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Staff Scrapbook, July 3- Aug. 2, 1974

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News Gazette
Butler Aides July 3

To Visit Area

Sixth District congressman M. Caldwell Butler's representatives will be in Buena Vista City Hall on Tuesday, July 16 from 9 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. and in Lexington City Hall from 11 a.m. until 12:15 p.m. to meet with citizens wishing to discuss problems they are having with the federal government.

These meetings are among 10 monthly meetings Butler holds in the district, and are in addition to the regular open door meetings which Butler holds himself from time to time on a non-scheduled basis.

Any persons wishing to discuss a particular problem with Rep. Butler's representative should bring with them all papers and correspondence dealing with the case, in addition to their veterans claim and social security numbers.

THE NEWS-VIRGINIAN, Waynesboro, Va. Friday, July 12, 1974

—Letters to the Editor—

Mr. Butler and Abortion

On June 27, Congressman M. Caldwell Butler cast his vote against a crucial amendment to the HEW and Labor Department appropriations bill (HR 15580). This amendment would have prohibited the use of federal money for abortion payments, abortion referrals, abortion promotion, and abortion research. Two very glaring facts are evident.

First, federal money — that is, our tax money — is being and will be spent profligately on abortion research, pro-abortion litigation, and Medicaid payments for abortion. In regard to Medicaid payments, Rep. Angelo Roncallo (R-N.Y.), who introduced the amendment, pointed out that over 8 million Medicaid dollars had been paid out for abortions in one recent 16-month period in New York and California alone. Mr. Butler, who has indicated his concern for governmental economy, evidently feels the taxes used to pay for the destruction of our next generation are wisely

spent.

Second, we may deduce that Mr. Butler, who has promised many of his constituents to have an open mind on the question of a right-to-life amendment, was either speaking platitudinously or has now closed his mind. How can we expect him to support a right-to-life amendment, which would outlaw abortion per se, when he votes for continued spending of our federal taxes in support of abortion programs and even direct abortion payments?

Taxpayers and voters of the Sixth District may not thank Mr. Butler for his stand on spending our money for such purposes but at least we may thank him for finally making his position clear. We know now that he is pro-abortion and in favor of spending tax monies to promote abortion. We know this and on election day we will remember it.

Henry B. Larzelere, M.D.,
1900 Tate Spring Rd.,
Lynchburg.

Staunton, Va. Leader, Thursday, July 18, 1974 3

General chairman named for Ford's appearance

ROANOKE— A Roanoke banker will serve as general chairman for the first appearance of Vice President Gerald Ford to Southwest Virginia.

Warner N. Dalhouse, executive vice president of the First National Exchange Bank of Roanoke, is in charge of arrangements for Ford's Friday visit here. Mr. Dalhouse, a young civic leader active on both local and state levels, is a member of the Governor's Advisory Board for Industrial Development, the Mayor's Task Force on Housing and is on the Board of Trustees of Virginia Western Community College.

The event, called "An Evening With Vice President Gerald Ford", will be a \$100-a-couple gala beginning at 6:30 p.m. at Hotel Roanoke.

The reception will be preceded by a 5:30 p.m. press conference, the first with the Vice President for representatives of Virginia news media.

26-12 vote to impeach reported

NEW YORK (AP) — Time magazine says if House Judiciary Committee members vote the way they were leaning last week, they would approve impeachment of President Nixon by a 26-12 tally.

However, Time said since "many of the members have been jumping back and forth almost by the minute, it seemed unlikely that all members would vote according to their leanings of last week."

Before the full House of Representatives can consider impeachment, it must be first voted for by a majority on the committee, which is composed of 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans.

The magazine said interviews with committee members indicated that as of last week 10 Republicans were likely to vote against articles of impeachment.

Republicans listed as solidly against impeachment were: Charles Wiggins and Carlos Moorehead of California, Charles Sandman and Joseph Maraziti of New Jersey, Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, Trent Lott of Mississippi and Delbert Latta of Ohio.

Time said the Republicans leaning against impeachment were: Wiley Mayne of Iowa, Henry P. Smith of New York and David Dennis of Iowa.

According to the magazine, the anti-impeachment forces on the committee probably will get one or two Southern Democratic votes from two congressmen who were not identified. Southern Democrats "leaning toward impeachment but not yet counted solidly for it" include Walter Flowers of Alabama, James Mann of South Carolina and Ray Thorntown of Maine, said Time.

Described as the two Republicans "most certain" to vote for impeachment were William Cohen of Maine and Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York. Five other republicans were reportedly leaning toward impeachment.

Time said these five Republicans were leaning toward impeachment: Illinois' Thomas Railsback and Robert McClory, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, Lawrence Hogan of Maryland and Harold Froelich of Wisconsin.

Doar to propose articles of impeachment

WASHINGTON (AP) — The case for impeachment will be presented to the House Judiciary Committee by its staff at two closed-door briefings leading up to the committee's final deliberations next week.

At the first session today, special counsel John Doar is expected to propose at least three broad articles of impeachment charging President Nixon with obstruction of justice, abuse of his constitutional powers and contempt of Congress.

A Republican member of the committee predicted on Thursday that both the committee and the House will approve at least one article, leading to a Senate trial to determine whether Nixon should

be removed from office.

Rep. Robert McClory, R-Ill., told newsmen that three or four committee Republicans are likely to vote for impeachment and that it could be much higher. He said only five of 17 Republican members could be counted as definitely opposed to impeachment at this time.

At a meeting called by the House Republican leadership to determine where the committee Republicans stand, McClory was one of five members who either said they were undecided or declined to give their views.

The others were Reps. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, William S. Cohen of Maine, Hamilton Fish of New York and Tom Railsback of Illinois.

Some others indicated their position will be determined by the articles of impeachment that are proposed.

In related developments on Thursday, the committee released evidence collected during its six-month-long impeachment inquiry. Among the disclosures were:

—Former presidential aide John D. Ehrlichman says President Nixon "indicated his after-the-fact approval" of the break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Nixon has maintained publicly that he abhorred the incident.

—Memos by late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover on three occasions cited Henry A. Kissinger as directly authorizing wiretaps on government officials and newsmen. Kissinger

has denied making such requests and has asked the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to clear him of any such involvement.

—To stop news leaks in 1971, Nixon seriously considered ordering lie-detector tests for 1,000 or more government workers with access to top-secret documents. The President didn't pursue the idea when he was informed that a single suspect had already been identified.

—Vice President Gerald R. Ford said he has listened to some of the White House tapes and that he now understands why there is disagreement over what they say. The audio quality of the tapes was poor, he said.

In his final defense argu-

ment before the committee Thursday, James D. St. Clair, Nixon's attorney, asserted there was no evidence of presidential involvement in Watergate or any other matters the committee has investigated.

St. Clair sought to buttress his argument by producing a partial transcript of a March 22, 1973, conversation between Nixon and his former chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman, that he said showed Nixon had no knowledge of a \$75,000 payment to Watergate burglar E. Howard Hunt Jr. and that he disapproved of paying Hunt "blackmail."

However, the tape was one of the 147 the committee has subpoenaed and Nixon has refused to provide.

The Daily Advance - 7/19/74 - p. 1

D

June 7/19

Ford Comes For Dollars, Goodwill

By MELVILLE CARICO
Times Political Writer

Vice President Gerald Ford, in his role as the GOP's biggest fund raiser, will be in Roanoke briefly this evening on behalf of the re-election of two Republican congressmen. But, if anything, his trip may generate more goodwill than hard cash.

The centerpiece is a reception at Hotel Roanoke which will gross Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th and Rep. William C. Wampler of the 9th between \$10,000 and \$15,000. Over 200 had made reservations by Thursday with tickets \$100 a couple.

An Analysis

But out of the receipts the congressmen have to pay the hotel for the reception, mailing out invitations, and the travel expenses, including food and hotel bills, for a staff of advance men and Secret Service agents.

They have been in Roanoke several days checking on every detail of the vice president's stop from his landing at Woodrum Airport at 4:55 p.m. to his departure for Hot Springs after the reception.

Despite the political overtones of the visit there will be very little opportunity for the voting public to see the vice president whose name virtually overnight became a household word with his selection by President Nixon to succeed Spiro T. Agnew following his resignation.

Since then the House minority leader, a former All-American center at Michigan, has raised over \$700,000 for the GOP and, in doing so, made himself one of the most likely choices for the Republican nomination for president in '76.

Despite this, his trip will have a low public profile in Roanoke.

He will be met at Woodrum Airport by Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton and presented the keys to the city by Mayor Roy L. Webber, a Democrat.

He will be whisked to Hotel Roanoke for a 5:30 press conference which will be broadcast live by radio station WTOY. About 15 wire service and Washington-based reporters are traveling with the vice president.

The route of the vice president's mo-

Common Folks Won't See Much of Ford

From Page 1

Info 7/19
torcade from Woodrum Airport to Hotel Roanoke was not announced but one source said it will be by Interstate 581 because it is faster and less congested than down densely populated Williamson Road.

The fund-raising reception at Hotel Roanoke will start at 6:30 but the vice president is not expected to "come down" until about 7 p.m. to mingle with the party contributors.

Plans call for Rep. Butler to introduce the vice president and for Ford to make some brief remarks—nothing heavy, that is. An enjoyable event is the way one of Butler's campaign staff described the effort.

Ford will fly to Hot Springs by helicopter after the reception for a day of relaxation and a Saturday night speech to the Virginia State Bar Association at The

Homestead. Press representatives will make the 70-mile trip from Roanoke to the mountain resort by bus.

Ford will be introduced at the Saturday night dinner by Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., a former conservative Democrat who joined the GOP in 1973 and who, undoubtedly, will have a big voice in whom the Virginia delegation supports for the party's presidential nomination in '76.

During the past seven months Ford in his cross-country travels has raised over \$700,000 for his party at dinners and receptions. Most of it has gone to local candidates and party organizations because his travel costs for party functions has been paid by the Republican National Committee.

His travels as the vice president to such functions as the lawyers' convention at Hot Springs is borne by the government

since he will be there as the vice president—not a political party leader. But the protocol and security is the same.

"A particularly attentive listener, prodigious note taker, and a very efficient operator."

M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va.



James D. St. Clair

Nixon's Lawyer Represents The Office, Not the Man

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — "I don't represent Mr. Nixon personally: I represent him in his capacity as president," James Draper St. Clair said in an interview two months after he became President Nixon's lawyer.

This classical lawyer's detachment parallels what has been a principal theme in his client's own defense: Nixon has said that he is fighting to preserve not himself but the Presidency. St. Clair has said he does not represent Nixon "individually" but rather "the office of the presidency." But he has made it clear that, as long as he is Nixon's counsel, he is committed to him entirely. "I only reflect the President's views," he said recently when he was asked if a statement did just that.

The 54-year-old lawyer was criticized by a former client, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, as being "all case and no cause," a stance that he has maintained through his first five months as the President's defense counsel. It also is a posture in the tradition of such notable lawyers as the late John W. Davis, who during his long career argued both sides in civil rights cases with equal eloquence.

Smiling, imperturbably good-natured and courteous, St. Clair has made no secret of the fact that he would rather be back in Boston practicing law in the prestigious firm of Hale & Dorr, from which he resigned as a partner to accept his present \$42,500-a-year position.

Man in the News

But few believe that he will not stay with his client until the end of the case, if only because his withdrawal would be so damaging to Nixon.

Not that there has been even the smallest indication from St. Clair that he has any doubts about the case or his client. On the contrary, he has said that he believes in Nixon's innocence while calmly holding to his own self-definition. "I have noticed a lot of people feel I should be making presidential decisions," he said in reply to a question on a recent television question-and-answer program. "I don't have that authority nor do I have that real capability."

He added, in reply to a following question: "Ultimately the President, as the client, has the ultimate decision to make: as a lawyer, I advise him."

"I don't think he's ever surrendered an inch of his client's position," was part of an assessment of St. Clair made by Robert W. Meserve, a former president of the American Bar Association who has tried cases against St. Clair.

And that describes St. Clair in his present role. He has contested every allegation, sought to narrow the charges and discredit the prosecution's witnesses and stressed that it is the

presidency, not the man, that is at stake.

As the tempo has quickened, St. Clair's weekend trips home to the Boston suburb of Wellesley Hills have become less frequent; his wife of 30 years, the former Asenath Nestle — known as Billie — has occasionally come to Washington for a weekend to join him at the Madison Hotel, where he has been living since he took the case in January. The St. Clairs have three children.

St. Clair, born in Akron, Ohio, April 14, 1920, graduated from the University of Illinois in 1941.

After one term at Harvard Law School, he joined the Navy for the duration of the war. Then he returned to Harvard and graduated in 1947.

He joined Hale & Dorr, working under Joseph N. Welch, who served as special counsel for the United States Army during the 1954 Army-McCarthy hearings. St. Clair was an assistant counsel during those televised hearings, which were as popular with the nation's television audience in their day as were last year's Watergate hearings — and as the Judiciary Committee's hearings are likely to be.

St. Clair has been described by one member of the committee, M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., as "a particularly attentive listener, prodigious notetaker, and a very efficient operator."

4 THE NEWS-VIRGINIAN, Waynesboro, Va. Friday, July 19, 1974

—Letters to the Editor—

The Other Side of Abortion

Having noted two letters recently in The News-Virginian attacking Rep. Caldwell Butler's voting pro-abortion, I can no longer remain silent.

products of their bodies.

Linda Mawyer,
649 Chestnut Ave.,
Waynesboro.

While I am not a women's libber, as such, and am a proud mother who tries to follow the Christian way of life, I do think a woman should have the right to determine what her body will or will not do. I, personally, under circumstances other than dire, would not consent to an abortion, but all women are not so blessed.

I noted also that the two letters were authored by males. Until men consent to vasectomies to eliminate unwanted children or participate in the process of bearing children, women should have the right to control the

Va. GOP turning affections to Ford

By OZZIE OSBORNE
Political Writer

Virginia Republicans appear to have switched their affections from Spiro Agnew to his successor, Vice President Gerald Ford.

That, at least, is the impression gained from talks with more than a dozen prominent Republican politicians.

And most see Ford as the 1976 Republican presidential nominee, despite his claims that he's not interested in running.

The consensus, too, is that Ford has helped himself immeasurably by the dozens of appearances he has been making throughout the country on behalf of GOP candidates.

Ford is coming to Roanoke today on a campaign swing in behalf of Republican congressional candidates William Wampler of the Ninth District and Caldwell Butler of the Sixth District. He is expected to arrive by plane at 4:55 p.m. at Roanoke's Woodrum Field.

But Del. Ray L. Garland of Roanoke, candidate for U.S. Senate in 1970, said he feels Ford has "squandered his political capital" by being overly helpful to others.

Garland said that he meant that Ford has dissipated some of his strength by doing so much speaking in which he has had to defend President Nixon's position, while at the same time not compromising his own.

He said other prospective presidential candidates haven't had to put themselves on the line, or as Garland put it, "they have been quiet as a tomb."

Of Ford, he said: "He has converted himself into an air raid shelter for the Republican party."

But most Republicans interviewed seemed to share the feeling expressed by Sen. David F. Thornton of Salem, who said:

"Most of the Republicans I've talked to in Virginia feel Ford would be their No. 1 choice . . . he is coming across strong."

He said Ford's statement that he is not interested in being the GOP presidential nominee in 1976 is the sort that could be expected of one in his position.

"Times and circumstances change," said Thornton so the

Ford statement "must be taken with a grain of salt."

Del. Vincent Callahan of Fairfax, leader of the Republican minority in the General Assembly, said Ford would have to be considered the leading presidential contender for the GOP nomination.

"We're looking for a winner and he has all the credentials," said Callahan.

Del. Ray Robrecht of Roanoke County said that Ford's votes in Congress showed his

political philosophy is in tune with that of most Virginians.

"Most Virginians feel comfortable with him," said Robrecht.

Sen. H. D. Dawbarn of Waynesboro said that Ford "has got to be considered the front-runner" for the GOP presidential nomination in 1976.

Oddly, few of those interviewed had little to say about

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The World-News, Roanoke, Va., Fri

Va. GOP turning affections to Ford

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any potential GOP presidential nominees other than Ford.

Garland mentioned Nelson Rockefeller, former governor of New York, and U.S. Sen. Charles H. Percy of Illinois.

Nobody brought up the name of Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.

Garland said he thinks any struggle for nomination will be between Ford and Rockefeller and said he feels it "highly likely" that in a showdown Ford would step aside for Rockefeller.

"If the party is in a desperate position in 1976—as seems likely—it may want a new face," said Garland. He said Rockefeller could well be it.

Rockefeller had some strength in Virginia when he sought the GOP presidential nomination in 1968, getting two of Virginia's 24 votes at the national convention. One of these was cast by Mrs. Cynthia Newman, the state's GOP national committeewoman.

Before his resignation, Agnew was extremely popular with Virginia Republicans—more popular, some said, than even President Nixon.

Congress Rapped On Appropriations

WASHINGTON — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler says in his latest newsletter to constituents in Virginia that the failure of Congress to complete action on any appropriations for this fiscal year is "symptomatic of our apparent inability to keep up with the tasks before us."

Butler said many factors contribute to this situation—the complexity of modern legislation, an antiquated committee system, partisan disputes and delaying tactics, and too frequent Congressional recesses.

"In addition," the congressman said, "the House and Senate often take different approaches to legislative problems, and conference committees appointed to work out differences in the House and Senate versions of the same

bill may take months to complete their work."

The new fiscal year began July 1 and Butler noted that the government is now being funded by a Continuing Resolution which allows the various departments to continue operation in the absence of new appropriations.

Butler said "This is not to indicate, however, that the 93rd Congress has not made progress. Since January, 1973, 320 public bills have become law. The House has passed and sent to the Senate over 300 bills. Thirty bills are pending in Conference Committees. In the remaining months, a number of additional significant and controversial bills should be before us."

Among major legislative proposals which Butler says committee spokesmen say will probably be reported out in time for consideration this year are tax reform legislation and health insurance bills, the Federal Campaign reform bill, legislation dealing with interest rate policies and bills to extend the life of the export

import bank and the trade administration act, authorizations for foreign aid and legislation to ban importation of Rhodesian chrome, and a safe drinking water bill.

Butler said that among the 46 bills reported out of House committees and awaiting legislative action are the Surface Mining Reclamation Act, the Consumer Product Warranty bill, the Poultry Indemnification Act, the High Seas Oil and Ports Act, the Non-nuclear Energy Research and Development Act, the Developmental Disabilities Act, and the Health Revenue Sharing Act.

"Significant legislation currently in conference committee," Butler said, "includes the Consumer Protection Agency

Act, the Legal Services bill, the Solar Energy legislation, the Housing and Urban Development Act, the Urban Mass Transportation Act, Private Pension reform legislation, the Federal Deposit Insurance bill, the Veterans Education and Rehabilitation Amendments, the Fire Prevention and Control Act, and legislation to fund cancer and diabetes research.

Butler said that at present, the House of Representatives is disposing of an unusually large volume of legislation and "it is apparent to me that the House leadership is clearing the floor of the House for consideration of the anticipated Report of the Judiciary Committee on impeachment..."

Ford Supports Rep. Butler

By LAWRENCE L. KNUTSON

HOT SPRINGS, Va. (AP) — Vice President Gerald R. Ford said he won't engage in any "arm-twisting lobbying" to ward off President Nixon's possible impeachment by the House.

"I think that's an insult to most members of the House," Ford said.

At the same time, the vice president, who maintains evidence does not exist to prove Nixon has committed any impeachable offense, said he will

campaign for Republicans in this fall's elections on a "highly selective" but still unspecified basis.

Ford himself appeared slightly confused as to what that basis is. He told a news conference Friday afternoon in Roanoke, Va., that he might well campaign for and support a Democratic candidate who had shown support for Nixon administration policies.

En route by plane to Hot Springs he modified that stand and repeated earlier statements that there may be some Democratic candidates whose dis-

tracts he will not enter in support of their Republican opponents. "I have no plans to campaign in person for any Democrats," Ford said through a press spokesman.

Ford did campaign for Rep. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., a member of the House Judiciary Committee which soon must vote whether or not to issue a bill of impeachment against Nixon.

Ford told reporters he would campaign for Butler again, no matter how Butler votes on impeachment.

Cor Va 10 7/20/74

Ford praises Butler as being 'first class' representative

By OZZIE OSBORNE
Political Writer

Vice President Gerald Ford has warmly praised Rep. Caldwell Butler as "a first class member of the House of Representatives" and said he'd like to come back and campaign for him this fall if asked.

"If Mr. Butler would like me to come back, I'd be glad to do so," Ford said yesterday as he visited Roanoke, where he held a brief news conference and attended a reception. Ford said the offer holds even if Butler votes to impeach President Nixon.

Ford also praised the House Judiciary Committee, on which Butler serves, for its handling of impeachment proceedings.

He said he does not agree with Ron Ziegler, President Nixon's press secretary, who has described the committee as a "kangaroo court."

Asked if the President agreed with Ziegler's assessment, Ford said he had never discussed the matter with the President.

Ford said again, as he has dozens of times before, that he doesn't believe there are grounds for impeaching Nixon.

Although most of the reporters' questions dealt with impeachment, Ford said this country's main problem is inflation.

He blamed that on the "fiscal irresponsibility" of Congress and implied things would get worse if the Democrats gain 50 seats in the House of Representatives this fall—a prediction being made by some political pundits.

Democrats say this would give them a veto-proof Congress, but Ford said it would, in effect, be a legislative dictatorship.

In calling for the reelection of Reps. William C. Wampler and Butler, Ford said "we want an inflation-proof Congress."

But Ford said he is not too worried about the over-all economic situation. He said unemployment figures show that "we're in good shape."

The reception which Ford attended was a fund-raising affair for both Butler and Wampler of the 9th District.

But the \$100-a-couple affair, attended by about 200, was expected to raise little money after all expenses were taken care of.

Surprisingly few Republican leaders from throughout the state attended the Ford affair. Those who did included former Gov. Linwood Holton, now an aide to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton.

Inside today

Ford's trip here was low-key all the way and lacking in the hoopla that surrounded visits by Spiro T. Agnew when he was vice president.

No effort was made to get a crowd to the airport and this showed since fewer than 100 persons turned out.

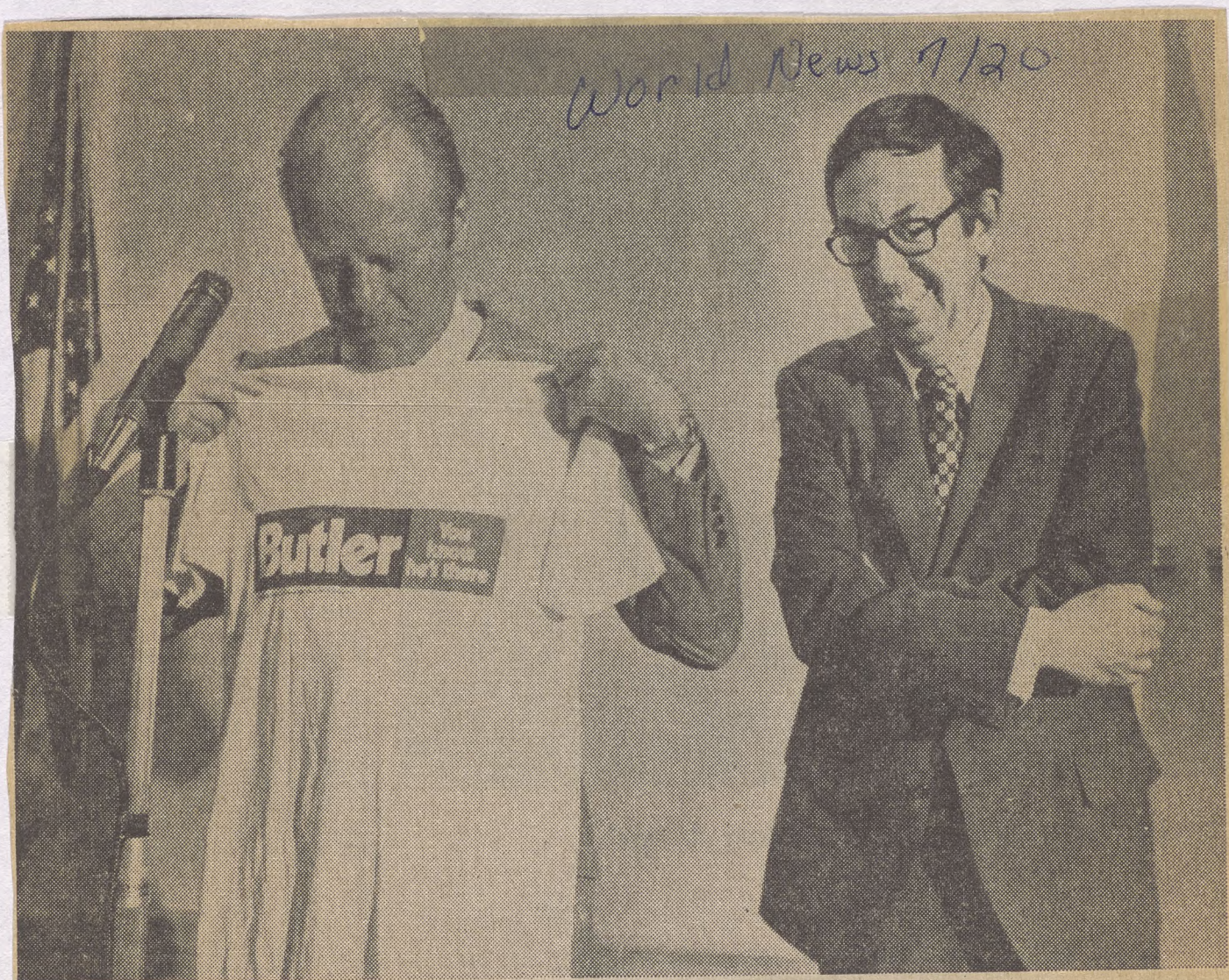
Ford shook hands with many of these after his plane landed 45 minutes behind schedule and following a brief ceremony in which he was given the key to the city by Mayor Roy L. Weber.

At the reception, Ford mingled—or at least tried to mingle—with the crowd. But it was mostly a mob scene as he was accompanied by television crews, newspaper reporters, GOP bigwigs and Secret Service people.

Ford made brief remarks at the reception endorsing both Wampler and Butler.

Ford and his party left Roanoke shortly after 8 o'clock for Hot Springs where he will speak to the Virginia Bar Association. He will be introduced by Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr.

foa
7/20/74



Vice President Ford sizes up pro-Butler T-shirt

pg 2

James
7/24/74

Virginia's Congressmen Have Praise for Butler

WASHINGTON (AP) — Virginia's congressional delegation praised the power and "conscience" of Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's impeachment statement Thursday, but remained publicly cautious on how they might vote themselves.

None the less, some private assessments within the delegation suggested that Butler might carry at least four or five other Virginia congressmen for impeachment.

Butler, the only Virginian on the House Judiciary Committee, said he would "not stand still for" the corruption of presidential power revealed by the impeachment inquiry; and

said he is inclined to vote for articles of impeachment on obstruction of justice and abuse of power.

"It was a very powerful statement," said Rep. G. William Whitehurst, a Republican from the Norfolk-Virginia Beach 2nd District.

"He is not dealing in generalities, he is dealing in specifics," Whitehurst said. Whitehurst also said, "I've been disturbed by a lot" of the corruption of power which Butler described. But, Whitehurst said, he would "weigh very carefully" other evidence and the exact language of the impeachment articles before he makes up his own mind.

