as explained below in response to ^{paragraph} ~~inquiry~~ (2) of H. Res. 1370.

Further response to H. Res. 1370

To the extent that H. Res. 1370 may appear to call for different information from that given above in answers to the questions of H. Res. 1367, I add the following separate responses.

(1) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon " as to "any representations made by or on behalf of Richard M. Nixon to the President?"

No representations were made by or on behalf of Richard M. Nixon to me that provided any information or facts upon which I based my decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon.

(2) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which, was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any information or facts presented to the President with respect to the mental or physical health of Richard M. Nixon?"

Information or facts I had with respect to the mental or physical health of Richard M. Nixon were dealt with at pages 3 and 4 of the transcript of my news conference on September 16, 1974, copy of which has been furnished to you.* The reports I have had from Dr. Lukash, which

* See Tab D



I mentioned at the press conference, came after my pardon decision and are not relevant to the inquiry. Observations came to me from Benton Becker concerning Mr. Nixon's appearance and conversations on September 6, 1974, but these, like similar observations coming to me over a period prior to then, were not those of persons qualified to evaluate medically the condition of Mr. Nixon's health and, therefore, also were not a controlling factor in my decision. However, I did believe and still do, that a ~~prolonged~~ ^{delayed} prosecution ^{and prolonged trial} of the former President would be a threat to his health, as I stated in my message on September 8, 1974.

(3) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any information in possession or control of the President with respect to the offenses which were allegedly committed by Richard M. Nixon and for which a pardon was granted?"

The only special information in my possession or control bearing on alleged or possible offenses covered by the pardon of Richard M. Nixon was the information provided in the memorandum of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force dated September 3, 1974, copy of which is enclosed.* The balance of my information involves the transcripts of Presidential conversations made public August 5, 1974, matters reported from the inquiry and investigation of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives on the impeachment resolutions against former President Nixon, and the publicly disclosed intent of the Watergate

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Grand Jury to have found probable cause for naming him earlier as an unindicted co-conspirator.

(4) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any representations made by or on behalf of the President to Richard M. Nixon in connection with a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States?"

No representations were made by or on my behalf to Richard M. Nixon or his representatives in connection with a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States.

(5) What are "the full and complete information and facts in [the President's] possession or control and relating to any pardon which may be granted to any person who is or may be charged or convicted of any offense against the United States within the prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force?"

~~There are no information and facts in my possession or control relating to any possible pardon for any person in the category, except~~
X 12 → that a letter requesting a pardon has been sent to me in behalf of Charles W. Colson by his attorney, and a reply ^{was sent September 19, 1974,} ~~has been sent~~ to such attorney by Counsel to the President as follows:

"Your September sixteenth letter requesting executive clemency for Charles W. Colson has been received.

"The President has decided that all applications for executive clemency should be submitted through the appropriate procedures of the Department of Justice. You might want to communicate directly with that Department."



I know of no other facts or information in my possession or control ^{applicable to the question posed;} ~~I have~~ made ~~no~~ offer or assurance of pardon ^{any} ~~to~~ any person ^{for} convicted of ~~an offense within the prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of~~ ^{I have 2} ~~to which this question relates.~~ Watergate Special Prosecution Force or to anyone who is charged or may yet be charged with such an offense.

I believe the foregoing provides you with the full information called for by the resolutions submitted and, together with previously supplied documents, covers the entire subject of my decision to grant a pardon to former President Nixon. I have responded freely and fully, because I am convinced it is in the national interest at this time, despite my reservations about inquiries which could have the effect of infringing upon the Constitutional principle of separation of powers. Therefore, I am sure you will understand why I must respectfully decline your request for the appearance of a witness to testify on questions which I have already answered.

Sincerely,



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable William L. Hungate
Chairman, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice
Committee on the Judiciary
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter follows your two letters to me of September 17, 1974, one of September 18, 1974, and one of September 25, 1974. These letters referred to resolutions of inquiry, H. Res. 1367 and H. Res. 1370. With your September 18 letter you furnished copies of the respective resolutions.

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less than serious in my initial replies to your letters, but to show that the information already available did give a much more complete account of the circumstances surrounding the pardon than the resolutions implied and that it covered the controlling factors.

