

AMNESTY:

A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

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AMNESTY: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

President Gerald R. Ford, on September 16, 1974, issued a proclamation and executive orders establishing a program of clemency for Vietnam-era draft evaders and military deserters.^{1/} This action has rekindled Congressional interest in the history of amnesties in this country and the extent of Congressional involvement in past amnesties.

Although a number of articles and studies of various aspects of amnesty have been written, a comprehensive treatment of amnesties in American history does not appear to exist.^{2/} This paper is an effort in that direction, covering the highlights but not exploring the subject in depth. No attempt has been made to delve into the legal intricacies of amnesty and the constitutional question of Congressional versus Presidential authority to grant amnesty, which arose after the Civil War, is treated only from the historical point of view.

As the reader will discover, amnesty is a complicated subject, hazy in scope and often controversial.

Following a brief description of the concept of amnesty. The paper gives some examples of its use in Western societies, including a summary of

^{1/} See Appendix B for the text of the President's proclamation and executive orders. The White House fact sheet on the extension of clemency may be found on p. A-8, Washington Post, September 17, 1974.

^{2/} The Civil War period is thoroughly treated in Dorris, Jonathan Truman. Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press, 1953. 459 p.

federal amnesties in this country -- with particular reference to those few occasions when Congress took an active role. President Ford's recent offer of clemency is described but not analyzed in detail, since the program was only beginning to become operational at the time the paper was revised.^{1/}

What is Amnesty?

Originating in a Greek term meaning forgetfulness or oblivion, amnesty has become a concept which implies "an act of the legal sovereign conceding, from grace, a voluntary extinction from memory of certain crimes committed against the state."^{2/} More simply, amnesty is the official act of overlooking a crime which was committed by a group of people.

The concepts of pardon and amnesty are interrelated. Historically, amnesty evolved from the general pardoning powers of ruling authorities. Pardon does not release the individual from guilt, but from the penalty imposed for a transgression of the law. Similarly, amnesty releases recipients not from guilt but from the penalty imposed by law. "It is a legal oblivion, usually of political offenses. However, only the criminal consequences of the absolved act are destroyed."^{3/}

^{1/} For information on Congressional interest in amnesty for Vietnam-era offenders, see Lockwood, David E. Congress and the Amnesty Issue: A Review of Activities and Proposals During the Period 1969-1972. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, February 5, 1973 (73-27F), 51 p.

^{2/} Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences v. 1. New York, Macmillan, 1937: 36-39.

^{3/} Ibid, p. 36.

Pardon can be extended to any kind of offender and is usually granted after punishment for the crime has begun. Amnesty has usually been granted to political offenders,^{1/} often before a trial or punishment has begun.

There are two types of amnesties. General amnesties cover all classes of offenders. Particular amnesties are limited to special groups, sometimes with specific exceptions.^{2/}

Whether general or particular, an amnesty can be "absolute" (imposing no conditions on the recipients) or "conditional" (demanding performance of certain conditions before entering into effect). For example, President's Ford's extension of clemency to Vietnam-era draft evaders and military deserters who agree "to a period of alternate service in the national interest, together with an acknowledgement of their allegiance to the country and its Constitution,"^{3/} is a particular conditional amnesty.

Some Notable Amnesties in Western History

The first true amnesty usually cited by students of Western cultures occurred in 404 B.C. when Thrasybulus, an Athenian general, forbade punishment of Athenian citizens for past political acts. After expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants (who were excluded from the amnesty), Thrasybulus granted amnesty to all citizens in an effort to "erase civil strife from memory by the

^{1/} Political offense: "A violation of a law or of the public peace for public rather than private reasons, in contradistinction to a crime of moral nature, as murder, arson, or theft, which disturbs the general peace. Political offenders are usually not extraditable." Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, 2nd ed., Springfield, G&C Merriam Company, 1953. p. 1909.

^{2/} Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, op. cit., p. 36-39.

^{3/} Federal Register v. 39, September 17, 1974. p. 33293.

imposition of legal oblivion.^{1/} Thrasybulus' action, whether or not it was the first, clearly possessed all the characteristics of amnesty as defined today.

Among the many amnesties in French history, the lettres d'abolition accompanying a truce between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians in 1413 were an early example. Rioters in Bordeaux were amnestied in 1549. The Edict of Nantes, issued by Henry IV in 1598, ended persecution of the Huguenots (French Protestants).^{2/} Napoleon's imperial decree of 1802 and successive amnesties following the civil disturbances of 1871 and the Paris Commune were among the many 19th century French amnesty proclamations.^{3/}

Significant among amnesties in England were those granted in 1615 after the Civil War and in 1660 after the restoration of Charles II. Other notable amnesties -- all required under peace treaties involving European powers -- are outlined below.

The treaty of Osnabruck between the emperor on the one hand and Sweden and the Protestant states of Germany on the other (1648), and that of Oliva between the emperor, Sweden, Poland and the elector of Brandenburg (1660) provided not only that mutual wrongs should be consigned to oblivion but that property should be restored to all persons who had been dispossessed during the war. The final act of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 extended amnesty to Poles and Swedes, and the treaty of Frankfurt between France and Germany in 1871 limited amnesty provisions to the inhabitants of the territory ceded by France to Germany, though this was subsequently extended by special negotiations. The treaty of San Stefano, between Russia and Turkey in 1878, contained the usual provision requiring Turkey to extend amnesty to its own subjects compromised during the war. The peace of Vereeniging ending the Boer War in 1902 provided amnesty for Boers who accepted British nationality with the exception of a list of Boer officers who were to be tried for violations of the law of war.^{4/}

^{1/} Ibid., p. 37.

^{2/} Encyclopaedia Britannica, v. 1. Chicago, William Benton, 1964: p. 809.

^{3/} Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, op. cit., p. 31.

^{4/} Encyclopaedia Britannica. op. cit., p. 807.