Rep. Robert W. Daniel, Whitehurst's Tidewater Republican colleague said, "I hold Caldwell Butler to be a man of high integrity and conscience. I am sure that what he is doing is interpreting the evidence as he sees it to be and making his decision accordingly. I do not know that I will respond to the same facts in the same way that he did."

Rep. William C. Wampler, a Republican from Bristol, said he missed hearing Butler's remarks. But, Wampler said "I have nothing but the highest personal regard and respect for Caldwell Butler. I am sure that his being on the committee

he is privy to things we aren't privy to.

"Whatever position he finally takes would have some influence on me, but the final decision is mine. And my mind is still open."

Wampler cautioned that, "we are creating precedence here which could haunt this country for years and I want to be very careful what I do."

A Northern Virginia Republican, Stanford Parris termed Butler's remarks "reasoned." Rep. Thomas N. Downing, a Tidewater Democrat, said, "I was tremendously impressed with his statement. He was sincere and stated his point of view very well."



Roanoke Times 7/80

Ex-Gov. Holton, The Vice President, Rep. Butler and Roanoke Mayor Webber With Key to the City.



Fund raiser

Vice President Gerald Ford holds a tee-shirt with campaign slogan for Rep. M. Caldwell Butler at fund raising affair last night in Roanoke. Butler is a member of the House Judiciary Committee.

AP Wirephoto

Roanoke Times 7/20

Ford To Support Butler, Whatever His Impeach Vote

By MELVILLE CARICO
Times Political Writer

Vice President Gerald R. Ford said in Roanoke Friday he would come back into the 6th District to campaign for Rep. M. Caldwell Butler this fall even if Butler votes for the impeachment of President Nixon.

But, the former House Minority Leader from Michigan told a press conference in Butler's hometown, he does not think there is any justification for impeachment—something he has been saying in coast to coast barnstorming that has brought in \$700,000 for the Watergate-be-leaguered GOP.

Ford acknowledged he had said he would not campaign for every Republican congressman up for re-election—that his efforts this fall will be what he described as “highly selective.”

But he hastened to emphasize that it will not matter whether the congressman votes against impeachment of President Nixon—that there are “other very serious and equally important votes.”

Ford said whether a congressman votes for or against the president “is a matter of serious and independent judgment.”

Ford, who was 61 last Sunday and is a rapidly rising front runner for the Republican nomination for president in 1976, met with the press before attending a \$100 a couple fund raising reception for Butler and Rep. William C. Wampler from the neighboring 9th District.

He got a warm, friendly reception from the 208 paying guests—about as many as there were Secret Service agents and local police—and in doing so said the “fundamental issue” in this year's congressional election is a fiscally responsible Congress.

But the planning for this trip into Roanoke, the heart of the 6th which has had a GOP congressman since 1952, discouraged any public turnout to see the vice president.

Flanked by Butler and Wampler, the vice president told the reception guests at Hotel Roanoke that he knows of no two Republican members of Congress who deserve more to be re-elected.

But, on a larger plane, Ford, who himself has been through 13 congressional campaigns in Michigan, said the nation must decide this fall whether it wants a Congress that will unquestionably override President Nixon's vetoes.

Ford told the Republicans, some from as far away as Lynchburg, Danville and Bristol, that Democrats are predicting a net gain of 50 House seats in November.

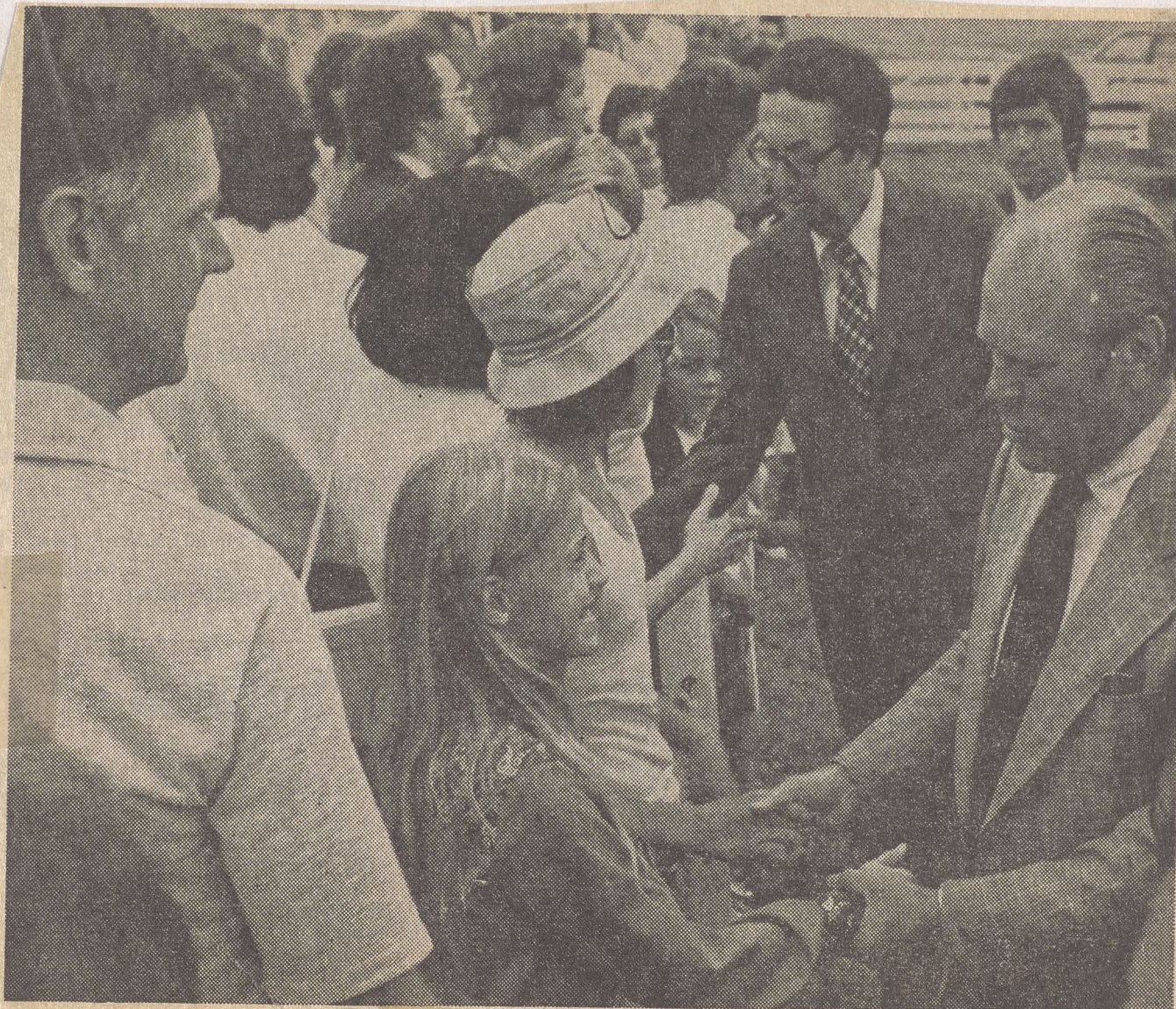
Most, he said, would be liberals who would give the Democrats a “legislative dictatorship” and create a political system in this country dominated by liberals.

With congressional backing, Ford said, the President in the last three and one half years was able to veto \$27 billion in spending.

Ford said the No.1 problem facing this country is inflation—an inflation which he

See Page 6, Col. 4

Photos of Ford's Visit to Roanoke
—Pages 6 and 7



Times Photo by Bob Phillips

Vice President Ford and Rep. M. Caldwell Butler Greet Fans Upon Ford's Arrival in Roanoke

Serious comments take back seat to blue eyes

By MARY B. ARMISTEAD
Women's Editor

The vice president of the United States talked of deep and serious matters at his news conference yesterday at Hotel Roanoke and everything he said was noted with due respect, scribbled on paper or whispered into tape recorders.

A regular procedure.

The vice president of the United States turned to lighter things in the hotel's Shenandoah Room, where about 200 gathered for a substantial buffet at a substantial donation, and no matter what he said, all the women took note of were his deep blue eyes. He spoke glowingly of Republican congressional candidates William Wampler of Virginia's 9th District and Caldwell Butler of the 6th, and the women said "my aren't they blue." His eyes.

The nattily-clad vice president waxed eloquent about an overspending Congress and how it allegedly has the country running in the red, and the formally-gowned women kept on about his eyes. Inflation? Phooey. They fight it every day at home; why listen to more about it, even from Gerald Ford, when there he was, trim in pale plaid, a midnight blue tie slashing his soft blue shirt and, you guessed it, making his blue eyes ever bluer.

The women had milled and murmured until he came; the women had nibbled and nodded. Men in wild colors and proper afternoon suits or ones echoing the Gatsby look, did the same until, nearly an hour off schedule, the nation's second highest official strode in and a goodly part of the hotel became Ford Country. Up one side of the room he went, shaking hands, shaking hands; down the other side he came, shaking hands, shaking hands; cameramen following, Secret Service men on guard, blinking into rudely intruding lights, jostled, jolted, jabbed at and jerked, Gerald Ford in Ford Country. An almost daily procedure and one he withstands well.

His wife, Betty, apparently lacks such stamina. "We had a long, hard day in Michigan Thursday," Ford explained to Ms. Janet Jenkins, "and my wife regretted very much being too tired to make this trip. We'll both try to come back again."

And Ms. Jenkins, assistant to the hotel's general manager, Kenneth Wilkey, thought all her efforts in the couple's behalf well worth it anyway. With Wilkey out of the country, the burden of hotel housekeeping for the expected dignitaries had her running all this week.

She had special flowers in the third floor Presidential Suite made available for the Fords' convenience. She coped with demands of advance security guards, but thought them not unreasonable. She saw that everything "was sparkling clean and in the best of order;" she suffered a security check as did even the room service personnel, and she shushed the chef, Heinz Schlegel, when a Food and Drug Administration man patrolled the kitchen to supervise Ford's food preparations.

Indeed, before his arrival, the hotel functioned like an embattled fortress. All front

entrances to the grounds were roped off Thursday, causing guests to unload their belongings at the fountain and have their automobiles whisked off somewhere else. Dozens of men with little walkie-talkie things were in constant motion indoors and out; the 567th AAA was having a reunion, and Gerald Ford was coming. "Wilkey will be sorry he missed this," his assistant commented.

The vice president had a shimmering blue backdrop, flanked by the American and Virginia State flags for his 20-minute news conference. The reception area prepared for him had massive flower arrangements on long tables running parallel to several busy bars, and a roped off platform for his short pep talk.

And apparently what the well-dressed woman wears to a well-dressed political fund-

raiser is cool jersey in a tropical print. Mrs. Linwood Holton did, a slim, high-necked color riot in blues, oranges and mauve. Mrs. John Dalton of Radford did too, her's a short-sleeved creation with a deeply-curved neckline and ideal, she said, "because the print hides a lot of figure flaws. With so many flowers, no one can tell what shape you're in."

She looked in fine shape, as did Mrs. Holton who reported her son, Woody, describes his summer job as "preserving the beauty and dignity of Washington." In truth, she said, he's raking leaves and cutting grass at the Capitol. On the plane with the vice presidential party yesterday, he shared a joke with Ford at the expense of the pilot who reportedly made an unusually bumpy arrival at Woodrum Airport. "We'll have to thank him for two landings,"

Ford told the delighted young Holton.

William Wampler's wife was absent at the reception but Rep. Butler's wife was on hand in red and white dotted swiss. "Don't pay attention to my dress," she joked. "Describe my shoes (white with red snap-on flowers); they cost more than anything else."

Things wound down when the vice president and his entourage swept out for The Homestead where he will address the Virginia Bar Association this evening. He left a good backwash: personable, patient, persuasive and powerful. His smile held steady; he, indeed, "look like a football player but a gentlemanly one," as a guest remarked, and his blue eyes looked steadily ahead to another day of jostling, jolting people, the ones he charms in Ford Country.

Row

7/20/74

World
News 7/20



Roanoke Mayor Roy Webber presents key to city

Ford In Roanoke On Butler Behalf

ROANOKE (AP) — Vice President Gerald R. Ford said Friday he will not base his support for Republican members of Congress this fall on whether they vote for or against President Nixon's impeachment.

And he said he might, in selective cases, campaign for some well-qualified Democrats who have generally supported Nixon administration policies.

Ford said also he disagrees with White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Zielger's comments that Rep. Peter W. Rodino, D-N.J., chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, is running "a kangaroo court."

The vice president told a news conference here "It's my judgment that Mr. Rodino has done his utmost to handle the (impeachment) inquiry in a fair and proper way.

"I certainly would not call the manner in which that committee has operated a kangaroo court," Ford said. "I think they've worked very hard to do a responsible job."

Ford is campaigning in southwestern Virginia for Rep. Caldwell Butler, a Republican member of the Judiciary Committee who, like his colleagues, must soon vote on whether to recommend impeachment to the full House.

Butler is uncommitted on the issue, and Ford was asked whether he would return to campaign for him if Butler votes against the President.

Ford said he would return if invited and added, "I respect the individual views of members of Congress on all issues, including this one."

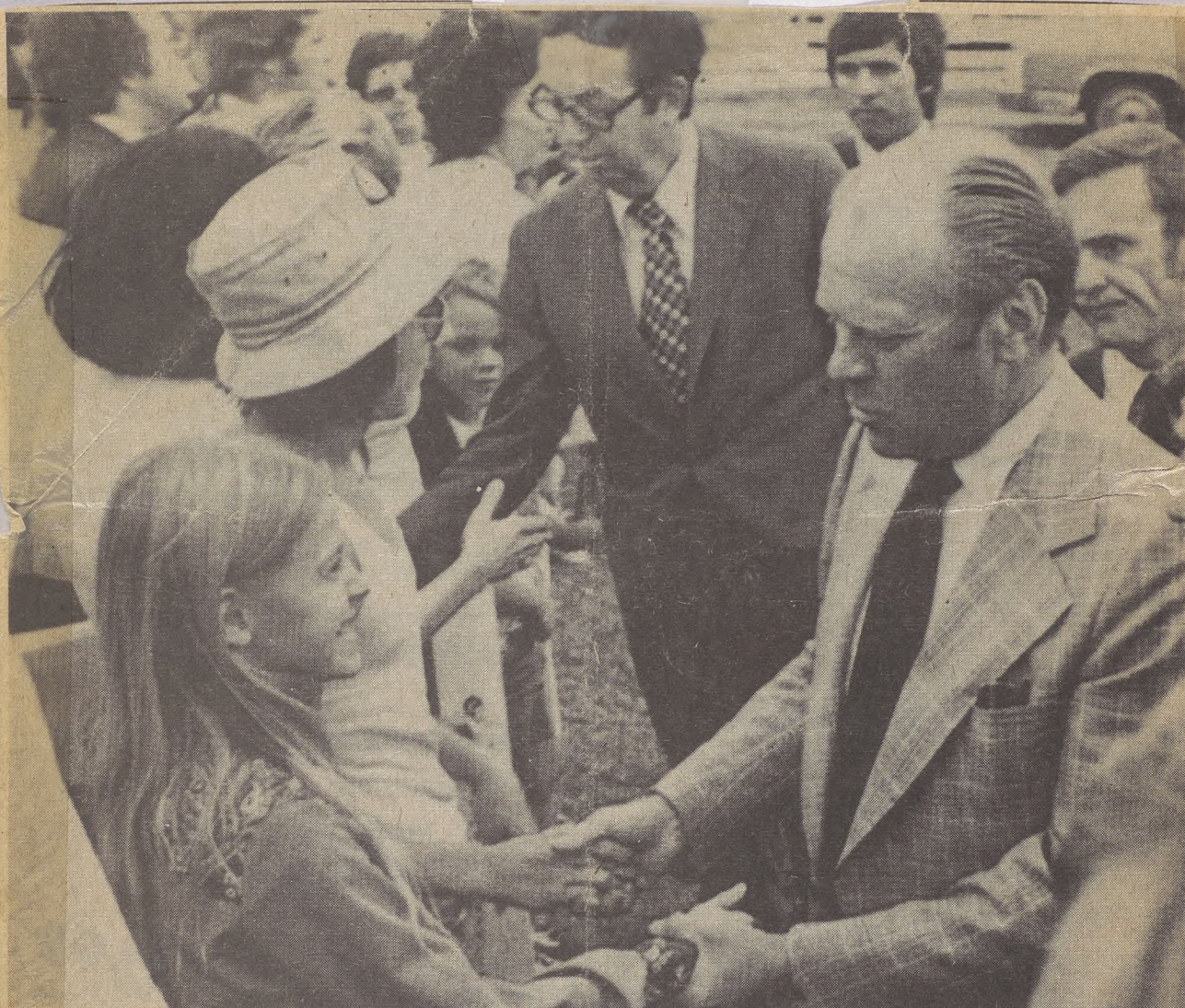
Responding to a series of related questions, Ford said, "I'm not going out on any armtwisting, lobbying effort" for the President. "I think that's an insult to most members of the House."

At the same time, Ford said that he will tell those members who ask that he does not believe there is any evidence Nixon has committed an impeachable offense.

As for his personal campaigning, Ford said, "I won't predicate my appearance or absence in a congressional district because a person votes for or against the President. That is a matter of serious personal judgment."

Ford said he would assess the over-all quality of candidates and added, "I would campaign for and support some Democrats." He did not elaborate.

The News - 7/20/74 - p. B-1
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—AP Wirephoto

TOUCH OF HANDS — Vice President Gerald Ford squeezes hands of admirers greeting him at Woodrum Airport in Roanoke Friday. He attended fund-raising

reception for Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler in background, member of House Judiciary Committee.

Gerald Ford

Ford Says He'll Not 'Twist Arms'

HOT SPRINGS, Va. (AP) — Vice President Gerald R. Ford said he won't engage in any "arm-twisting lobbying" to ward off President Nixon's possible impeachment by the House.

"I think that's an insult to most members of the House," Ford said.

At the same time, the vice president, who maintains evidence does not exist to prove Nixon has committed any impeachable offense, said he will campaign for Republicans in this fall's elections on a "highly selective" but still unspecified basis.

Ford himself appeared slightly confused as to what that basis is. He told a news conference Friday afternoon in Roanoke, Va., that he might well campaign for and support Democratic candidate who had shown support for Nixon administration policies.

En route by plane to Hot Springs he modified that stand and repeated earlier statements that there may be some Democratic candidates whose districts he will not enter in support of their Republican opponents. "I have no plans to campaign in person for any Democrats," Ford said through a press spokesman.

Ford did campaign for Rep. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., a member of the House Judiciary Committee which soon must vote whether or not to issue a bill of impeachment against Nixon.

Ford told reporters he would campaign for Butler again, no matter how Butler votes on impeachment.

And he said that holds true for any Republican House member.

Referring to critical comments by White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler, Ford said: "I certainly would not call the manner in which (the House Judiciary Committee) has operated a kangaroo court. I think they've worked very hard to do a responsible job."

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The Daily Advance - 7/20/74 - p. 7 A ✓

Ford won't twist arms to prevent impeachment

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"I think that's an insult to most members of the House," Ford said.

At the same time, the vice president, who maintains evidence does not exist to prove Nixon has committed any impeachable offense, said he will campaign for Republicans in this fall's elections on a "highly selective" but still unspecified basis.

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Ford did campaign for Rep. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., a member of the House Judiciary Committee, which soon must vote whether or not to issue a bill of impeachment against Nixon.

Ford told reporters he would campaign for Butler again next fall, whether invited or not, no matter how Butler votes on impeachment.

And he said that holds true for any Republican House member.

"I won't predicate my appearance or absence in a congressional district because a person votes for or against the President," Ford said. "That is a matter of serious personal judgment."

Ford said he believes that chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., of the House Judiciary Committee has conducted the impeachment inquiry in a fair and proper way.

Referring to critical comments by White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler, Ford said: "I certainly would not call the manner in which that committee has operated a kangaroo court. I think they've worked very hard to do a responsible job."

Ford is to spend the weekend playing golf at a resort hotel in Hot Springs. He will address the Virginia Bar Association tonight.



BACKS BUTLER — Vice President Gerald Ford holds a t-shirt with campaign slogan of Rep. Caldwell Butler, right. Ford appeared in Roanoke last night at a fund raising affair for Butler and William Wampler. Butler represents Virginia's Sixth District and Wampler the Ninth. (AP Wirephoto)



Rep. William Wampler, Ford and Rep. Caldwell Butler Enjoy Laugh at Fund-Raising Reception

WOLFE
MRS. MRS. MA.

MRS. MRS.

Box
7/20/74

Ford Pledges Support to Butler, Whatever His Impeachment Vote

From Page 1

blamed on congressional spending.

"We want an inflation-proof Congress," the vice president told his reception audience in urging the guests to work for the re-election of Butler and Wampler and, in doing so, "stand firm against busting the federal treasury."

Ford and his party departed Woodrum Airport at 8:10 p.m. for Hot Springs in time to get him into the mountain-top airport before dark.

He will address the Virginia Bar Association at The Homestead tonight. Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., who switched to the GOP last year, will introduce him to several hundred lawyers and their wives.

At the press conference before the reception, Ford rejected a Washington reporter's suggestion he may be "lobbying" congressmen to build up support against impeachment.

Ford, with a smile, said he has respect for individual members of Congress—that he hopes they respect him too—but if they want his opinion "I'll be glad to tell them."

The vice president declined to be drawn into comment on several charges

surrounding the House Judiciary Committee hearing because, he said, "I'm not going to pass judgment on day to day developments."

Ford said also he disagrees with White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler's comments that Rep. Peter W. Rodino, D-N.J., chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, is running "a kangaroo court."

The vice president said, "It's my judgment that Mr. Rodino has done his utmost to handle the (impeachment) inquiry in a fair and proper way.

"I certainly would not call the manner in which that committee has operated a kangaroo court," Ford said. "I think they've worked very hard to do a responsible job."

Butler, who soon will have to vote on the impeachment resolution in the House Judiciary Committee, flew from Washington with the vice president. There was a heavy hail storm en route. Wampler joined the party at Hotel Roanoke.

Also aboard the vice president's plane was former Gov. Linwood Holton, now assistant secretary of state for congressional relations.

The reception grossed about \$10,400 but Butler and Wampler will be lucky if much gets into their campaign chests since they have to pay the hotel charges, the cost of promoting the event, the expenses of the Secret Service and the vice president's advance men.

Party leaders in Roanoke blamed the latter for discouraging any turnout to see Ford. Some became annoyed.

The vice president was 38 minutes late arriving on a flight from Washington. Waiting was a big contingent of Secret Service agents, Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton, Mayor Roy L. Webber, a few local GOP leaders and about 75 onlookers kept behind a fence a football field length away.

Ford closed his short talk at the reception by saying that if he were an independent instead of a Republican he would vote for Butler or Wampler, depending on the district in which he lived, because they represent fiscal responsibility in Washington at a time when excessive spending is at the root of the nation's economic problems.

For
1/20/71

Ford's Easy Greeting: 'Hi, Glad To See You'

From Page 1

of this legend on the sign said it also contained the notation "Ford" and the representation of a screw drawn on it.

Even reporters who were lucky enough to spot the sign were not sure what it said—something about impeachment, they said.

There were dark rumors at the airport that Lt. Gov. John Dalton and his wife, Eddie, had not been invited to ride in the motorcade into town. Secret Service, a Republican said. "No room at the inn," he said.

It turned out, though, that Dalton and his wife did ride in the motorcade, along with 6th District Rep. Caldwell Butler and former Gov. Linwood Holton, now assistant secretary of state for congressional relations.

Butler, and 9th District Rep. William C. Wampler, were the main reasons Ford was in

town—attending a \$50-per-person reception to get up some money for campaigning this fall.

The reception drew 203 people and \$10,400 and a pipe-smoking Ford who was introduced by Butler as being "as pure as the driven snow on the convent roof."

Then, in a speech given to tinkling glasses in the Shenandoah Room, Ford told a joke about telephones and President Nixon that he has told before and said everybody ought to vote for Butler and Wampler.

In addition to shaking hands with practically everybody who came handily into his path and speaking at the reception, Ford held the ritual news conference and said, no, he doesn't think the President has committed an impeachable offense.

There were some people who were properly awed by the vice president's visit. These included a veteran of the 567th AAA

Battalion, which happened to be holding a reunion at the hotel, which may or may not have made the Secret Service anxious.

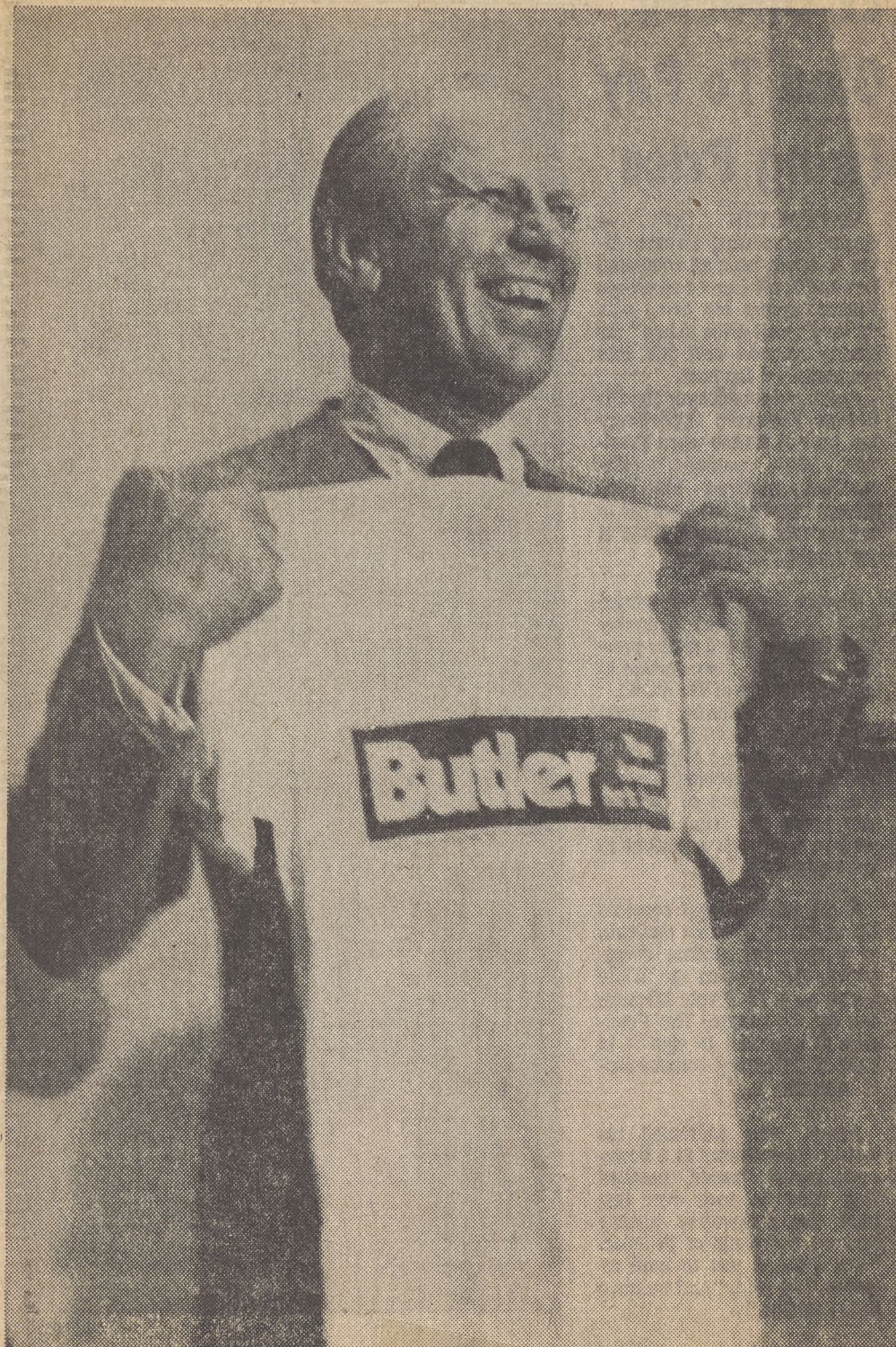
"This is the first time I've ever seen a vice president," the veteran said.