If, as indicated by the resolutions before you, my proclamation for pardon of the former President has not immediately had its intended effect to allow this Nation to concentrate on its urgent present problems, I make this further response in the earnest hope of overcoming those concerns which are still directed toward past events. I do so as an extraordinary measure and without prejudice in other circumstances to reliance on rights granted or inuring to the President of the United States under our Constitution and to the full protection of such rights, not only for myself while in this Office but for all future Presidents.

Further response to H. Res. 1367

"1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowledge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were these charges?"

The only information I had which is in any way related to these questions has been disclosed through release on September 10, 1974, of copies of the enclosed memorandum of September 3, 1974, prepared by Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski by Henry Ruth of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force.* So far as I know, no representative of mine had any related information beyond what appears in such memorandum.

* See Tab A



"2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representatives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4, 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes, transcriptions or notes."

I have no knowledge of the matters covered by these questions except as stated in my response below to question 4(a) and as I have read the following in Time magazine of September 30, 1974, at page 31:

"There was every idea imaginable around," he [Alexander M. Haig, Jr.] declared, "including the idea that Nixon should pardon himself and everybody else." There were only two options seriously considered. The first was to resign unconditionally, as he did, or see it through and let the system work to the end. He knew the outcome. He felt an obligation to the country."

The time referred to was just after the nature of transcripts, which became public on August 5, 1974, first became known at the end of July 1974, to Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and others within the White House.

"3. When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first referred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representatives of Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides, including the period when you were a Member of Congress or Vice President?"

While I was a member of Congress, the possibility of a pardon for Mr. Nixon was not ever a subject of discussion with Richard M. Nixon or any of his representatives. While I was the Vice President, the possibility of a pardon for Mr. Nixon was not ever a subject of discussion with Richard M. Nixon or any of his representatives except on



August 1 and 2, 1974, as related in the response below. Further, to the best of my knowledge, no representative or aide of mine had any discussions with Mr. Nixon or his representatives on the subject of a possible pardon for him until September 1974.

"4(a). Who participated in these...discussions or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and locations?"

On August 1, 1974, at my Vice Presidential office, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., reported to me about developments and suggestions that were current within the White House staff. On August 2, 1974, I discussed some of this information with James St. Clair, at my office. Later the same day, I called General Haig at his office to tell him that I was opposed to any consideration by Mr. Nixon, or by anyone advising him, of a pardon or any promise of a pardon as a precondition or inducement for his resignation; and General Haig was in full agreement with this position. At no time was I asked for, nor did I make, a promise of a pardon or give any assurance, express or implied, on the subject of pardon if I should become President.

"4(b). Who participated in...subsequent discussions or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and locations?"

After I became the President, the only discussions by me or on my behalf with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives about a possible pardon for him, which I know about, took place starting September 4, 1974.



Counsel to the President Philip W. Buchen met with Herbert J. Miller, Counsel for Richard M. Nixon, on the morning of that day and again on the morning of September 5, 1974, both times in Washington, D. C. The only other participant in those discussions was Benton Becker. He had been asked by Mr. Buchen starting August 31, 1974, to assist him as a lawyer in researching for answers to legal questions relating to a possible pardon for Richard M. Nixon and otherwise to assist on matters related to the Nixon papers and tape recordings. Other discussions occurred enroute to California and at San Clemente, California, during the evening of September 5, 1974, and on September 6, 1974. They were partly between Mr. Becker and Mr. Miller, who flew together to California, and partly between them and Mr. Nixon or his aide, Ronald Ziegler, or both, although these discussions related predominantly to unresolved matters of the Nixon papers and tape recordings.

"5. Did you consult with Attorney General William Saxbe or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities did they give to you?"

I did not consult with either Attorney General Saxbe or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski on any steps leading to my decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon, but consultations were carried on at my direction by Counsel to the President, Philip W. Buchen. In regard to the Attorney General, my directions to Mr. Buchen were to request on my behalf from the Attorney General a legal opinion only on the ownership of Nixon papers and tape recordings and on the effects upon my administration



of court orders and subpoenas in respect of such materials. This direction and request occurred on or about August 22, 1974, but the final draft of the opinion, which was confined to the points mentioned and did not relate to the pardon, was not received until the first week of September.* In regard to Special Prosecutor Jaworski, my directions to Mr. Buchen and his requests on my behalf to Mr. Jaworski were limited to questions which brought the responses quoted by Mr. Buchen at pages 3-4 of the transcript, already furnished you, of September 8, 1974, press briefing and described at pages 1-2 of the September 10, 1974, press briefing, already furnished you.** No other facts or legal authorities were given me by either of the men in question.