Some of the European countries granted amnesties to political prisoners after World War I. On January 13, 1920, the Senate asked the Secretary of State to provide information on the amnesty policies of the wartime allies. Acting Secretary Polk responded by providing the texts of French, Italian, Belgian, and Canadian amnesty documents and a statement explaining the British Government's negative position on the question.^{1/} Also that year two resolutions were introduced in the Senate advocating amnesty for political prisoners, the most famous of whom was Eugene V. Debs, imprisoned for "pacifism in violation of the 1918 Espionage Act." His sentence was commuted by President Harding in 1921, but his citizenship was never restored.^{2/}

In December 1920 the Senate held hearings on amnesty for political prisoners, but no report was issued and no further Congressional action ensued.^{3/}

After World War II, France, Norway, Germany, Belgium, Japan, and the Netherlands granted amnesties or pardons to some who had been engaged in compromising activities.^{4/} More recently, after De Gaulle resolved the Algerian conflict, a general amnesty was granted to most of those who had illegally resisted the French government's policies.

^{1/} U.S. Congress. Senate. Amnesty to Prisoners Since the Armistice. Messages from the President...Transmitting...a Communication from the Acting Secretary of State...March 1 and March 11, 1920. 66th Congress, 2d session. Senate Documents no. 241 and 249.

^{2/} Encyclopaedia Britannica v. 7, op. cit., p. 137.

^{3/} U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Amnesty and Pardon for Political Prisoners. Hearings. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1921. 198 p.

^{4/} Encyclopaedia Britannica, op. cit., p. 808.

Amnesties in American History

In many countries the power to grant amnesty rests with the legislature rather than the executive. In the United States, however, it has been the President who has exercised such power. Virtually all amnesties have been issued by or in the name of the Chief Executive, although some have been in response to Congressional initiative. Presidential authority to grant pardons and amnesties is derived from the constitutional provision that the "President . . . shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment."^{1/}

Congress has, however, attempted to assert authority in this regard, especially toward the end of the Civil War and in the years immediately thereafter. The question of Congressional authority to grant amnesty and pardon was considered by the Supreme Court in 1896. Although the case did not involve the issue directly, in *Brown v. Walker* (161 U.S. 591) the Court used language indicating that it could be assumed the President did not have exclusive authority to grant pardon and amnesty. The Court was also of the opinion that the distinction between pardon and amnesty was of no practical importance.

The following is a brief account of Federal amnesties in American history, based upon a review of James D. Richardson's "Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents" and upon Jonathan Truman Dorris' book, "Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson."^{2/}

^{1/} Constitution of the United States. Article II, Section 2.

^{2/} Dorris, Jonathan Truman. *Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1953. 459 p.

By pardoning participants in the 1794 Whiskey Insurrection, George Washington set a precedent for a succession of Presidential amnesties. On July 10, 1795, Washington proclaimed "A full, free and entire pardon to all persons . . . of all treasons, . . . and other indictable offenses against the United States committed within the fourth survey of Pennsylvania before the said 22nd day of August last past . . ."^{1/} Exceptions were made of those who "refused or neglected to give assurance of submission to laws of the United States; violated such assurances after they were given; or willfully obstructed or attempted to obstruct the execution of the acts for raising a revenue on distilled spirits . . . or by aiding or abetting therein . . ."^{2/}

The insurrection had reached a climax on July 17, 1794, when "several hundred men" attacked and burned the home of the regional inspector of the excise.^{3/} Washington's pardon came a year later. In his explanation to Congress, the President said:

For though I shall always think it a sacred duty to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested, yet my personal feeling is to mingle in the operations the Government every degree of moderation and tenderness which the national justice, dignity and safety may permit.^{4/}

^{1/} Richardson, James D. *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* v. 10. New York, Bureau of National Literature, Inc., 1897. p. 173.

^{2/} Ibid.

^{3/} *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, op. cit., p. 571.

^{4/} Richardson, James D., op. cit., v. 1, p. 276-277.

In 1799 a band of more than 100 Pennsylvanians, rebelling against the laws for the valuation of lands and dwellings, freed the prisoners of a United States marshal and prevented him from carrying out his duties.^{1/} On May 21, 1800, President Adams granted " . . . a full, free, and absolute pardon to all and every person or persons concerned in said insurrection . . . of all treasons, misprisions of treason, felonies, misdemeanors, and other crimes by them respectively done or committed against the United States. . . ."^{2/}

By the Proclamation of October 15, 1807, President Jefferson granted a full pardon to all deserters from the Army of the United States who would surrender themselves within a period of four months.^{3/}

Prior to and during the War of 1812, proclamations offering "a full pardon" to deserters who surrendered within four months were issued by President Madison on February 7, 1812, October 8, 1812, and June 17, 1814. No exceptions were listed.^{4/} President Madison also proclaimed an amnesty for the pirates and smugglers in the vicinity of New Orleans who helped fight the British.^{5/}

^{1/} Ibid.

^{2/} Ibid., p. 293-294.

^{3/} Ibid., p. 413.

^{4/} Richardson, James D., op. cit., v. 2, p. 497, 499, 528.

^{5/} Dictionary of American Biography v. 10, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966: p. 540.

After Congress repealed the death penalty for peacetime desertion, President Jackson on June 12, 1830, extended pardon to deserters subject to the following provisions: Those in confinement were to be released and returned to duty; those at large and under sentence of death were to be discharged and never again enlisted in the service of the country.^{1/}

During the confusion at the outbreak of the Civil War many persons were detained by civil and military authorities. But on February 14, 1862, through Secretary of War Stanton, the President directed the release of many political prisoners and others held in military custody "on their subscribing to a parole engaging them to render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States."^{2/} On February 27, a special commission was appointed to examine the cases of the state prisoners remaining in military custody and to "determine whether, in view of the public safety and the existing rebellion, they should be discharged or remain . . . for (civil) trial."^{3/}

In the Confiscation Law of 1862 Congress authorized President Lincoln to extend pardon and amnesty to persons participating in the rebellion, imposing exceptions or conditions as he deemed expedient.^{4/} Subsequent proclamations issued by Lincoln during this critical period acknowledged the statute but indicated that he did not consider it his sole source of authority.^{5/}

^{1/} Richardson, James D., op. cit., v. 3, p. 1062-1063.

