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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1974

Eva:

Mr. Buchen asked me to get him a copy of President Truman's letter on Executive Privilege. The only available source is the 1953 New York Times, thus it is not the best copy.

Bunny



Some items in this folder were not digitized because it contains copyrighted materials. Please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library for access to these materials.

# Texts of Truman Letter and Velde Reply

Following are the texts, as supplied by The Associated Press, of a letter by Former President Truman to Representative Harold H. Velde rejecting a subpoena and of a statement issued in Washington by Mr. Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

## Truman Letter

Dear Sir:

I have your subpoena dated Nov. 9, 1953, directing my appearance before your committee on Friday, Nov. 13, in Washington. The subpoena does not state the matters upon which you seek my testimony, but I assume from the press stories that you seek to examine me with respect to matters which occurred during my tenure of the Presidency of the United States.

In spite of my personal willingness to cooperate with your committee, I feel constrained by my duty to the people of the United States to decline to comply with the subpoena.

In doing so, I am carrying out the provisions of the Constitution of the United States; and am following a long tradition of

in maintaining his rights against a trespassing Congress, the President defends not himself, but popular government; he represents not himself but the people.

President Jackson repelled an attempt by the Congress to break down the separation of powers in these words:

"For myself I shall repel all such attempts as an invasion of the principles of justice as well as of the Constitution, and I shall esteem it my sacred duty to the people of the United States to resist them as I would the establishment of a Spanish Inquisition."

## Points to House Report

I might commend to your reading the opinion of one of the committees of the House of Representatives in 1879, House Report 141, March 3, 1879, Forty-fifth Congress, Third Session, in which the House Judiciary Committee said the following:

"The Executive is as independent of either house of Congress as either house of Congress is independent of him, and they cannot call for the records of his actions, or the action of his officers against his consent, any

I regret very much that Mr. Truman evidently does not intend to answer several pertinent questions which the committee desired to ask him, respecting his relationship with Harry Dexter White, described last week by Attorney General [Herbert] Brownell [Jr.] as a "spy" for the Soviet Union. These questions are in the minds of millions of American citizens today, and are not of a nature to be easily put aside with indeterminate references to freedom of religion and education.

The committee wished to ask several pertinent questions of Mr. Truman, questions which are entirely proper in the light of recent charges made, and questions to which answers may properly be required of any American citizen.

It is alleged that Mr. Truman, while President of the United States, received from the Federal Bureau of Investigation an adverse report on Harry Dexter White, which report indicated that White was releasing confidential information to Soviet agents. The committee wished to determine whether Mr. Truman actually had received this report personally prior to the



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

4 options

- send March up
- no to letter - only  
public comments
- bring Hungate and  
Smith down to Pres.
- wing it



93<sup>rd</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>nd</sup> SESSION

# H. RES. 1367

+format

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Ms. ABZEG (for herself, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BURTON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms. HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## RESOLUTION

1 *Resolved*, That the President of the United States is  
2 hereby requested to furnish the House, within ten days, with  
3 the following information:

4 1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowl-  
5 edge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard  
6 M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were  
7 these charges?

8 2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for  
9 Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representa-  
10 tives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4,  
11 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were

V

not to his knowledge  
to this day

Memo received  
from Spacine  
Prosecutor listed  
10 items but  
were at level  
of prosecution



no but  
memo -  
would not  
best other  
way

1 made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes  
 2 or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or  
 3 were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes,  
 4 transcriptions or notes.

*all of them were  
 printed to him  
 on part of  
 + type writing  
 please to origin*

5 (3) When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first re-  
 6 ferred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representa-  
 7 tives of Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides,  
 8 including the period when you were a Member of Congress  
 9 or Vice President?

*Aug 1 and  
 Aug 2  
 he was  
 approved but  
 did not negotiate*

10 (4) Who participated in these and subsequent discussions  
 11 or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representa-  
 12 tives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and  
 13 locations? *do not talk of waiving privilege at outset of time when he was Pres.*

*Miller - twice  
 Becker - Ford  
 no negotiation*

14 5. Did you consult with Attorney General William  
 15 Saxbe <sup>Phil spoke to Hank Ruth (rems)</sup> or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski before making  
 16 the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what  
 17 facts and legal authorities did they give to you?

*only counsel on both sides*

18 6. Did you consult with the Vice Presidential nominee,  
 19 Nelson Rockefeller, <sup>only informed him of decision</sup> before making the decision to pardon  
 20 Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities  
 21 did he give to you?

*4 min. min  
 for Nixon  
 trial  
 could only  
 stop process  
 before it  
 started on  
 church  
 country*

22 7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or profes-  
 23 sors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M.  
 24 Nixon, and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they  
 25 give to you? *three people - none other than Becker told how he looked*

*only  
 Becker  
 Becker's  
 month*

*Separate and pursue  
 each pair as to  
 any statements  
 when Nixon was  
 Pres. - did not  
 impact on Ford's  
 decision*

*wanted - statement  
 to continue - wanted  
 acceptance - wanted  
 to ensure security  
 to records*

*Can be aware  
 when to time  
 or not be aware  
 with staff  
 member of  
 former Pres.*

*Becker worked  
 primarily for  
 Nixon, only  
 or saw Pres. only  
 legal privilege  
 have*

*did not  
 want*

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

*Suchen  
 saw tentative  
 draft - mainly  
 informed of it -  
 did not suggest  
 changes  
 no negotiation  
 but asked for  
 statement  
 continuation*

8 9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon im-  
 9 mediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made  
 10 known to you or your representatives prior to its announce-  
 11 ment, and was it approved by you or your representatives?