"6. Did you consult with the Vice Presidential nominee, Nelson Rockefeller, before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities did he give to you?"

Mr. Rockefeller gave me no facts or legal authorities on the pardon subject. However, I advised him on September 6, 1974, of my pending decision to issue a pardon for Mr. Nixon, but I did not seek or receive his advice on the subject.

"7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or professors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they give to you?"

I consulted with no attorneys or professors of law other than Philip W. Buchen and Benton Becker. However, John O. Marsh, Counsellor

* See Tab B

** See Tab C



to the President, is also an attorney, and I did have discussions with him but not solely on legal questions.

"8. Did you or your representatives ask Richard M. Nixon to make a confession or statement of criminal guilt, and, if so, what language was suggested or requested by you, your representatives, Mr. Nixon, or his representatives? Was any statement of any kind requested from Mr. Nixon in exchange for the pardon, and, if so please provide the suggested or requested language."

X No confession or statement of criminal guilt was asked of Richard M. Nixon by me or my representatives, but I concurred in what Mr. Buchen did ask of Herbert J. Miller as attorney for Mr. Nixon. Mr. Buchen reported to me that he asked Mr. Miller and received his concurrence that, if a pardon were granted and accepted, the acceptance should include what Mr. Buchen referred to as a "statement of contrition," but no one acting for me to my knowledge suggested or requested the language of such a statement.

"9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon immediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made known to you or your representatives prior to its announcement, and was it approved by you or your representatives?"

An initial draft statement by Richard M. Nixon was brought back to me by Mr. Becker from California on September 7, 1974, and was made known to me that day, but neither I nor any representative of mine considered that this draft or the final statement as issued was subject to our ~~and~~ advance approval.



"10. Did you receive any report from a psychiatrist or other physician stating that Richard M. Nixon was in other than good health? If so, please provide such reports."

I received no psychiatrist's or other physician's report of any examination of the condition of Mr. Nixon's health, except as explained below in response to ^{paragraph} ~~inquiry~~ (2) of H. Res. 1370.

Further response to H. Res. 1370

To the extent that H. Res. 1370 may appear to call for different information from that given above in answers to the questions of H. Res. 1367, I add the following separate responses.

(1) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon " as to "any representations made by or on behalf of Richard M. Nixon to the President?"

No representations were made by or on behalf of Richard M. Nixon to me that provided any information or facts upon which I based my decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon.

(2) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any information or facts presented to the President with respect to the mental or physical health of Richard M. Nixon?"

Information or facts I had with respect to the mental or physical health of Richard M. Nixon were dealt with at pages 3 and 4 of the transcript of my news conference on September 16, 1974, copy of which has been furnished to you.* The reports I have had from Dr. Lukash, which

* See Tab D



I mentioned at the press conference, came after my pardon decision and are not relevant to the inquiry. Observations came to me from Benton Becker concerning Mr. Nixon's appearance and conversations on September 6, 1974, but these, like similar observations coming to me over a period prior to then, were not those of persons qualified to evaluate medically the condition of Mr. Nixon's health and, therefore, also were not a controlling factor in my decision. However, I did believe and still do, that a ~~prolonged~~ ^{delayed} prosecution ^{and prolonged trial} of the former President would be a threat to his health, as I stated in my message on September 8, 1974.

(3) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any information in possession or control of the President with respect to the offenses which were allegedly committed by Richard M. Nixon and for which a pardon was granted?"

The only special information in my possession or control bearing on alleged or possible offenses covered by the pardon of Richard M. Nixon was the information provided in the memorandum of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force dated September 3, 1974, copy of which is enclosed.* The balance of my information involves the transcripts of Presidential conversations made public August 5, 1974, matters reported from the inquiry and investigation of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives on the impeachment resolutions against former President Nixon, and the publicly disclosed intent of the Watergate

* See Tab A



Grand Jury to have found probable cause for naming him earlier as an unindicted co-conspirator.

(4) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any representations made by or on behalf of the President to Richard M. Nixon in connection with a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States?"

No representations were made by or on my behalf to Richard M. Nixon or his representatives in connection with a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States.