^{2/} Ibid., p. 3304.

^{3/} Ibid., p. 3310.

^{4/} Act of July 17, 1862 (12 Stat. 592).

^{5/} In his Third Annual Message, December 8, 1863, Lincoln said: "The constitution authorizes the Executive to grant or withhold the pardon at his own absolute discretion, and this includes the power to grant on terms, as is fully established by judicial and other authorities." Richardson, James D., op. cit., v. 7, p. 3388.

By the Presidential Proclamation of March 10, 1863, deserters who reported on or before April 1, 1863, were restored to their regiments without punishment except for forfeiture of pay and allowances during their absence. ^{1/}

On December 8, 1863, President Lincoln declared in his proclamation:

Whereas it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States and to reinaugurate loyal State governments. . . a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves and property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened . . . ^{2/}

Each person was required to subscribe to and "maintain . . . inviolate" a prescribed oath of loyalty to the United States. Officers of the Confederate Government, former officers of the United States who joined the rebellion, and certain other classes of rebels were excepted. ^{3/}

In February 1864, the War Department mitigated the sentences of deserters from death to imprisonment, authorizing generals to restore deserters to duty whenever it was deemed beneficial to the service. ^{4/}

On March 26, 1864, Lincoln found it necessary to issue an additional proclamation defining the cases in which insurgent enemies were entitled to the benefits of the Proclamation of December 8, 1863. He declared that civil and military prisoners were not eligible but added that they

^{1/} Ibid., p. 3364-3365.

^{2/} Ibid., p. 3414, 3416.

^{3/} -Ibid.

^{4/} Ibid., p. 3434.

might apply to the President for clemency "like all other offenders . . ."
 The previous proclamation was held applicable only to persons at large who voluntarily took the oath "with the purpose of restoring peace and establishing the national authority."^{1/}

In his Fourth Annual Message in December 1865, Lincoln stated that although many had complied with the measure of the previous year, some had abused the amnesty, necessitating precautionary measures which made the process more complicated. However, special pardons had also been granted to individuals of the excepted classes, and no voluntary application had been denied.^{2/}

An Act of Congress approved March 3, 1865, set forfeiture of citizenship as the punishment for desertion and required the President to issue a proclamation pardoning all deserters who returned to their proper posts within sixty days and served a period of time equal to the original term of their enlistment.^{3/} Lincoln complied by issuing the Proclamation of March 11, 1865. Subsequently, the War Department, on July 3, 1866, offered conditional amnesty to all regular army deserters who surrendered before August 15, 1866.^{4/}

~~Shortly after taking office, President Andrew Johnson issued a Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction on May 29, 1865, which granted full pardon to all former Confederates (except certain leaders) who took an unqualified oath of allegiance to the United States.~~^{5/} Many Members

^{1/} Ibid., p. 3419.

^{2/} Ibid., p. 3455.

^{3/} Ibid., v. 8, p. 3479-3480.

^{4/} 20 Op. Atty. General 345.

^{5/} Richardson, James D., op. cit., v. 8, p. 3508-3510.

of Congress disagreed with the President's actions and a struggle ensued between Congress and the Executive over the constitutional question of authority to grant pardon and amnesty. On January 21, 1867, Congress repealed Section 13 (authority of the President to proclaim amnesty and pardon)^{1/} of the Confiscation Law of 1862, but Johnson treated this repeal as a nullity and extended the provisions for amnesty in three new proclamations in 1867 and 1868. His proclamation of September 7, 1867, offered full pardon to "all persons participating in the late rebellion" who would take an oath of allegiance. Excepted were these classes of Confederates: high-ranking members of the Confederate Government, those who mistreated prisoners of war, those in civil or military confinement, and those engaged directly or indirectly in the assassination of President Lincoln.^{2/}

A further proclamation issued July 4, 1868, extended full pardon to "all participants engaged in the late rebellion, -- those under indictment for treason or felony excepted,"^{3/} and finally on December 25, 1868, President Johnson granted a full, unconditional pardon and amnesty to "all persons engaged in the late rebellion."^{4/}

The President's actions caused a furor in Congress. The Senate Judiciary Committee issued a report on February 17, 1869, stating in part:

^{1/} 14 Stat. 377.

^{2/} Richardson, James D., op. cit., v. 8, p. 3745-3747.

^{3/} Ibid., p. 3853-3854.

^{4/} Ibid., p. 3906.

did he know something who was engaged in assassination?

The committee, after a careful examination of the subject, have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the proclamation in question [of December 25, 1868] was wholly beyond the constitutional power of the President, and that it can have no efficacy to the ends sought to be reached by it.

The Committee offered a resolution "That, in the opinion of the Senate, the proclamation of the President . . . purporting to grant general pardon and amnesty to all persons guilty of treason and acts of hostility to the United States during the late rebellion, with restoration of rights . . . was not authorized by the Constitution or laws."^{1/}

No action was taken by the Senate on the Committee's proposal, but from this time forward Congress became increasingly involved in the consideration of pardons and the removal of political disabilities. According to Dorris, Congressional clemency was being solicited before the passage of the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 when "persons began appealing to members of Congress for relief from disfranchisement."^{2/} Prior to that time, as indicated above, Congress had in one instance recommended a Presidential amnesty (1862) and in another authorized and required it (1865). Congress reversed itself in January 1867 by repealing the amnesty provision of the Confiscation Act of 1862. However, it was the Fourteenth Amendment (ratified in July 1868) that served principally to involve Congress in a series of actions on pardons and amnesties. Section three of the amendment barred from Federal or State office any person "who, having previously taken an

^{1/} S. Rept. 239 (40th. Cong., 3rd. Sess.)