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

*+ 2 from 1370*



93<sup>rd</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>nd</sup> SESSION

## H. RES. 1370

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 17, 1974

Mr. CONYERS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the  
Committee on the Judiciary

### RESOLUTION

1     *Resolved*, That the President is directed to furnish to the  
2     House of Representatives the full and complete information  
3     and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a par-  
4     don to Richard M. Nixon, including—

5         (1) any representations made by or on behalf of  
6     Richard M. Nixon to the President;

7         (2) any information or facts presented to the Pres-  
8     ident with respect to the mental or physical health of  
9     Richard M. Nixon;

10         (3) any information in possession or control of the  
11     President with respect to the offenses which were al-



1 allegedly committed by Richard M. Nixon and for which  
2 a pardon was granted;

3 (4) any representations made by or on behalf of  
4 the President to Richard M. Nixon in connection with  
5 a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States.

6 The President is further directed to furnish to the House of  
7 Representatives the full and complete information and facts  
8 in his possession or control and relating to any pardon which  
9 may be granted to any person who is or may be charged or  
10 convicted of any offense against the United States within the  
11 prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special  
12 Prosecution Force.

93D CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# H. RES. 1367

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Ms. ABZUG (for herself, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BURTON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms. HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## RESOLUTION

1 *Resolved*, That the President of the United States is  
2 hereby requested to furnish the House, within ten days, with  
3 the following information:

4 1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowl-  
5 edge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard  
6 M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were  
7 these charges?

8 2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for  
9 Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representa-  
10 tives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4,  
11 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were

1 made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes  
2 or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or  
3 were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes,  
4 transcriptions or notes.

5 3. When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first re-  
6 ferred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representa-  
7 tives or Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides,  
8 including the period when you were a Member of Congress  
9 or Vice President?

10 4. Who participated in these and subsequent discussions  
11 or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representa-  
12 tives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and  
13 locations?

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

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

22 7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or profes-  
23 sors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M.  
24 Nixon, and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they  
25 give to you?

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

8 9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon im-  
9 mediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made  
10 known to you or your representatives prior to its announce-  
11 ment, and was it approved by you or your representatives?

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



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## RESOLUTION

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An inquiry relating to Presidential pardon of  
Richard Nixon.

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By Ms. ABzug, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BUR-  
TON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECH-  
LER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms.  
HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOGH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr.  
STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYKINGTON, and  
Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California

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SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

93<sup>RD</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> SESSION

# H. RES. 1367

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Ms. ABZUG (for herself, Mr. BADDELO, Mr. JOHN L. BURTON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms. HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

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## RESOLUTION

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7 these charges?

8 2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for  
9 Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representa-  
10 tives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4,  
11 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were



1 made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes  
2 or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or  
3 were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes,  
4 transcriptions or notes.

5 3. When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first re-  
6 ferred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representa-  
7 tives or Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides,  
8 including the period when you were a Member of Congress  
9 or Vice President?

10 4. Who participated in these and subsequent discussions  
11 or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representa-  
12 tives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and  
13 locations?

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

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19 Nelson Rockefeller, before making the decision to pardon  
20 Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities  
21 did he give to you?

22 7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or profes-  
23 sors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M.  
24 Nixon, and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they  
25 give to you?

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2 Nixon to make a confession or statement of criminal guilt,  
3 and, if so, what language was suggested or requested by  
4 you, your representatives, Mr. Nixon, or his representatives?  
5 Was any statement of any kind requested from Mr. Nixon  
6 in exchange for the pardon, and, if so, please provide the  
7 suggested or requested language.

8 9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon im-  
9 mediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made  
10 known to you or your representatives prior to its announce-  
11 ment, and was it approved by you or your representatives?

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

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## **RESOLUTION**

**An inquiry relating to Presidential pardon of  
Richard Nixon.**

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**By Ms. ABZUG, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BUR-  
TON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECH-  
LER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms.  
HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr.  
STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and  
Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California**

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**SEPTEMBER 16, 1974**

**Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary**



93<sup>rd</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>nd</sup> SESSION

# H. RES. 1367

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Ms. ANZU (for herself, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BURTON, Mr. DELLEMS, Mr. EHLBERG, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms. HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

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6 M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were  
7 these charges?

8 2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for  
9 Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representa-  
10 tives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4,  
11 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were

V

not to his knowledge  
to this day

Miss. received  
from Special  
Prosecutor listed  
10 items but  
indicated none  
were at level  
of prosecution

he but  
knew -  
would not  
list other  
cases



1 made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes  
 2 or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or  
 3 were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes,  
 4 transcriptions or notes.