(5) What are "the full and complete information and facts in [the President's] possession or control and relating to any pardon which may be granted to any person who is or may be charged or convicted of any offense against the United States within the prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force?"

There are no information and facts in my possession or control relating to any possible pardon for any person in the category, except that a letter requesting a pardon has been sent to me in behalf of Charles W. Colson by his attorney and a reply has been sent to such attorney by Counsel to the President as follows:

"Your September sixteenth letter requesting executive clemency for Charles W. Colson has been received.

"The President has decided that all applications for executive clemency should be submitted through the appropriate procedures of the Department of Justice. You might want to communicate directly with that Department."



I have made no offer or assurance of pardon to any person convicted of an offense within the prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force or to anyone who is charged or may yet be charged with such an offense.

I believe the foregoing provides you with the full information called for by the resolutions submitted and, together with previously supplied documents, covers the entire subject of my decision to grant a pardon to former President Nixon. I have responded freely and fully, because I am convinced it is in the national interest at this time, despite my reservations about inquiries which could have the effect of infringing upon the Constitutional principle of separation of powers. Therefore, I am sure you will understand why I must respectfully decline your request for the appearance of a witness to testify on questions which I have already answered.

Sincerely,



P.W.B.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable William L. Hungate
Chairman, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice
Committee on the Judiciary
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter follows your two letters to me of September 17, 1974, one of September 18, 1974, and one of September 25, 1974. These letters referred to resolutions of inquiry, H. Res. 1367 and H. Res. 1370. With your September 18 letter you furnished copies of the respective resolutions.

This letter also follows my letters to you of September 20, 1974, and September 23, 1974, the first of which was accompanied by enclosures of the following:

(i) Text of the proclamation by me granting pardon to Richard Nixon issued September 8, 1974;

(ii) Transcript of my televised message to the American people on the same day;

(iii) Transcript of my news conference on September 16, 1974;

(iv) Additional background information provided at White House briefings on September 8 and 10.

By your letter of September 25, 1974, you seek a separately stated response to each inquiry in the two resolutions.

My position remains as I have stated publicly in my words to the Nation, of which you have exact copies. It was in no way my intent to be



less than serious in my initial replies to your letters, but to show that the information already available did give a much more complete account of the circumstances surrounding the pardon than the resolutions implied and that it covered the controlling factors.

If, as indicated by the resolutions before you, my proclamation for pardon of the former President has not immediately had its intended effect to allow this Nation to concentrate on its urgent present problems, I make this further response in the earnest hope of overcoming those concerns which are still directed toward past events. I do so as an extraordinary measure and without prejudice in other circumstances to reliance on rights granted or inuring to the President of the United States under our Constitution and to the full protection of such rights, not only for myself while in this Office but for all future Presidents.

Further response to H. Res. 1367

"1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowledge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were these charges?"

The only information I had which is in any way related to these questions has been disclosed through release on September 10, 1974, of copies of the enclosed memorandum of September 3, 1974, prepared by Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski by Henry Ruth of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force.* So far as I know, no representative of mine had any related information beyond what appears in such memorandum.

* See Tab A. ~~The further~~ memorandum mentioned in the last sentence of Tab A was not furnished to me or my representative.



"2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representatives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4, 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes, transcriptions or notes."

I have no knowledge of the matters covered by these questions except as stated in my response below to question 4(a) and as I have read the following in Time magazine of September 30, 1974, at page 31:

"There was every idea imaginable around," he [Alexander M. Haig, Jr.] declared, "including the idea that Nixon should pardon himself and everybody else." There were only two options seriously considered. The first was to resign unconditionally, as he did, or see it through and let the system work to the end. He knew the outcome. He felt an obligation to the country."

The time referred to was ~~just after the nature of transcripts, which~~ ^{information made} ~~late July and early August,~~ ^{late July and early August,} ~~became public on August 5, 1974, first became known at the end of~~ ^{became public on August 5, 1974,} ~~July 1974, to Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and others within the White House.~~ ^{July 1974, to Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and others within the White House.}

"3. When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first referred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representatives of Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides, including the period when you were a Member of Congress or Vice President?"

While I was a member of Congress, the possibility of a pardon for Mr. Nixon was not ever a subject of discussion with Richard M. Nixon or any of his representatives. While I was the Vice President, the possibility of a pardon for Mr. Nixon was not ever a subject of discussion with Richard M. Nixon or any of his representatives except on



August 1 and 2, 1974, as related in the response below. Further, to the best of my knowledge, no representative or aide of mine had any discussions with Mr. Nixon or his representatives on the subject of a possible pardon for him until September 1974.