^{2/} Dorris, Jonathan Truman, op. cit., p. 362.

oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution . . . , shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same . . ." It provided further that this disability could be removed by a two-thirds vote of each House of Congress. As Dorris points out:

"For nearly ten years after the promulgation of the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress gave much time to the removal of disabilities thus imposed. Sometimes these private acts, as in the case of R. R. Butler, applied to only one person; at other times, as in the law of July 25, 1868, they applied to many. In every such measure the names of the beneficiaries were given, even when the lists were long; and as in the case of petitions to the President for pardon in 1865 and 1866, the requests to Congress for removals were numerous. Each appeal was expected to receive special consideration to determine its merits. This required much time that might well have been devoted to other needed legislation, but Congress continued to make removals in special acts until, by March 4, 1871, 4,616 persons had been relieved."^{1/}

With the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment President Johnson "could, and did, continue to restore civil rights by special pardons and by amnesty, but . . . there was no question as to the power of removing the disability imposed in the third section of the amendment. Congress--not the executive--was to dispose clemency in the particular."^{2/} Whether such action should properly be considered as amnesty is a legal point which this paper will not address. In any case, in addition to the many private acts there were numerous efforts in Congress to enact laws which would

^{1/} Ibid., p. 368.

^{2/} Ibid., p. 369.

provide general relief. After President Grant's annual message of December 1871 recommended such a bill, Congress enacted the general amnesty law of 1872, which "re-enfranchised many thousands," permitting every seat in the House and Senate to be occupied for the first time since 1861.^{1/}

In 1876 another bill that would have relieved the several hundred individuals, including Jefferson Davis, who were still barred from holding office failed of passage. However, limited amnesty bills were passed in 1884 and 1896, the former of which lifted restrictions on jury duty and civil office and the latter on appointment to military commissions.^{2/}

When, under the pressures created by the Spanish-American War, a universal amnesty bill was finally enacted in 1898, its practical effect was virtually nil. "One by one the disfranchised ex-Confederates had passed away," including Jefferson Davis, who died in 1889 still disqualified from holding office.^{3/}

~~Following the Philippine Insurrection, President Theodore Roosevelt on July 4, 1902, proclaimed a "complete pardon and amnesty" for those who had participated.~~^{4/}

In December 1916, the Supreme Court ruled that U.S. District Judges had no authority to suspend sentences or the imposition thereof as their judgment might dictate--an authority which had been exercised for many years by some judges and not at all by others. The ruling would have required the

^{1/} Ibid., p. 378

^{2/} Ibid., p. 379-386.

^{3/} Ibid., p. 387.

^{4/} Richardson, James D., op. cit., v. 14., p. 6690-6692.

enforcement of sentences in thousands of cases. To remedy the situation, President Wilson, by two separate actions in June and August of 1917, amnestied large numbers of persons in certain categories, such as those whose sentences would have already run out if originally imposed and those who had pleaded or been found guilty at least one year prior to June 14, 1917, the date of his first proclamation.^{1/}

The President's action affecting approximately 5,000 persons,^{2/} was not, of course, related to World War I, for which no general amnesty was declared. Subsequently, however, two Presidential proclamations granted particular amnesty to some deserters, in one case, and to draft and espionage law violators in the other. Congress had enacted a law on August 22, 1912, providing that deserters forfeited their citizenship, but it was not until 1924, following the formal declaration ending World War I, that President Coolidge granted amnesty and thus citizenship to approximately 100 persons^{3/} who had deserted since the World War I armistice. Much later, in 1933, President Roosevelt granted amnesty and citizenship to violators of draft and espionage acts who had completed their sentences.^{4/}

~~On December 23, 1947, on the basis of recommendations of an Amnesty Board, President Truman pardoned 1,523 persons of a total of 15,805 cases of those who had evaded or otherwise violated the Selective Service Act during World War II. In a technical sense, President Truman's action~~

^{1/} Ibid., v. 16. p. 8317-8319.

^{2/} New York Times, June 16, 1917. p. 18.

^{3/} New York Times, March 6, 1924: p. 3.

^{4/} Proclamation No. 2068. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Public Papers and Addresses, v. 2, New York, Random House, 1938. p. 540-541.

constituted a series of individual pardons rather than an amnesty.

Executive Order 9814, December 23, 1946, establishing the Amnesty Board did not call for uniform treatment for all offenders. Instead, ~~the order~~ provided that the board "examine and consider the cases of all persons convicted of violation of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 In cases when the Board desired to do so, it should "make a report to the Attorney General which shall include its findings and its recommendations as to whether Executive clemency should be granted or denied, and in any case in which it recommends . . . clemency . . . , its recommendations with respect to the form that such clemency should take."^{1/}

In the last days of his administration, on December 24, 1952, President Truman issued two proclamations. The first pardoned exconvicts who had served not less than one year in the armed forces after June 25, 1950 (i.e., after the beginning of the Korean conflict). The second amnestied all persons who, having deserted between July 14, 1945, and June 25, 1950, were consequently court-martialed or dishonorably discharged or both. The effect was to mitigate punishment by restoring voting, office holding, and other civil rights.^{2/}

There is however, no record of a Presidential amnesty for draft evasion following the Korean conflict.

^{1/} Federal Regulations, Title 3--The President, 1943-1948 Compilation. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1957. p. 144.

^{2/} Federal Register, v. 17, December 31, 1952. p. 11833.

Reflections on Past Amnesties

Every civil struggle in which the victor has not annihilated the vanquished has resulted in an implicit amnesty. "Some peace treaties have not included an amnesty clause, but amnesty is said to implied except in so far as express provision is made to the contrary."^{1/}

But beyond the implied amnesty of the victor, an explicit proclamation by the ruling authority can be viewed as having a discernible social value. An amnesty act is foremost a reaffirmation of the legitimacy of authority.