He did not attend the reception, through which Ford moved easily, again folksily, led through the crowd by Butler and later joined by Wampler on the rather ornate speaking platform set up in the Shenandoah Room.

Secret Service men, as they usually do in the provinces, awed a lot of people by their operations. They awed some people by showing handcuffs through their coat vents when they bent over.

In general, the vice president came off as a nice guy, saying, "Hi, glad to see you" to a lot of people and looking fatherly at the news people penned by the rope at the airport and saying he would see them at the hotel.

Box
7/20/74



It's Clear Who Will Have Vice President's Campaign Backing

Ford Wants Privacy Protected

By MELVILLE CARICO
Times Political Writer

HOT SPRINGS — Vice President Gerald R. Ford said Saturday night government and the legal profession must join hands in guaranteeing every citizen the right to privacy.

"We must assure citizens that their private lives shall not become 'rolls of public tape' in a computer system." Privacy was the underlying theme in a speech the Vice President prepared for the Virginia Bar Association's dinner which drew 900 judges, lawyers, professors and their wives.

Ford, who has traveled over 100,000 miles since his selection by President Nixon to succeed Spiro Agnew, spent a relaxing day at the Homestead nestled in the Allegheny Mountains.

He spent the morning on the golf course in a foursome with three prominent Virginia lawyers and in the afternoon relaxed in his suite chatting with guests.

During his remarks the Vice President said he has been criticized for so much traveling with suggestions that he ought to stay closer to Washington.

"My answer is that my homework is in Hot Springs, Va. and every other place in our nation where people assemble to perfect our society," Ford related.

Ford was introduced by Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., a former conservative Democrat who switched to Ford's party last year and attracted national political attention.

The governor praised Ford as a vice peresident who "represents the best qualities we look for in public servants and radiates a sense of stability which we so badly need."

"It is comforting to many of us to know that if unfolding events were to cast him in an even larger role the nation would be in good hands," Godwin declared.

His audience also included Assistant Secretary of State A. Linwood Holton, the first Republican governor of Virginia, Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton and Attorney General Andrew P. Miller.

Ford is chairman of the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy which was created by President Nixon in an effort to balance the right of privacy with, as he described it, "the increasing claims by government and business to gather and use information about people." Ford had told reporters previously that he was interested in the problem when he was being investigated by both houses of

Congress following his nomination as Vice President in the wake of Agnew's resignation.

Ford told the lawyers that members of the cabinet and others on the privacy committee are now proposing that the executive department establish specific procedures and government-wise guidelines to safeguard privacy. These include, he said, a restriction on government agencies establishing automated information systems without adhering to guidelines aimed at protecting the confidentiality of sensitive information about individuals.

The Vice President flew into this resort Friday night after a fund-raising reception in Roanoke for Rep. M. Caldwell Butler and Rep. William C. Wampler.

He said there, as he has dozens of other times in his extensive travels on behalf of the GOP, that he sees no grounds to justify impeachment of President Nixon, but honeycombed through his prepared text distributed before the dinner, Ford seemed to be spelling out moral standards he sets for the President or anyone else in government or law.

"The law retains its dynamic essence because no American is above the requirements of the law," Ford declared at one point.

Roanoke Times 7/21

Rep. Wampler to participate in conference

WASHINGTON — U.S. Rep. William Wampler, the ranking Republican member of the House Agriculture Committee and Congressman from Virginia's Ninth District will participate in U.S. Rep. Butler's Farm Conference Aug. 5 at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern.

Rep. Wampler, one of the most knowledgeable legislators in the field of agri-business, will join Rep. Butler, U.S. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and an official of the U.S. Department of Agriculture at the event which begins at 10 a.m. and concludes with a free barbeque luncheon at noon.

Rep. Butler said he was "extremely pleased that a person with as extensive background in farm and agriculture-business legislation as Bill Wampler will be present at our conference".

Rep. Wampler, who resides in Bristol, was first elected to

Congress in 1952 and following a defeat in 1954 was re-elected in 1966 and every term thereafter.

Today's Giveaway

Three 9-week-old male boxed trained kittens. Telephone 885-2088.

Rep. Wampler Will Attend Conference

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Special) — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler has announced that Rep. William Wampler will participate in the Farm Conference Mr. Butler will sponsor Aug. 5 at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern, Va.

Mr. Wampler, from Virginia's Ninth District, is the ranking Republican member of the House Agriculture Committee.

He will join Mr. Butler, Seventh District Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and an official of the U. S. Department of Commerce at the event which begins at 10 a.m. and concludes with a free barbeque luncheon at 12 noon.

Also participating in the conference as resource personnel will be representatives of the Soil Conservation Service, Farmer Home Administration, State Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Occupational Safety and Health Administration and Virginia Tech's Agriculture Extension Service and the Agriculture Experiment Station. Each will be available for individual consultation and discussion.

Funding for public television

President Nixon has accepted a compromise bill on long-range funding of public television; and if the measure passes Congress, "alternative television" will be safely through a long period of political tomfoolery.

The administration, visibly upset by public television's penchant for the controversial, turned down an earlier measure on long-range funding, despite the fact that public television had accomplished all the changes the administration considered necessary before it could pass muster.

Clay Whitehead, director of the White House Office of Telecommunications, apparently felt that the White House refusal

to follow through with its side of the bargain had all but blown him out of the water. His position as liaison between the White House and the industry was weakened, almost beyond repair.

He finally persuaded the President to endorse the funding scheme, thereby saving his own reputation and indirectly lifting the reputation of the White House.

For the very purpose of a guaranteed funding, so eagerly sought by the public television corporation, is to place the system above the winds and whims of politics. The Nixon administration's perversity in the matter was all the proof needed that public television has to have a shield from governmental interference.

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7/22/74



GOLFERS — Vice President Gerald R. Ford, at left, and attorney John Battle Jr. of Richmond took advantage of the weekend's good weather for a game of golf at The Homestead's course. The

Vice President was in Hot Springs over the weekend to address the Virginia Bar Association. Third man in the picture is unidentified. (John M. Gazzola Photo)

Ford Has 'Low-Key' Weekend At Bar Association Meeting

By John M. Gazzola Jr.

HOT SPRINGS — Vice President Gerald R. Ford spent what most observers considered a low-key long weekend at The Homestead, with relaxation taking precedence over political maneuvering.

Friday the Vice President touched down at Roanoke's Woodrum Field at 5:35 p.m., where he greeted a small crowd of well-wishers and then went to Hotel Roanoke for a \$100 a couple fund-raising reception for 6th District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler and 9th District Congressman William C. Wampler, which was attended by 206 couples.

Later, at about 9 p.m., the Vice President arrived by helicopter at Ingalls Field, where he was taken by limousine to The Homestead.

Saturday morning the Vice President played 18 holes of golf on The Homestead Course with a foursome of three prominent Virginia lawyers, one of whom was John Battle Jr., son of the former Virginia governor.

Saturday night the Vice President delivered a banquet address to the Virginia Bar

Association, saying government and the law profession must join hands in guaranteeing every citizen a right to privacy.

The Vice President was introduced at the banquet by Governor Mills E. Godwin Jr., who called Ford a vice president who represents the best qualities we look for in public servants and one who radiates a sense of stability we so badly need.

Also at the banquet, which was attended by almost 1,000, were Assistant Secretary of State A. Linwood Holton, Lt. Governor John N. Dalton, Attorney General Andrew P. Miller, 3rd District Congressman David E. Satterfield, 1st District Congressman Thomas N. Downing, 6th District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler and Charles Robb, son-in-law of the late former President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Sunday morning the Vice President tackled the Cascades

Course before leaving in late afternoon for Washington, D. C. No report was noted on his Cascades score but he had five or six pars Saturday over The Homestead Course, and though scoring a nine on the par five fourth hole, finished the round in the high 80's.

COO,
7-22-74

are caged. A family looking for a home.

7/22/74 W N

Ford visit may affect Butler's ouster vote

By FRED BARNES
Washington Star-News

HOT SPRINGS — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., discovered to his delight several weeks ago that Vice President Ford was scheduled to come to this mountain resort for a speech and a few rounds of golf.

Perhaps Ford would stop in nearby Roanoke and address a Butler fundraising rally, thought Butler, who has gained prominence recently as a Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee who is undecided on whether to vote for the impeachment of President Nixon.

Butler wrote a brief letter to the vice president, and Ford readily agreed to appear in the congressman's behalf in Roanoke on Friday.

Because the committee was expected to vote on the impeachment issue in a week or so, the Ford visit took on considerable importance. It also made Butler politically indebted to Ford, the party's most

An article of analysis and opinion intended to help interpret and clarify the news.

sought-after campaign speaker.

As a result of such political debts, the vice president is the administration official with the greatest clout in getting the committee's 17 Republicans to support Nixon.

Ford is a vigorous backer of the President in the impeachment struggle, having declared repeatedly that there is not enough evidence against Nixon to warrant his impeachment.

In recent weeks, Ford has committed himself to make campaign appearances for four of the wavering Republicans, including Butler.

Ford has said that his appearances were not connected with the impeachment battle and that he did not plan to wage "an arm-twisting lobbying effort" aimed at convincing Republicans to stick with Nixon.

The most he will do, Ford

added, is express his view on impeachment if any committee member is not sure where he stands on the issue.

Although Butler did not ask him for this view, the congressman got it anyway on Friday. As Butler stood near Ford at a news conference, the vice president told newsmen: "Naturally I would hope that a Republican as well as a discerning Democrat would vote against impeachment."

Ford asserted that he intended to be "highly selective" in scheduling campaign appearances and may even stay out of some districts where the Democratic candidate is a good one. Observers were astonished at this statement, since the vice president had not previously been "selective" among his party's candidates, and had never supported a Democrat.

The first Kiwanis Club was organized in Detroit in 1915. The name is from an Indian word, "Kee-wanis," meaning "to make oneself known."

\$10,000 paid *W.N.* *for 1st* *rec. sec.* *7/22/74* **to eat with Ford**

The Republican fund-raising dinner attended by Vice President Gerald Ford Friday night at Hotel Roanoke grossed slightly more than \$10,000.

But this figure will be cut sharply—perhaps by one-half—when all the bills have been toted up, according to local party officials.

The money netted from the affair will be divided 50-50 between Reps. Caldwell Butler of the 6th Congressional District and William C. Wampler of the 9th.

More than 200 paid \$50 per person to attend the Ford affair. In addition, 70 press people attended as guests of the Republicans.

Other expenses incurred by the sponsoring Republicans included paying for advance and Secret Service personnel, many of whom stayed at Hotel Roanoke for three days.

While they were here the third floor of the hotel was blocked off for security reasons, with only two maids and two maintenance men allowed there.

Quarters were set aside for Ford and his party in case he wanted to stay in Roanoke Friday night. The vice presidential group, however, left for Hot Springs shortly after 8 p.m. where he spoke to the Virginia Bar Association Saturday night.

While none of the Republican officials here said so, it appeared almost certain that the vice president would be asked to come back to the 6th—and perhaps go to the 9th—during this fall's congressional campaigns.

Ford said he was going to campaign for "selected Republicans" this fall and emphasized strongly that he'd like to work for Butler if asked.

The vice president said he'll be willing to campaign for Butler even if he votes for the impeachment of President Nixon. Butler is a member of the House Judiciary Committee, which is now involved in impeachment proceedings.

Garrison: Rookie Replaces Star in Last of the Ninth

By William Greider

Washington Post Staff Writer

Samuel Alexander Garrison III, who prefers plain Sam, was the rookie stepping up to pinch hit in the last of the ninth, subbing for the flashy player from Chicago who got benched.

"The turn of events in the past week has been literally mind-boggling," Garrison sighed, still a bit awed by his opportunity.

Sam Garrison was at the plate before the House Judiciary Committee, directed by the committee's 17 Republicans to present the "minority view" of the case against President Nixon. Sitting next to him was Albert

E. Jenner Jr., the chief minority counsel who got bumped because Jenner thinks the case against Mr. Nixon is strong enough to impeach him.

"This has been a rough weekend," said Garrison, who was given the assignment abruptly last Tuesday. "I've had three hours sleep in the last two days."

He is 32-years-old, a former prosecutor from Roanoke, an anonymous staff lawyer on Capitol Hill. This was his moment.

So, perhaps to relieve the tension, Sam Garrison passed copies of a comic strip to Jenner and the other lawyers assembled at the counsel table. It was the *Doonesbury* strip from yesterday's newspaper, lampooning the Judiciary Committee for its partisan rharbs. "I think no matter how grave the matter being discussed," Garrison explained amiably, "there's always room for a little good humor."

Then, after the news people were shooed out of the committee room, Garrison presented his 41-page argument for acquittal. Actually, it was more like a general legal brief on the ambiguities of evidence, particularly in impeachment cases. He urged the House members to play the role of "prudent prosecutors"—resisting impeachment if the case does not seem overwhelming to them.

By all accounts, Sam Garrison did not exactly hit a home run. But his perform-

ance satisfied the senior Republicans who wanted someone, for appearance's sake if nothing else, to argue the soft spots in the Judiciary Committee's evidence.

Beyond the facts, Garrison also invoked the broader political considerations which are now part of the President's defense case. "The question," Garrison said, "is whether the public interest would better be served or not served by removal of the President."

As it happens, lawyer Garrison came to the Nixon case directly from the staff of another Republican in trouble — Vice President Spiro T. Agnew. He was the Vice President's staff counsel and legislative liaison when he heard on his car radio one night last summer that his boss was under investigation for bribery.

"It was a personal and national tragedy that I was able to observe at somewhat closer distance than others," said Garrison, who had no role in the Agnew defense, despite the title of counsel. "It wasn't my first brush with tragedy, having been a prosecutor for five years."

"Perhaps my previous experience enabled me to cope better with that. I became fairly well acquainted with the variety of human failings, especially among those who don't seem to have any."

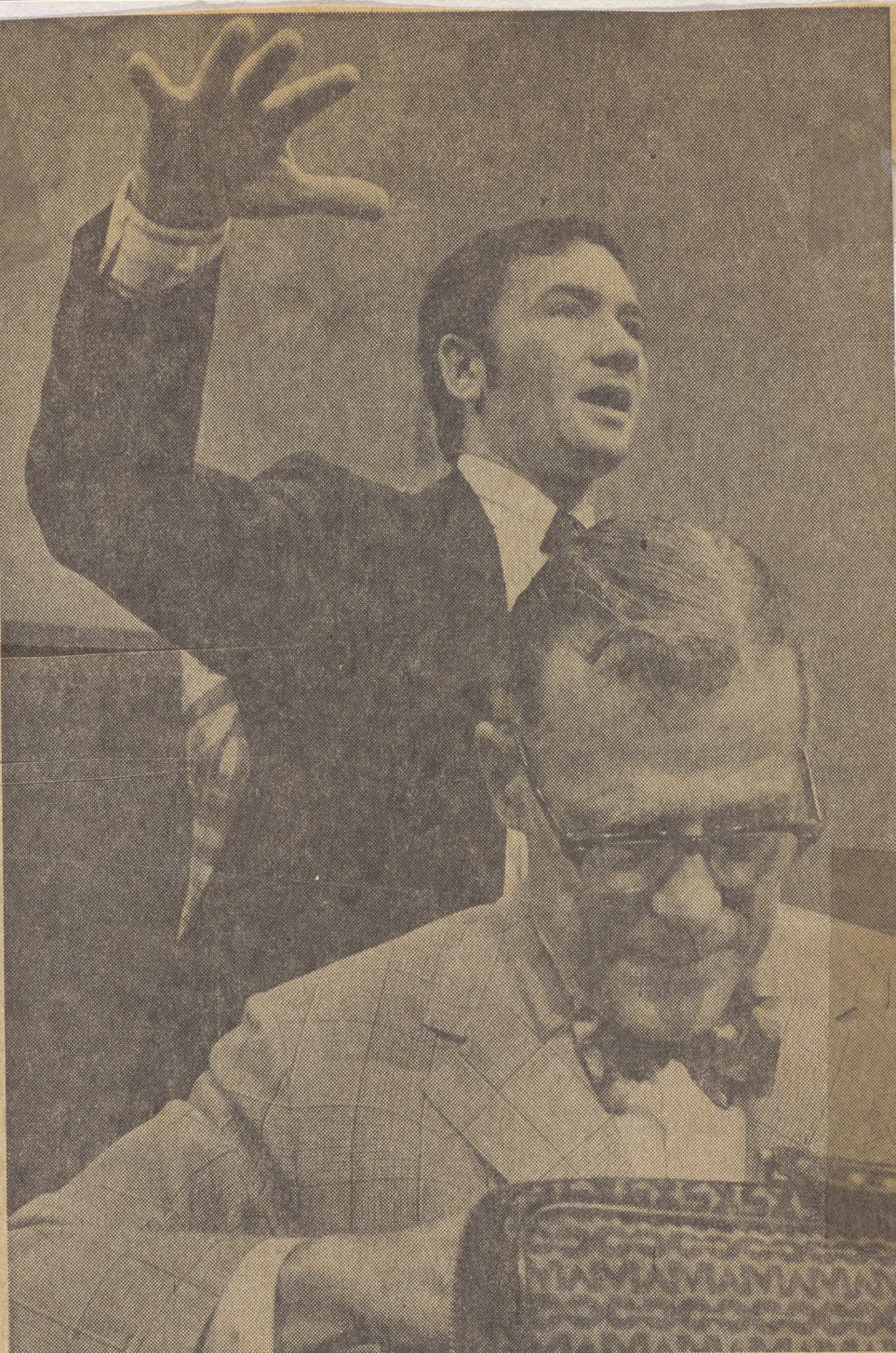
Might that perspective apply as well to his new "client," the President?

"From time to time," Garrison conceded, "I might feel a little shocked at some revelations. Yet often those things that appear to be true on first glance turn out not to be so on closer examination."

"A primitive Republican," says one fellow GOP member from southwest Virginia. "Honest, conscientious, outstanding, straight arrow," says another.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, the freshman Republican congressman from Roanoke, a Judiciary member himself, recalls:

"When I was first involved in politics, Sam Garrison was leading the pledge



7-23-74

Associated Press

Sam Garrison, background, spokesman for committee minority, and Albert Jenner.

of allegiance at the Lincoln Day dinners as a young Boy Scout. His background is such that he can put his heart into this presentation."

One important Republican on the committee was not overly impressed with it. "He seems very young," the congressman said. "You can't put him in the same league with some of the others like St. Clair" (James D. St. Clair, the White House defense lawyer).

Garrison grew up in Roanoke, went through law school at the University of Virginia and signed on immediately afterwards as an assistant commonwealth's attorney in his hometown. In 1969, he won election to his

own term as prosecutor, but resigned in the spring of 1971 to join the House Judiciary staff, recruited by Roanoke's former congressman, Richard Poff.

When Poff left Congress a year later to serve on the Virginia Supreme Court, Garrison found a spot with Agnew and handled political briefings for the Vice President during the 1972 campaign.

"I wouldn't want to portray myself as any close adviser," he said. "I was the freshman, the newest fella around."

After the election, he moved to the counsel's job which mostly meant handling staff legal questions—

not Agnew's personal troubles. Garrison stayed on until the sorry ending, then heard about an opening on the Republican staff at Judiciary.

Actually, he was the first Republican lawyer hired for the impeachment inquiry last November and set about recruiting a staff as chief counsel. Among others, he hired Jack Kennahan, the former commonwealth's attorney from Alexandria.

Then the "stars" came in and Garrison had to take a back seat. The Democrats hired John Doar as chief counsel and the Republicans, looking for a big-name lawyer, chose Jenner from Chicago.

ews-Gazette, Lexington, Virginia July 24, 1974

Wampler visit

Is Announced

U. S. Rep. William Wampler, the ranking Republican member of the House Agriculture Committee and congressman from Virginia's 9th District, will participate in U. S. Rep. Caldwell Butler's Farm Conference Aug. 5 at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern.

Wampler will join Butler, U. S. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and an official of the U. S. Department of Agriculture at the event which begins at 10 a.m. and concludes with a free barbecue luncheon at noon.

74
7-24
WV

Butler says issue appears resolved

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — House Judiciary Committee Republican member Caldwell Butler of Roanoke said this noon he believes the Supreme Court decision "apparently resolves" the problem of committee access to the White House tapes it has subpoenaed.

Butler indicated he might favor delay in the committee impeachment debate scheduled for 7:30 p.m. today under certain circumstances, such as a promise by the President immediately to comply.

(Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. said, however, that the committee will go ahead with its plans to debate and vote on articles of impeachment without waiting for the tapes Nixon has been ordered to surrender.)

Butler said he wanted to wait to read the court decision before making a detailed comment.

He said he didn't want to be a "popoff" and "I want to know what the White House reaction is before I'll know what the committee should do."

Butler said, "Our access to the tapes apparently has been resolved," meaning that he believes the committee now can get the tapes it has sought.

Some members of the committee have argued that the President's failure to comply with committee subpoenas is, in itself, an impeachable offense.

THE NEWS 7/24/74

Republican Backs Impeachment

WASHINGTON (AP) — Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, a Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee, announced Tuesday he will vote to impeach President Nixon.

"I have come to the conclusion that Richard M. Nixon has, beyond a reasonable doubt, committed impeachable offenses which, in my judgment, are of sufficient magnitude that he should be removed from office," Hogan said.

"The evidence convinces me that my president has lied re-

peatedly," he added.

Hogan, who is running for governor of Maryland, made his announcement the day before committee debate was scheduled on proposed articles of impeachment.

Asked why he was declaring his position in advance, he replied the debate would be "pro forma."

"By tomorrow every person on the committee, so far as I'm concerned, will have made up his mind," Hogan said.

Five GOP Votes

Hogan predicted that at

least five of the 17 Republicans on the committee will vote for impeachment. He said if the full House studies the evidence as carefully as he did it also will vote to impeach President Nixon.

Hogan said that when word got out of his impending announcement he received two calls from the White House which he did not return.

He said he did talk to Vice President Gerald R. Ford, who also called him. Ford did not ask him what decision he had made, said Hogan, but he did question announcing it in ad-

vance of the debate.

Presidential counselor Dean Burch, after consulting with White House staff chief Alexander M. Haig Jr. in San Clemente, summoned newsmen Tuesday to denounce Hogan.

Burch's Charge

Burch charged that Hogan's "ambition to be governor of Maryland ... weighed heavily" on him and that he acted "from what he views as his political interest."

Burch accused Hogan of using his position on the commit-

tee "to gain name recognition" for his gubernatorial campaign and declared "this is not going to be well received by Republicans in the state of Maryland ... it could very well go haywire on him."

While acknowledging that Hogan's announcement damaged White House hopes of blocking committee approval of an impeachment resolution, Burch said, "I do not suggest it will result in any landslide or rush to judgment."

Hogan said his decision was made within the last few days. See Republican, A-12, Col. 1

Republican Plans Impeachment Vote

Continued From A-1

but "the real body blow was when the President released his tapes and I read in his own words things that shocked me."

In his statement, he said, "Those who oppose impeachment say it would weaken the presidency. In my view, if we do not impeach the President after all that he has done, we would be weakening the presidency even more."

Hogan generally was not listed among those committee Republicans most likely to support impeachment.

Nearly all of the 21 Democrats are regarded as virtually certain to support impeachment while 11 Republicans usually are listed as hard-line voters against. Hogan is the first member to formally announce his vote although others have indicated how they would vote.

Majority Required

A majority of the 38-member committee is required to recommend impeachment.

Meanwhile, House Republican Leader John J. Rhodes of Arizona told Senate Republicans at a closed session that the House impeachment situation is fluid at present. "I said last week was favorable, this week is less favorable and next week who knows?" Rhodes said he told the senators.

Of Hogan's action, Rhodes said, "Something like this is bound to be more harmful to the President than helpful."

Among other comments from congressmen, Rep. John B. Anderson, R-Ill., said Hogan's decision "is going to have some effect. The tide is going in this direction."

Rep. Walter Flowers, D-Ala., a Judiciary Committee member, said "it'll make it a little easier" for Republicans to vote for impeachment.

Rep. L.A. "Skip" Bafalis, R-Ia., said he looked at the timing of Hogan's announcement as being "terribly political."

Rep. Dan Kuykendall, R-Tenn., said: "I think it's a good way to run for governor of Maryland — if he wins. If he loses, it's a miserable way."

Rabbi Baruch Korff, head of the National Citizens Committee for Fairness to the President made public a letter he sent to Hogan saying that Hogan once was an admirable young politician. "And now you have joined the wolf pack, running with their frenzy and echoing their howls against the President," Korff said.

★ ★ ★

The only Democrats regarded as possible votes against impeachment are Reps. Walter Flowers of Alabama and James R. Mann of South Carolina.

Republicans regarded as leaning toward impeachment are Reps. William Cohen of Maine, Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia and Tom Railsback of Illinois.

Considered possible, but far less likely Republican votes for impeachment are Reps. Robert McClory of Illinois and Henry P. Smith of New York.

The committee announced that the impeachment debate, to be aired on nationwide radio and television, would begin at 7:30 p.m. EDT today. The committee continued on Tuesday debating procedural questions.

Likeliest Scenario

The likeliest scenario for the debate is that it will open with introduction of a resolution declaring that it is the committee's recommendation to the House that Nixon should be impeached.

2 Staunton, Va., Leader, Wednesday, July 24, 1974 ent of the property came

Rep. Butler criticizes promotion

WASHINGTON (AP)—Rep. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., says the promotion of Sam Garrison over Albert Jenner as chief minority counsel was "a shabby way to treat a man, to kick him when he is down."

He referred to criticism of Jenner by House Judiciary Committee Republicans who said Jenner let them down by agreeing with John Doar, chief committee counsel, in his presentation of evidence and in his advocacy of impeachment of President Nixon.

But Butler agreed it might make it easier for some members to join the impeachment voters.

DAILY ADVANCE

Butler opposes Garrison's job

7/24/74

WASHINGTON (AP) — Rep. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., says the promotion of Sam Garrison over Albert Jenner as chief minority counsel was "a shabby way to treat aman, to kick him when he is down."

He referred to criticism of Jenner by House Judiciary Committee Republicans who said Jenner let them down by agreeing with John Doar, chief committee counsel, in his presentation of evidence and in his advocacy of impeachment of President Nixon.

Butler, a member of the committee, did not take part in the caucus when Republicans promoted Garrison from deputy minority counsel to chief minority counsel.

Butler is considered one of eight or nine possible Republican votes for impeachment.

Jenner's present role is not clear, but it appears he will

remain as an associate counsel to Doar.

