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**September 24, 1974**

**To: Hugh Morrow  
(Nelson Rockefeller's staff)**

**From: Eva Daughtrey**

**As we discussed, here are copies  
of the three letters and replies.**

**I am also attaching a copy of the  
text of letter from Richard Nixon  
to Arthur F. Sampson, Administrator  
of General Services Administration,  
which was released on September 8,  
but was not a part of the package  
sent to Congressman Hungate.**



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



# 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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## 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.  
SPARK, 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



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

HAROLD D. DONOHUE, MASS.  
 JACK BROOKS, T. X.  
 ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, WIS.  
 DON EDWARDS, CALIF.  
 WILLIAM L. HUMMATE, MO.  
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 WILEY MATHE, IOWA  
 LAWRENCE J. HOGAN, MD.  
 M. CALDWELL BUTLER, VA.  
 WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE  
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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. ZEIPMAN  
 ASSOCIATE GENERAL COUNSEL:  
 GARNER J. CLINE  
 COUNSEL:  
 HERBERT FUCHS  
 WILLIAM P. SHATTUCK  
 H. CHRISTOPHER MOLDE  
 ALAN A. PARKER  
 JAMES F. FALCO  
 MAURICE A. BARBOZA  
 ARTHUR P. ENDRES, JR.  
 FRANKLIN G. FOLK  
 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.

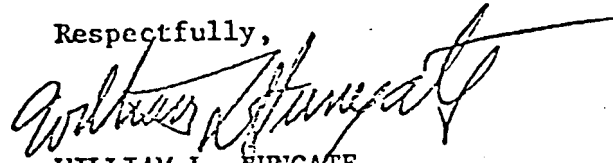




President Gerald R. Ford  
Page 2  
September 17, 1974

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



**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**



*55 - This should be logged. Original with Marsh*

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

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JE BROOKS, TEX.  
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DELBERT L. LATTY, OHIO

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

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ASSOCIATE GENERAL COUNSEL  
DANIEL J. CLINE  
COUNSEL  
HERBERT FUCHS  
WILLIAM P. SHATTUCK  
H. CHRISTOPHER HOLDE  
ALAN A. PARKER  
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ARTHUR P. ENDRES, JR.  
FRANKLIN G. POLK  
THOMAS E. MOONEY  
MICHAEL W. BLOMMER  
ALEXANDER B. COOK  
CONSTANTINE J. GUYAS  
ALAN F. COFFEY, JR.

September 18, 1974

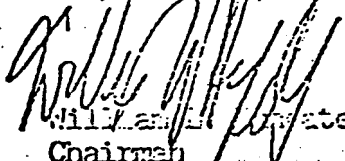
President Gerald R. Ford  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

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 F. Ryan  
Chairman  
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice

WLH/bts

Enclosures



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 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



**September 24, 1974**

**Dear Mr. Chairman:**

**The President has asked me to reply to your second letter to him of September 17, 1974, which concerns the disposition of tapes and documents compiled by former President Nixon and currently within the custody of the Federal Government.**

**These materials, as you know, are the subjects of various subpoenas and court orders and of requests for disclosure by the Office of the Special Prosecutor. As a result, no further action is being taken to affect the disposition of such materials until after the issues raised by the pendency of the subpoenas, court orders, and Special Prosecutor's requests are resolved. The period of time involved in resolving such issues will of itself operate to assure adherence to the request in the second paragraph of your letter.**

**I shall, of course, keep you informed, if you desire, of any later developments which could lead to a change in the present situation.**

**Sincerely yours,**

**Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President**

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



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

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

GENERAL COUNSEL:  
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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





file w/ Hungate  
DP-147

(PARDON)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE CHAIRMAN OF A HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE INVESTIGATING PRESIDENT FORD'S PARDON OF PREDECESSOR RICHARD NIXON SAID TUESDAY HE MAY CALL A WHITE HOUSE AIDE TO EXPAND ON FORD'S EXPLANATION OF THE ACTION.

AT LEAST TWO MEMBERS OF THE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE, REPS. BELLA ABZUG, D-N.Y., AND DON EDWARDS, D-CALIF., SAID THEY CONSIDERED FORD'S RESPONSE TO THE PANEL'S INQUIRY INADEQUATE AND EVEN INSULTING.

IN VIEW OF THAT, SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WILLIAM HUNGATE, D-MO., SAID HE WAS CONSIDERING A REQUEST FOR TESTIMONY BY EITHER PHILIP BUCHEN OR JOHN MARSH, THE PRESIDENT'S TOP LEGAL ADVISERS.