"4(a). Who participated in these...discussions or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and locations?"

On August 1, 1974, at my Vice Presidential office, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., reported to me about developments and suggestions that were current within the White House staff. On August 2, 1974, I discussed some of this information with James St. Clair, at my office. Later the same day, I called General Haig at his office to tell him that I was opposed to any consideration by Mr. Nixon, or by anyone advising him, of a pardon or any promise of a pardon as a precondition or inducement for his resignation; and General Haig was in full agreement with this position. At no time was I asked for, nor did I make, a promise of a pardon or give any assurance, express or implied, on the subject of pardon if I should become President.

"4(b). Who participated in...subsequent discussions or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and locations?"

After I became the President, the only discussions by me or on my behalf with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives about a possible pardon for him, which I know about, took place starting September 4, 1974.



~~Counsel to the President~~ ^{Counsel to the President,} Philip W. Buchen met with Herbert J. Miller, Counsel for Richard M. Nixon, on the morning of that day and again on the morning of September 5, 1974, both times in Washington, D. C. The only other participant in those discussions was Benton Becker. He had been asked by Mr. Buchen starting August 31, 1974, to assist him as a lawyer in researching for answers to legal questions relating to a possible pardon for Richard M. Nixon and otherwise to assist on matters related to the Nixon papers and tape recordings. Other discussions occurred enroute to California and at San Clemente, California, during the evening of September 5, 1974, and on September 6, 1974. They were partly between Mr. Becker and Mr. Miller, who flew together to California, and partly between them and Mr. Nixon or his aide, Ronald Ziegler, or both, although these discussions related predominantly to unresolved matters of the Nixon papers and tape recordings.

"5. Did you consult with Attorney General William Saxbe or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities did they give to you?"

I did not consult with either Attorney General Saxbe or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski on any steps leading to my decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon, but consultations were carried on at my direction by ^{Philip W. Buchen,} ~~Counsel to the President, Philip W. Buchen.~~ In regard to the Attorney General, my directions to Mr. Buchen were to request on my behalf from the Attorney General a legal opinion only on the ownership of Nixon papers and tape recordings and on the effects upon my administration



of court orders and subpoenas in respect of such materials. This direction and request occurred on or about August 22, 1974, but the final draft of the opinion, which was confined to the points mentioned and did not relate to the pardon, was not received until the first week of September.* In regard to Special Prosecutor Jaworski, my directions to Mr. Buchen and his requests on my behalf to Mr. Jaworski were limited to questions which brought the responses quoted by Mr. Buchen at pages 3-4 of the transcript, already furnished you, of September 8, 1974, press briefing and described at pages 1-2 of the September 10, 1974, press briefing, already furnished you.** No other facts or legal authorities were given me by either of the men in question.

"6. Did you consult with the Vice Presidential nominee, Nelson Rockefeller, before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities did he give to you?"

Mr. Rockefeller gave me no facts or legal authorities on the pardon subject. However, I advised him on September 6, 1974, of my pending decision to issue a pardon for Mr. Nixon, but I did not seek or receive his advice on the subject.

"7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or professors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they give to you?"

I consulted with no attorneys or professors of law other than Philip W. Buchen and Benton Becker. However, John O. Marsh, Counsellor

* See Tab B

** See Tab C



to the President, is also an attorney, and I did have discussions with him, ~~but not solely on legal questions.~~

"8. Did you or your representatives ask Richard M. Nixon to make a confession or statement of criminal guilt, and, if so, what language was suggested or requested by you, your representatives, Mr. Nixon, or his representatives? Was any statement of any kind requested from Mr. Nixon in exchange for the pardon, and, if so please provide the suggested or requested language."

X. No confession or statement of criminal guilt was asked of Richard M. Nixon by me or my representatives, but I concurred in what Mr. Buchen did ask of Herbert J. Miller as attorney for Mr. Nixon. Mr. Buchen reported to me that he asked Mr. Miller and received his concurrence that, if a pardon were granted and accepted, the acceptance should include what Mr. Buchen referred to as a "statement of contrition," but no one acting for me to my knowledge suggested or requested the language of such a statement.