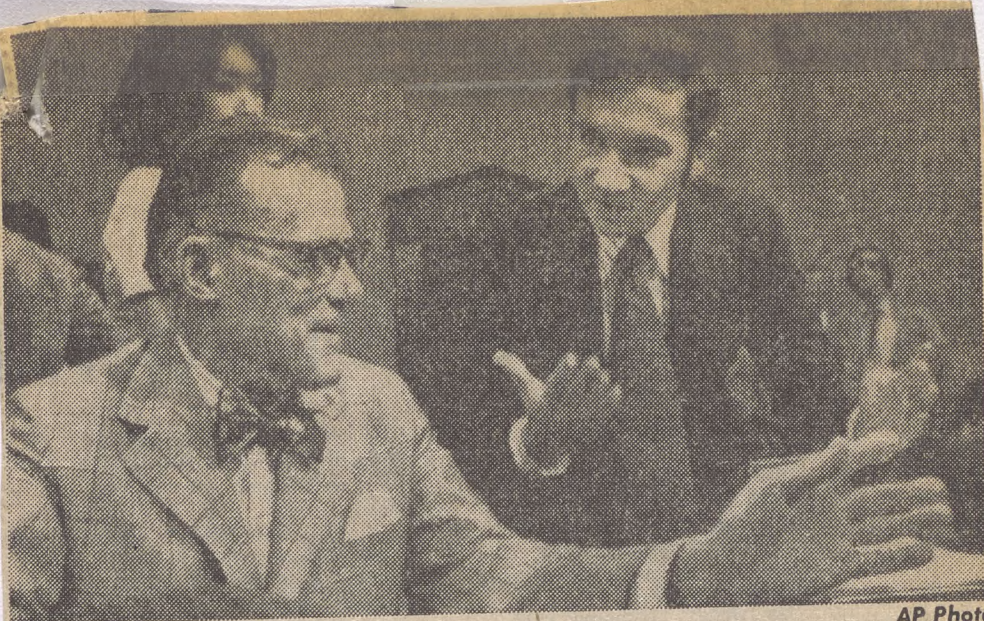
Garrison, a former commonwealth's attorney of Roanoke, went to Washington to work as a protege of former Rep. Richard H. Poff and is rated as a solid conservative.

Butler said Tuesday he didn't believe many committee members would be swayed by Rep. Larry Hogan, R-Md., who announced Tuesday he would vote for impeachment. Hogan is a member of the committee and a candidate for governor of Maryland.

But Butler agreed it might make it easier for some members to join the impeachment voters.

"If you're looking for comfort, It'll sure be there," Butler said.

He added that Hogan's announcement came as no surprise to him.



AP Photo

Jenner and Garrison Confer Prior to Start of Committee Hearing

Republicans on House Panel Name Garrison Top Counsel

From Page 13

tial lawyer James St. Clair, members were generally complimentary.

Said Roanoke Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., "it was factual, directed to the evidence."

Butler goes back a way with Garrison, who was still a youngster when Butler and his former law partner, Ex-Gov. Linwood Holton, were rebuilding the Republican party in Southwest Virginia.

"When I was first involved in politics, Sam Garrison was leading the pledge of allegiance at the Lincoln Day dinners as a young Boy Scout," said Butler, meaning that Garrison is as partisan a Republican as any around.

Garrison, a native of Roanoke, was born in 1942, and won bachelor of science and law degrees from the University of Virginia before being appointed assistant commonwealth's attorney in Roanoke in 1966.

In 1969, he won election to the commonwealth's attorney's post but resigned less than two years later to work with then 6th District Rep. Richard Poff, who was a member of the House Judiciary Committee. Garrison went to work for the committee as one of its lawyers and labored in relative obscurity until Poff left Washington in an agonizing brouhaha over a possible appointment to the U.S. Supreme Court.

When Poff threw in the towel on the nomination, Garrison cast about for a better job and landed with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew. He worked on political matters for Agnew during the 1972 cam-

paign but little more than a year later, he was jobless again. This time his boss had resigned in a kickback scandal, and Garrison called it "a personal and national tragedy."

Garrison again looked to the Judiciary Committee and found work. In fact, Garrison was one of the first lawyers hired by the minority side for the impeachment inquiry.

Then Jenner and Doar, both Republicans, were hired for the two top posts and Garrison took a back seat for the next seven months. It all changed this week, and Garrison now has definite ideas on the remaining few days of the committee's deliberations—and on his own role in them.

First, he rejects the idea that he is pleading the President's case.

"I think there's a great distortion that I'm representing the President. That's not the case in the past and it's not the case now.

"I represent their (the Republicans') views and if that's the same as the President's so be it. And if not, well, so be that, too," Garrison said Tuesday.

And Garrison said he doesn't care whether St. Clair is present for the committee deliberations on the articles of impeachment.

"I don't think his presence will have any effect on my role. If he were here, he'd be doing his job representing his client, and I'd be representing mine."

But when it's all over, Garrison says, he'll have had enough of Washington.

"I intend to go back to Roanoke and probably practice law for a while," says Garrison.

Times 8/24

WN
7/24/74

Committee promotion under fire

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., said the promotion of Roanoker Sam Garrison over Albert Jenner as chief minority counsel was "a shabby way to treat a man, to kick him when he is down."

He referred to criticism of Jenner by Judiciary Committee Republicans who said Jenner let them down by agreeing with John Doar, chief committee counsel, in his presentations of evidence and in his advocacy of impeachment of President Nixon.

Butler, a member of the committee, did not take part in the caucus at which Republicans promoted Garrison from deputy minority counsel to chief minority counsel.

Jenner's present role is not clear, but it appears he will remain as an associate counsel to Doar.

Butler said he didn't believe many committee members would be swayed by Rep. Larry Hogan, R-Md., who announced yesterday he would vote for impeachment. Hogan is a member of the committee and a candidate for governor of Maryland.

But Butler agreed it might make it easier for some members to join the impeachment voters.

"If you're looking for comfort, it'll sure be there," Butler said.

He added that Hogan's announcement came as no surprise to him.

Garrison Appointment Upsets Butler

By JACK BETTS
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., Tuesday blasted the naming of former Roanoke prosecutor Sam Garrison as chief minority counsel over Albert Jenner as a — tactless thing to do to a man when he is down."

Butler, a member of the impeachment panel, said he did not take part in the Republican caucus where Garrison, formerly deputy minority counsel to Jenner, was officially designated chief minority counsel.

Jenner's role—and title—is somewhat

unclear, but it appears he will remain employed by the committee as an associate counsel to chief committee counsel John Doar.

Doar, Jenner and Garrison are all Republicans.

Butler said, "It was a shabby way to treat a man, to kick him when he is down."

He referred to criticisms of Jenner from committee Republicans who claimed he let them down by agreeing with Doar in his presentations of evidence and in his advocacy of impeachment of President Nixon.

Butler, considered one of eight or nine

possible Republican votes for impeachment, also said he didn't believe many members would be swayed by Rep. Larry Hogan, R-Md., who announced Tuesday he would vote to impeach the President.

Hogan, also a member of the committee and a candidate for governor of Maryland, said he was convinced the President should be impeached and removed from office.

"I've got a lot of respect for Larry Hogan, but I don't think he'll sway a lot of votes. Certainly, not like dominoes falling in line," he said.

But he admitted it might make it eas-

ier for some member to join the impeachment voters.

"If you're looking for comfort, it'll sure be there," Butler said.

Butler said he had gotten to know Hogan fairly well since sitting beside him at the impeachment meetings, so the announcement came as no surprise to him.

"I think everyone pretty well had that one figured out, didn't they?"

It's Been a Big Week for Roanoke

Native Samuel Garrison III—

Page 13.

— (A) — front pg. front section — Jones — 7/24/74

Impeachment Gains a GOP Vote

WASHINGTON (AP)—Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, a Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee, announced Tuesday he will vote to impeach President Nixon.

"I have come to the conclusion that Richard M. Nixon has, beyond a reasonable doubt, committed impeachable offenses which, in my judgment, are of sufficient magnitude that he should be removed from office," Hogan said.

"The evidence convinces me that my president has lied repeatedly," he added.

Hogan, who is running for governor of Maryland, made his announcement the day before committee debate was scheduled on proposed articles of impeachment.

Asked why he was declaring his position in advance, he replied the debate would be "pro forma."

"By tomorrow every person on the committee, so far as I'm concerned, will have made up his mind," Hogan said.

Hogan predicted that at least five of the 17 Republicans on the committee will vote for impeachment. He said if the full House studies the evidence as carefully as

he did it also will vote to impeach President Nixon.

Hogan said that when word got out of his impending announcement he received two calls from the White House which he did not return.

He said he did talk to Vice President Gerald R. Ford, who also called him. Ford did not ask him what decision he had made, said Hogan, but he did question announcing it in advance of the debate.

White House spokesmen had no comment on the announcement.

Hogan said his decision was made within the last few days but "the real body blow was when the President released his tapes and I read in his own words things that shocked me."

In his statement, he said, "Those who oppose impeachment say it would weaken the presidency. In my view, if we do not impeach the President after all that he has done, we would be weakening the presidency even more."

Hogan generally was not listed among those committee Republicans most likely to support impeachment.

Nearly all of the 21 Democrats are regarded as virtually certain to support impeachment while 11 Republicans usually are listed as hard-line voters against. Hogan is the first member to formally announce his vote although others have indicated how they would vote.

The only Democrats regarded as possible votes against impeachment are Reps. Walter Flowers of Alabama and James R. Mann of South Carolina.

Republicans regarded as leaning toward impeachment are Reps. William Cohen of Maine, Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia and Tom Railsback of Illinois.

Considered possible, but far less likely Republican votes for impeachment are Reps. Robert McClory of Illinois and Henry P. Smith of New York.

The committee continued on Tuesday debating procedural questions with the starting time for the broadcast impeachment debate set for 7:30 p.m. today.

The likeliest scenario for the debate is that it will open with introduction of a resolution declaring that it is the committee's recommendation to the House that Nixon should be impeached.

Then would come first phase of the debate, with each of the 38 committee members having 15 minutes to talk. The resolution may be tabled without a vote and then the committee will turn to debate on individual articles of impeachment.

The Democrats reportedly were working on three proposed articles of impeachment based upon the presentation made last week by John Doar, chief counsel to the impeachment inquiry.

The three articles would charge the President with obstructing justice in the Watergate investigation, with contempt of Congress for his refusal to obey committee subpoenas and abuse of power for his alleged role in surveillance activities as well as attempts to make the Internal Revenue Service more politically responsive.

Committee members also will have an

See Page 2, Col. 5

7-24-74
For

Rep. Butler aids with draft

From Page One

Butler told a reporter. "We just want to make sure that we've got an impeachment resolution that is not defective."

Butler's group is known to be working on two general articles of impeachment, one dealing with abuse of power and the other with obstruction of justice.

The meeting came on the eve

of the committee's historic debate on the articles of impeachment, which will be carried live on television and radio.

The meetings in the first impeachment proceeding against a president in 107 years may continue through the weekend as members debate and vote on articles culled from a proposed list of 29 charges.

The ABC-TV network will air tonight's session and coverage

will rotate among the other networks as the meetings continue.

The Judiciary Committee has been taking evidence for 11 weeks and is expected to produce a resolution of impeachment charging the President with high crimes and misdemeanors in the conduct of his office.

Preliminary estimates of the committee voting are that the articles will pass by a minimum of 26 to 12, including all 21 Democrats and five or more Republicans, up to a maximum of 30 for and a minimum of eight against impeachment.

Rep. Lawrence Hogan, R-Md., already has said he will vote for at least one of the articles. He said he was convinced the President not only should be impeached but should be removed from office.

Hogan's announcement triggered a prediction by one GOP member that as many as seven of the 17 committee Republicans may end up calling for Nixon's impeachment. Hogan, himself, said in an interview Tuesday night that he expected eight Republicans to vote for impeachment. All 21 Democrats are believed ready to vote for

at least one article of impeachment.

Rep. John B. Anderson of Illinois, the third-ranking Republican in the House, said, "It seems to me quite obvious that Mr. Hogan's statement is convincing evidence that the committee is disposed to vote one or more articles and I would gather that the House would follow suit, from what I hear in the corridors."

One southerner said after the Hogan announcement, "This had a profound psychological impact. Many Republicans who were not on anybody's list for impeachment were talking for the first time today about their votes for it as being possible or probable."

Hogan, a candidate for governor of Maryland, said at a packed news conference, that after examining the evidence before the Judiciary Committee, he is convinced Nixon had committed impeachable offenses and should be removed from office.

"The evidence convinces me that my President has lied repeatedly, deceiving public officials and the American people," said Hogan, a political conservative and former FBI agent.

Butler working on draft

Washington Bureau
and Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., and several other House Judiciary Committee Republicans and Democrats have been meeting in a series of unpublicized sessions to try to draft articles of impeachment they all could approve when the committee votes on a resolution to impeach the President.

The first debate on the articles will be held tonight at 7:30.

Butler confirmed that he was meeting with several unnamed members to "put something together that frames the questions correctly."

He said the meetings were necessary because the proposed articles of impeachment drafted by committee counsel John Doar and several Democratic members of the committee were "poorly written."

Also involved in the discussions are Republican Reps. Thomas Railsback of Illinois, William Cohen of Maine and Hamilton Fish of New York. The group began meeting yesterday.

It was also learned that at least two Democrats, Reps. James Mann of South Carolina and Walter Flowers of Alabama, were involved in the discussion.

The group met again today in Railsback's office in an attempt to further refine articles that could be supported by the more conservative members of the Judiciary Committee.

"This doesn't commit me to voting for the resolutions,"



Associated Press

Roanokers have key roles in impeachment proceedings: Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (left) is member of Judiciary Committee; Sam Garrison (left in photo at right), minority counsel, caucuses with John Doar, chief counsel of committee, and Chairman Peter Rodino.

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7/25/74

Wampler to Attend Farm Meet

U. S. Rep. William Wampler, the ranking Republican member of the House Agriculture Committee and Congressman from Virginia's Ninth District will participate in U. S. Rep. Butler's Farm Conference August 5 at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern.

Wampler, one of the most knowledgeable legislators in the field of Agri-Business will join Butler, U.S. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and an official of the U. S. Department of Agriculture at the event which begins at 10:00 and concludes with a free barbeque luncheon at noon.

Rep. Butler said he was "extremely pleased that a

person with an extensive background in farm and agriculture - business legislation as Bill Wampler will be present at our conference." Before assuming the position of Ranking Republican on the Committee, Rep Wampler held the top minority seat on the Committee's Dairy and Poultry Subcommittee.

Rep. Wampler, who resides in Bristol, Virginia, was first elected to Congress in 1952 and following a defeat in 1954 was re-elected in 1966 and every term thereafter.

Also participating in the conference as resource personnel will be representatives of the Soil Conservation Service, Farmer Home Administration, State Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Occupational Safety and Health Administration and VPI's Agriculture Extension Service and the Agriculture Experiment Station. Each will be available for individual consultation and discussion.

—Letter to the Editor—

Butler Voted Correctly

As I caught up on the issues of The News-Virginian after a month away, I was distressed to read a letter to the editor from Dr. Larzelere in the issue of July 12. In his letter, Dr. Larzelere roundly criticizes Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's voting against Mr. Roncallo's amendment to HR 15580 — an amendment that "sought to prohibit the use of (federal) funds for abortions, abortion referral service, or abortion drugs or devices." (Congressional Record). From this vote, the letter went on to say that now monies would be spent and Rep. Butler had closed his mind on the right-to-life amendment. The letter closed by saying the Sixth District would remember this at the polls.

There are a number of points left untouched by this letter, however, and I will try to bring them out now. First, this amendment to the HEW appropriations bill was negative, and a vote against certain restrictions on federal aid to abortion is certainly not the same as voting for abortion. Second, the wording of the amendment was such that it would outlaw all federal aid to post facto methods of birth control (IUD's, morning after pills, etc.), disrupting not only much personal freedom but also much of the \$287 million allocated for family planning. Efforts to clarify the language of the amendment were defeated,

though the problem was brought out repeatedly as the amendment was discussed.

With this fuller picture, one draws very different conclusions from Mr. Butler's voting record. His vote was not cast to further the case of abortion. Rather, it was cast to maintain the federal programs that assist in family planning. It was also cast after the Supreme Court's decision that legalized abortion. If the amendment had passed, those dependent on federal aid for medical care would not be allowed to have abortions (or many family-planning aids), while those who were independent of federal medical aid would be quite capable of this service. Oftener than not, those dependent on federal aid are the very ones who need family planning assistance, and the passage of that amendment would have denied it to them.

Mr. Butler certainly will be remembered by voters of the Sixth District when they go to the polls. He will be remembered as a man who did not react suddenly and emotionally to anything involving abortion, but saw the problems in an ambiguous amendment and acted to forestall those problems. His vote was correct. Can we all say that?

Matthew P. Dullaghan,
1234 Hollins Rd.,
Waynesboro.



VICE-PRESIDENT GERALD FORD was a valley visitor last Friday evening. The veep appeared at Hotel Roanoke fund-raising dinner aiding the congressional re-election bid of Rep. Caldwell Butler.

20N 7-25-74

Butler may back impeachment

WASHINGTON — Rep. Caldwell Butler has indicated he may back two articles of impeachment.

One article finds the resident guilty of abusing the powers of the presidency and the other charges the President with being involved in the Watergate cover-up.

"I truly hate the prospect of impeaching the President of the United States," he said. "But I'd also hate for the record to condone all that abuse of power that has come to light."

Butler apparently has found little evidence to support other charges laid before the House Judiciary Committee on which

he serves.

These deal with matters like the President's failure to at first pay all the federal income taxes he should have and involvement with the ITT and milk matters.

Butler has not said definitely what, if any, articles of impeachment he's going to support.

Aide To Visit

Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler's representative will be in the Botetourt County Court House on Thursday, July 25 (today) from 8:45 to 10:30 a.m. to meet with citizens wishing to discuss problems they are having with the federal government.

The representative will be in Botetourt on the fourth Thursday of each month.

Any persons wishing to discuss a particular problem with the representative should bring with them all papers and correspondence dealing with the case, in addition to their Veterans Claim and Social Security numbers.



cles

correctly. The draft articles aren't any good."

Butler said he would not say in advance how he would vote on any articles because "you don't know what the charges are until they are drafted."

"I don't want to be given the choice of having to vote on an article that doesn't shape the charges correctly," he reiterated.

But last week Butler said the "strongest charge I'd be most tempted to vote for would be an abuse of power catchall, provided the evidence could be found to support it. It's the whole pattern of conduct that bothers me, not one particular act. . . . The main problem is: What quantum of proof should be required?"

The object of the discussions within his bipartisan group is to take what proof they have and shape charges that are fully supported by the evidence.



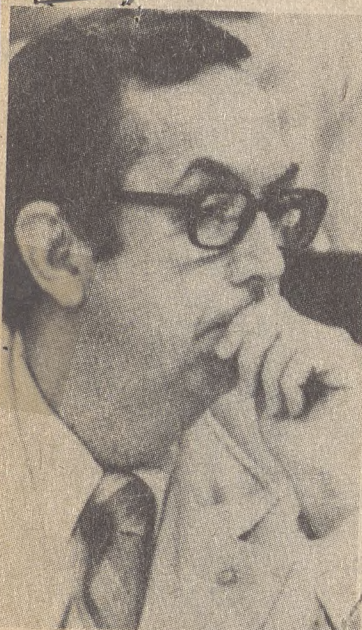
M. Caldwell Butler

Buena Vista News, Thursday, July 25, 1974 Page 9



Mike Irvine of Buena Vista (right) and Congressman M. Caldwell Butler confer with Judiciary Committee leaders Peter W. Rodino, Jr. and Edward Hutchinson during a break in committee action. Irvine has just completed a five-week summer internship with Rep. Butler.

Debate On Impeachment Begins



LISTENS — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of House Judiciary Committee, listens to impeachment debate Wednesday night. He represents sixth congressional district of Virginia which includes Lynchburg.

The News, Lynchburg: 7/25/74

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee opened historic debate Wednesday night on a motion declaring President Nixon's conduct "warrants impeachment ... and removal from office."

The committee was forced into an abrupt, 47-minute recess due to a telephoned bomb threat received by a Capitol operator about an hour after the debate began. No bomb was found.

Before pausing while police made the search, the panel was formally presented with a pair of proposed articles of impeachment by a Democrat and heard Republicans suggest a delay in the nationally televised debate.

Offered by the committee's second-ranking Democrat, Rep. Harold D. Donohue of Massachusetts, the impeachment resolution's two articles charged Nixon with obstruction of justice in the Watergate investigation and with otherwise abusing the powers of his office.

In a last-minute change, a third article charging the President with contempt of Congress — for his refusal to comply with committee subpoenas — was merged into the second article.

Each of the two articles proposed by Donohue ticked off in legal language a number of specific allegations. They concluded that "Richard M. Nixon by such conduct warrants impeachment and trial and removal from office."

But, other than Donohue, none of the seven members to speak prior to the hurried recess referred specifically to the proposed articles of impeachment.

The members frequently spoke philosophically. Some said specifically how they would vote. Others gave only hints. None of the seven offered a major surprise in his thinking.

Chairman Peter J. Rodino, D.N.J., told the committee in his opening statement that after months of investigation of Watergate and other scandals the nation "demands that we make up our minds."

Then came the suggestion for delay from Rep. Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, the ranking Republican, who cited Wednesday's unanimous Supreme Court order that Nixon turn over 64 tape-recorded conversations for the Watergate cover-up trial. Barely a half hour before the debate started, Nixon's lawyer announced the President would comply "in all respects" with the court.

But Hutchinson didn't press his suggestion and Donohue, the white-haired, second-ranking committee Democrat, was recognized.

One of the articles of impeachment proposed by Donohue alleged that Nixon "has prevented, obstructed and impeded the administration of justice." The other alleged that he "has abused the powers vested in him as president ... either directly or

through his subordinates or agents."

The resolution said that following the Watergate break-in:

"Richard M. Nixon, using the powers of his high office, has made it his continuing policy to act, and ... did act, directly and personally and through his close subordinates and agents to delay, impede, and obstruct the investigation of such illegal entry; to cover up and conceal the identity of those responsible; and, to cover up and to conceal the existence and scope of related unlawful covert activities."

The first of the two articles listed nine specifications, including: Making false and misleading statements to duly authorized officers; approving, condoning, or counseling witnesses to give false or misleading statements; interfering with investigations by the Justice Department, FBI and Watergate special prosecution force; approving and concealing payment of money to obtain the silence of the Watergate break-in participants; endeavoring to misuse the CIA; and suppressing, withholding and concealing evidence.

The second article, alleging abuse of power, said that Nixon either directly or through subordinates authorized illegal surveillance and investigation by the FBI, the Secret Service and others.

It said Nixon unlawfully established a special White House investigative unit, supervised by a presi-

See Debate, A-12, Col. 1

Debate On Impeachment Begins

Continued From A-1

dential assistant and illegally financed in part by campaign funds.

This was a reference to the so-called "plumbers" unit which burglarized the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Ellsberg was the leaker of the Pentagon Papers.

The second article also said Nixon endeavored to obtain confidential Internal Revenue Service information and to interfere with the FBI's activities.

It also mentioned Nixon's firing of the original special Watergate prosecutor, Archibald Cox, last October.

Rodino, in opening the debate, declared the question before the committee was whether Nixon has committed "grave and systematic violation of the Constitution."

One senior Republican, Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois, echoed Hutchinson's suggestion that the debate be postponed until a renewed effort could be made to obtain tapes the committee has sought in eight subpoenas.

McClory said he hoped the committee could "get promptly and

without equivocation from the White House the additional tapes we have also subpoenaed."

Like Hutchinson, McClory did not follow up his recommendation with a formal motion.

Often listed among the Republicans who might support impeachment, McClory described the impeachment case offered by chief counsel John Doar as resting "on circumstantial evidence ... and a generous measure of wishful thinking."

During the 10 weeks the committee received evidence in closed sessions, McClory said he had occasion to ask himself, "Is this any way to run a White House or a country?"

For months, the 38-member committee had considered impeachment evidence behind closed and barred doors. Now, Rodino said, it is "time we make up our minds."

"We have been deliberative, we have been patient, we have been fair," Rodino said in remarks opening the meeting.

"In short, the committee has to decide whether ... the President was telling the truth to the American people," said the chairman.

Eight hours earlier, a unanimous Supreme Court ruled Nixon must turn over 64 taperecorded conversations subpoenaed as evidence in the Watergate cover-up trial.

And a half-hour before Rodino gavelled the committee into session, Nixon pledged through his lawyer to comply "in all respects" with the court decision.

Committee Republicans considered moving to delay committee debate on the possibility that further tape recordings might become available, but decided against such a move shortly before the session began.

Several committee members circulated texts of their remarks in advance.

Rep. Jack Brooks of Texas, the committee's third-ranking Democrat, did not say in his prepared comments whether he would vote for impeachment, but declared: "Never in our 198 years have we had evidence of such rampant corruption in government."

The question, he said, is whether Nixon himself "by his action or inaction" failed in his constitutional responsibility.

Brooks spoke, too, of the political

implications of the case.

"There would be no Democratic gain from removing a Republican President and having him replaced by another Republican who could request and might well receive a great outflowing of support from our people," he said.

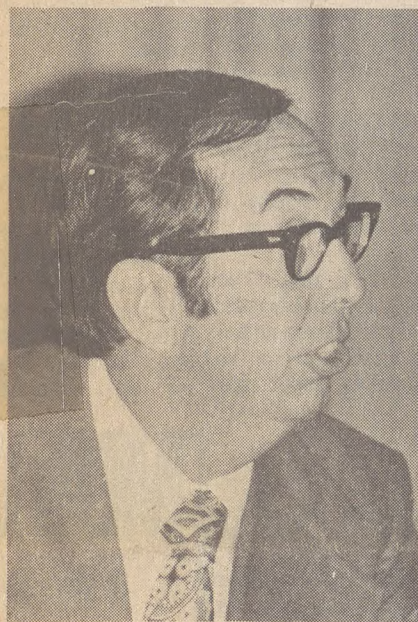
Rep. Don Edwards, D-Calif., said in his prepared remarks that Nixon "has consciously and intentionally engaged in serious misdeeds; he has corrupted and subverted our political and governmental processes to the extent that he should be impeached by the House of Representatives ..."

Edwards predicted that a majority of the committee was ready "to present what we think is overwhelming evidence to support this conclusion. I am willing to face my constituents, my family, myself, and history with this sober conviction."

Rep. Charles W. Sandman Jr., R-N.J., said in his prepared statement that he will not vote "to impeach a President ... on purely circumstantial evidence which is all that seems to exist today."

Butler: Impeach

11 Staunton, Va., Leader, Friday, July 26, 1974



REP. BUTLER

'There will be no joy in it for me'

WASHINGTON (AP)—Declaring "there will be no joy in it for me," freshman Republican Congressman M. Caldwell Butler has called for President Nixon's impeachment and removal from office.

Butler, a Nixon supporter in normal times, told fellow members of the House Judiciary Committee Thursday... "I would be less than candid if I did not say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and the abuse of power."

Butler, who is running for reelection from his Western Virginia area 6th District, made the comment as he took his turn among committeemen and women who presented opening statements in the debate over whether a bill containing articles of impeachment should be reported to the House floor.

"It is a sad chapter in American history," he said, "but I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand still for it."

Butler said he was particularly concerned with the pattern of "presidential abuse of the power given him by the statute and the Constitution."