Amnesties . . . usually follow civil disturbances which have threatened the government, and . . . the granting of an amnesty is nearly always a sign that the government feels its position secure from violent overthrow, and that having disarmed its enemies in the field, it may proceed with the attempt at disarming hatred and resentment by an act of grace.^{2/}

By going beyond the strict rule of law to overlook an offense, an act of amnesty reflects flexibility in the hierarchy of values within a society. Although the rule of law is a strong value consideration in our society, an act of amnesty may be undertaken in the spirit that laws are imperfect servants of men. From this viewpoint, amnesty is an expression by the ruling authority of the temporary predominance of one social value (forgiveness, reconciliation) over another social value (rule of law). Amnesty is a recognition that sometimes and in some situations it is healthier for the society to forgive offenses than to risk a continuance of resentment and hatred from within.

^{1/} Encyclopaedia Britannica, op. cit., p. 807.

^{2/} Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, op. cit., p. 37.

Amnesty is thus the available legal instrument in those instances where it is thought that "magnanimity will serve the society's interest better than punishment."^{1/} Although it is a temporary waiver of the normal practice of a ruling authority, the act of granting amnesty is at the same time a reaffirmation of legitimacy. Only when the ruling authority is accepted as legitimate can amnesty be beneficial to the society. "Wherever the government feels itself insecure (amnesties) are of doubtful worth. In fact, from the standpoint of the group in power, amnesties are politically expedient only when the regime is safe from further violence, and when clemency may not be mistaken for weakness."^{2/}

If reconciliation efforts tend to surface when a government has endured grave upheaval, it is not surprising that the greatest number of amnesties in American history were granted during and after the Civil War. No other period in our history generated such widespread and controversial interest in amnesty, and at no other time was the country in such great jeopardy.

It is conceivable that the current interest in amnesty is to some extent a measure of the domestic social crisis brought on by the war in Indochina.

A review of American history through 1973 indicates several instances of amnesty of one kind or another for deserters. Most of these occurred in connection with the Civil War and the War of 1812. Between 1900 and 1974, amnesties for deserters were granted only by President Coolidge in 1924 --

^{1/} Neuhaus, John Richard. The Good Sense of Amnesty. Nation, February 9, 1970: 148.

^{2/} Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, op. cit., p. 38.

applicable to 100 or so men who had deserted subsequent to the armistice ending World War II--and by President Truman in 1952--pertaining to persons convicted for having deserted during the period between the end of World War II and the beginning of the Korean conflict.

Amnesties for those violating the draft laws were few indeed. The historical record shows only two such instances, the first in 1933 and the second in 1947. President Roosevelt's amnesty, applying to some 1,500 persons convicted of having violated espionage or draft laws in World War I, did not occur until fifteen years after the war had ended. President Truman's 1947 proclamation, as already indicated, was not truly an amnesty. Of more than 15,000 men who had evaded the draft in World War II, only 1,523 were pardoned by this action, which occurred two years and four months after the Japanese surrender.

Thus, it is apparent that during the first seven decades of this century pardon and amnesty did not come quickly for persons guilty of desertion or draft evasion during periods of military hostilities, and those receiving amnesty were select groups representing only a small proportion of the total number of offenders. At no time, did the total number of offenders of these types approach the number thought to be involved today.

President Ford's Offer of Clemency

President Gerald R. Ford announced a program of clemency of Vietnam-era draft evaders and military deserters on September 16, 1974.^{1/} He declared in his proclamation:

^{1/} The text of the President's proclamation and executive orders was published in the Federal Register on September 17, 1974, and is reproduced in Appendix B to this paper. Further information is contained in the White House fact sheet on the President's extension of clemency, which was reproduced on p. A-8, Washington Post, September 17, 1974.

Desertion in time of war is a major, serious offense; failure to respond to the country's call for duty is also a serious offense. Reconciliation among our people does not require that these acts be condoned. Yet, reconciliation calls for an act of mercy to bind the Nation's wounds and to heal the scars of divisiveness.^{1/}

The President established a program whereby offenders could "earn return to their country, their communities, and their families, upon their agreement to a period of alternate service in the national interest, together with an acknowledgement of their allegiance to the country and its Constitution."^{2/}

Only those who were delinquent with respect to military service between August 4, 1964 (the date of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution) and March 28, 1973 (the date of withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam) were made eligible for the program, which the President proclaimed "pursuant to my powers under Article II, Sections 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution."^{3/} The program was to commence immediately.

Approximately 15,500 draft evadors were considered by the White House to be potentially eligible for clemency. About 8,700 of them had already been convicted of draft evasion, 4,350 (including 4,060 fugitives) were under indictment, and 2,250 were under investigation. Approximately 3,000 of the fugitives were thought to be in Canada.^{4/}

^{1/} Federal Register, v. 39, September 17, 1974. p. 33293.

^{2/} Ibid.

^{3/} Ibid.

^{4/} Washington Post, September 17, 1974, p. A-8.

The White House estimated that there had been some 500,000 instances of desertion (defined as absence without authorization from military service for 30 days or more) during the Vietnam-era, but that "a number" of deserters had been charged with other offenses at the time of their desertion. The other offenses were not within the purview of the clemency program. Approximately 12,500 deserters were believed still at large (1,500 of them in Canada), and about 660 were said to be serving sentences to confinement or to be awaiting trial under the Uniform Code of Military Justice.^{1/}

Under the clemency program, unconvicted draft evaders were to report to a U.S. attorney, acknowledge allegiance to the United States, agree to perform a period of alternate service under the auspices of the Director of Selective Service, and satisfactorily complete such service. When a draft evader satisfactorily fulfilled his alternate service requirement, the U.S. attorney was either to move to dismiss an outstanding indictment or to agree not to press possible charges, as might be appropriate. If a draft evader failed to complete his period of alternate service satisfactorily, the U.S. attorney would normally be expected to resume prosecution of the case.^{2/}

The prescribed procedure for an unconvicted military deserter was to report to military jurisdiction, take an oath of allegiance to the United States, agree to fulfill a period of alternate service under the auspices of the Director of Selective Service, and receive an undesirable discharge. Upon satisfactory completion of alternate service, a deserter would be

^{1/} Washington Post September 17, 1974, p. A-8.