IN RESPONSE TO A REQUEST BY HUNGATE LAST WEEK, FORD SENT THE SUBCOMMITTEE A LETTER SAYING THAT EITHER HE OR BUCHEN HAD ANSWERED ALL OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PARDON AT NEWS CONFERENCES, TRANSCRIPTS OF WHICH WERE ENCLOSED WITH THE LETTER.

REP. ABZUG, AUTHOR OF A RESOLUTION OF INQUIRY WHICH PROMPTED HUNGATE'S REQUEST, SAID FORD'S REPLY "REVEALS A NON-SERIOUS AND TRIFLING ATTITUDE THAT DENEANS THE AUTHORITY AND DIGNITY OF THIS COMMITTEE AND THIS PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE."

"IT IS TOTALLY INADEQUATE FOR MR. FORD TO RESPOND BY SENDING A BATCH OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES AND AN ACCOMPANYING LETTER," SHE SAID.

"I, TOO," SAID EDWARDS, "FIND HIS RESPONSE NOT ONLY CAVALIER BUT VERY CLOSE TO BEING DISRESPECTFUL OF THE HOUSE AND THIS COMMITTEE."

HUNGATE HAD ASKED FORD TO EXPLAIN THE REASONING BEHIND THE PARDON, THE NAMES OF THE PERSONS WITH WHOM HE CONFERRED ABOUT IT, WHETHER THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OR THE SPECIAL WATERGATE PROSECUTOR WERE CONSULTED, AND WHETHER FORD HAD KNOWLEDGE OF ANY CRIMINAL CHARGES WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN BROUGHT AGAINST NIXON.

FORD'S LETTER SAID IN REPLY:

"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."

HUNGATE DECLINED TO CHARACTERIZE FORD'S RESPONSE, BUT SAID "IT SEEMS TO ME IT MAY MAKE IT DESIRABLE THAT SOME LIVING PERSON AT THE WHITE HOUSE COME UP AND RESPOND TO THE COMMITTEE." HE SAID HE MAY ASK BUCHEN OR MARSH TO APPEAR NEXT TUESDAY.

UPI 09-24 06:37 PED



September 24, 1974

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The President has asked me to reply to your second letter to him of September 17, 1974, which concerns the disposition of tapes and documents compiled by former President Nixon and currently within the custody of the Federal Government.

These materials, as you know, are the subjects of various subpoenas and court orders and of requests for disclosure by the Office of the Special Prosecutor. As a result, no further action is being taken to affect the disposition of such materials until after the issues raised by the pendency of the subpoenas, court orders, and Special Prosecutor's requests are resolved. The period of time involved in resolving such issues will of itself operate to assure adherence to the request in the second paragraph of your letter.

I shall, of course, keep you informed, if you desire, of any later developments which could lead to a change in the present situation.

Sincerely yours,

Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President

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

cc: John Marsh  
William Timmons



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**Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President**

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

**cc: John Marsh  
William Timmons**



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**Philip W. Buchen  
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**The Honorable William L. Hungate  
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**Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President**

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

**cc: John Marsh  
William Timmons**



September 24, 1974

To: Hugh Morrow

From: Eva Daughtrey

The attached ticker  
was delivered to our  
office as I was assembling  
the package of materials  
for you ---- so thought you  
might like a copy.



(PARDON)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE CHAIRMAN OF A HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE INVESTIGATING PRESIDENT FORD'S PARDON OF PREDECESSOR RICHARD NIXON SAID TUESDAY HE MAY CALL A WHITE HOUSE AIDE TO EXPAND ON FORD'S EXPLANATION OF THE ACTION.

AT LEAST TWO MEMBERS OF THE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE, REPS. BELLA ABZUG, D-N.Y., AND DON EDWARDS, D-CALIF., SAID THEY CONSIDERED FORD'S RESPONSE TO THE PANEL'S INQUIRY INADEQUATE AND EVEN INSULTING.

IN VIEW OF THAT, SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WILLIAM HUNGATE, D-MO., SAID HE WAS CONSIDERING A REQUEST FOR TESTIMONY BY EITHER PHILIP BUCHEN OR JOHN MARSH, THE PRESIDENT'S TOP LEGAL ADVISERS.

IN RESPONSE TO A REQUEST BY HUNGATE LAST WEEK, FORD SENT THE SUBCOMMITTEE A LETTER SAYING THAT EITHER HE OR BUCHEN HAD ANSWERED ALL OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PARDON AT NEWS CONFERENCES, TRANSCRIPTS OF WHICH WERE ENCLOSED WITH THE LETTER.