Referring to the "manipulation" of government agencies such as the Internal Revenue Service, the freshman Republican said: "The evidence is clear, direct, and convincing to me that the President of the United States condoned and encouraged the use of the Internal Revenue Service taxpayer audit as a means of harassing the President's political enemies."

Butler added that it was apparent to him that the President participated in a contin-

uing coverup of the Watergate scandal, "at least after the 21st day of March 1973."

"This is clearly a policy of obstruction of justice which cannot go unnoticed."

Butler said, in short, power appears to have corrupted during the Nixon years.

"This is not to suggest that there are not many areas of our investigation which clearly reveal to me that some charges do not elevate themselves to this status of an impeachable offense," he said.

While noting he'd been a supporter of the President, Butler told colleagues on the committee that "there are frightening implications for the future of the country if we do not impeach the President."

Butler, however, said he wished to reserve his final judgment in the matter.

Scrapbook - July 3 - July 31, 1974 2 of 3

City GOP leaders support Butler

THE
DAILY
ADVANCE
7/26/74

Two Lynchburg Republican leaders said today they have the utmost confidence in the judgment and integrity of Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler and will continue to support him regardless of his decision regarding impeachment of President Nixon.

The two are Lynchburg City Republican Chairman Carroll P. Freeman and George H. Fralin Jr., chairman of Butler's re-election campaign in the city.

Butler, a freshman Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee, Thursday called tentatively for the impeachment of President Nixon.

Butler, who was a strong supporter of the Nixon administration during his last campaign, cautioned Thursday that his tentative decision wasn't necessarily his final judgment in the matter.

But, he said he would be "less than candid" if he did not say his present inclination is to support articles of impeachment against the President.

Freeman said he does not feel it is proper for him to speak for the City Republican Committee as a whole as "there are varying degrees of opinion on the pros and cons of

C of C names insurance executive

Grady M. Chesson, vice president-regional manager of Nationwide Insurance at Lynchburg, has been elected to the Greater Lynchburg Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors.

Chesson will fill out the one-year unexpired portion of W. E. Masencup's three year term. Masencup, president of Lynchburg Foundry Co. resigned recently.

Chesson is a native of North Carolina and has been employed with Nationwide since 1943. He is active in various civic organizations.

impeachment" among committee members.

"Personally," he said, "I have a high regard for Butler's judgment and integrity and his comments lead me to do nothing but continue to support him to the utmost."

Freeman, who said he has heard and read excerpts only from Butler's talk, said he "could not help but be proud to be his constituent and supporter."

Freeman said Butler's statement "must have been very painful to him and I admire his strength and confidence."

Fralin said he, too, missed Butler's full statement but "my intentions and promises to support and work for him are not affected by his (tentative) decision."

"I have absolute confidence in his ability and judgment," Fralin said. "I feel he is a man who has seen and heard the witnesses and evidence and I will abide by his decision."

(Please turn to Page 20)

★ City Advance 7/26

(Continued from Page 9)

Neither Fralin nor Freeman would comment on their personal feelings as to whether

Primary earnings per share were \$1.45 for the second quarter, compared with \$1.06 for the same time last year, the company said.

"A continuation of recent trends will produce the highest profits in the company's history during 1974, representing a reasonably satisfactory return on investment," said Senior Vice President T. W. M. Morton.

the President should be impeached.

Fralin said any such comment by him "might unfairly" reflect on Butler since he is managing Butler's campaign locally.

Freeman said he doesn't feel he is able to make such a judgment since he has not seen the evidence.



World News 7/26

Associated Press

Butler listens to debate in House Judiciary Committee

Butler's stance expected

By OZZIE OSBORNE
Political Writer

Rep. Caldwell Butler's announcement that he'll vote for the impeachment of President Nixon seems to have caused little consternation among local Republicans and slight surprise among Democrats.

"What did you expect?" was the reaction from some Democrats and Republicans alike.

"He followed his conscience" was the feeling among some Republicans.

There was some feeling that Butler may have hurt himself with conservative Republicans, where he has gotten strong financial support.

At the same time, it appeared to be the consensus that he may have gained some advantage by taking away one of his opponents' campaign issues—that he is too closely linked with the scandal-scarred Nixon administration.

Expectedly, the sharpest criticism of Butler came from Roanoke City Sheriff Paul Puckett, the Democratic nominee for Congress.

"Wasn't it anticipated?" asked Puckett of Butler's announcement.

"It's hardly anything you'd expect Mr. Butler to be against at election time," Puckett added.

He said that Butler didn't want to do what he did, but "it was pushed on him by the people." He was referring to a poll that showed some 63 per cent of the 6th District people an-

See BUTLER'S, Pg. 2, Col. 1

From Page One

swering a survey were for Nixon's impeachment.

Vice Mayor David K. Lisk of Roanoke, a Republican who was advance man in Virginia for Nixon for ten years, called Butler's presentation of his announcement "a very fine job."

And, he said, Butler has helped himself in the 6th District, saying "Democrats had hoped he would take a less aggressive stand."

Del. Richard Cranwell, a Roanoke County Democrat, said "the only thing I can say is it's tough to make judgments without having the facts he (Butler) has."

He referred to Butler as a "a very conscientious person" who is not "politically motivated."

Sen. David F. Thornton, R-Salem, said he is sorry that Butler found it necessary to do what he did.

"Hopefully, they're privy to more information than we are," he said.

Thornton, who called Butler's speech "effective and powerful," noted that other Republicans who've supported President Nixon as strongly as has Butler heard the same evidence, but did not feel inclined

to go as far as the 6th District congressman did.

"Certainly it was not unexpected" said Del. Ray L. Garland, R-Roanoke, of Butler's announcement.

"It's a reflection of his personal code . . . I think he personally was offended by the seaminess of the evidence."

Garland, who served in the Virginia House of Delegates for years with Butler, said he felt that the congressman's tone was bombastic and that it may have resulted from pressure and nervousness.

"He may, therefore, have come across stronger than he intended," said Garland.

Garland was one of those who thought Butler's action might alienate some conservative Republicans. If so, he said he believed that might benefit Warren D. Saunders, the American party candidate who is the most conservative person in the four-way 6th District congressional race. The fourth candidate is Timothy McGay.

Storer Ware, a conservative Republican, conceded that perhaps a few conservatives were disappointed with Butler, but he made it plain he's not.

"I thought it was fine," said Ware. "What else could he do after everything that has come out?"

Another conservative, retired industrialist Don Jordan, said he was sorry that Butler did what he felt he had to do.

"I'm sorry he didn't see it the other way," said Jordan. "I was hoping he could vote against impeachment." Jordan describes himself as an independent, but he has for some time supported Republicans, particularly at the national level.

"I think he voted his conscience," said Jordan of Butler.

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Had doubts, says Butler of his stand

By JACK BETTS

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke today admitted that he had feelings of doubt that his announcement to vote for the impeachment of President Nixon may have been "too strong," but said he felt he could no longer delay.

Butler, in an angry denunciation of President Nixon's role in the Watergate cover-up and

Text of Rep. Butler's talk,
Page 12.

alleged misuse of power, said he would support two articles of impeachment.

Today, he said, "I felt that having gone through the agonizing process of arriving at my decision, I owed my constituents the courtesy of saying what I had concluded."

But, said the 6th District Republican, if subsequent information comes up that would change his mind, "I'll just have to change my vote and admit it."

Butler said that in the context of the House Judiciary Committee's historic impeachment debate, "I may have put it (his announcement) too strong, but there is no such thing as a weak impeachment vote."

Butler said he had been arriving at his decision over a long period of time, but that over the past weekend he had firmed up the decision. He said he had talked with his wife, June, about it before making up his mind.

In drafting his statement yesterday morning, Butler said, "it appeared the thing to do was to talk all around it without exactly expressing it (his decision), but as I wrote and toyed around with the speech I found it just wasn't my style."

"It appeared that this was the way to do it, although it may turn out to have been wrong."

The reaction to Butler's speech yesterday afternoon was immediate.

In the halls outside the committee room and in the Republican cloakroom members of Congress were congratulating Butler on his stand and bypassers were stopping to shake his hand.

In his offices a few hundred yards away, the telephones were ringing constantly.

The calls, many of which came from the 6th District, were from viewers as far away as Oregon and as close by as Arlington.

Some of the calls were complimentary, while others were not. And some who refused to identify themselves were said

Roan
7-26-74

From Page 1

to be abusive and, in some cases, obscene.

Mrs. Butler said at the family home in Roanoke that she had received many telephone calls. Most of them were complimentary but four, from

anonymous persons, were "very rude and ugly."

Butler in his nationally-televized statement calling for Nixon's impeachment and removal from office said he cannot condone what he has heard about the President.

At the same time, he said "there will be no joy in it for me . . ."

Butler, who has been a warm supporter of Nixon and for whom Nixon has campaigned, told fellow members of the Judiciary Committee:

"I would be less than candid if I did not say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and the abuse of power."

Butler's comments came as he took his turn among committee members presenting statements in the debate over whether a bill of impeachment should be reported to the House floor.

"It is a sad chapter in American history, but I cannot condone what I have heard," said Butler. "I cannot excuse it and I cannot and will not stand still for it."

He added that there are "frightening implications for the future of the country if we do not impeach the President."

Butler was the second Republican on the Judiciary Committee to come out for impeachment, the first being Rep. Lawrence Hogan of Maryland. Like Butler, Hogan has been a strong Nixon supporter.

Hogan is seeking the Republican gubernatorial nomination in Maryland. Butler is running for re-election in the 6th Congressional District of Virginia.

Butler said in his statement that it's clear to him that President Nixon used the Internal Revenue Service to harass his political enemies.

He said, too, it's apparent the President participated in a continuing coverup of the Watergate scandal, "at least after the 21st day of March 1973."

"This," he said, "is clearly a policy of obstruction of justice which cannot go unnoticed."

In short, said Butler, power appears to have corrupted during the Nixon years.

Butler also said:

"I am deeply grateful for the many kindnesses and courtesies he (President Nixon) has shown me over the years.

"I am not unmindful of the loyalty I owe him. I mention this, Mr. Chairman, so that you may be aware of how distasteful this proceeding is for me as it must have been for every other member of this committee."

He said "the pattern of misrepresentation and half-truths that emerges from our investigation reveals presidential policy cynically based on the premise that the truth itself is negotiable."

Probers reject plea for delay in hearings

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee soundly rejected today a Republican plea for delay and moved on to shape precise charges for its expected recommendation that President Nixon be impeached.

The delay was rejected on a vote of 27-11.

The panel's second-ranking Republican sought unsuccessfully to halt the nationally broadcast proceeding, giving Nixon 24 hours to say he would turn over to the committee more White House tape recordings within 10 days.

The roll call vote on the delay motion of Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois brought a blurring of pro and anti-impeachment lines.

Some of Nixon's GOP supporters joined the panel's Democratic leadership in opposing the delay motion, while some who seek impeachment favored the pause.

(Rep. Caldwell Butler voted for the delay.)

When the committee completed its opening round of debate Thursday, it was clear that a majority of members favored the move to oust Nixon.

Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., declared then that the committee members face "the terrible, tremendous burden of trying to reach a decision that will last for all time."

Rodino, leader of the majority Democrats, said in closing the committee's general debate on impeachment: "I find that the President must be found wanting."

The task of writing an article charging Nixon with obstruction of justice in connection with the Watergate cover-up will occupy the committee today in the third day of its nationally televised deliberations.

On the basis of their previously announced positions it appeared certain a majority of the committee is prepared to recommend impeachment if a satisfactory article can be drafted.

It takes only a majority of the Judiciary Committee's 38

members to recommend impeachment and a majority of the House to impeach. It would require a two-thirds vote in the Senate to find the President guilty and remove him from office.

Rep. Delbert Latta, R-Ohio, a committee member opposed to impeachment, sees a 27-11 vote in favor of a recommendation that the House impeach Nixon and that a Senate trial be held to determine whether he

would be removed from office.

Rodino plans to continue the Judiciary Committee meeting into the night, if necessary, to complete the drafting of an article and bring it to a vote.

Other articles charging Nixon with abuse of power and failure to comply with committee subpoenas are to be offered, but as soon as one is approved a formal recommendation of impeachment will have been made.

The certainty that the committee will recommend impeachment was sealed Thursday when every uncommitted member either came out for impeachment or expressed such deep concern over Nixon's conduct of his office that it left little doubt as to how they would vote.

In a long round of speeches

See PROBERS, Pg. 4, Col. 6

(OVER)

Congressman For Impeachment

'There Will Be No Joy In It For Me'

See editorial comment, Page 4

WASHINGTON (AP)—Declaring "there will be no joy in it for me," freshman Republican Congressman M. Caldwell Butler has called for President Nixon's impeachment and removal from office.

Butler, a Nixon supporter in normal times, told fellow members of the House Judiciary Committee Thursday... "I would be less than candid if I did not say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and the abuse of power."

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whether a bill containing articles of impeachment should be reported to the House floor.

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Butler said he was particularly concerned by the pattern of "presidential abuse of the power given him by statute and the Constitution."

Referring to the "manipulation" of government agencies such as the Internal Revenue Service, the freshman Republican said: "The evidence is clear, direct, and convincing to me that the President of the United States condoned and encouraged the use of the Internal Revenue Service taxpayer

audit as a means of harassing the President's political enemies."

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"This is clearly a policy of obstruction of justice which cannot go unnoticed."

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"This is not to suggest that there are not many areas of our investigation which clearly reveal to me that some charges do not elevate themselves to this status of an impeachable offense," he said.

While noting he'd been a supporter of the President, Butler told colleagues on the committee that "there are frightening im-

plications for the future of the country if we do not impeach the President."

Butler, however, said he wished to reserve his final judgment in the matter.

Meanwhile, Virginia's Congressional delegation praised the power and "conscience" of Butler's impeachment statement, but remained publicly cautious on how they might vote themselves.

Nonetheless, some private assessments within the delegation suggested that Butler might carry at least four or five other Virginia congressmen to his position that the President should be impeached.

"It was a very powerful statement," said Rep. G. William Whitehurst, a Republican from the Norfolk area 2nd District. But Whitehurst said he would "weigh very (Turn to Page 2, Col. 1)



M. CALDWELL BUTLER
Favors Impeachment

(OVER)

The News-Virginian

★

TEMPERATURES

Maximum — 71

Minimum — 61

Precipitation — .37 inch

24 hours ending at 7 a.m. today.

★

★

WEATHER

Considerable cloudiness with showers and thunderstorms likely today and a chance again tonight. Highs today around 80. Lows tonight in the 60s. Variable cloudiness Saturday with highs in the 80s.

★

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Committee Signs Bad for President

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PS
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WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee completed Thursday night the opening round in its landmark impeachment debate, an exchange which signaled an almost certain recommendation that Richard M. Nixon be removed from the presidency.

One by one, hour by hour, the 38 members delivered their formal speeches in a presidential impeachment proceeding that has gone further than any in a century. Many Americans watched on television or listened on radio.

When they finished, 19 members — including two Republicans and Democratic Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. of New Jersey — had declared their belief Nixon should be impeached. Five other members indicated pro-impeachment leanings.

If all members vote, 20 ayes are required to approve a resolution recommending that the full House impeach Nixon and placed him on trial in the Senate.

With the opening debate concluded, the committee was poised for a series of votes on specific articles of impeachment. This process was to begin Friday and is expected to continue through Saturday.

Republicans talked on an effort to postpone a final committee vote for a month while new attempts were made to obtain White House tape recordings. But the committee's Democratic leaders opposed such a delay, virtually dooming it to defeat.

The committee's second-ranking Republican, Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois, prepared for introduction Friday a substitute article of impeachment accusing Nixon of having "engaged in a pattern of conduct in violation of his constitutional duties to execute faithfully" his oath of office.

Although it ticked off a series of specific offenses, the language of McClory's

proposal was broader than the two articles of impeachment placed before the committee on Wednesday by a Democrat.

In the final hours of the day-and-night debate, Nixon's base among committee Republicans eroded and even his staunchest GOP supporters conceded the outcome was certain.

Several Republicans pleaded for fairness to Nixon and a presumption of innocence, but Democrat after Democrat declared his impeachment was needed to restore confidence in government.

One Democrat injected the name of Vice President Gerald R. Ford, saying the country would rally behind him if he succeeded Nixon.

Rodino closed the debate, speaking in measured, solemn tones as he said he will vote to recommend impeachment.

"I shall do so with a heavy heart because no man seeks to accuse or to find wanting the chief executive of this great country of ours," Rodino said.

The panel's ranking Republican, Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, preceded Rodino and said the Democrat's proposal was a "grab bag of allegations" of unproved offenses not meeting constitutional requirements for impeachment.

Hutchinson is expected to oppose the proposal of the panel's No. 2 Republican to replace the already-introduced Democratic articles with a single impeachment count.

McClory's proposed article contends:

—Nixon aides covered up the Watergate break-in "which fact he knew or should have known."

—He violated the Constitution's Fourth Amendment by directing illegal wiretaps.

—He created the White House plumbbers "with reckless disregard for the rights of others."

—He attempted to prejudice the right

of Daniel Ellsberg to a fair trial "for his own personal or political benefit."

—He "attempted to corrupt and misuse" the Internal Revenue Service, Central Intelligence Agency and FBI.

—He "misused his office" to obtain information from the Justice Department to help aides escape possible criminal prosecution in the Watergate cover-up.

—And he "knowingly made false representations to criminal investigators so as to obstruct the due administration of justice" in the Watergate cover-up.

McClory told newsmen after the committee recessed that "it seems to me that with all of these persons who committed these criminal acts in the White House the President must bear some of the responsibility."

But McClory refused to say how he might vote on impeachment motions if his substitute is defeated.

One of McClory's Republican colleagues, Rep. Delbert Latta of Ohio, declared "the evidence isn't there ... the case is that simple."

Some of the sharpest criticism of the President came from Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, a Virginia Republican, who had been regarded as uncommitted.

If the committee fails to approve articles of impeachment, said Butler, "we will have condoned and left unpunished a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process he is sworn to uphold."

Shortly before Butler spoke during the nationally broadcast colloquy, Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan, R-Md., said "It is impossible for me to condone or ignore the long train of abuses to which he (Nixon) has subjected the presidency."

Two days ago, Hogan told a news conference he planned to vote for impeachment.

Butler Reveals Stand

WASHINGTON (AP)—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th District, a freshman Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee, Thursday called tentatively for the impeachment of President Nixon.

Butler, taking his turn as the committee members delivered opening statements during the impeachment debate, cautioned that this wasn't necessarily his final judgment in the matter.

Butler, however, said he would be "less than candid" if he did not say that his present inclination is to support articles of impeachment of the President based on charges of obstruction of justice and the abuse of power.

"There will be no joy in it for me," said Butler as he referred to the President's alleged politicizing of government agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Internal Revenue Service and the Central Intelligence Agency.

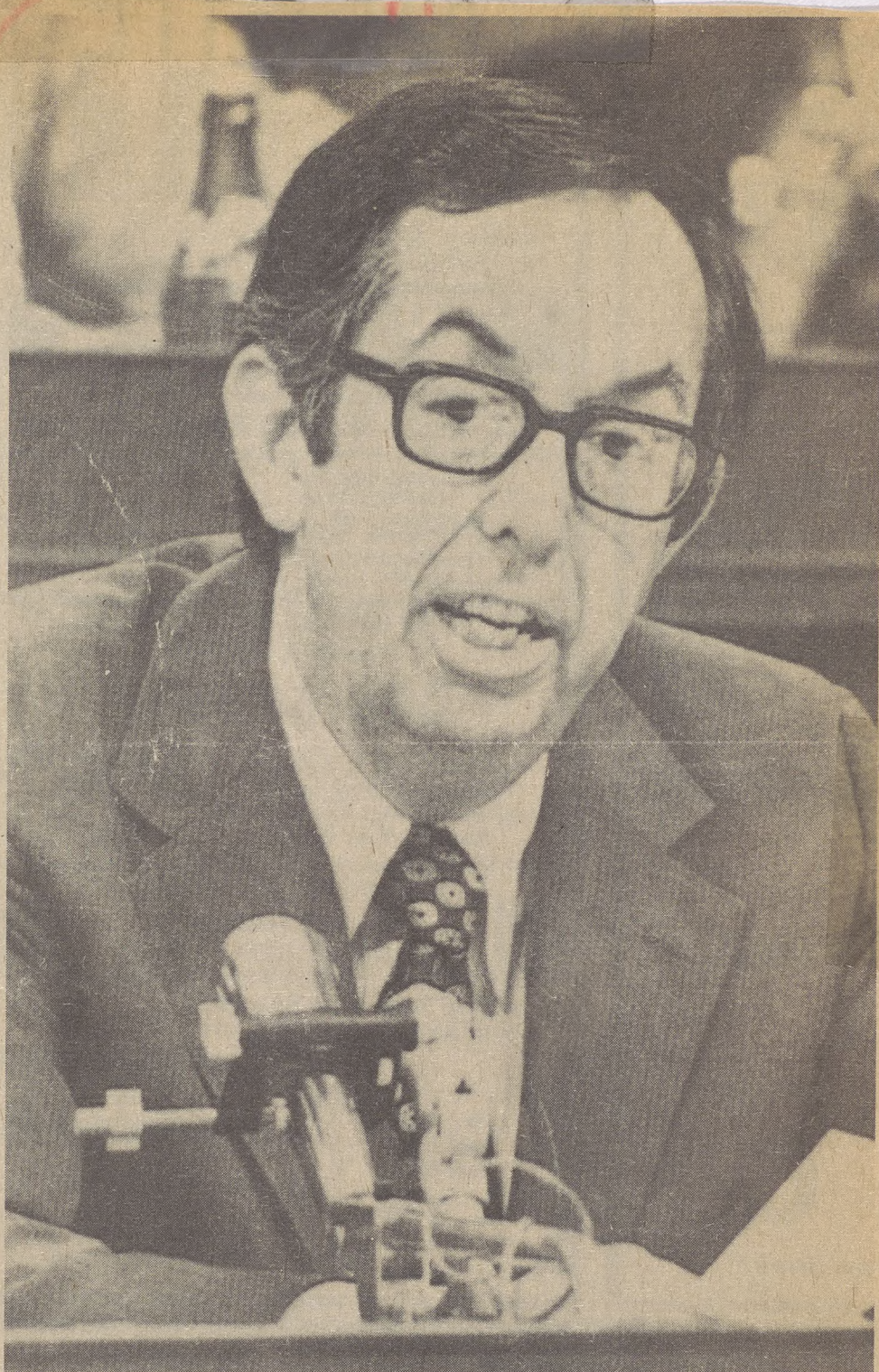
In explaining his preliminary finding in favor of impeachment, Butler, a lawyer, said "The misuse of power is the very essence of tyranny:

"But the evidence is clear and direct and convincing to me that the President of the United States condoned and encouraged the use of the IRS taxpayer audit as a means of harrasing the President's enemies."

Butler, one of the six committee Republicans viewed as sitting on the fence, said that if the President is not impeached the nation faces a future of "frightening implications."

He noted that he had been a long-time campaigner as a Nixon ally, but declared that "There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President."

Butler, who is seeking his second term in office, got a See BUTLER, A-2, Col. 1



— AP Wirephoto

ENTERS DEBATE — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, freshman member of House Judiciary Committee, entered debate Thursday by tentatively calling for impeachment of President Nixon, but cautioned this wasn't necessarily his final judgment. He represents district that includes Lynchburg.

campaign lift last weekend from Vice President Gerald R. Ford, who said that he would not drop his support of Butler if the congressman supported Nixon's impeachment.

Ford's view was that such arm-twisting tactics would be an affront to members of Congress; while at the same time maintaining his own position that there is insufficient evidence to warrant the impeachment of the President.

THE
NEWS

Panel Nearing Decision

7/26/74

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee moved ever nearer Thursday night to its almost certain decision to recommend the impeachment of President Nixon.

The long anticipated committee decision for impeachment grew more certain during the day long debate as the President's small base of Republican support within the committee slowly diminished.

The debate moved to the junior members of the committee, and the tally of outright declarations for the impeachment of the President grew to 16, including two Republicans. Five other members leaned that way.

Debate on the specific article of impeachment was scheduled to open today, but Republicans planned to try for a postponement to allow time to renew the inquiry's efforts to obtain White House tapes.

There was little chance the move would succeed over the opposition of the Democratic majority.

Some of the sharpest criticism of the President came from Rep. M. Caldwell

Butler, a Virginia Republican, who had been regarded as uncommitted.

If the committee fails to approve articles of impeachment, said Butler, "we will have condoned and left unpunished a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process he is sworn to uphold."

Shortly before Butler spoke during the nationally broadcast colloquy, Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan, R-Md., said "It is impossible for me to condone or ignore the long train of abuses to which he (Nixon) has subjected the presidency."

Two days ago, Hogan told a news conference he planned to vote for im-

peachment.

In a dramatic, unexpected announcement, Rep. Harold V. Froehlich, R-Wis., said, "I must confess I am deeply pained and troubled by some of the thing I see," referring to the Watergate cover-up.

With his voice cracking, Froehlich concluded, "I am concerned about impeaching the President for his actions ... My decision awaits the final wording of the articles (of impeachment) and the remaining debate."

Many members withheld judgment as they made their 15-minute opening statements, instead emphasizing the historic import and heavy burden of the ever-

nearer decision.

Nixon received backing from a California Republican, Rep. Carlos Moorhead, who told the committee: "I know it would be easy to vote for impeachment ... it is hard to be against something that so many people are for."

But Moorhead said "there are two sides" to the case and that he has concluded Nixon has in most instances acted in the best interests of the people.

Speakers were called on the basis of seniority and by the time the debate reached the bottom third of the committee ranks, 12 members had declared their intention to support impeachment.

In addition to Hogan and Butler, the most recent declarations came from Reps. George Danielson of California, John Selberling of Ohio and Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts, who was one of the first members of the House to file an impeachment resolution.

20 Votes Needed

It would take 20 votes on the 38-member committee for approval of the proposed articles of impeachment.

In addition, two other Republicans indicated they could be leaning toward supporting impeachment.

Rep. William S. Cohen of Maine, in a speech highly critical of the actions of the Nixon administration, rejected arguments that the only ground for impeachment is a violation of a criminal law.

But Cohen, long regarded as leaning toward impeachment, stopped just short of saying how he planned to vote.