"9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon immediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made known to you or your representatives prior to its announcement, and was it approved by you or your representatives?"

An initial draft statement by Richard M. Nixon was brought back to me by Mr. Becker from California on September 7, 1974, and was made known to me that day, but neither I nor any representative of mine considered that this draft or the final statement as issued was subject to our ~~and~~ advance approval.



"10. Did you receive any report from a psychiatrist or other physician stating that Richard M. Nixon was in other than good health? If so, please provide such reports."

I received no psychiatrist's or other physician's report of any examination of the condition of Mr. Nixon's health, except as explained below in response to ^{paragraph} inquiry (2) of H. Res. 1370.

Further response to H. Res. 1370

To the extent that H. Res. 1370 may appear to call for different information from that given above in answers to the questions of H. Res. 1367, I add the following separate responses.

(1) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon " as to "any representations made by or on behalf of Richard M. Nixon to the President?"

No representations were made by or on behalf of Richard M. Nixon to me that provided any information or facts upon which I based my decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon.

(2) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any information or facts presented to the President with respect to the mental or physical health of Richard M. Nixon?"

Information or facts I had with respect to the mental or physical health of Richard M. Nixon were dealt with at pages 3 and 4 of the transcript of my news conference on September 16, 1974, copy of which has been furnished to you.* The reports I have had from Dr. Lukash, which

* See Tab D



I mentioned at the press conference, came after my pardon decision and are not relevant to the inquiry. Observations came to me from Benton Becker concerning Mr. Nixon's appearance and conversations on September 6, 1974, but these, like similar observations coming to me over a period prior to then, were not those of persons qualified to evaluate medically the condition of Mr. Nixon's health and, therefore, also were not a controlling factor in my decision. However, I did believe and still do, that a ^{delayed} ~~prolonged~~ ^{and prolonged trial} prosecution of the former President would be a threat to his health, as I stated in my message on September 8, 1974.

(3) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any information in possession or control of the President with respect to the offenses which were allegedly committed by Richard M. Nixon and for which a pardon was granted?"

The only special information in my possession or control bearing on alleged or possible offenses covered by the pardon of Richard M. Nixon was the information provided in the memorandum of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force dated September 3, 1974, copy of which is enclosed.* The balance of my information involves the transcripts of Presidential conversations made public August 5, 1974, matters reported from the inquiry and investigation of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives on the impeachment resolutions against former President Nixon, and the publicly disclosed intent of the Watergate

* See Tab A



Grand Jury to have found probable cause for naming him earlier as an unindicted co-conspirator.

(4) What are "the full and complete information and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon" as to "any representations made by or on behalf of the President to Richard M. Nixon in connection with a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States?"

No representations were made by or on my behalf to Richard M. Nixon or his representatives in connection with a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States.

(5) What are "the full and complete information and facts in [the President's] possession or control and relating to any pardon which may be granted to any person who is or may be charged or convicted of any offense against the United States within the prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force?"

~~There are no information and facts in my possession or control relating to any possible pardon for any person in the category, except~~
that ^A letter requesting a pardon has been sent to me in behalf of Charles W. Colson by his attorney, and a reply ^{was} ~~has been sent~~ ^{on September 19, 1974} to such attorney by Counsel to the President as follows:

"Your September sixteenth letter requesting executive clemency for Charles W. Colson has been received.

"The President has decided that all applications for executive clemency should be submitted through the appropriate procedures of the Department of Justice. You might want to communicate directly with that Department."



relevant
no other facts or information in my possession or control
applicable to the question; not have I made any
I have made no offer or assurance of pardon ~~to~~ ^{from} any person convicted of
~~I made no offer or assurance~~
~~an offense within the prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of~~
~~within the custody of this question, to which this question relates.~~
~~Watergate Special Prosecution Force or to anyone who is charged or may~~
~~yet be charged with such an offense:~~

I believe the foregoing provides you with the full information called for by the resolutions submitted and, together with previously supplied documents, covers the entire subject of my decision to grant a pardon to former President Nixon. I have responded freely and fully, because I am convinced it is in the national interest at this time, despite my reservations about inquiries which could have the effect of infringing upon the Constitutional principle of separation of powers. Therefore, I am sure you will understand why I must respectfully decline your request for the appearance of a witness to testify on questions which I have already answered.

Sincerely,