^{2/} Ibid.

entitled to receive a special clemency discharge, which, however, would not entitle him to benefits administered by the Veterans Administration.^{1/}

If a deserter failed to complete his alternate service as agreed, he would apparently suffer no penalties other than the undesirable discharge, since he would no longer be under military jurisdiction.

For convicted draft evaders, confined deserters, and deserters who had received undesirable or punitive discharges, the President established a nine-member Presidential Clemency Board, which, where appropriate, could recommend "that clemency be conditioned upon completion of a period of alternate service."^{2/}

The period of alternate service in all cases was to be 24 months, performed to promote "the national health, safety, or interest."^{3/} However, appropriate civil or military authority could prescribe a shorter period where mitigating circumstances existed. Special provisions were made to deal with the cases of military deserters who had additional charges pending against them.^{4/}

Prior to the President's proclamation extending clemency to Vietnam-era offenders, a number of bills and resolutions on the subject were introduced into Congress. Those presented during the period 1969-1972 are described and discussed in the Congressional Research Service multilith, "Congress and the Amnesty Issue."^{5/} Those introduced since the beginning of the 93rd

^{1/} Washington Post, September 17, 1974, p. A-8.

^{2/} Federal Register, v. 39, September 17, 1974. p. 33295.

^{3/} Federal Register, v. 39, September 17, 1974. p. 33294.

^{4/} Washington Post, September 17, 1974, p. A-8.

^{5/} Lockwood, David E. Congress and the Amnesty Issue: A Review of Activities and Proposals During the Period 1969-1972. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, February 5, 1973 (73-27F) 51 p.

Congress in January 1973 are listed in Appendix C to this paper.

Of the fourteen bills and resolutions introduced since January 1973, eleven proposed that some form of amnesty or immunity from prosecution be granted to draft evaders or deserters. Five of these called for conditional amnesty, three asked for unconditional forgiveness, one left the decision up to the President (who was to be the granting authority), and two proposed conditional amnesty for some offenders and unconditional for others. Three resolutions proposed that it was the sense of the Congress that no type of amnesty be granted those accused or convicted of draft evasion or desertion.

Also of interest to the historical record are hearings on amnesty which were conducted by the House Judiciary Subcommittee on March 8, 11, and 13 of this year. Numerous witnesses gave testimony representing a wide range of opinion, and ten House proposals either supporting or rejecting the concept of amnesty were examined.^{1/} However, the subcommittee did not report out any measures on the issue.

The President's program of clemency had hardly begun at the time this historical survey was updated. It remains to be seen whether President Ford's decision "to throw the weight of my presidency into the scales of justice on the side of leniency and mercy"^{2/} will "bind the Nation's wounds and . . . heal the scars of divisiveness"^{3/} as he hopes, or whether, perhaps,

^{1/} U.S. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Amnesty. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice on H.R. 236, H.R. 674, H.R. 2167, H.R. 3100, H.R. 5195, H.R. 10979, H.R. 10980, H.R. 13001, H. Con. Res. 144, and H. Con. Res. 385, Relating to Amnesty. March 8, 11, and 13, 1974. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1974. 904 p.

^{2/} Washington Post, September 17, 1974. p. A-8.

^{3/} Federal Register, v. 39, September 17, 1974. p. 33293.

the sensitive issue of amnesty for Vietnam-era offenders may again become a topic for Congressional attention.

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Appendix A

LIST OF AMNESTIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY, 1795 TO DATE ^{1/}

Date	Issued by	Persons Affected and Nature of Action
July 10, 1795	Washington	Whiskey Insurrectionists (several hundred). General pardon to all who agreed to thereafter obey the law.
May 21, 1800	Adams	Pennsylvania Insurrectionists. Prosecution of participants ended. Pardon not extended to those indicted or convicted.
October 15, 1807	Jefferson	Deserters given full pardon if they surrendered within 4 months.
February 7, 1812 October 8, 1812 June 14, 1814	Madison	Deserters--3 proclamations. Given full pardon if they surrendered within 4 months.
February 6, 1815	Madison	Pirates who fought in War of 1812 pardoned of all previous acts of piracy for which any suits, indictments or prosecutions were initiated.
June 12, 1830	Jackson (War Department)	Deserters, with provisions: (1) those in confinement returned to duty, (2) those at large under sentence of discharged, never again to be enlisted.
February 14, 1862	Lincoln (War Department)	Political prisoners paroled.

^{1/} In this table amnesty is broadly defined to permit inclusion of several actions by the Executive that should properly be considered "pardons" as well as legislative actions by Congress.

Date	Issued by	Persons Affected and Nature of Action
July 17, 1862 (Confiscation Act)	Congress	President authorized to extend pardon and amnesty to rebels.
March 10, 1863	Lincoln	Deserters restored to regiments without punishment, except forfeiture of pay during absence.
December 8, 1863	Lincoln	Full pardon to all implicated in or participating in the "existing rebellion" with exceptions and subject to oath.
February 26, 1864	Lincoln (War Department)	Deserters' sentences mitigated, some restored to duty.
March 26, 1864	Lincoln	Certain rebels (clarification of December 8, 1863 proclamation).
March 3, 1865	Congress	Desertion punished by forfeiture of citizenship; President to pardon all who return within 60 days.
March 11, 1865	Lincoln	Deserters who returned to post in sixty days, as required by Congress.
May 29, 1865	Johnson	Certain rebels of Confederate States (qualified).
July 3, 1866	Johnson (War Department)	Deserters returned to duty without punishment except forfeiture of pay.
January 21, 1867	Congress	Section 13 of Confiscation Act (authority of President to grant pardon and amnesty) repealed.
September 7, 1867	Johnson	Rebels -- additional amnesty including all but certain officers of the Confederacy on condition of an oath.
July 4, 1868	Johnson	Full pardon to all participants in "the late rebellion" except those indicted for treason or felony.