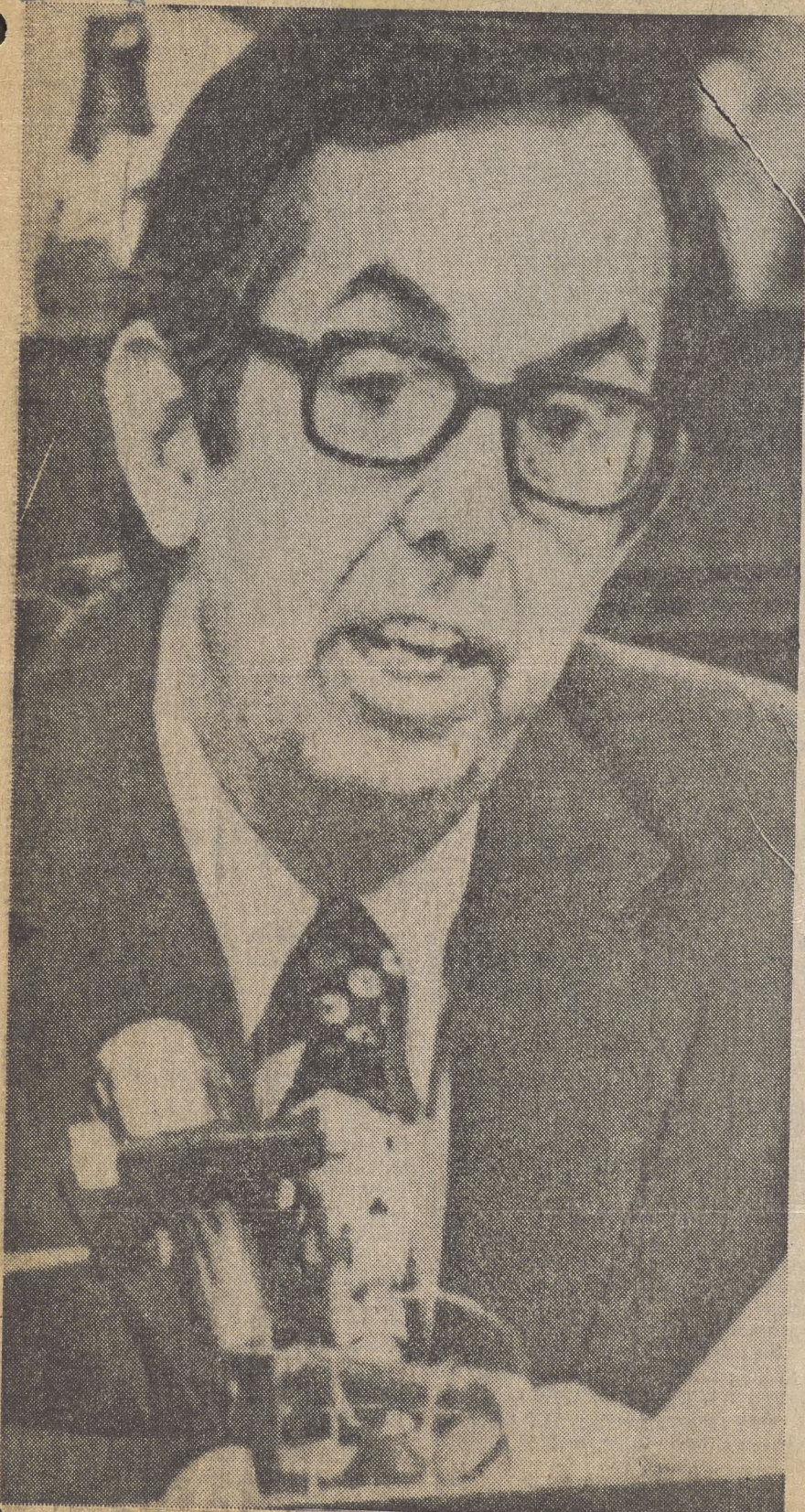
It also was learned that Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois, second ranking Republican on the committee, was drafting a proposed article of impeachment that would accuse the President of violating the constitutional requirement that "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

McClory said he would offer his proposal as a substitute when debate begins on two articles already submitted by a Democrat.

While Danielson was speaking, the session was briefly interrupted once again by an anonymous call warning that there was a bomb in the room. Two such calls were received Wednesday night.

For

7/26/74



AP Photo

Rep. Butler Denounces Nixon's 'Sad Chapter'

Butler Excerpts

"I am deeply grateful for the many kindnesses and courtesies he (President Nixon) has shown me over the years. I am not unmindful of the loyalty I owe him. I mention this, Mr. Chairman, so that you may be aware of how distasteful this proceeding is for me as it must have been for every other member of this committee."

★ ★ ★

"There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President of the United States."

★ ★ ★

"The pattern of misrepresentation and half-truths that emerges from our investigation reveals presidential policy cynically based on the premise that the truth itself is negotiable."

★ ★ ★

"In short, power appears to have been corrupted. It is a sad chapter in American history, but I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand still for it."

Butler Backs Impeachment

From Page 1

hunched forward to work on his statement.

He began preparing it late Wednesday night and was still working on it up to the moment he began to speak at about 2:45 p.m.

His son, Jimmy, who will enter American University in Washington this fall, sat in the members' staff and family section through most of the afternoon debate.

Describing the impeachment process as "a most distasteful experience for us all," Butler said he continued to take pride in the accomplishments of the President and acknowledged that "there are those who believe I would not be here today if it were not for our joint effort in 1972."

Nevertheless, he went on, "for years we Republicans have campaigned against corruption and misconduct" of Democratic administrations.

He recalled that the cry of "Trumanism" had put Gen. Dwight Eisenhower in the White House in 1952 and that "somehow or other we have found the circumstances to bring that issue before the American people in every national campaign."

"But Watergate is our shame," Butler said. "Those things happened in the Republican administration in which we had a Republican in the White House and every single person convicted to date has one way or the other owed allegiance to the Republican party."

In his statement, Butler warned that Republicans "cannot indulge ourselves the luxury of patronizing or excusing the misconduct of our own people."

"These things have happened in our house and it is our responsibility to do what we can to clear it up. It is we, not the Democrats, who must demonstrate that we are capable of enforcing the high standards we would set for them."

Butler said the American people were

entitled to assume that the President tells the truth.

But, he charged, "the pattern of misrepresentation and half-truths that emerges from our investigation reveals presidential policy cynically based on the premise that the truth itself is negotiable."

He cited the case of former U.S. Atty. Gen. Richard Kleindienst in which President Nixon knew that Kleindienst had lied to a Senate committee but failed to take action.

"The record is replete with official presidential misrepresentations of noninvolvement, and representations of investigations and reports never made, if indeed undertaken at all," Butler said.

The Roanoke native expressed dismay that throughout the presidential transcripts "there is no real evidence of regret for what occurred, or remorse, or resolution to change and precious little reference to or concern for constitutional responsibility or reflections upon the basic obligations of the office of the presidency."

Butler said he was convinced that there are a number of areas, such as Cambodia, impoundment of funds, tax fraud and the milk deal that cannot warrant a charge of impeachment.

But the president's response to information that came to him, and his participation "in the continuing policy of coverup" clearly constituted "a policy of obstruction of justice which cannot go unnoticed."

Further, he said, there existed a "pattern of presidential abuse of power given him by statute and the Constitution."

The manipulation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Internal Revenue Service and the White House plumbers "are frightening in the implications for the future of America."

"The evidence is clear, direct and convincing that the President of the United States condoned and encouraged the use of the Internal Revenue Service taxpayer

audit as a means of harassing the President's political enemies," Butler said.

While reserving judgment, he said in conclusion, "I would be less than candid if I did not now say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and abuse of power, but there will be no joy in it for me."

Butler was the 22nd committee member to give his view of the impeachment evidence. The committee hopes to wind up debate and complete voting on the proposed articles by Tuesday at the latest.

Although other Republicans had made strong statements and one, Maryland Rep. Larry Hogan, had announced he would vote against the President, Butler's strong statement was significant because of his background and his past loyalty to the President.

Remarkd one observer: "He had two southerners (Democrats James Mann of South Carolina and Walter Flowers of Alabama, two members considered on the fence) on base and Butler drove 'em both in."

His statement also was important because of the effect it might have on other members—both Republicans and Democrats—of the Virginia congressional delegation.

Butler has been meeting with members of the group for weeks to brief them on the committee's general findings, and one observer said Thursday afternoon that Butler may influence as many as five of them—enough to swing the delegation against the President by a slim, one-vote margin. There are 10 members, seven Republicans and three Democrats, in the Old Dominion contingent.

Butler had been considered likely to vote for the two articles of impeachment since Monday when he began meeting with a bipartisan group to perfect the language in a proposed resolution of impeachment, but his strong statement for the resolution—coupled with his criticism of the President—had been unexpected at this point in the committee's debate.

Roanoke Times 7/26

Covington 7/26 Front pg.

Butler Supporting Nixon Impeachment

WASHINGTON (AP)—Declaring "there will be no joy in it for me," freshman Republican Congressman M. Caldwell Butler has called for President Nixon's impeachment and removal from office.

Butler, a Nixon supporter in normal times, told fellow members of the House Judiciary Committee Thursday... "I would be less than candid if I did not say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and the abuse of power."

Butler, who is running for reelection from his Western Virginia area 6th District, made the comment as he took his turn among committeemen and women who presented opening statements in the debate over whether a bill containing articles of impeachment should be reported to the House floor.

"It is a sad chapter in American history," he said, "but I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand still for it."

Butler said he was particularly concerned the pattern of



M. Caldwell Butler

"presidential abuse of the power given him by the statute and the Constitution."

Referring to the "manipulation" of government agencies such as the Internal Revenue Service, the freshman Republican said: "The evidence is clear, direct, and convincing to me that the President of the

United States condoned and encouraged the use of the Internal Revenue Service taxpayer audit as a means of harassing the President's political enemies."

Butler added that it was apparent to him that the President participated in a continuing coverup of the Watergate scandal, "at least after the 21st day of March 1973."

"This is clearly a policy of obstruction of justice which cannot go unnoticed."

Butler said, in short, power appears to have corrupted during the Nixon years.

"This is not to suggest that there are not many areas of our investigation which clearly reveal to me that some charges do not elevate themselves to this status of an impeachable offense," he said.

While noting he'd been a supporter of the President, Butler told colleagues on the committee that "there are frightening implications for the future of the country if we do not impeach the President."

Butler, however, said he wished to reserve his final judgment in the matter.

THE ROANOKE TIMES

★

Roanoke, Virginia, Friday, July 26, 1974

Rep. Butler To Support Impeachment of Nixon

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Declaring "there will be no joy in it for me," Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., announced Thursday that he intends to support at least two articles of impeachment of President Nixon.

Using only seven of his allotted 15 minutes, Butler delivered in firm, staccato phrases an indictment of Nixon's "sad chapter in American history."

"I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it; and I cannot and will not stand still for it," Butler said.

"In short," he said, "power appears to have corrupted."

Butler, long active in Roanoke and Virginia Republican affairs, is Virginia's only member of the House Judiciary Committee, the body now debating impeachment. He is one of the committee's 17 Republicans and has been regarded as a possible vote for impeachment. But until

Thursday he had avoided committing himself to an impeachment vote.

In his speech to the committee, carried nationwide by the CBS television network, Butler charged:

"There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President of the United States."

He said the committee's impeachment proceedings would establish "a standard of conduct for the President of the United States which will for all time be a matter of public record."

Butler said, "if we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people. We will have condoned and left unpunished a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process which he is sworn

to uphold; and we will have condoned and left unpunished an abuse of power fatally without justification."

And, Butler declared, "we will have said to the American people, 'these deeds are inconsequential and unimportant'."

Wearing a white shirt, dark blue suit and print tie, Butler quickly read his statement as reporters craned to watch and furiously scribbled notes.

During the earlier statements, Butler had alternately leaned back in his chair on the dais to listen to the debate and

See Page 2B, Col. 1

Virginia's Congressmen Praise Butler's Remarks — Page 2B.

Text of Rep. Butler's Speech — Page 2B.



LEANS BACK — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., leans back with his hands clasped behind his head as general debate on the impeachment question

continues during a night session in Washington Thursday. Butler offered his views earlier. (AP Wirephoto)

THE DAILY
ADVANCE

Butler tells panel he's for impeaching

7/26/74

WASHINGTON (AP) — Declaring "there will be no joy in it for me," freshman Republican Congressman M. Caldwell Butler has called for President Nixon's impeachment and removal from office.

Butler, a Nixon supporter in normal times, told fellow members of the House Judiciary Committee Thursday... "I would be less than candid if I did not say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and the abuse of power."

Butler, who is running for reelection from his Western Virginia area 6th District, which includes Lynchburg and Roanoke, made the comment as he took his turn among committeemen and women who presented opening statements in the debate over whether a

bill containing articles of impeachment should be reported to the House floor.

"It is a sad chapter in American history," he said, "but I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand still for it."

Butler said he was particularly concerned the pattern of "presidential abuse of the power given him by the statute and the Constitution."

Referring to the "manipulation" of government agencies such as the Internal Revenue Service, the freshman Republican said: "The evidence is clear, direct, and convincing to me that the President of the United States condoned and encouraged the use of the Internal Revenue Service taxpayer audit as a means of harassing the President's political enemies."

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parent to him that the President participated in a continuing coverup of the Watergate scandal, "at least after the 21st day of March 1973."

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"This is not to suggest that there are not many areas of our investigation which clearly reveal to me that some charges do not elevate themselves to this status of an impeachable offense," he said.

While noting he'd been a supporter of the President, Butler told colleagues on the committee that "there are frightening implications for the future of the country if we do not impeach the President."

Butler, however, said he wished to reserve his final judgment in the matter.

Va. congressmen praise Butler for his statement

Daily
Adv.
7/10/67

WASHINGTON (AP) — Virginia's Congressional delegation praised the power and "conscience" of Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's impeachment statement Thursday, but remained publicly cautious on how they might vote themselves.

Nonetheless, some private

Calls to Butler indicate mixed reaction

WASHINGTON (AP) — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, who said Thursday he is inclined to cast his House Judiciary Committee swing vote to impeachment of President Nixon, was one of Nixon's most consistent supporters up until last year.

Secretaries in his office said the reaction was mixed with many people praising his comments but some angrily taking out their frustrations against his stand by bawling out secretaries who answered the phones.

assessments within the delegation suggested that Butler might carry at least four or five other Virginia congressmen to his position that the President should be impeached.

Both Republican Sen. William L. Scott and Republican Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., who headed a Virginia committee backing Nixon's re-election, declined to comment on Butler's statement.

"It was a very powerful statement," said Rep. G. William Whitehurst, a Republican from the Norfolk area 2nd District. But Whitehurst said he would "weigh very carefully" the evidence and the exact language of the impeachment articles before he makes up his own mind.

Rep. Robert W. Daniel, a Republican from the 4th District said, "I hold Caldwell Butler to be a man of high integrity and conscience. I am sure that what he is doing is interpreting the evidence as he sees it and to be making his decision accordingly." Daniel said he did not know whether he would respond to the same facts in the same way.

Rep. William C. Wampler, a veteran Republican from Bristol in the 9th District said, "I have nothing but the

highest personal regard and respect for Caldwell Butler. I am sure that his being on the committee, he is privy to things we aren't privy to."

A northern Virginia Republican, Stanford Parris, termed Butler's remarks "reasoned."

Rep. Thomas N. Downing, D-Newport News, said he was tremendously impressed with Butler's statement.

"He was sincere and stated his point of view very well," Downing said.

SOUTHERNERS STRAY

Nixon 'Strategy' Fails

By Martha Angle

Star-News Staff Writer

The "Southern strategy" which President Nixon pursued in his 1968 campaign — and revived for the current impeachment struggle — appears to have foundered in the House Judiciary Committee.

As the committee prepared to vote on articles of impeachment, all but one of its Southern members sadly served notice they cannot condone the conduct of the President who captured the support of so many of their constituents in two successive elections.

Only Rep. Trent Lott, R-Miss., remained firmly in the Nixon camp as the committee concluded two days of "general debate," in reality personal position statements, on the pros and cons of impeachment.

NOT ALL of the remaining Southerners — Reps. Walter Flowers, D-Ala., James R. Mann, D-S.C., Ray Thornton, D-Ark., M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., Barbara Jordan, D-Texas, and Jack Brooks, D-Texas — committed themselves flatly in favor of impeachment.

But they came pretty close, and their often anguished summations of the evidence and personal declarations of conscience — coupled with apparent defections from up to half of the panel's 17 Republicans — had immediate reverberations in the full House.

"The results have been clearly adverse for the President," said Rep. John H. Buchanan, R-Ala. "It would seem to me that unless there is an outpouring of expression for the President from the American people, or some other rather strong development on his behalf, he is now likely to be impeached."



REP. TRENT LOTT



REP. M. CALDWELL BUTLER

FOR MONTHS now, Nixon has been courting Southern Democrats whose conservative voting habits coincide in most cases with his own political philosophy and policies.

Dixie Democrats have been summoned to the White House for ceremonial bill signings, showered with social invitations and — perhaps most significantly — asked aboard the presidential yacht Sequoia for evening cruises with Nixon.

The President needs the Southerners, and all but a score or so of the House Republicans, to escape impeachment. But defections from both groups within the Judiciary Committee appear to bode ill for his chances on the House floor.

It was a conservative Republican from Virginia — a state more accustomed to breeding Presidents than breaking them — who delivered one of the stiffest blows to Nixon during yesterday's debate.

Until yesterday, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler — a freshman from Roanoke whose 6th District gave Richard M. Nixon his biggest Virginia margin in 1972 — had kept his own counsel on impeachment.

THERE HAD BEEN hints that Butler might vote to impeach, but the fervor of his declaration caught committee members and others in the House by surprise. And because he is both a Southerner and a Republican — with a 1973 presidential support "score" of 75 percent, one of the highest in the House — his decision carried special weight.

Butler told his hushed colleagues that Republicans have a special responsibility in judging the President's conduct.

"For years," he said, "we Republicans have campaigned against corruption and misconduct in the administration of the government of the United States by the other party . . . But Watergate is our shame!"

Republicans, Butler warned, "cannot indulge ourselves in the luxury of patronizing and excusing the misconduct of our own people. These things happened in our house and it is our responsibility to do what we can to clear it up."

IN A RUSH of sharply worded charges, Butler shed the "undecided" cloak he had worn throughout the long investigation and explained why he is "presently inclined" to support articles of impeachment based on obstruction of justice and abuse of power by the President.

Ticking off examples of "the misuse of power — the very essence of tyranny," Butler said "there are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President of the United States."

"If we fail to impeach," he said, "we will have condoned and left unpunished a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process which he is sworn to uphold; and we will have condoned and left unpunished an abuse of power totally without justification."

Watergate and related scandals, Butler said, constitute "a sad chapter in American history. But I cannot condone what I have heard. I cannot excuse it. And I cannot and will not stand for it."

Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., did not hear Butler's speech himself, for like many House members not on the Judiciary Committee he was immersed in other legislative business.

BUT HE SAID, when asked the impact, "I heard from several Southerners that it was very, very good. I think it had quite an impact."

Preyer and Rep. Walter B. Jones, another North Carolina Democrat, said House members from their area are "watching the committee debate with rapt attention."

Southern Democrats, Jones said, have one often-unnoticed problem to contend with: A relative lack of press coverage "back home" for Watergate and impeachment news.

"Our constituents," he said, "have not been privy to the same volume of information we receive here in Washington."

PREYER SAID the nationally televised Judiciary Committee debate — which is demonstrating the scope of the impeachment case and the bipartisan support it commands — may well influence Southern voters.

Butler's speech clearly had an impact on his Virginia colleagues, who comprise one of the most conservative state delegations in the House.

"Obviously it will have some influence on me and others in the delegation," said Rep. William C. Wampler, R-Va., whose 9th District — the southwestern end of the state — has the strongest and longest Republican tradition of any in the state.

"Caldwell is a man of great integrity and ability. He is held in very high regard as a person and because he is a member of the committee."

WAMPLER SAID he personally remains undecided on the impeachment issue, but believes that if five to eight committee Republicans desert the President "it will have a lot of bearing" on the outcome in the full House.

Rep. G. William Whitehurst, R-Va., of Norfolk, conceded he "wasn't astounded" by Butler's "very strong speech," but said it would nonetheless "give us all cause for a great deal of thought." Because of Butler's reputation for integrity, he said, "anything he said would carry weight with us."

Rep. Stanford E. Parris, R-Va., a freshman from Fairfax Station in the nearby 8th District, said Butler's decision — and that of other Republicans — "has got to have some impact."

"I think the great majority of the Virginia delegation wants not to impeach the President, but if the evidence is clear and convincing, they will," he said.

ONE VIRGINIA source said the delegation may well split five for impeachment, five against when the House vote is taken. Parris said he suspects this is a "fair assessment."

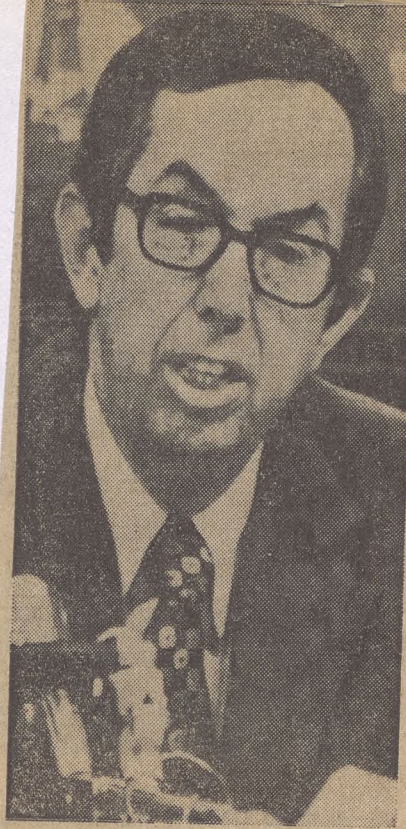
Parris said he is "right smack dab in the middle" as of now, having "decided this issue 15 times in both directions."

The Northern Virginia Republican was elected in 1972 with 44 percent of the vote, beating out three opponents. He sees an impeachment vote — either pro or con — as a "no win" proposition politically.

"People have been writing and calling for months, threatening never to vote for me if I do this or that," he said. "Very frankly, I don't care. You can't decide it that way on this question, and I won't."

"I'm doing the very best I know how, whether my constituents like it or not," Parris said.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 26, 1974



GOP DISAGREEMENT—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.), left, tells Judiciary Committee the President should be impeached. But Rep. Charles Wiggins (R-Calif.), right, shown just before his speech, said the evidence is inadmissible for a Senate trial.

(AP Wirephotos)

Nixon Support Fades as Several in GOP Call for Impeachment

Southern Democrats on Judiciary Panel Take Same Stand and Strongly Increase Probability of Trial for President

BY JACK NELSON and PAUL HOUSTON
Times Staff Writers

WASHINGTON — Southern Democrats and several Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee spoke passionately in behalf of impeachment Thursday, strongly increasing the probability of House approval and a Senate trial for President Nixon.

Two Southern conservatives — Reps. Walter Flowers (D-Ala.) and M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) — criticized Mr. Nixon's alleged role in the Watergate coverup and in misuse of federal agencies. They said failure to impeach would set a standard of condoning misconduct by presidents.

"There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President of the United States," Butler said, "because we will by this proceeding

establish as a matter of record a standard of conduct by the President... which would be for all time a matter of public record.

"If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people... We will have condoned and left unpunished a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process that he has sworn to uphold."

The stands taken by the Southern Democrats and by seven Republicans, together with a rising sentiment for impeachment on Capitol Hill, have seriously jeopardized Mr. Nixon's political future.

The White House conceded earlier that the committee would approve articles of impeachment, but it had counted on Southern Democrats and Republicans to hold down the margin.

James D. St. Clair, Mr. Nixon's chief impeachment counsel, has predicted the President would win his case on the House floor. A lopsided committee vote favoring impeachment, however, would damage Mr. Nixon's chances on the floor, where only a majority vote is required for impeachment.

Rep. Delbert L. Latta (R-Ohio), one of Mr. Nixon's strongest sup-

Please Turn to Page 6, Col. 1

Butler Lauded On Statement; Others Quiet

From Wire Dispatches

WASHINGTON — Virginia's congressional delegation praised the power and "conscience" of Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's impeachment statement, but remained publicly cautious on how they might vote themselves.

Nonetheless, some private assessments within the delegation suggested that Butler might carry at least four or five other Virginia congressmen to his position that President Nixon should be impeached.

Butler, the only Virginian on the House Judiciary Committee, said he would "not stand still" for the corruption of presidential power revealed by the impeachment inquiry, and said he is inclined to vote for articles of impeachment on obstruction of justice and abuse of power.

'VERY POWERFUL'

"It was a very powerful statement," said Rep. G. William Whitehurst, a Republican from the Norfolk-area 2nd District. But Whitehurst said he would "weigh very carefully" other evidence and the exact language of the impeachment articles before he makes up his mind.

Rep. Robert W. Daniel of the

4th District said, "I hold Caldwell Butler to be a man of high integrity and conscience. I am sure that what he is doing is interpreting the evidence as he sees it and to be making his decision accordingly." Daniel said he did not know whether he

See BUTLER, Page 7

Richmond News Leader, Fri., July 26, 1974

Butler Lauded for Statement

Continued From First Page

would respond to the same facts in the same way.

Rep. William C. Wampler, a veteran Republican from Bristol in the 9th District said, "I have nothing but the highest personal regard and respect for Caldwell Butler. I am sure that his being on the committee, he is privy to things we aren't privy to."

CALLED 'REASONED'

A northern Virginia Republican, Stanford Parris, termed Butler's remarks "reasoned."

Rep. Thomas N. Downing, a Democrat from Newport News, said he was tremendously impressed with Butler's statement.

"He was sincere and stated his point of view very well," Downing said.

Butler, a Nixon supporter in normal times, told fellow members of the House Judiciary Committee yesterday:

"I would be less than candid if I did not say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and the abuse of power."

Butler, who is running for reelection in the Roanoke-area 6th District, made the comment as he took his turn among mem-

bers of the committee presenting opening statements in the debate over whether a bill containing articles of impeachment should be reported to the House floor.

'ABUSE' PATTERN

Butler said he was particularly concerned the pattern of "presidential abuse of the power given him by the statute and the Constitution."

Referring to the "manipulation" of government agencies such as the Internal Revenue Service, the freshman Republican said:

"The evidence is clear, direct, and convincing to me that the President of the United States condoned and encouraged the use of the Internal Revenue Service taxpayer audit as a means of harassing the President's political enemies."

'OUR SHAME'

"For years we republicans have campaigned against corruption and misconduct in government by the other party," he said.

"But Watergate is our shame. Those things happened in a Republican administration while we had a Republican in the White House.

"These things happened in our house and it is our responsibility to do something to clean it up. It is we, not the

democrats, who must demonstrate we are a capable of restoring the high standards" the Republicans expect of Democrats, he said.

"The people can inquire of us: Do you really mean what you have said?"

"There is no real evidence of regard for what has occurred or remorse or resolution to change," Butler said of the transcripts of Nixon's conversations with his aides.

"Power seems to have corrupted," he said. "It is a sad chapter in American History. I cannot condone it or stand still for it."

He said misuse of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, Internal Revenue Service and the existence of the White House special investigations unit, or plumbers, were evidence of misuse of power and "evidence of tyranny."

Butler added that it was apparent to him that the President participated in a continuing coverup of the Watergate scandal, "at least after the 21st day of March 1973."

"This is clearly a policy of obstruction of justice which cannot go unnoticed."

SEES IMPLICATIONS'

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While noting he'd been a supporter of the President, Butler told colleagues on the committee that "there are frightening implications for the future of the country if we do not impeach the President."

Butler, however, said he wished to reserve his final judgment in the matter.

FLOOD OF CALLS

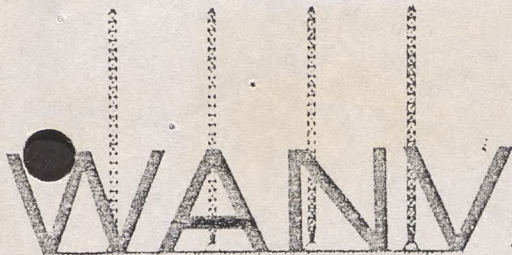
His office was flooded with telephone calls after Butler read his statement to the committee.

"Some people said he made them proud to be Virginians and others called him Judas Iscariot," said an officer worker.

Gail Goodson, Butler's press secretary, said phone calls were either "strongly favorable or strongly against. I wouldn't say there was a preponderance of one or the other."