5 (3) When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first re-  
 6 ferred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representa-  
 7 tives of Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides,  
 8 including the period when you were a Member of Congress  
 9 or Vice President?

10 (4) Who participated in these and subsequent discussions  
 11 or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representa-  
 12 tives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and  
 13 locations? *do not talk of waiving privilege at outset of time when he was Pres. but balancing - only factors that entered into decision*

14 5. Did you consult with Attorney General William  
 15 Saxbe *Phil spoke to Hank Ruth (news)* or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski before making  
 16 the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what  
 17 facts and legal authorities did they give to you?

18 6. Did you consult with the Vice Presidential nominee,  
 19 Nelson Rockefeller, *only informed him of decision* before making the decision to pardon  
 20 Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities  
 21 did he give to you?

22 7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or profes-  
 23 sors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M.  
 24 Nixon, and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they  
 25 give to you? - *three people - none other than Becker told how he looked*

*all option were him w/ going to printed to 1 or part of page missing from original*

*Aug 1 and Aug 2. he was approached but did not register*

*Miller - twice report Becker - Ford no negotiations*

*only counsel on both sides*

*4 more minutes for Nixon trial*

*could only stop program before it started in whole country*

*only Becker Becker Mann*

*Separate and private case prior to any statements when Nixon was Pres. - did not impact on Ford's decision*

*wanted - statement to continue - wanted acceptance - wanted to ensure security records*

*Can't meet or to time when he was not Pres. and with members of former Pres.*

*Becker would primarily for Becker Pres. one legal privilege*

*did not want*



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

*Sucher  
 gave tentative  
 info - mainly  
 informed of it -  
 did not suggest  
 changes  
 no negotiation  
 but asked for  
 statement of  
 intention*

8 9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon im-  
 9 mediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made  
 10 known to you or your representatives prior to its announce-  
 11 ment, and was it approved by you or your representatives?

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

*+ 2 from 1370*



93<sup>d</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>d</sup> SESSION

# H. RES. 1370

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 17, 1974

Mr. CONYERS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the  
Committee on the Judiciary

## RESOLUTION

1     *Resolved*, That the President is directed to furnish to the  
2 House of Representatives the full and complete information  
3 and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a par-  
4 don to Richard M. Nixon, including—

5         (1) any representations made by or on behalf of  
6 Richard M. Nixon to the President;

7         (2) any information or facts presented to the Pres-  
8 ident with respect to the mental or physical health of  
9 Richard M. Nixon;

10         (3) any information in possession or control of the  
11 President with respect to the offenses which were





1 legedly committed by Richard M. Nixon and for which  
2 a pardon was granted;

3 (4) any representations made by or on behalf of  
4 the President to Richard M. Nixon in connection with  
5 a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States.  
6 The President is further directed to furnish to the House of  
7 Representatives the full and complete information and facts  
8 in his possession or control and relating to any pardon which  
9 may be granted to any person who is or may be charged or  
10 convicted of any offense against the United States within the  
11 prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special  
12 Prosecution Force.

20 JANUARY 1974  
H. COZUMERS

H. RES. 1320

# RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the President is directed to furnish to the

House of Representatives the full and complete information

and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a par-

don to Richard M. Nixon, including—

(1) any representations made by or on behalf of

Richard M. Nixon to the President;

(2) any information or facts presented to the Pres-

ident with respect to the mental or physical health of

Richard M. Nixon;

(3) any information in possession or control of the

President with respect to the offenses which were al-

legedly committed by Richard M. Nixon and for which

a pardon was granted;

(4) 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.

The President is further directed to furnish to the House of

Representatives the full and complete information and facts

in his 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.

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**RESOLUTION**

Directing the President to furnish to the House of Representatives the information on which he based his decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon and certain other information.

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By Mr. CONYERS

---

---

SEPTEMBER 17, 1974

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

PETER W. RODINO, JR. (N.J.) CHAIRMAN

HAROLD D. DONOHUE, MASS.  
JACK BROOKS, TEX.  
ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, WIS.  
DON EDWARDS, CALIF.  
WILLIAM L. HINGATE, MD.  
JOHN CONYERS, JR., MICH.  
JOSHUA EILBERG, PA.  
JEROME R. WALDIE, CALIF.  
WALTER FLOWERS, ALA.  
JAMES R. MANN, S.C.  
PAUL S. SARBANES, MD.  
JOHN P. SEIBERLING, OHIO  
GEORGE E. DANIELSON, CALIF.  
ROBERT P. DRINAN, MASS.  
CHARLES B. RANGEL, N.Y.  
BARBARA JORDAN, TEX.  
RAY THORNTON, ARK.  
ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN, N.Y.  
WAYNE OWENS, UTAH  
EDWARD MEZVINSKY, IOWA

EDWARD HUTCHINSON, MICH.  
ROBERT MCCLORY, ILL.  
HENRY P. SMITH III, N.Y.  
CHARLES W. SANDMAN, JR., N.J.  
TOM HAILSBACK, ILL.  
CHARLES E. WIGGINS, CALIF.  
DAVID W. DENNIS, IND.  
HAMILTON FISH, JR., N.Y.  
WILEY MAYNE, IOWA  
LAWRENCE J. HOGAN, MD.  
M. CALDWELL BUTLER, VA.  
WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE  
TRENT LOTT, MISS.  
HAROLD V. FROELICH, WIS.  
CARLOS J. MOORHEAD, CALIF.  
JOSEPH J. MARAZITI, N.J.  
DELBERT L. LATTA, OHIO