Date	Issued by	Persons Affected and Nature of Action
December 25, 1868	Johnson	All rebels of Confederate States (universal and unconditional).
May 23, 1872	Congress	General Amnesty Law reenfranchised many thousands of former rebels.
May 24, 1884	Congress	Lifted restrictions on former rebels to allow jury duty and civil office.
January 4, 1893	Harrison	Mormons - liability for polygamy amnestied.
September 25, 1894	Cleveland	Mormons - in accord with above.
March 1896	Congress	Lifted restrictions on former rebels to allow appointment to military commissions.
June 8, 1898	Congress	Universal Amnesty Act removed all disabilities against all former rebels.
July 4, 1902	T. Roosevelt	Philippine insurrectionists. Full pardon and amnesty to all who took an oath recognizing "the supreme authority of the United States of America in the Philippine Islands."
June 14, 1917	Wilson	5,000 persons under suspended sentence because of change in law (not war-related).
August 21, 1917	Wilson	Clarification of June 14, 1917 proclamation.

Date	Issued by	Persons Affected and Nature of Action
March 5, 1924	Coolidge	More than 100 deserters - as to loss of citizenship for those deserting since W.W. I armistice.
December 23, 1933	F. Roosevelt	1,500 convicted of having violated espionage or draft laws (W.W. I) who had completed their sentences.
December 24, 1945	Truman	Several thousand ex-convicts who had served in W.W. II for at least one year. (Proclamation 2676, Fed. Register p. 15409.)
December 23, 1947	Truman	1,523 individual pardons for draft evasion in W.W. II, based on recommendations of President's Amnesty Board.
December 24, 1952	Truman	Ex-convicts who served in armed forces not less than 1 year after June 25, 1950.
December 24, 1952	Truman	All persons convicted for having deserted between August 15, 1945 and June 25, 1950.
September 16, 1974	Ford	Vietnam-era draft evaders and military deserters, subject to specified terms and conditions.

presidential documents

Title 3—The President

PROCLAMATION 4313

Announcing a Program for the Return of Vietnam Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The United States withdrew the last of its forces from the Republic of Vietnam on March 28, 1973.

In the period of its involvement in armed hostilities in Southeast Asia, the United States suffered great losses. Millions served their country, thousands died in combat, thousands more were wounded, others are still listed as missing in action.

Over a year after the last American combatant had left Vietnam, the status of thousands of our countrymen—convicted, charged, investigated or still sought for violations of the Military Selective Service Act or of the Uniform Code of Military Justice—remains unresolved.

In furtherance of our national commitment to justice and mercy these young Americans should have the chance to contribute a share to the rebuilding of peace among ourselves and with all nations. They should be allowed the opportunity to ~~return to their country, their communities, and their families~~ upon their agreement to a period of alternate service in the national interest, together with an acknowledgment of their allegiance to the country and its Constitution.

Desertion in time of war is a major, serious offense; failure to respond to the country's call for duty is also a serious offense. Reconciliation among our people does not require that these acts be condoned. Yet, reconciliation calls for an act of mercy to bind the Nation's wounds and to heal the scars of divisiveness.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, pursuant to my powers under Article II, Sections 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution, do hereby proclaim a program to commence immedi-

ately to afford reconciliation to Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters upon the following terms and conditions:

1. *Draft Evaders*—An individual who allegedly unlawfully failed under the Military Selective Service Act or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, to register or register on time, to keep the local board informed of his current address, to report for or submit to ~~pre-induction or induction examination~~, to report for or submit to induction itself, or to report for or submit to, or complete service under section 6(j) of such Act during the period from August 4, 1964 to March 28, 1973, inclusive, and who has not been adjudged guilty in a trial for such offense, will be relieved of prosecution and punishment for such offense if he:

(i) ~~presents himself to a United States Attorney before January 31, 1975,~~

(ii) ~~executes an agreement acknowledging his allegiance to the United States and pledging to fulfill a period of alternate service under the auspices of the Director of Selective Service, and~~

(iii) ~~satisfactorily completes such service.~~

~~The alternate service shall promote the national health, safety, or interest. No draft evader will be given the privilege of completing a period of alternate service by service in the Armed Forces.~~

However, this program will not apply to an individual who is precluded from re-entering the United States under 8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(22) or other law. Additionally, if individuals eligible for this program have other criminal charges outstanding, their participation in the program may be conditioned upon, or postponed until after, final disposition of the other charges has been reached in accordance with law.

The period of service shall be twenty-four months, which may be reduced by the Attorney General because of mitigating circumstances.

2. *Military Deserters*—A member of the armed forces who has been administratively classified as a deserter by reason of unauthorized absence and whose absence commenced during the period from August 4, 1964 to March 28, 1973, inclusive, will be relieved of prosecution and punishment under Articles 85, 86 and 87 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice for such absence and for offenses directly related thereto if before January 31, 1975 he takes an oath of allegiance to the United States and executes an agreement with the Secretary of the Military Department from which he absented himself or for members of the Coast Guard, with the Secretary of Transportation, pledging to fulfill a period of alternate service under the auspices of the Director of Selective Service. The alternate service shall promote the national health, safety, or interest.

The period of service shall be twenty-four months, which may be reduced by the Secretary of the appropriate Military Department, or Secretary of Transportation for members of the Coast Guard, because of mitigating circumstances.

However, if a member of the armed forces has additional outstanding charges pending against him under the Uniform Code of Military Jus-

tice, his eligibility to participate in this program may be conditioned upon, or postponed until after, final disposition of the additional charges has been reached in accordance with law.

Each member of the armed forces who elects to seek relief through this program will receive an undesirable discharge. Thereafter, upon satisfactory completion of a period of alternate service prescribed by the Military Department or Department of Transportation, such individual will be entitled to receive, in lieu of his undesirable discharge, a clemency discharge in recognition of his fulfillment of the requirements of the program. Such clemency discharge shall not bestow entitlement to benefits administered by the Veterans Administration.

Procedures of the Military Departments implementing this Proclamation will be in accordance with guidelines established by the Secretary of Defense, present Military Department regulations notwithstanding.