Butler, 49, was the minority leader in the Virginia House of Delegates before winning a special election for Congress. He succeeded Richard Poff, who was named by former Gov. Linwood Holton to the Virginia Supreme Court.

WAYNESBORO, VIRGINIA



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Program EDITORIAL - BUTLER AND IMPEACHMENT

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| Date | 7/26/74 | | | | |
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THIS IS A WANV EDITORIAL. YESTERDAY CALDWELL BUTLER, THE CONGRESSMAN WHO REPRESENTS THE SIXTH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA IN WASHINGTON, PROVED THAT HE IS A MAN OF STRONG MORAL CHARACTER FIRST, AN AMERICAN SECOND, AND A PARTY POLITICIAN, AT BEST, THIRD. IT SEEMS TO US THAT THIS IS THE CORRECT ORDER OF THINGS FOR ANYBODY ELECTED TO OFFICE. IN HIS FIRST TERM IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MR. BUTLER FOUND HIMSELF ON THE POWERFUL JUDICIARY COMMITTEE AND THUS THE ONLY VIRGINIAN TO BE SITTING ON IT DURING ITS MOST HISTORIC ASSIGNMENT, THE DETERMINATION OF THE IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON. WHEN IT CAME HIS TURN TO SPEAK YESTERDAY, MR. BUTLER, IN PART, HAD THIS TO SAY:

(Insert)

MR. BUTLER IS ONE OF THE FEW MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE TO PUT THE WELFARE OF THE NATION HIGHEST IN HIS REASONS FOR THINKING AS HE DOES. HE AVOIDED DISCUSSING LEGAL TECHNICALITIES ALTHOUGH HE IS A GIFTED LAWYER. REGARDLESS OF HOW THE PEOPLE IN HIS DISTRICT MAY FEEL ABOUT WHAT HE SAID AND HOW HE WILL VOTE, THEY CAN BE SURE THAT THEY ARE REPRESENTED IN WASHINGTON BY AN AMERICAN OF THE HIGHEST INTEGRITY AND HONOR. THIS HAS BEEN A WANV EDITORIAL. BECAUSE MR. BUTLER IS CURRENTLY A CANDIDATE FOR REELECTION, WANV IS OFFERING EQUAL EDITORIAL TIME TO SPOKESMEN FOR HIS OPPONENTS.

Date & Time Recorded _____ By _____

(BUTLER INSERT)

THERE ARE FRIGHTENING IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY IF WE DO NOT IMPEACH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE WE WILL BY THIS PROCEEDING ESTABLISH AS A MATTER OF RECORD A STANDARD OF CONDUCT FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WHICH WILL BE FOR ALL TIME A MATTER OF PUBLIC RECORD. IF WE FAIL TO IMPEACH, WE WILL HAVE CONDONED AND LEFT UNPUNISHED A COURSE OF CONDUCT TOTALLY INCONSISTENT WITH THE REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE WILL HAVE CONDONED AND LEFT UNPUNISHED A PRESIDENTIAL COURSE OF CONDUCT DESIGNED TO INTERFERE WITH AND OBSTRUCT THE VERY PROCESS WHICH HE IS SWORN TO UPHOLD, AND WE WILL HAVE CONDONED AND LEFT UNPUNISHED AN ABUSE OF POWER TOTALLY WITHOUT JUSTIFICATION, AND WE WILL HAVE SAID TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THESE MISDEEDS ARE INCONSEQUENTIAL AND UNIMPORTANT.

News story 7/26/74

CONGRESSMAN M. CALDWELL BUTLER, REPUBLICAN OF THE SIXTH DISTRICT IN VIRGINIA, WAS CLEARLY A STAR OF YESTERDAY'S PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE CONSIDERING IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT NIXON. WALTER CRONKITE OF CBS NEWS, THE UNITED PRESS, THE WASHINGTON POST AND OTHERS ALL CALLED SPECIAL ATTENTION TO BUTLER'S DRAMATIC SPEECH IN WHICH HE SAID " I CANNOT CONDONE WHAT I HAVE HEARD. I CANNOT EXCUSE IT AND I CANNOT STAND STILL FOR IT." TODAY'S POST CARRIES BUTLER'S PICTURE IN THE CENTER OF ITS FIRST PAGE. APPARENTLY IMPEACHMENT WILL NOT BE A MAJOR ISSUE IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RACE IN THE SIXTH DISTRICT. BUTLER'S DEMOCRATIC OPPONENT, PAUL PUCKETT, SAYS THAT HE, TOO, WOULD VOTE FOR IMPEACHMENT IF HE WERE IN CONGRESS RIGHT NOW.

7/26/74 - WANV News story (Add on to running Butler story)

TWO PROMINENT SHENANDOAH VALLEY REPUBLICANS BELIEVE THAT CALDWELL BUTLER'S PRO-IMPEACHMENT POSITION WILL NOT BE HARMFUL TO HIM IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS. MARSHALL COLEMAN, GENERAL ASSEMBLY DELEGATE FROM STAUNTON, SAYS THAT HIS RESPECT FOR THE LEGAL ABILITIES AND MORAL JUDGMENTS OF BUTLER IS IN NO ^{WAY} / DIMINISHED, AND THAT HE IS SATISFIED THAT THE SIXTH DISTRICT CONGRESSMAN IS GOING TO VOTE THE ONLY WAY HE CAN AFTER CAREFUL REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE. LOIS KINDT, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN WAYNESBORO, SAYS THAT SHE DOESN'T SEE IMPEACHMENT AS A CAMPAIGN ISSUE, EXPECIALLY SINCE DEMOCRAT PAUL PUCKETT HAS ALSO COME OUT IN FAVOR OF REMOVING THE PRESIDENT.

The Hartford Times

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Hartford, Connecticut, Friday, July 26, 1974



REPUBLICAN REACTION — Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan, R-Md., left, and Rep. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., listen to

AP
the debate on impeachment during Thursday's House Judiciary Committee meeting.

Washington Star-News

Friday, July 26, 1974

Support Eroding

By Walter Taylor

Star-News Staff Writer

President Nixon, his support eroded and crumbling, today faced the first impeachment vote against an American president in more than a century — on charges that he obstructed justice in the Watergate investigation and otherwise abused his high office.

As the House Judiciary Committee took up the impeachment articles, all 21 Democrats and 7

Excerpts of Debate Statements, A-7

Republicans on the panel appeared committed to or leaning toward a vote recommending congressional indictment of the President for constitutional "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., who shepherded the panel through a seven-month investigation of Nixon's fitness to remain in office, officially checked out of the camp of the non-committed last night, telling a national television audience that he would urge adoption of impeachment articles.

"I HAVE searched within my heart and my conscience and searched out the facts," he said. "I find that the President must be found wanting."

Much more damaging than Rodino's declaration to Nixon's chances of winning exoneration, not only in the committee but also in the full House, were strong indications that all three Southern Democrats and a significant number of Republicans on the panel are prepared to support impeachment.

Nixon's most serious loss, in terms of votes it could influence in the House, was Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, a conservative Virginia Republican.

As general debate on impeachment drew to a close, Butler stated his intention to support both of the general charges against the President that are under consideration by the committee — obstruction of justice and abuse of power.

"THERE ARE frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President," he told millions of television viewers.

See IMPEACHMENT, A-6

IMPEACHMENT

Continued from Page A-1

"If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people . . . a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the process which he is sworn to uphold . . . and an abuse of power totally without justification."

"Watergate is our shame," he said to his Republican colleagues. "It is our responsibility to do what we can to clear it up."

Meanwhile, Democrats on the panel, ticking off alleged presidential misdeeds, aligned themselves solidly behind an impeachment push.

Said Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich.: "The President took the power of his office and under the guise of protecting and executing the laws that he swore to uphold, he abused them and in so doing he has jeopardized the strength and integrity of the Constitution and the laws of the land and the protections that they ought to afford all of the people."

Rep. Ray Thornton, D-Ark., said: "As I have reviewed the many pages of evidence which have been presented to us, and listened to the witnesses who have appeared before us, I could not help but observe that many of the things that we saw . . . had happened before. . . . But as I have reviewed the evidence and the testimony, it has become evident to me that while these offenses may have existed before, I know of no other time when they have been systematized, or carried on in such an organized and directed way."

Rep. Jerome R. Waldie, D-Calif., said: "... You cannot look at the evidence in this case and the totality of what confronts us in this case without understanding that unless we fulfill our obligations as these fallible human beings in this genius of a governmental structure; our obligation and our duty is to impeach this president that this country might get about doing its business the way it should do and pursuant to standards that have been set for this country since its beginning."

Rep. Charles B. Rangel,

D-N.Y., said: "We don't hear anything about truth, morality, the protection of our Constitution in any of the presidential conversations, whether they be in the tape or whether they be edited transcripts. But, we hope that our nation's White House will never again have to hear all of the sordid crimes that have been committed by the President and other people, and I would uphold my oath of office again and call for the impeachment of a man who has not."

THE HISTORIC impeachment debate was marked by eloquence, both in support of the President and in condemnation of him.

"I know it would be easy to vote for impeachment," said Carlos J. Moorhead, R-Calif., a soft-spoken Nixon defender. "It is hard to be against something that so many people are for, when the press is united before it, when the magazines are, the media of all kinds, and a majority of the American people apparently go in that direction."

"But, I could not vote for impeachment and give up what is so important to me, which is my own conscience of what I believe is right and wrong. And I believe that this thing is wrong."

The committee's senior Republican, Rep. Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, said the evidence has not convinced him that the President should be impeached.

"Let me just say that not only do I not believe that any crimes by the President have been proved beyond a reasonable doubt, but I do not think the proof even approaches the lesser standards of proof which some of my colleagues, I believe, have injudiciously suggested we apply."

THE IMPEACHMENT of a president, he said, cannot be warranted by "stacking inferences, one upon another, or by making demands for information from the President which we know we will not, and which he believes in principle he cannot supply and then by trying to draw inferences from a refusal which we fully anticipated before the demands were even made."

Rep. William S. Cohen of Maine, one of the committee Republicans seen as likely to vote for impeach-

ment, praised some of the achievements of the President in the realm of foreign affairs.

"I HAVE BEEN faced with the terrible responsibility of assessing the conduct of a President that I voted for, believed to be the best man to lead this country," he said, a President "who has made significant and lasting contributions towards securing peace in this country, throughout the world, but a President who in the process by act or acquiescence allowed the rule of law and the Constitution to slip under the boots of indifference and arrogance and abuse."

Although there is no limit on the total amount of debate time on the impeachment articles, it appeared possible that the committee could be ready for a vote on at least one impeachment article against the President by late today.

Various members of the panel, working in conjunction with senior staff lawyers, worked late last night and early this morning in efforts to hammer out articles acceptable to all the lawmakers.

Under procedures worked out earlier this week by the committee, individual members will be permitted to amend or add to charges and specifications contained in the proposed impeachment bill under consideration.

SEVERAL MEMBERS said yesterday that they would take advantage of those provisions. For example, Rep. Edward Mezvinsky, D-Iowa, said he was planning to propose an article charging the President with underpayment of his federal income tax during his first term in office.

Rep. Robert McClory, R-Ill., was expected to push for a separate impeachment

article relating to Nixon's refusal to honor committee subpoenas in the impeachment probe, currently listed as a specification in the general abuse of power charge.

The final wording of the draft articles could weigh on the final outcome of the impeachment voting. At least two Republicans believed to be leaning toward a recommendation for impeachment — McClory and Rep. Harold V. Froehlich of Wisconsin — have said they will not commit their votes either for or against impeachment until after proposed amendments are in their final form.

Br'er Rabbit

VICE PRESIDENT Ford tells us that he will support Caldwell Butler for re-election regardless of how Mr. Butler casts his vote in the House Judiciary Committee. So will most of Congressman Butler's constituents in the Sixth District. Our representative's record in Congress indicates a knowledgeable and fair-minded approach to the many problems which beset our land.

The Democratic leadership in Congress is certainly not interested in seeing Mr. Butler or any other conservative Republican returned to Congress. They boast of a coming veto-proof Congress. Remember Khrushchev's "We will bury you"?

In line with this theme Peter Rodino is making an all-out effort to entice unsuspecting Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee into a so-called bipartisan camp—his camp. Shades of Br'er Rabbit.

To paraphrase Uncle Remus: Br'er Fox once owned a corn patch. To prevent filching by Br'er Rabbit he set a trap. Along comes Br'er Bear. He sees Br'er Rabbit hanging by one foot high in a sapling. Br'er Rabbit puts on his thinking cap. He tells Br'er Bear that Br'er Fox is paying him a dollar a minute for watch-

ing his cornpatch. He makes the job so appealing that Br'er Bear agrees to change places with him. Then away goes Br'er Rabbit whistling and chomping on an ear of corn. Next morning Br'er Fox comes along to check his trap. He sees a happy bear hanging by one foot high in the breeze. So it goes.

Bipartisanship is a wonderful state. But how is it achieved? Usually by hornswoggling. And the hornswoggled are usually had.

Br'er Peter Rodino represents the citizens of Newark. Few of these citizens engage in the dairy business. Yet dairy interests made a sizable contribution to his latest re-election campaign. Peter Rodino denies that he boasted that Democrats on his committee would vote unanimously for impeachment of the President. However, his statements to that effect are well-documented. How better to get himself off the hook than to persuade a few Republicans to join the unanimous 21.

I am sure that Congressman Butler will weigh all evidence carefully.

S.L.A. TAYLOR

Roanoke

Remus, 7/25/74

Profile Of Butler

WASHINGTON (AP) — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, who said Thursday he is inclined to cast his House Judiciary Committee swing vote to impeachment of President Nixon, was one of Nixon's most consistent supporters up until last year.

Secretaries in his office said the reaction was mixed with many people praising his comments but some angrily taking out their frustrations against his stand by bawling out secretaries who answered the phones.

A staff aide said Butler does not really know what his district's consensus on impeachment is even though it holds some of the most conservative Republican areas in the state.

The district, including Butler's home city of Roanoke, cast the state's heaviest margin for Nixon's re-election in 1972, 72.7 per cent.

Text Of Statement

Rep. Caldwell Butler, R-Va.

"In short, power appears to have corrupted. It is a sad chapter in American history, but I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand still for it.

This is not to suggest that there are not many areas of our investigation which clearly reveal to me that some charges do not elevate themselves to this status of an impeachable offense.

While I am seriously concerned about the manipulations of the deed of gift of vice presidential papers to the United States, I have real reservations as to whether the degree of presidential involvement makes him guilty of an impeachable tax fraud.

But I do want to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Rallsback, and others and particularly the careful manner in which he reviewed the

unnoticed.

I am concerned about the pattern of presidential abuse of the power given him by statute and the Constitution. The manipulation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Internal Revenue Service and indeed the existence of the White House Plumbers are frightening in their im-

plications for the future of America.

The misuse of power is the very essence of tyranny.

The evidence is clear, direct, and convincing to me that the President of the United States condoned and encouraged the use of the Internal Revenue Service taxpayer audit as a means of harassing the President's political enemies.

While I still reserve my final judgment, I would be less than candid if I did not now say that

my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of ob-

struction of justice and abuse of power; but there will be no joy in it for me."

Text of Rep. Butler's Speech

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Following is the text of Roanoke Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's remarks to the House Judiciary Committee Thursday:

Let me express first, Mr. Chairman, to you and the other members of this committee the high regard I have come to have during these proceedings, for all of you.

While this has been a most distasteful experience for us all, I share great pride in the manner in which the membership of this committee with few exceptions has conducted itself in these deliberations. I want to express my personal appreciation to the staff for monumental task which they have performed with such diligence over these months, and I regret the unfortunate misunderstanding which developed between Mr. (Albert) Jenner and the minority members. We are all indebted to him for bringing his great experience and talent to bear upon this investigation, and for his hard work and fine presentation to us.

I am particularly proud of the work of my fellow townsman, Mr. Sam Garrison, who, as minority counsel restored much balance to the final week of our deliberation.

Likewise, I would like to express once more the pride that I share in the significant accomplishments of the administration of Richard Nixon. I have worked with him in every national campaign in which he has taken part and indeed there are those who believe I would not be here today if it were not for our joint effort in 1972. And I am deeply grateful for the many kindnesses and courtesies he has shown me over the years. I am not unmindful of the loyalty I owe him. I mention this, Mr. Chairman, so that you may be aware of how distasteful this proceeding is for me as it must have been for every member of this committee.

One more thing: I have a word for my colleagues on this side of the aisle and to my Republican friends who may be listening and for my colleague from Iowa (Republican Rep. Wiley Mayne) who is concerned about the effect impeachment will have for the Republican party.

For years we Republicans have campaigned against corruption and misconduct in the administration of the government of the United States by the other party. Indeed, in my first political campaign in 1952, Trumanism was the vehicle that carried Dwight Eisenhower to the White House. And, somehow or other, we have found the circumstances to bring that issue before the American people in every national campaign.

But Watergate is our shame. Those things happened in the Republican administration while we had a Republican in the White House and every single person convicted to date has one way or the other owed allegiance to the Republican party.

We cannot indulge ourselves the luxury of patronizing or excusing the misconduct of our own people. These things have happened in our House and it is our responsibility to do what we can to clear it up. It is we, not the Democrats, who must demonstrate that we are capable of enforcing the high standards we would set for them.

I agree with the sentiments often expressed today and yesterday that the Congress of the United States and each member is indeed being tested at this moment, but the American people may reasonably inquire of the Republican party, "Do we really mean what we say?"

My colleague, the gentleman from California, Mr. (Republican Charles E.) Wiggins, in his very able opening remarks of this morning, reminds us once more

that we must measure the conduct of the President of the United States against the standards imposed by law in which he is eminently correct.

I would like to share with you for a moment some observations I have with reference to their standards.

Impeachment and trial in the Senate is the process by which we determine whether the President of the United States has measured up to the standards of conduct which the American people are reasonably entitled to expect of him.

The conduct which the American people are reasonably entitled to expect of the President of the United States is spelled out in part in our constitution and in part in our statutes.

We are particularly grateful to our colleague from New York, Congressman (Republican Hamilton) Fish, for his exposition on the duties imposed upon the President of the United States by our constitution.

It is my judgment also that the standard of conduct which the American people are reasonably entitled to expect of their President is established in part by experience and precedent. That is one reason why I am so concerned by what has been revealed to us by our investigation.

It will be remembered that only a few hours ago the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. (Republican Wiley) Mayne, has argued that we should not impeach because of comparable misconduct in previous administrations.

There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President of the United States.

Because we will by this impeachment proceeding be establishing a standard of conduct for the President of the United States which will for all time be a matter of public record.

If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people;

We will have condoned and left unpunished a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process which he is sworn to uphold; and we will have condoned and left unpunished an abuse of power fatally without justification.

And we will have said to the American people: "These deeds are inconsequential and unimportant."

If at the conclusion of my remarks, Mr. Chairman, I have some time remaining, I will endeavor to respond to at least a part of the earlier commentary on the evidence which must have a bearing on what this Congress shall eventually do.

The people of the United States are entitled to assume that their President is telling the truth.

The pattern of misrepresentation and half-truths that emerges from our investigation reveals presidential policy cynically based on the premise that the truth itself is negotiable.

Consider the case of Richard Kleindienst, nominee for the attorney general of the United States. The President had told him in unmistakable terms that he was not to appeal the ITT case, but before the Senate of the United States Mr. Kleindienst explicitly denied any effort by the President to influence him in this regard. The President, having knowledge of this, affirmed to the American people his continuing confidence in this man.

The record is replete with official presidential misrepresentation of non-involvement, and representations of investigations and reports never made, if indeed undertaken at all. There are two references to a Dean report that we have not seen.

Consider the case of (CBS Newsman) Daniel Shorr. In a moment of euphoria on Air Force 1, presidential aides called upon the FBI to investigate this administration critic. Upon revelation, presidential aides fabricated and the President affirmed that Shorr was being investigated for possible federal appointment—nothing could be further from the truth.

Let me observe that throughout the extensive transcripts made available to us of intimate presidential conversation and discussion there is no real evidence or regret for what occurred, or remorse, or resolution to change and precious little reference to, or concern for, constitutional responsibility or reflection upon the basic obligations of the office of the presidency.

In short, power appears to have corrupted. It is a sad chapter in American history, but I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand still for it.

This is not to suggest that there are not many areas of our investigation which clearly reveal to me that some charges do not elevate themselves to this status of an impeachable offense. I am satisfied that the presidential misrepresentation with reference to the Cambodian—is excusable because of the congressional and security council involvement in the decision making itself. The impoundment of funds by the office of the president is clearly an exercise of administrative discretion, which is now sharply curtailed by the Congress itself. While the manipulation of the decision to raise milk price supports by the President's advisors in order to reaffirm the pledge of substantial campaign contributions is reprehensible, and bordering on bribery itself, the evidence as to the President's direct involvement has nowhere been established to the extent, in my judgment, to warrant a charge of impeachment.

While I am seriously concerned about the manipulations of the deed of gift or vice presidential papers to the United States, I have real reservations as to whether the degree of presidential involvement makes him guilty of an impeachable tax fraud.

But I do want to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. (Republican Tom) Railsback, and others and particularly the careful manner in which he reviewed the President's response to the information which came to him in his official capacity, and his participation in the continuing policy of coverup, at least after the 21st day of March 1973. This is clearly a policy of obstruction of justice which cannot go unnoticed.

Likewise, I am concerned about the pattern of presidential abuse of power given him by the statute and the constitution. The manipulation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Internal Revenue Service and indeed the existence of the White House plumbers are frightening in their implications for the future of America.

The misuse of power is the very essence of tyranny.

The evidence is clear, direct, and convincing, that the President of the United States condoned and encouraged the use of the Internal Revenue Service taxpayer audit as a means of harassing the President's political enemies.

And consider, if you will, the frightening implications of that for a free society.

While I still reserve my final judgment, I would be less than candid if I did not say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and abuse of power; but there will be no joy in it for me.

James

7/24/74

28

Rep. Wampler to take part in farm meet

DA
1/27/74

WASHINGTON — Rep. William Wampler of Virginia's Ninth District, the ranking Republican member of the House Agriculture Committee, will participate in the Farm Conference to be held by Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler Aug. 5.

The conference will take place at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern.

A spokesman in Butler's office said the event will get under way at 10 a.m. and conclude with a free barbeque luncheon at noon.

Also taking part in the conference will be Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and an official of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Butler said he was "extremely pleased that a person with as extensive background in farm and agriculture-business legislation as Bill Wampler will be present at our conference."

Wampler, who lives in Bristol, formerly held the top minority seat on the Agriculture Committee's Dairy and Poultry Subcommittee. He was first elected to Congress in 1952 and following a defeat in 1954 was re-elected in 1966 and each subsequent congressional election.

THE NEWS
7/27/74

Butler Gets GOP Support

Two Lynchburg Republican leaders said Friday they will continue to support Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler regardless of his decision regarding impeachment of President Nixon.

They are George H. Fralin Jr., chairman of Butler's reelection campaign in the city, and Carroll P. Freeman, chairman of Lynchburg City Republicans.

Fralin said, "I have absolute confidence in his (Butler's) ability and judgment. I feel he is a man who has seen and heard the witnesses and evidence and I will abide by his decision."

Freeman said he does not feel it is proper for him to speak for the City Republican Committee as a whole, because, "there are varying degrees of opinion on the pros and cons of impeachment" among committee members.

Last-Ditch Try Made To Halt Impeachment

THE NEWS 7/27/74

By DONALD M. ROTHBERG

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Nixon's defenders on the House Judiciary Committee launched a last ditch counterattack Friday night aimed at section-by-section dismantling of an impeachment article accusing Nixon with involvement in the Watergate cover-up.

Rep. Charles Sandman, R-N.J., started the drive with a motion to strike the charge that Nixon lied to investigators about the affair.

Sandman said similar attempts would follow to drop each of the other eight allegations included in the impeachment article.

Vote Delayed

There appeared little chance for a vote before today.

Sandman and Rep. Charles E. Wiggins, R-Calif., led the anti-impeachment bloc that contended the allegations lacked enough detail to permit the President to defend himself.

The backers of the article, appearing to hold a bipartisan majority on the 38-member committee, replied that the President and his counsel were fully familiar with the charges.

Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., said the opponents of the article were focusing on "a really phony issue."

Ample Votes

Sandman, who acknowledged that there were ample votes to send the impeachment article to the House floor, said, "A simple parking ticket has to be specific ... You say that doesn't apply to the President? Why that is ridiculous."

Rep. Barbara Jordan, D-Tex., said that contentions such as those by Sandman and Wiggins were "phantom arguments, bottomless arguments." She said that "if we have not afforded the President of the United States due process ... then there is no due process to be found anywhere."

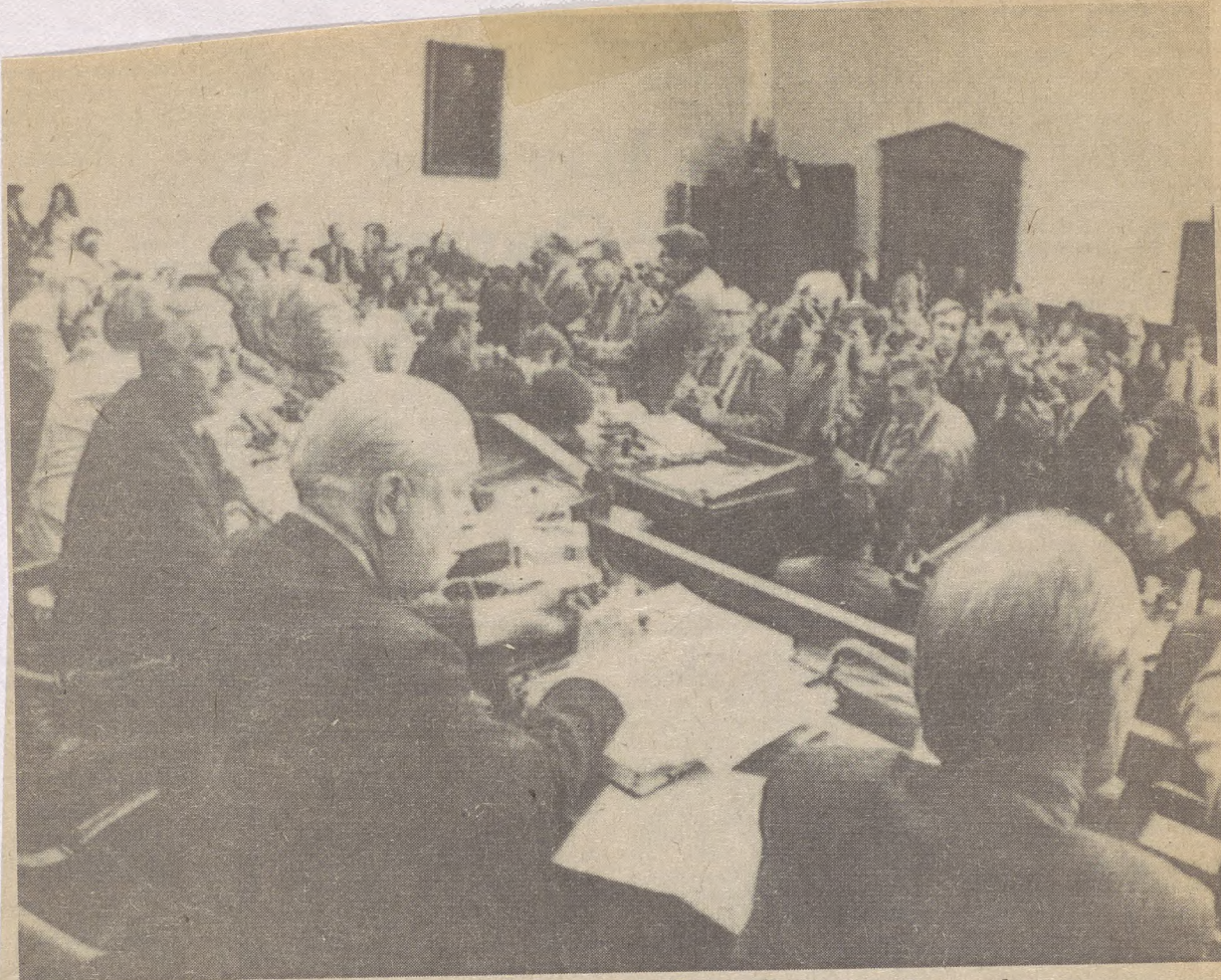
As the debate dragged on and grew more bitter, Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., called for order and said:

"This is serious enough that to indulge in parliamentary maneuvers to delay a decision on this important question only serves to tell the people that we are afraid to meet this issue."