Congress of the United States  
Committee on the Judiciary  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

GENERAL COUNSEL:  
JEROME M. ZEIFMAN  
ASSOCIATE GENERAL COUNSEL:  
GARNER J. CLINE  
COUNSEL:  
HERBERT FUCHS  
WILLIAM P. SHATTUCK  
H. CHRISTOPHER NOLDE  
ALAN A. PARKER  
JAMES F. FALCO  
MAURICE A. BARBOZA  
ARTHUR P. ENDRES, JR.  
FRANKLIN G. POLK  
THOMAS E. MOONEY  
MICHAEL W. BLOMMER  
ALEXANDER B. COOK  
CONSTANTINE J. GEKAS  
ALAN F. COFFEY, JR.

September 17, 1974

SEP 19 1974

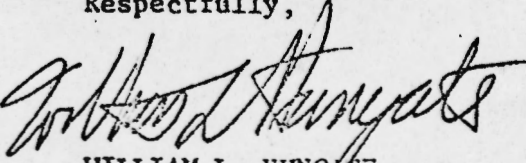
BT  
President Gerald R. Ford  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

As I mentioned in my letter of September 17, 1974, the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, of which I am Chairman, has pending before it H. Res. 1367 relating to the pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon. In addition, the Subcommittee has pending before it a variety of proposals relating to the disposition of tapes and documents compiled by former President Nixon and currently within the custody of the Federal Government.

Under the circumstances, I respectfully urge that no further action be taken affecting the disposition of such materials until Congress has had sufficient time to thoroughly consider the issue.

Respectfully,

  
WILLIAM L. HUNGATE  
Chairman

Subcommittee on Criminal Justice

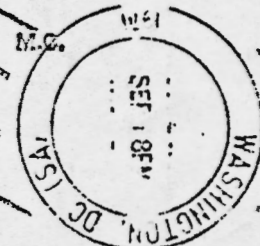
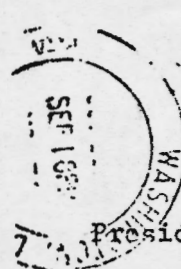
WLH:rtd



Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

*William L. Hungate*



President Gerald R. Ford

The White House

Washington, D. C.



PETER W. RODINO, JR. (N.J.) CHAIRMAN

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CARLOS J. MOONHEAD, CALIF.  
JOSEPH J. MARAZITI, N.J.  
DELBERT L. LATTI, OHIO

**Congress of the United States**  
**Committee on the Judiciary**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, D.C. 20515**

GENERAL COUNSEL:  
JEROME M. ZEIFMAN  
ASSOCIATE GENERAL COUNSEL:  
GARNER J. CLINE  
COUNSEL:  
HERBERT FUCHS  
WILLIAM P. SHATTUCK  
H. CHRISTOPHER NOLDE  
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THOMAS C. MOONEY  
MICHAEL W. BLOMMER  
ALEXANDER B. COOK  
CONSTANTINE J. GEKAS  
ALAN F. COFFEY, JR.

September 17, 1974

President Gerald R. Ford  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

On September 16, 1974, Representative Abzug of New York introduced a resolution of inquiry, H. Res. 1367, which has been referred to the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary. Under the Rules of the House, the Committee on the Judiciary is called upon to consider this resolution within seven legislative days of its introduction.

To assist us in the expeditious consideration of this measure, I respectfully request that you provide the Subcommittee with the following information as requested by this privileged resolution:

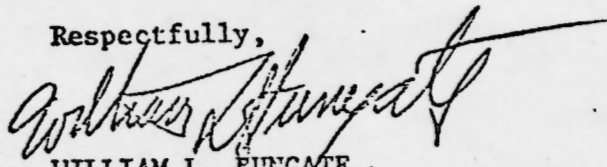
1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowledge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were these charges?
2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representatives 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.



President Gerald R. Ford  
Page 2  
September 17, 1974

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

Respectfully,



WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

Chairman

Subcommittee on Criminal Justice

WLH:rts



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
September 18, 1974

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William E. Timmons  
SUBJECT: Resolution of Inquiry

In tab A is a resolution of inquiry, H. Res. 1367, introduced on September 16th by Rep. Bella Abzug and thirteen other Members. As you know this procedure is highly privileged and may be called up after seven legislative days under the House rules.

In tab B is a letter to you from Subcommittee Chairman William Hungate requesting answers to many of the questions in H. Res. 1367.

In tab C is a suggested response to Mr. Hungate which has been cleared by Messrs. Buchen, Areeda, Marsh and Hartmann. Senator Scott and Rep. Rhodes were also consulted and the letter meets their approval.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter in tab C.