3. *Presidential Clemency Board*—By Executive Order I have this date established a Presidential Clemency Board which will review the records of individuals within the following categories: (i) those who have been convicted of draft evasion offenses as described above, (ii) those who have received a punitive or undesirable discharge from service in the armed forces for having violated Article 85, 86, or 87 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973, or are serving sentences of confinement for such violations. Where appropriate, the Board may recommend that clemency be conditioned upon completion of a period of alternate service. However, if any clemency discharge is recommended, such discharge shall not bestow entitlement to benefits administered by the Veterans Administration.

4. *Alternate Service*—In prescribing the length of alternate service in individual cases, the Attorney General; the Secretary of the appropriate Department, or the Clemency Board shall take into account such honorable service as an individual may have rendered prior to his absence, penalties already paid under law, and such other mitigating factors as may be appropriate to seek equity among those who participate in this program.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-ninth.

Gerard R. Ford

[FR Doc. 74-21742 Filed 9-16-74; 12:47 pm]

EXECUTIVE ORDER 11803

Establishing a Clemency Board to Review Certain Convictions of Persons Under Section 12 or 6(j) of the Military Selective Service Act and Certain Discharges Issued Because of, and Certain Convictions for, Violations of Article 85, 86 or 87 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice and to Make Recommendations for Executive Clemency With Respect Thereto

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by Section 2 of Article II of the Constitution of the United States, and in the interest of the internal management of the Government, it is ordered as follows:

Section 1. There is hereby established in the Executive Office of the President a board of 9 members, which shall be known as the Presidential Clemency Board. The members of the Board shall be appointed by the President, who shall also designate its Chairman.

Sec. 2. The Board, under such regulations as it may prescribe, shall examine the cases of persons who apply for Executive clemency prior to January 31, 1975, and who (i) have been convicted of violating Section 12 or 6(j) of the Military Selective Service Act (50 App. U.S.C. § 462), or of any rule or regulation promulgated pursuant to that section, for acts committed between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973, inclusive, or (ii) have received punitive or undesirable discharges as a consequence of violations of Articles 85, 86 or 87 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (10 U.S.C. §§ 885, 886, 887) that occurred between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973, inclusive, or are serving sentences of confinement for such violations. The Board will only consider the cases of Military Selective Service Act violators who were convicted of unlawfully failing (i) to register or register on time, (ii) to keep the local board informed of their current address, (iii) to report for or submit to preinduction or induction examination, (iv) to report for or submit to induction itself, or (v) to report for or submit to, or complete service under Section 6(j) of such Act. However, the Board will not consider the cases of individuals who are precluded from re-entering the United States under 8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(22) or other law.

Sec. 3. The Board shall report to the President its findings and recommendations as to whether Executive clemency should be granted or denied in any case. If clemency is recommended, the Board shall also recommend the form that such clemency should take, including clemency conditioned upon a period of alternate service in the national interest. In the case of an individual discharged from the armed forces with a punitive or undesirable discharge, the Board may recommend to the President that a clemency discharge be substituted for a punitive or undesirable discharge. Determination of any period of alternate service shall be in accord with the Proclamation announcing a program for the return of Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters.

Sec. 4. The Board shall give priority consideration to those applicants who are presently confined and have been convicted only of an offense

set forth in section 2 of this order, and who have no outstanding criminal charges.

Sec. 5. Each member of the Board, except any member who then receives other compensation from the United States, may receive compensation for each day he or she is engaged upon the work of the Board at not to exceed the daily rate now or hereafter prescribed by law for persons and positions in GS-18, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 3109), and may also receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5703) for persons in the government service employed intermittently.

Sec. 6. Necessary expenses of the Board may be paid from the Unanticipated Personnel Needs Fund of the President or from such other funds as may be available.

Sec. 7. Necessary administrative services and support may be provided the Board by the General Services Administration on a reimbursable basis.

Sec. 8. All departments and agencies in the Executive branch are authorized and directed to cooperate with the Board in its work, and to furnish the Board all appropriate information and assistance, to the extent permitted by law.

Sec. 9. The Board shall submit its final recommendations to the President not later than December 31, 1976, at which time it shall cease to exist.

Herold R. Ford

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 16, 1974.

[FR Doc.74-21743 Filed 9-16-74;12:47 pm]

EXECUTIVE ORDER 11804

Delegation of Certain Functions Vested in the President to the
Director of Selective Service

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, pursuant to my powers under Article II, Sections 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution, and under Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The Director of Selective Service is designated and empowered, without the approval, ratification or other action of the President, under such regulations as he may prescribe, to establish, implement, and administer the program of alternate service authorized in the Proclamation announcing a program for the return of Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters.

Sec. 2. Departments and agencies in the Executive branch shall, upon the request of the Director of Selective Service, cooperate and assist in the implementation or administration of the Director's duties under this Order, to the extent permitted by law.

Harold R. Ford

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 16, 1974.

[FR Doc.74-21744 Filed 9-16-74;12:48 pm]

Appendix CLIST OF BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS ON AMNESTY INTRODUCED DURING THE 93rd CONGRESS^{1/}

<u>Bill</u>	<u>Sponsor</u>	<u>Date</u>
H.R. 236	Rep. Bella S. Abzug	January 3, 1973
H.R. 674	Rep. Edward I. Koch	January 3, 1973
H.R. 675	Rep. Edward I. Koch	January 3, 1973
H.R. 2167	Rep. Edward R. Roybal	January 15, 1973
H. Con. Res. 86	Rep. Tom Bevill	January 22, 1973
H.R. 3100	Rep. Ronald V. Dellums	January 29, 1973
H.R. 4238	Rep. Edward I. Koch	February 8, 1973
H.R. 5195	Rep. Bella S. Abzug	March 6, 1973
H. Con. Res. 144	Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan	March 7, 1973
H.R. 10979	Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr.	October 17, 1973
H.R. 10980	Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr.	October 17, 1973
H. Con. Res. 385	Rep. David R. Bowen	November 28, 1973
S. 2832	Sen. Robert Taft Jr.	December 19, 1973
H.R. 13001	Rep. Howard W. Robison	February 21, 1974

^{1/} As of September 27, 1974.

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