REP. ABZUG, AUTHOR OF A RESOLUTION OF INQUIRY WHICH PROMPTED HUNGATE'S REQUEST, SAID FORD'S REPLY "REVEALS A NON-SERIOUS AND TRIFLING ATTITUDE THAT DENEANS THE AUTHORITY AND DIGNITY OF THIS COMMITTEE AND THIS PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE."

"IT IS TOTALLY INADEQUATE FOR MR. FORD TO RESPOND BY SENDING A BATCH OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES AND AN ACCOMPANYING LETTER," SHE SAID.

"I, TOO," SAID EDWARDS, "FIND HIS RESPONSE NOT ONLY CAVALIER BUT VERY CLOSE TO BEING DISRESPECTFUL OF THE HOUSE AND THIS COMMITTEE."

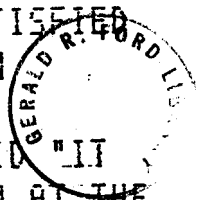
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FORD'S LETTER SAID IN REPLY:

"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."

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UPI 09-24 06:37 PED



**September 24, 1974**

**To: Hugh Morrow**

**From: Eva Daughtrey**

**The attached ticker  
was delivered to our  
office as I was assembling  
the package of materials  
for you ---- so thought you  
might like a copy.**





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9/25/74

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

September 25, 1974

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

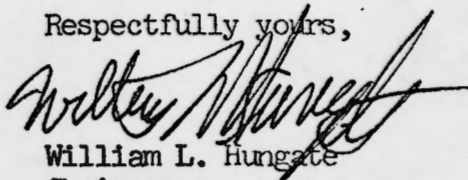
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I am in receipt of your letters dated September 20, 1974, and September 23, 1974, responding to my letters concerning the privileged resolutions, H.Res. 1367, and H.Res. 1370, introduced by Representatives Abzug and Conyers, respectively. A review has been made of the documents accompanying your letter of September 20, 1974, for the purpose of determining whether your and members of your staff's prior statements concerning the pardon of former President Nixon are responsive to the questions posed in the privileged measures.

Due to the difficulty in determining which portions of these statements you mean to apply to each specific question, I respectfully request that you respond individually to each inquiry and that your responses be forwarded to the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice by the close of business on Thursday, September 26, 1974.

In addition, I further respectfully request, after having consulted with the bipartisan membership of the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, that Philip Buchen, Counsel to the President, or someone with equivalent knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the pardon of the former President, appear and testify before the Subcommittee on Tuesday, October 1, 1974.

Respectfully yours,



William L. Hungate  
 Chairman  
 Subcommittee on Criminal Justice



Wednesday 9/25/74

11:20 For Mr. Nessen's press conference, Mr. Carlson needs an answer to the following:

1. According to the Wall Street Journal, the White House is prepared to announce Mr. Simon as the Chief Economic Spokesman and Mr. Seidman as the Economic Policy Coordinator. Can we confirm that?
2. Are the quotes in the AP story attributed to you correct?

*Have to go through his file. The only one who knows.*

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Ford Staff Bjt 480

By LEE BYRD

Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON AP - His White House high command reorganized, President Ford now is looking to put his stamp on the balance of the administration he inherited from Richard M. Nixon.

One top adviser, Philip Buchen, said in an interview that a major shakeup of economic policy organization is underway, with longtime Ford associate L. William Seidman slated for a permanent, high-level post in that area.

*Not  
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Seidman, a millionaire accountant from Ford and Buchen's home town of Grand Rapids, Mich., is highly regarded by the President for his management creativity. He now is winding up a temporary job as architect of Ford's economic summits.

Buchen would disclose only that Seidman likely will inherit some of the duties of economic counsellor Kenneth Rush, who is leaving the White House for a diplomat post. Seidman would not comment.

At the same time, Buchen indicated, Ford will sharpen his scrutiny of the rest of the federal bureaucracy, looking for allegiance and initiative in departments and agencies that lost impetus in the waning months of the Nixon presidency.

"Counting new names is not necessarily a good test," of what is to come, Buchen said. "The key is when the operation takes on the form and represents the philosophy" of the new President.

Q: And that's not the case now?

A: No, I don't think so. The onrush of day-to-day events has stood in the way, but there will be a breakthrough fairly soon."

Meanwhile on Tuesday, Ford announced the appointment of Donald Rumsfeld, 42, a former House colleague who now is ambassador to NATO, as a presidential assistant responsible for coordinating White House operations.

Aside from the pending announcement on Seidman, Rumsfeld's appointment virtually completed reorganization of the White House staff. Now, of the six men closest to the President, each with an office near his, only one is a Nixon holdover, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.