*Handwritten notes:*  
Tab A: going  
to you  
Tab B: letter  
you have copy

# H. RES. 1367

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

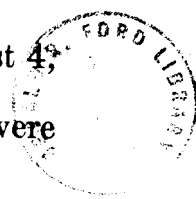
Ms. ABZUG (for herself, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BURTON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms. HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## RESOLUTION

1       *Resolved*, That the President of the United States is  
2 hereby requested to furnish the House, within ten days, with  
3 the following information:

4       1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowl-  
5 edge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard  
6 M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were  
7 these charges?

8       2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for  
9 Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representa-  
10 tives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4,  
11 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were





1 made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes  
2 or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or  
3 were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes,  
4 transcriptions or notes.

5 3. When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first re-  
6 ferred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representa-  
7 tives or Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides,  
8 including the period when you were a Member of Congress  
9 or Vice President?

10 4. Who participated in these and subsequent discussions  
11 or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representa-  
12 tives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and  
13 locations?

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

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

22 7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or profes-  
23 sors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M.  
24 Nixon, and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they  
25 give to you?



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

8       9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon im-  
9 mediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made  
10 known to you or your representatives prior to its announce-  
11 ment, and was it approved by you or your representatives?

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

93<sup>d</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>d</sup> SESSION

# H. RES. 1367

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## RESOLUTION

An inquiry relating to Presidential pardon of  
Richard Nixon.

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By **MS. ABZUG**, **MR. BADILLO**, **MR. JOHN L. BUR-**  
**TON**, **MR. DELLUMS**, **MR. EILBERG**, **MR. HECH-**  
**LER** of West Virginia, **MR. HELSTOSKI**, **MS.**  
**HOLTZMAN**, **MR. KOCH**, **MR. ROSENTHAL**, **MR.**  
**STARK**, **MR. STOKES**, **MR. SYMINGTON**, and  
**MR. CHARLES H. WILSON** of California

---

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary



PETER W. RODINO, JR. (N.J.) CHAIRMAN

HAROLD D. DONOHUE, MASS.  
JACK BROOKS, TEX.  
ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, WIS.  
DON EDWARDS, CALIF.  
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Congress of the United States  
Committee on the Judiciary  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

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MICHAEL W. BLOMMER  
ALEXANDER B. COOK  
CONSTANTINE J. GEKAS  
ALAN F. COFFEY, JR.

September 18, 1974

President Gerald R. Ford  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Subsequent to my letter to you of September 17, 1974, concerning Representative Abzug's resolution of inquiry, H.Res. 1367, Representative John Conyers of Michigan introduced a second resolution of inquiry, H.Res. 1370, which also has been referred to the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Under the Rules of the House, the Committee on the Judiciary is called upon to consider these resolutions within seven legislative days of their introduction. I am enclosing printed copies of both resolutions and respectfully request that you provide the Subcommittee with responses to the inquiries contained in these privileged legislative measures.

Respectfully,

*William L. Bryant*  
William L. Bryant  
Chairman

Subcommittee on Criminal Justice

WLH/bts

Enclosures



# H. RES. 1367

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Ms. ARZUG (for herself, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BURTON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms. HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## RESOLUTION

1       *Resolved*, That the President of the United States is  
2 hereby requested to furnish the House, within ten days, with  
3 the following information:

4       1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowl-  
5 edge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard  
6 M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were  
7 these charges?

8       2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for  
9 Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representa-  
10 tives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4,  
11 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were

1 made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes  
2 or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or  
3 were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes,  
4 transcriptions or notes.

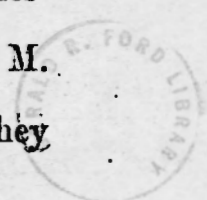
5 3. When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first re-  
6 ferred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representa-  
7 tives or Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides,  
8 including the period when you were a Member of Congress  
9 or Vice President?

10 4. Who participated in these and subsequent discussions  
11 or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representa-  
12 tives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and  
13 locations?

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

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

22 7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or profes-  
23 sors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M.  
24 Nixon, and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they  
25 give to you?



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

8        9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon im-  
9 mediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made  
10 known to you or your representatives prior to its announce-  
11 ment, and was it approved by you or your representatives?

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





93D CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

## H. RES. 1367

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### RESOLUTION

An inquiry relating to Presidential pardon of  
Richard Nixon.

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By Ms. ABZUG, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BUR-  
TON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECH-  
LER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms.  
HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr.  
STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and  
Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California

---

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary



93d CONGRESS  
2d SESSION

# H. RES. 1370

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 17, 1974

Mr. CONYERS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the  
Committee on the Judiciary

## RESOLUTION

1     *Resolved*, That the President is directed to furnish to the  
2     House of Representatives the full and complete information  
3     and facts upon which was based the decision to grant a par-  
4     don to Richard M. Nixon, including—

5             (1) any representations made by or on behalf of  
6     Richard M. Nixon to the President;

7             (2) any information or facts presented to the Pres-  
8     ident with respect to the mental or physical health of  
9     Richard M. Nixon;

10            (3) any information in possession or control of the  
11     President with respect to the offenses which were al-

1       legedly committed by Richard M. Nixon and for which  
2       a pardon was granted;

3           (4) any representations made by or on behalf of  
4       the President to Richard M. Nixon in connection with  
5       a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States.

6       The President is further directed to furnish to the House of  
7       Representatives the full and complete information and facts  
8       in his possession or control and relating to any pardon which  
9       may be granted to any person who is or may be charged or  
10      convicted of any offense against the United States within the  
11      prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special  
12      Prosecution Force.



93d CONGRESS  
2d SESSION

## H. RES. 1370

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### RESOLUTION

Directing the President to furnish to the House of Representatives the information on which he based his decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon and certain other information.

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By Mr. CONYERS

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SEPTEMBER 17, 1974

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary



# A Bitter Spirit That Won't Die

By VERMONT ROYSTER

WASHINGTON — It has been difficult these last 10 days to shake off a sense of sadness about the country.

For one blessed month—from the 9th of August to the 8th of September—you could believe that the country had awakened from that nightmare known as Watergate. All across the land there was a feeling of relief, and a visitor here at that time could hope that we were going to have a time of healing.

The new President had brought a breath of fresh air into the White House. With it had come a wave of good feeling that swept over the press galleries and into the halls of Congress. At long last, or so it seemed, we had a government not preoccupied with the scandals of the past and so ready to turn to the urgent problems of the day.

Yet now, once again, the country and

## Thinking Things Over

error was compounded by the bungling that followed over whether he would extend other pardons to those involved in Watergate.

One consequence is that now this President, like his two predecessors, will hereafter have a credibility problem. He lost both his press secretary and the confidence of the press. Moreover, as Dennis Farney reported in The Wall Street Jour-

nal, an indictment being brought, that he should wait perchance for a conviction. And then for at least "some" punishment. "The Whole Truth"

Many justify this by saying we shall never know "the whole truth" unless the ex-President himself is brought to trial, as if we did not know enough after all those Senate hearings, all those tapes, all that impeachment inquiry. Yet the man who conducted that impeachment inquiry, House Judiciary Committee counsel John Doar, certainly does not think so. "The facts have been established," he says, and anything else would at most "just be cumulative."

Observing the outcry you cannot escape the feeling that accumulation is what many of these people really want, not just the accumulation of facts but the accumulation of punishment. Clearly much of the anger vented on President Ford is in real-

# President Indicates He Believes Jaworski Shouldn't Charge Nixon, Hints at Pardon

By DENNIS FARNEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — President Ford indicated he believes Richard Nixon shouldn't be criminally prosecuted, hinted he might pardon the former President if he is prosecuted—then tossed the ball back to Leon Jaworski.

At least on the face of it, that left the special prosecutor between a rock and a hard place.

On one hand, President Ford said the prosecutor "has an obligation to take whatever action he sees fit" in prosecuting the Watergate scandals. But on the other, Mr. Jaworski has been told by Senate GOP minority leader Hugh Scott, Vice President-designate Nelson Rockefeller and the President himself that Mr. Nixon has suffered

Thursday 9/19/74

7:10 Mr. Timmons' office called to let us know there is another Hungate letter (see attached xeroxed copy).

She doesn't know at this time whether Mr. Timmons got the other letter in to the President for his signature or not.

They also heard the word from the Press Office that there is a third Hungate letter -- but no one has seen it.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1974

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your September seventeenth letter requesting information to assist the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary in its consideration of H. Res. 1367.

The pardon power conferred upon the Executive by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution needs no elaboration here. Nor do the legal decisions relating to pardons. The reasons for my exercise of that constitutional responsibility have already been explained. The controlling considerations which led to my decision were the subjects of the pardon proclamation and my televised message to the American people on September 8 and were the main subjects of my September 16 news conference; additional background information was provided at White House briefings on September 8 and 10. Copies of these materials are enclosed.

Regardless of any background information or advice I may have received, I am responsible for the pardon decision. I am satisfied that it was the right course to follow in accord with my own conscience and conviction. I hope the Subcommittee will agree that we should now all try, without undue recrimination about the past, to heal the wounds that divide Americans. We have much to get done for the country's goals, and I know we can do it together.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1974

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Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

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



# H. RES. 1367

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Ms. ABZUG (for herself, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BURTON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms. HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

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9 Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representa-  
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11 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were



1 made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes  
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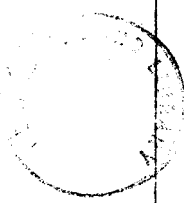
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8 including the period when you were a Member of Congress  
9 or Vice President?

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13 locations?

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

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

22 7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or profes-  
23 sors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M.  
24 Nixon, and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they  
25 give to you?



1       8. Did you or your representatives ask Richard M.  
2 Nixon to make a confession or statement of criminal guilt,  
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12       10. Did you receive any report from a psychiatrist or  
13 other physician stating that Richard M. Nixon was in other  
14 than good health? If so, please provide such reports.



93D CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

## H. RES. 1367

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### RESOLUTION

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An inquiry relating to Presidential pardon of  
Richard Nixon.