Rumsfeld is to go to work Friday, succeeding Alexander M. Haig Jr. but without either the title or the sweeping powers that Haig and his predecessor, H.R. Haldeman, once held as chiefs of staff.

Robert Hartmann, the speechwriter-counsellor who sits next to the Oval Office, said Rumsfeld's duties would be "more in character of an administrative assistant, a guy who runs the office."

"Nobody will be No. 1 on the White House staff," Hartmann said. "All six of us will be No. 2s, without any particular pecking order, all with free access to the President."

Buchen, the President's counsel, one-time law partner, and head of the team that advised him on presidential transition, declined to specify where changes might be contemplated elsewhere in government. But he made it clear that the Ford White House feels no particular obligation to keep either Nixon appointees or programs.

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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.

# With Simon, Seidman Dividing Duties

By JAMES P. GANNON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—President Ford plans to shuffle economic policy roles in his administration by splitting major responsibilities between Treasury Secretary William Simon and L. William Seidman, manager of Mr. Ford's economic summit meetings.

White House sources said Mr. Ford soon will designate Mr. Simon as his chief economic spokesman and name Mr. Seidman as economic-policy coordinator, succeeding Kenneth Rush, who has been nominated as ambassador to France. With that division of labor, the Treasury chief likely would be "Mr. Outside," publicly enunciating the Ford economic policy, while Mr. Seidman would be "Mr. Inside," organizing and overseeing the activities of all departments and agencies involved in economic policy.

These plans indicate that Mr. Ford is willing to "stand pat" with the current team of economic officials, at least for the near future; rather than bring in new policymakers. But government sources add that this doesn't necessarily mean a "stand pat" stance on economic policy, which is likely to

President Mr. Rush, an appointee of President Nixon, has filled this role in the early days of the Ford administration but is expected to depart shortly after this weekend's summit meeting.

The plans for Mr. Simon and Mr. Seidman appear to preclude any wholesale changeover in the Ford administration's economic team, for the present at least. Associates say Roy Ash, director of the Office of Management and Budget, is likely to leave the government early next year, after he has completed preparing the fiscal 1976 budget, which Mr. Ford will send to Congress in January.

Alan Greenspan, the new chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, is just settling into his job. He has indicated he wants to be an internal economic analyst and adviser to Mr. Ford rather than an external defender of policy. Mr. Greenspan shuns the economic-spokesman role that his predecessor, Herbert Stein, often played, though Mr. Stein wasn't officially designated as chief spokesman. Giving that title and job to Mr. Simon will fill a void



---

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/25/74 11:40 a. m.

Mr. Hushen would like  
you to review this and  
see if you have any  
problems with these  
answers.



Q AND A REGARDING HOUSE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE ACTION:

Q: Does the President consider his response to the subcommittee to be "inadequate, trifling ~~and~~ and demeaning?"

A: Certainly not, The President believes he ~~was very responsive to~~ the subcommittee request ~~for~~ for information regarding the ~~five~~ questions posed by the subcommittee.

~~But the overriding factor here,~~ <sup>Also,</sup> as the President said in his letter of response, is, and I quote:

"Regardless of any background information or advice I may have received, I am responsible for the pardon decision. I am satisfied that ~~it~~ it was the right course to follow in accord with my own conscience and conviction."

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
Q: Does the President think that his decision is open to or review investigation by Congress?

A: The Constitution gives the President the sole power to pardon individuals. Congress does not have that authority. that is a decision for Congress to make, and As for any investigation by Congress, ~~the President has been very cooperative~~

Q: Did't the ~~President~~ <sup>just</sup> President send a bunch of press releases to the Hill in answer to their questions.

A: No, the documents that were supplied were the following:

A copy of the President's statement to the nation in which he described the reasons for granted <sup>ing</sup> the pardon ~~and answered most of the other questions posed by the subcommittee.~~ He also enclosed ~~a~~ a copy of the



Continued answer to documents send to subcommittee

proclamation, a copy of his Sept. 16 press conference in which he ~~was~~ answered about a dozen questions on the subject, and finally, copies of two briefings given by his Legal Counsel, Phil Buchen. ~~Pertinent sections of the Buchen briefings were underlined for the subcommittee.~~

Q: Will the President send Mr. Buchen to testify before the committee or will he go himself.

A: There has been no decision made ~~was~~ regarding such a request. (FYI: Do not say that no request has been received unless asked.)