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By Ms. ABZUG, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BUR-  
TON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECH-  
LER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms.  
HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr.  
SPARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and  
Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California

---

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary



PETER W. RODINO, JR. (N.J.) CHAIRMAN

MARV D. DONOHUE, MASS.  
JACK BROOKS, TEX.  
ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, WIS.  
DON EDWARDS, CALIF.  
WILLIAM L. HUMPHREY, MO.  
JOHN CONYERS, JR., MICH.  
JOSHUA E. LEBER, PA.  
JEROME H. WALDIE, CALIF.  
WALTER FLOWERS, ALA.  
JAMES R. MANN, S.C.  
PAUL S. SARABANES, MD.  
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CHARLES B. HANGEL, N.Y.  
BARBARA JORDAN, TEX.  
RAY THORNTON, ARK.  
ELIZABETH HOLZMAN, N.Y.  
WAYNE OWENS, UTAH  
EDWARD MICZEVSKY, IOWA

EDWARD HUTCHINSON, MICH.  
ROBERT MCCLORY, ILL.  
HENRY P. SMITH III, N.Y.  
CHARLES W. SANDMAN, JR., N.J.  
TOM PAULSBACK, ILL.  
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DAVID W. DENNIS, IND.  
HAMILTON FISH, JR., N.Y.  
WILEY MAYNE, IOWA  
LAWRENCE J. HOGAN, MD.  
M. CALDWELL BUTLER, VA.  
WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE  
TRENT LOTT, MISS.  
HAROLD V. FROELICH, WIS.  
CARLOS J. MOOREHEAD, CALIF.  
JOSEPH J. MARAZITI, N.J.  
DELBERT L. LATTI, OHIO

# Congress of the United States

## Committee on the Judiciary

### House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

GENERAL COUNSEL:  
JEROME M. ZEIFMAN  
ASSOCIATE GENERAL COUNSEL:  
GARNER J. CLINE  
COUNSEL:  
HERBERT FUCHS  
WILLIAM P. SHATTUCK  
H. CHRISTOPHER NOLDE  
ALAN A. PARKER  
JAMES P. FALCO  
MAURICE A. BARBOZA  
ARTHUR P. ENDRES, JR.  
FRANKLIN G. POLK  
THOMAS E. MOONEY  
MICHAEL W. BLOMMER  
ALEXANDER S. COOK  
CONSTANTINE J. GEKAS  
ALAN F. COFFEY, JR.

September 17, 1974

President Gerald R. Ford  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

On September 16, 1974, Representative Abzug of New York introduced a resolution of inquiry, H. Res. 1367, which has been referred to the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary. Under the Rules of the House, the Committee on the Judiciary is called upon to consider this resolution within seven legislative days of its introduction.

To assist us in the expeditious consideration of this measure, I respectfully request that you provide the Subcommittee with the following information as requested by this privileged resolution:

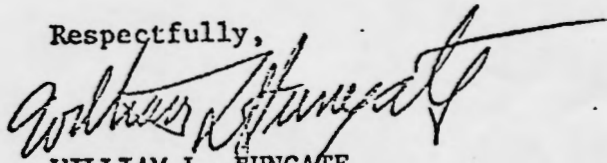
1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowledge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were these charges?
2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representatives 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.



President Gerald R. Ford  
Page 2  
September 17, 1974

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

Respectfully,



WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

Chairman

Subcommittee on Criminal Justice

WLH:rts



**September 20, 1974**

**Dear Mr. Chairman:**

**Thank you for your September seventeenth letter requesting information to assist the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary in its consideration of H. Res. 1367.**

**The pardon power conferred upon the Executive by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution needs no elaboration here. Nor do the legal decisions relating to pardons. The reasons for my exercise of that constitutional responsibility have already been explained. The controlling considerations which led to my decision were the subjects of the pardon proclamation and my televised message to the American people on September 8 and were the main subjects of my September 16 news conference; additional background information was provided at White House briefings on September 8 and 10. Copies of these materials are enclosed.**

**Regardless of any background information or advice I may have received, I am responsible for the pardon decision. I am satisfied that it was the right course to follow in accord with my own conscience and conviction. I hope the Subcommittee will agree that we should now all try, without undue recrimination about the past, to heal the wounds that divide Americans. We have much to get done for the country's goals, and I know we can do it together.**

**Sincerely,**

**Gerald R. Ford**

**The Honorable William L. Hungate  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice  
Committee on the Judiciary  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515  
GRF:WT:PWB:PA**





THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 19, 1974

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your September seventeenth letter requesting information to assist the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary in its consideration of H. Res. 1367.

The pardon power conferred upon the Executive by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution needs no elaboration here. Nor do the legal decisions relating to pardons. The reasons for my exercise of that constitutional responsibility have already been explained. ~~Virtually all the matters you raised that are within my knowledge~~ were the subjects of the pardon proclamation and my televised message to the American people on September 8 and were the main subjects of September 16 news conference; additional background information was provided at White House briefings on September 8 and 10. Copies of these materials are enclosed.

*controlling  
The basic  
considerations  
which led  
to my  
decision*

Regardless of any background information or advice I may have received, I am responsible for the pardon decision. I am satisfied that it was the right course to follow in accord with my own conscience and conviction. ~~And~~ I hope the Subcommittee will agree that we should now all try, without undue recrimination about the past, to heal the wounds that divide Americans. We have much to get done for the country's goals, and I know we can do it together.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

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



Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your September <sup>on 17th</sup> letter requesting information to assist the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary in its consideration of H. Res. 1367.

The pardon power conferred upon the Executive by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution needs no elaboration here. Nor do the legal decisions relating to pardons. And the reasons for my exercise of that constitutional responsibility have already been explained. The matters you raised [that are within my knowledge] were the subject of my televised message to the American people on September 8 and were the main subject of my September 16 news conference; additional background information was provided at White House briefings on September 8 and 10. Copies of these materials are enclosed. [as to your only other question that is within my knowledge, I can tell you that I did not consult with Attorney General Saxbe.]

Regardless of any background information or advice I may have received, I am responsible for the pardon <sup>decision</sup> of Richard Nixon. I believe <sup>am satisfied</sup> it was the right course to follow in accord with my own conscience and conviction. And I hope the Subcommittee will agree that we should now all try, without undue recrimination about the past, to heal the wounds that divide Americans. *We have much to get done for the Country's good, and I know we can do it together*

Sincerely,

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



Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your September <sup>Overteenth</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> letter requesting information to assist the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary in its consideration of H. Res. 1367.

The pardon power conferred upon the Executive by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution needs no elaboration here. Nor do the legal decisions relating to pardons. And the reasons for my exercise of that constitutional responsibility have already been explained. <sup>virtually all</sup> the matters you raised <sup>q</sup> that are within my knowledge <sup>q</sup> were the subject of the pardon proclamation and my televised message to the American people on September 8 and were the main subject of my September 16 news conference; additional background information was provided at White House briefings on September 8 and 10. Copies of these materials are enclosed. ~~[as to your only other question that is within my knowledge, I can tell you that I did not consult with Attorney General Saxbe.]~~

Regardless of any background information or advice I may have received, I am responsible for the pardon <sup>decision.</sup> of Richard Nixon. <sup>Am I not?</sup> I believe <sup>that</sup> it was the right course to follow in accord with my own conscience and conviction. And I hope the Subcommittee will agree that we should now all try, without undue recrimination about the past, to heal the wounds that divide Americans. <sup>we have much to get done for the Country's good, and I know we can do it together</sup>

Sincerely,

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



FIRST DRAFT

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your September 17th letter requesting information to assist the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary in its consideration of H. Res. 1367, introduced by Representative Abzug and others.

The pardon power conferred upon the Executive by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution is clear and needs no explanation. Decisions relating to pardons, from a legal point of view, also do not require elaboration. From a public policy perspective, however, I feel that Executives are obligated to explain their reasons for action under the pardon authority. Therefore, I announced my decision and motives in a televised message to the American people on September 8th and on September 16th answered questions about the pardon at a news conference in the White House.

Regardless of any background information or advice I may have received, I take responsibility for the pardon of Richard Nixon. I believe it was the right course to follow in accord with my own conscience and conviction. The objective of healing the wounds that divide Americans will not be served by continued debate over the circumstances leading up to a decision which in the final analysis was mine alone.



I trust the Subcommittee will agree with me that our attention must be focused on the great many national issues facing our country rather than pursuing courses that lead to division, hostility and recrimination.

Sincerely,

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



[9/23/74]

Dear Mr. Chairman:

It has been called to my attention that a subsequent letter  
of yours <sup>to me</sup> dated September 18, 1974, refers not only to H. Res. 1367,  
but to an additional resolution <sup>introduced</sup> by ~~the~~ Representative Conyers, H. Res. 1370.  
Please be advised that the response of September 20, 1974, concerning  
H. Res. 1367 is also applicable to H. Res. 1370.

Sincerely,

The Honorable William L. Hungate





September 23, 1974

*Parrell Moore  
in Timmons office  
dispatched to  
Hengate c/c to  
Smith  
5:30  
9/23/74  
gm*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

It has been called to my attention that a subsequent letter of yours to me dated September 18, 1974, refers not only to H. Res. 1367, but to an additional resolution introduced by Representative Conyers, H. Res. 1370. Please be advised that the response of September 20, 1974, concerning H. Res. 1367 is also applicable to H. Res. 1370.

Sincerely,

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

GRF:

PWB: JM

cc: William Timmons  
John Marsh



**September 23, 1974**

**Dear Mr. Chairman:**

**It has been called to my attention that a subsequent letter of yours to me dated September 18, 1974, refers not only to H. Res. 1367, but to an additional resolution introduced by Representative Conyers, H. Res. 1370. Please be advised that the response of September 20, 1974, concerning H. Res. 1367 is also applicable to H. Res. 1370.**

**Sincerely,**

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

**GRF:**

**PWB: JM**

**cc: William Timmons  
John Marsh**



September 23, 1974

Dear Mr. Chairman:

It has been called to my attention that a subsequent letter of yours to me dated September 18, 1974, refers not only to H. Res. 1367, but to an additional resolution introduced by Representative Conyers, H. Res. 1370. Please be advised that the response of September 20, 1974, concerning H. Res. 1367 is also applicable to H. Res. 1370.

Sincerely,

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

GRF:

PWB: JM

cc: William Timmons  
John Marsh