*These documents presented the controlling considerations which led to the President's decision to issue ~~the~~ the pardon proclamation.*



9/25/74

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

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September 25, 1974

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

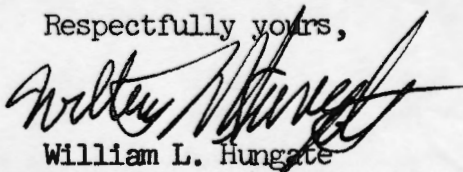
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Respectfully yours,



William L. Hungate  
 Chairman  
 Subcommittee on Criminal Justice

WLH/pts



DRAFT PWBuchen 9/25/74

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, and 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. In addition, I have prepared this further response to you in the interests of accomplishing what I had sought



to do by my proclamation and message. The object was to overcome as quickly as possible disruptions to the efforts and cooperation we desperately need for solving current problems that gravely threaten the future stability and welfare of our country. These disruptions relate to the events that brought about the resignation of the former President and were the result of offenses against the United States occurring before I came to the Presidency on August 9, 1974.

If, as indicated by the resolutions before you, my proclamation for pardon of the former President has not had immediately 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. The only information I had which is in any way related to the first inquiry 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.

2. I have no knowledge of the matters covered by the second inquiry except as stated in my response below to the third inquiry and as I have read the following in Time magazine of September 30, 1974, at page 31:

"There was every idea imaginable around," he [General Haig] 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 contents of transcripts, which became public on August 5, 1974, first became known at the end of July 1974, to General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and others within the White House.

3. While I was a Member of Congress or Vice President, the possibility of a pardon for Mr. Nixon was not a subject of discussion with Richard M. Nixon or any of his representatives except as follows: General Haig reported to me about developments and suggestions that were current within the White House staff at the end of July 1974. I personally opposed consideration by Mr. Nixon, or by anyone advising him, which would involve a pardon or any promise of a pardon as a precondition or inducement for his resignation, and I made my opposition



known to General Haig. Also, I made no such promise whatsoever and gave no assurances, express or implied, in that regard. 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. The only discussions with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives or aides about a possible pardon for him which I know about that took place after I became President occurred 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 on 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 principally to unresolved matters of the Nixon papers and tape recordings.





5. 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 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 in 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, copy of which is now being furnished in connection with the first response above. No other facts or legal authorities were given me by either of the men in question.

6. Yes, I did telephone Vice Presidential nominee Nelson Rockefeller on the subject of the pardon, the date being \_\_\_\_\_, although I have had other consultations with him on unrelated subjects.



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

7. I consulted with no attorneys or professors of law other than Philip W. Buchen and Benton Becker. However, John O. Marsh, Counsellor to the President, is also an attorney, and I did have discussions with him but not on legal questions.

8. 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. 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 draft as issued was subject to our approval.



10. 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 inquiry (2) of H. Res. 1370.

Further response to H. Res. 1370

(1) 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) 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 as follows: The reports I had from Dr. Lukash, which I mentioned, insofar as they preceded my pardon decision, were not a controlling factor in my decision. These reports were verbal and not based on his own examination of Mr. Nixon during the period I was considering the decision, and they related to developments which have progressively led to his required hospitalization and treatment and to the condition of his health as publicly reported most recently by his principal attending physician. Other observations came to me from Mr. 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.



(3) The only special information in my possession or control bearing on alleged 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 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 Grand Jury to have earlier found probable cause for indicting him, as well as information from the transcripts made public August 5, 1974.

(4) No representations were made by or on behalf of me in connection with a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States.

Also, in response to the subject of the last paragraph of the resolution, I assure you that I have no intention of granting any pardon for any of the persons in question. However, if a request for a pardon of a convicted offender comes to me after full consideration first by the Pardon Attorney's office in the Department of Justice, I would deal with such request just as I would from persons who had been convicted of offenses outside the prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force. No such request is before me, although Counsel to the President advises me that one request received by him in behalf of a Watergate defendant has been referred to the Pardon Attorney for processing, as I have asked be done with any request received from any offender.

The foregoing now lays before you the information, as I see it, which is called for by the resolutions in question. In having responded for reasons stated at the beginning of this letter, I have strong reservations about the unusual scope of the inquiries, and I believe they represent too broad a use of the inquiry powers of the Congress which in any other circumstances I would seriously question. I raise this point because of my desire that the Congress itself consider in a broader context what limitations it should demand for resolutions of this type.

Also, because of the full responses I have given, I question the need to have Philip W. Buchen or someone with equivalent knowledge of the circumstances to appear before your Subcommittee on Criminal Justice. However, if your Subcommittee would still want him to appear in executive session for questioning on facts relevant to the inquiries as framed, I would allow him to respond in that manner. You are aware, of course, that further public disclosures on the subject by any officers of this Government could conceivably work against prompt and fair trial of the defendants under prosecution by the Special Prosecutor, as one or more of them has already argued before Judge Sirica.

Sincerely yours,