Then Rodino called for a show of hand of the members who wanted to use their allotted five minutes to speak on the motion. Twenty members raised their hands.

"Wouldn't it be a damning indictment after all this time and all this money if we were unable to state the case with any specificity?" asked Wiggins.

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee pressed toward a vote late Friday on an article of impeachment charging President Nixon



House Judiciary Committee Assembles Friday To Debate Impeachment.

with participating in the Watergate cover-up. The President's defenders immediately attacked it as lacking detail.

Whatever its final form, an impeachment recommendation seemed certain.

"Wouldn't it be a damning indictment after all this time and all this money if we were unable to state the case with any specificity?" asked Rep. Charles E. Wiggins, R-Calif., a hard-line opponent of impeachment.

Meets Test

"I think this article meets the test" said John Doar, chief counsel for the impeachment inquiry in response to a question from chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J.

The committee moved through this climactic phase of its impeachment deliberations with each of the 38 members receiving five minutes to state his views on the pending article, which charged the President with nine counts of obstruction of justice.

Once again, the panel scheduled a night session during prime broadcast hours after meetings in the morning and afternoon as well. The final round of the day was due to begin at 8 p.m. EDT.

The debate was consumed almost entirely by the dispute over detail — rather than whether the charges themselves are valid.

Supporters of the article noted that the President's lawyer participated in all sessions during which the committee received its evidence and many Democrats cited the material on which the allegations were based. In addition, they pointed out that a detailed committee report would accompany any articles of impeachment the panel approved.

Little Weakening

There was little indication in the debate of any weakening in the bipartisan support for impeachment. It appeared that as many as seven Republicans would join the 21 Demo-

crats in recommending Nixon's removal from office.

Rep. Harold V. Froehlich, R-Wis., was the only wavering member.

"I am ready ... if the case is put in proper form and the proper shape to vote for an article of impeachment," said Froehlich.

"But I don't think that the articles placed before us are in enough detail to bring me to that conclusion today."

Rodino, who had delayed the start of both the morning and afternoon sessions to try in private to hash out the most acceptable wording, pointed out that there are few precedents to rely on and that in the case of President Andrew Johnson, the only other presidential impeachment, the articles were drafted after he was impeached by the House.

The revised article charging the President with obstructing the Watergate investigation was offered by Rep. Paul Sarbanes, D-Md.

A revision of Donohue's second See Impeachment, A-8, Col. 1

DAILY ADVANCE 7/27/74

Comment guarded on stand by Butler

RICHMOND (AP)—While observers in Virginia were surprised by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's call for the impeachment of President Nixon, almost everyone to the man said it was hard to pass judgment on Butler since he's privy to more information on the subject.

The repercussions from Butler's statement before the House Judiciary Committee on Thursday were continuing to flow freely through the corridors of the State Capitol here Friday, and throughout Butler's 6th District in Western Virginia.

Much of the speculation centered not so much on the principle of Butler's statement, but on the question of what affect his position will have on his bid for re-election and on the Republican party of Virginia.

"I don't think it will have any particular impact" on Butler's party standing, said Richard D. Obenshain, state Republican party chairman.

Obenshain, who said he believed now that President Nixon is likely to be impeached, explained the difficulty he had in reacting to Butler's statement calling for impeachment:

"I think it's just impossible for anyone who's outside that incredibly emotional atmosphere of the Judiciary committee to pass judgment on Congressman Butler's position and statement..." he said.

A similar view was shared by Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., a supporter of the President in recent years and, at the behest of Obenshain and other conservatives, a recent convert to the Republican party.

Godwin said he did not necessarily agree with Butler's statement on impeachment, but conceded the congressman has access to more information on the specifics of the case.

The governor, however, reiterated his belief that the President ought to be guaranteed the same presumption of innocence that would be af-

forded to any other citizen of this country.

Other political figures were even more guarded in commenting succinctly on Butler's statement.

U. S. Sen. William L. Scott, R-Va., said through a spokesman from his Washington office that it would be improper for him to analyze or comment on Butler's statement since he very well could find himself a juror in a Senate trial of the President.

Reaction to Butler's statement in his home district was mixed, although many officials shared Obenshain and Godwin's view that it was difficult to criticize the statement when Butler had access to more information than they did.

However, Butler's opponent in the congressional race, Roanoke County Sheriff Paul

Puckett, suggested Butler took the stand as a matter of political expediency.

Meanwhile, Butler said in Washington Friday that his impeachment stand might have been "too strong" but said he felt he no longer could delay in taking a position.

"I may have put it (his announcement) too strong, but there's no such thing as a weak impeachment vote," he said.

In drafting his statement Thursday morning, Butler said, "It appeared the thing to do was to talk all around it without exactly expressing it (his decision), but as I wrote and toyed around with the speech I found it just wasn't my style."

But he said if more information comes up that would change his mind, "I'll just have to change my vote and admit it."

Richmond Times-Dispatch

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Obenshain, Godwin Decline To Judge Butler Stand

WASHINGTON (AP) — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., admitted Friday that his announcement he would vote for the impeachment of President Nixon may have been "too strong" but said he felt he no longer could delay in taking a stand.

Butler, in an angry denunciation of President Nixon's role in the Watergate cover-up and alleged misuse of power, told fellow members on the House Judiciary Committee Thursday that he would support two articles of impeachment.

"I felt that having gone through the agonizing process of arriving at my decision, I owed my constituents the courtesy of saying what I had concluded," he said Friday.

But the 6th District Republican said if subsequent information comes up that would change his mind, "I'll just have to change my vote and admit it."

No Weak Vote

Butler said that in the context of the House Judiciary Committee's historic impeachment debate, "I may have put it [his announcement] too strong, but there is no such thing as a weak impeachment vote."

Butler said he had spent a long period arriving at his decision and made up his mind over the weekend. He said he had talked with his wife, June, about.

In drafting his statement Thursday morning, Butler said,

"It appeared the thing to do was to talk all around it without exactly expressing it [his decision], but as I wrote and toyed around with the speech I found it just wasn't my style."

"It appeared that this was the way to do it, although it may turn out to have been wrong."

The reaction to Butler's speech Thursday afternoon was immediate.

In the halls outside the committee room and in the Republican cloak room, members of Congress congratulated Butler on his stand and by-passers stopped to shake his hand.

In his offices a few hundred yards away, the telephones rang constantly.

Some of the calls were complimentary, while others weren't. And some callers, who refused to identify themselves were said to have been abusive and, in some cases, obscene.

On the political front, his statement calling for Nixon's ouster sparked comment from leading political figures in the state ranging from the governor's office to the state chairman of the Republican party.

"I think it's just impossible for anyone who's outside that incredibly emotional atmosphere of the Judiciary committee to pass judgment on Congressman Butler's statement..." said

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2 Decline To Judge Statement

Continued From First Page

Richard D. Obenshain, the conservative chairman of the state Republican party.

"... And while many people will disagree with his conclusion, most Virginians respect an individual's right to make his own personal decision."

Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., a converted Republican, said he did not "necessarily agree" with Butler's statement, but that it was a fine statement.

Godwin, who on occasion has been summoned to the White House for personal consultations with Nixon, said he felt sure Butler was speaking his conviction. The governor said he was reluctant to comment further since "Butler, as a member of the committee, has access to many more facts."

Godwin said he continued to give the President the "presumption of innocence," which, the governor once said should be given to the President as it would be to any other citizen.

Scott Declines

Freshman U. S. Sen. William L. Scott declined to give a comment on Butler's remarks. A spokesman for the Republican senator said it appears that the House Judiciary Committee will adopt a resolution of impeachment, and added that Scott would not comment because he may end up a juror in a Senate trial of the President.

Not unexpectedly, the sharpest criticism in the Roanoke Valley area to Butler's stand came from his opponent in the congressional race there.

Roanoke City Sheriff Paul Puckett, when asked about Butler's statement said; "Wasn't it expected?"

Puckett added "It's hardly anything you'd expect Mr. Butler to be against at election time."

Impeachment Debate Goes On

Continued From A-1

article was expected to be submitted later.

As soon as debate began on the substitute offered by Sarbanes, Republican Reps. Charles E. Wiggins of California and Charles Sandman of New Jersey, and Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, attacked it as still too vague.

"It does not set forth with the specific detail, the exact incidents upon which any criminal indictment would have to lay," said Hutchinson, the ranking Republican on the committee.

The article charged the President "made it his policy ... to ... obstruct the investigation" of the Watergate break-in. "When was the policy declared?" asked Wiggins.

"It dates back to June 17, 1972," replied Sarbanes.

"When?" repeated Wiggins, demanding that Sarbanes be more specific about the date such a policy was declared. "We're talking about a policy of the President of the United States."

Sandman took up the same argument and then asked:

"Does the President have any less rights pertaining to due process than a common criminal?"

Democrats replied that the charges were readily understandable to the President and his attorney and that if approved, a bill of particulars would be available to Nixon.

Any articles of impeachment approved by the committee would go to the full House where a majority vote would be required to formally impeach the President and precipitate a Senate trial. The articles could be amended by the House.

A two-thirds vote of the Senate would be required for conviction and removal from office.

Motion Rejected

Before turning to consideration of the articles, the committee rejected by a vote of 27 to 11, a motion from Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois, second-ranking Republican on the panel, to delay the debate in the hope of obtaining subpoenaed tapes from President Nixon.

Ten Republicans and one Democrat, Rep. James Mann of South Carolina, supported McClory's proposal.

"I would press more vigorously for this if I had any assurance they (the tapes) would be made available," said McClory. "I have the strong feeling there is no intention to make this material available to the committee."

Rodino agreed, saying that in light of the President's past refusals to deliver evidence the McClory scheme was both "idle and futile."

McClory based his motion on the fact that the Supreme Court ruled 8 to 0 earlier in the week that Nixon was required to obey a subpoena demanding tapes of 64 conversations for

evidence in the Watergate cover-up trial.

At a hearing in U.S. District Court, James D. St. Clair, the President's chief Watergate lawyer, agreed to give special prosecutor Leon Jaworski the tapes of 20 conversations by next Tuesday and to speed work on delivery of 44 others.

The Judiciary Committee has subpoenaed 63 of those 64 conversations.

In his opening statement Wednesday night, McClory did not say how he planned to vote, but he subsequently disclosed he was drafting an article of impeachment citing many of the same charges included in the proposals offered by Donohue.

During debate on his motion for delay, McClory also disclosed he planned to call for Nixon's impeachment because of his refusal to obey eight committee subpoenas demanding tapes of 147 conversations.

The other Republicans considered likely to vote for one or more articles of impeachment were Reps. Tom Railsback of Illinois, Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York, Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, William Cohen of Maine, and Harold V. Froehlich of Wisconsin.

Hogan and Butler flatly declared their intention to support impeachment in their opening statements.

All 21 Democrats are considered certain to vote for impeachment.

Before the committee as it began this phase of its debate were Donohue's two proposed articles of impeachment and his separate covering resolution.

The resolution, which would be approved automatically upon approval of any single article of impeachment, simply reads:

"RESOLVED, that Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and that the following articles of impeachment be exhibited to the Senate:

"Articles of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States of America in the name of itself and of all of the people of the United States of America, in maintenance and support of its impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors."

Following that resolution were the two articles, the first citing nine examples of presidential conduct related to the Watergate cover-up, while the second contained eight allegations of abuse of power.

The revision offered by Sarbanes replaced the cover-up articles and also contained nine specific allegations.

The articles were the end product of the committee's impeachment inquiry which got under way last January under the immediate supervision of chief counsel John Doar and minority counsel Albert Jenner.

Panel Debates Cover-Up Issue

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impeachment were Reps. Tom Railsback of Illinois, Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York, Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, William Cohen of Maine, and Harold V. Froehlich of Wisconsin.

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The revision offered by Sarbanes replaced the cover-up articles and also contained nine specific allegations.

They included:

—"Making false or misleading statements to lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States:

—"Withholding relevant and material evidence or information ...

—"Approving, condoning, acquiescing in" false statements given to various bodies and agencies that investigated the Watergate break-in and coverup;

—"Interfering or endeavoring to interfere with the conduct of investigations by the Department of Justice of the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investiga-

tion, and the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution force:

—"Approving, condoning and acquiescing in" payments of hush money to the Watergate break-in defendants.

—"Endeavoring to misuse the Central Intelligence Agency ..."

—"Giving confidential investigative information received from the Justice Department to persons who were subjects of the probe;

—"Making false or misleading public statements for the purpose of deceiving the people of the United States into believing that a thorough and complete investigation had been conducted" into Watergate and the involvement of White House personnel in the scandal;

—"Leading the Watergate break-in defendants to believe they would receive favored treatment if they lied or remained silent about their knowledge of the involvement of Nixon campaign committee officials in Watergate.

World-News 7/27

Amendments hinder committee progress

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee makes another effort today to reach a vote on an article of impeachment accusing President Nixon with obstruction of justice in the Watergate cover-up.

After a wearying 12-hour committee session on Friday, Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., said he will meet Sunday, too, if it appears possible the committee could wind up its proceedings in one more day.

Today's session, which begins at noon, again will be heard and seen over national radio and television.

On the strength of a 27-11 test vote that defeated the first of what is expected to be a number of Republican amendments aimed at weakening the proposed article, it seems certain the committee will recommend Nixon's impeachment when it gets the opportunity.

A simple majority vote on any article of impeachment by the committee would send the matter to the House floor. A

simple majority vote in the House then would forward the bill to the Senate, where a two-thirds vote is needed to remove the President from office.

The panel was stymied Friday by Rep. Charles W. Sandman Jr., R-N.J., who said the article was too vague. He tried without success to delete one of its provisions charging Nixon with making false or misleading statements to federal investigators.

The defeat of Sandman's motion came after a full day of argument over whether articles of impeachment need spell out the charges being brought against Nixon.

The result appeared close to being a forecast of how a vote on the article itself might turn out. Rep. Henry P. Smith III,

R-N.Y., who voted against Sandman's motion, said he also will vote against the article but was willing to leave it intact now because other Republicans are for it.

Five other Republicans voted with all 21 Democrats to defeat Sandman. Rep. Harold V. Froehlich, R-Wis., another who voted to strike the provision, said he might end up voting for the article if it includes specific evidence.

Another significant vote to keep the article intact was cast by Rep. Walter Flowers of Alabama, the only Democrat regarded as a possible vote against impeachment.

There are eight other separate provisions in the article and Sandman said either he or

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Details

hamper committee

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some other Republican opponent of impeachment will offer separate motions to strike them. If the full time allowable on each one were used, it would take another 24 hours to get to a vote on the article.

The strong majority in favor of the article shown by the first vote, however, may encourage Rodino to use his powers as chairman to limit debate on the other motions.

Rodino clearly was dismayed by the spectacle the committee was creating on television after two days of exemplary behavior in its opening round of impeachment debate. He took Sandman and his Republican allies to task.

"Indulging in a parliamentary maneuver to delay a decision in this very important matter only serves to tell the people we are afraid to meet the issue," Rodino said.

Rodino said the factual data supporting the articles would be included in a committee report accompanying any articles it sends to the House floor.

Rep. Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md., sponsor of the article, said it did not include itemized events because it deals with a course of conduct spread over many months.

Rep. Jerome R. Waldie, D-Calif., said details were hard to come by because the cover-up policy was concealed carefully and Nixon has withheld evidence the committee requested.

"To demand we produce a parchment scroll of a presidential declaration that on such and such a day a policy of cover-up was established is really quite unrealistic," he said.

Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., accused the supporters of Sandman's argument of raising "a phony issue." Rep. Barbara Jordan, D-Tex., said they were presenting phantom arguments.

Rep. James R. Mann, D-S.C., charged that the whole issue had been raised in the manner of an effort to influence the American public through television.

Mann said he was astonished that any committee members would say Nixon would be forced to undergo a Senate trial without knowing the full charges against him.

Stand By Butler Evokes Surprise

RICHMOND (AP) — Political fallout filled this State Capitol Friday, a full 24 hours after Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., angrily denounced Nixon administration policies and gave tentative support to the impeachment of the President.

Butler, a first term congressman and member of the House Judiciary Committee, surprised observers here and in Washington by committing himself to support of two articles of impeachment against the President, unless further evidence changes his mind.

The reaction in Virginia generally was one of surprise, as most political observers, and apparently some of Butler's constituents in the 6th District, felt he wasn't ready yet to call for Nixon's impeachment.

For his part, Butler admitted Friday that he had feelings of doubt that his announcement was too strongly worded, but said he felt he no longer could delay in taking a stand.

"I felt that having gone through the agonizing process of arriving at my decision, I owed my constituents the courtesy of saying what I had concluded."

Reaction Swift

Reaction to the statement was swift on the home front, as Butler's congressional office was deluged with telephone calls, some of which were negative and even obscene.

On the political front, his statement calling for Nixon's ouster shocked leading political figures in the state ranging from the governor's office to the state chairman of the Republican party.

"I think it's just impossible for anyone who's outside that incredibly emotional atmosphere of the Judiciary committee to pass judgment on Congressman Butler's statement..." said Richard D. Obenshain, the conservative chairman of the state Republican party.

"...And while many people will disagree with his conclusion, most Virginians respect an individual's right to make his own personal decision."

Share Concern

Obenshain also said a great many people in the state share Butler's concerns about the abuse of power and threat to personal liberty that such abuses foster.

"Personally," he said, "to me there is a difference between that question and the question of whether there has been sufficient evidence of the President's own personal involvement in criminal actions."

Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., a

said he was reluctant to comment further since "Butler as a member of the committee has access to many more facts."

Neither Godwin nor Obenshain would comment on whether Butler's statement would result in harmful political consequences for the freshman congressman.

See BUTLER, B-3, Col. 5

converted Republican, said he did not "necessarily agree" with Butler's statement, but agreed that it was a fine statement.

Godwin, who on occasion has been summoned to the White House for personal consultations with Nixon, said he felt sure Butler was speaking his conviction. The governor



During The Debate

Rep Lawrence J. Hogan, R-Md., left, and Rep. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., listen to the general debate on the question of impeachment during Thursday night's session of the House Judiciary Committee in Washington. Hogan has called

for the impeachment of President Nixon. Butler, during his address before the committee said, "There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the president." (AP Wirephoto)

Butler Switching Comes As Surprise

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RICHMOND (AP)—While observers in Virginia were surprised by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's call for the impeachment of President Nixon, almost everyone to the man said it was hard to pass judgment on Butler since he's privy to more information on the subject.

The repercussions from Butler's statement before the House Judiciary Committee on Thursday were continuing to flow freely through the corridors of the State Capitol here Friday, and throughout Butler's 6th District in Western Virginia.

Much of the speculation centered not so much on the principle of Butler's statement, but on the question of what affect his position will have on his bid for re-election and on the Republican party of Virginia.

"I don't think it will have any particular impact" on Butler's party standing, said Richard D. Obenshain, state Republican party chairman.

Obenshain, who said he believed now that President Nixon is likely to be impeached, explained the difficulty he had in reacting to Butler's statement calling for impeachment:

"I think it's just impossible for anyone who's outside that incredibly emotional atmosphere of the Judiciary com-

mittee to pass judgment on Congressman Butler's position and statement..." he said.

A similar view was shared by Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., a supporter of the President in

recent years and, at the behest of Obenshain and other conservatives, a recent convert to the Republican party.

Godwin said he did not necessarily agree with Butler's statement on impeachment, but conceded the congressman has access to more information on the specifics of the case.

The governor, however, reiterated his belief that the President ought to be guaranteed the same presumption of innocence that would be afforded to any other citizen of this country.

Other political figures were even more guarded in commenting succinctly on Butler's statement.

U. S. Sen. William L. Scott, R-Va., said through a spokesman from his Washington office that it would be improper for him to analyze or comment on Butler's statement since he very well could find himself a juror in a Senate trial of the President.

Reaction to Butler's statement in his home district was mixed, although many officials shared Obenshain and Godwin's view that it was difficult to critique the statement when Butler had access to more information than they did.

However, Butler's opponent in the congressional race, Roanoke County Sheriff Paul

Butler

(Continued From Page 1)

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Meanwhile, Butler said in Washington Friday that his impeachment stand might have been "too strong" but said he felt he no longer could delay in taking a position.

"I may have put it (his announcement) too strong, but there's no such thing as a weak impeachment vote," he said.

GOVINGTON

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THE NEWS, Lynchburg, Va., Sat., July 27, 1974

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Butler Stand Evoking Surprise

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Godwin said he continued to give the President the "presumption of innocence," which, the governor had said before should be given to the President as it would for any other citizen of the country.

Scott Silent

Freshman U. S. Sen. William L. Scott declined initial comment on Butler's remarks. A spokesman for the Republican senator's Washington office said it appears that the House Judiciary Committee will adopt a resolution of impeachment, and added that Scott would not comment because he may end up a juror in a Senate trial of the President.

Not unexpectedly, the sharpest criticism in the Roanoke Valley area to Butler's stand came from his opponent in the congressional race there.

Roanoke City Sheriff Paul Puckett, when asked about Butler's statement said: "Wasn't it expected?"

Puckett added "It's hardly anything you'd expect Mr. Butler to be against at election

time."

Overall, Butler's announcement seems to have caused little consternation among Republicans in his home district and slight surprise among

Democrats.

Del. Richard Cranwell, a Roanoke County democrat, said Butler is a "very conscientious person, who is not politically motivated."

Political Figures Guarded Regarding Butler Statement

RICHMOND (AP)—While observers in Virginia were surprised by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's call for the impeachment of President Nixon, almost everyone to the man said it was hard to pass judgment on Butler since he's privy to more information on the subject.

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pass judgment on Congressman Butler's position and statement...," he said.

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Other political figures were even more guarded in commenting succinctly on Butler's statement.

U. S. Sen. William L. Scott, R-Va., said through a spokesman
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(Continued from Page 1)

from his Washington office that it would be improper for him to analyze or comment on Butler's statement since he very well could find himself a juror in a Senate trial of the President.

Reaction to Butler's statement in his home district was mixed, although many officials shared Obenshain and Godwin's view that it was difficult to critique the statement when Butler had access to more information than they did.

The Virginian-Pilot

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Saturday, July 27, 1974

A Compelling Indictment

The case forged in the House Judiciary Committee for President Nixon's trial by the Senate is compelling. Virginia Representative M. Caldwell Butler's contribution to it was sufficient to discredit White House screams about partisan skullduggery and political lynch-mobbery there. Mr. Butler is a Republican of solid credentials and, although a Congressional freshman, the ablest member of his State's delegation. His judgment that "there are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President of the United States" should be the House's judgment.

Any recital of Mr. Nixon's offenses against the Constitution, against the criminal code, against the established standards of his high office, and against good judgment and good manners would be repetitious. The list of close Nixon associates who have been convicted or are charged with serious crimes is as familiar as it is long. "If we fail to impeach," warned Mr. Butler, "we will have condoned and left unpunished a Presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process he is sworn to uphold; and we will have condoned and left unpunished an abuse of power fatally without justification."

Mr. Nixon abused power shockingly. He trespassed not only upon the privacy and comfort of persons cataloged as

his enemies but also upon the nation's democratic institutions and processes. Mr. Butler cited instances that most offended and saddened him. Other Committee members, Republicans among them, pointed to different occurrences. The inventory is substantial enough to afford picking and choosing.

Also, Mr. Nixon obstructed justice. Whatever the edited transcripts of his Watergate dialogues that he gave the Committee may tell or hide, they make it indisputable that he impeded an investigation of the break-in and cover-up by the proper governmental agencies. Presidential Counsel James D. St. Clair in his defense arguments to the Committee was reduced to relying upon a two-page excerpt from the record of a 90-minute conversation to support Mr. Nixon's denial that he ordered hush money paid to E. Howard Hunt, a Watergate burglar. Mr. Nixon had rejected the Committee's subpoena for that record and 147 other White House tapes. The excerpt has the President saying, "I don't mean to be blackmailed by Hunt—that goes too far." Its accuracy has been challenged. But if it is exact, it invites the question: What short of blackmail would Mr. Nixon tolerate? The burglar got his money.

Partisanship did not dictate the Judiciary Committee's course. It influenced positions, though, as it was bound to. And if some Democrats

found it politically expedient to press for Mr. Nixon's impeachment, Mr. Butler made the Republican point that "we cannot indulge ourselves the luxury of patronizing or excusing the misconduct of our own people. . . . Watergate is our shame."

Republicans who would not accept that challenge defended Mr. Nixon with apologia and legalisms. They confused, by design or otherwise, the Committee's impeachment role—indeed, impeachment itself—with the judicial process. Ignoring the Senate's ultimate burden, they demanded a Committee finding based on the trial-jury standard of "beyond a reasonable doubt," rather than the "clear and convincing" criterion advanced by impeachment counsel John Doar. They declined to hold Mr. Nixon responsible for the outrageous conduct of his appointed associates and the White House climate in which they exercised their arrogance and criminality. They came close to saying that the Presidency is so grand that to concede its occupant is unfit, whatever the proof, would demean it to the world.

The Judiciary Committee acquainted itself with Watergate-Nixon evidence to a degree that the full House of Representatives cannot approach. To fulfill its duty the House must rely heavily on the Committee's impeachment advice. It should measure well the "frightening implications for the future of our country" that Mr. Butler of Virginia so persuasively held out.

Butler Relieved Decision About Impeachment Is Out

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's ringing denunciation of President Richard Nixon Thursday afternoon has brought him a flood of telephone calls and letters from the public, personal congratulations from fellow members of Congress and an invitation to appear on CBS's "Face the Nation" program.

The Virginia Republican, who announced he would support two articles of impeachment of the President, has agreed to appear on the nationally televised show Sunday with another House Judiciary Committee member, Rep. Ray Thornton, D-Ark. (The program will be carried locally on WDBJ-TV, channel 7, Sunday at 12:30 p.m.)

The decision to vote against the President, he said, came slowly over a period of months. Skeptical at first, later admitting that he was undecided but might vote for impeachment, Butler startled a national television audience with an angry statement that he could not, "and will not stand still" for abuse of power and obstruction of justice by the President.

Last weekend, Butler quietly talked the matter over with his family before "firming up my decision."

Still, Butler said, he could have delayed saying how he would vote on the historic matter.

"Apparently the thing to do was talk all around it without expressing it, but as I wrote and toyed with the speech, I found it was just not my style. This was the way to do it."

But mostly, Butler said, he was "relieved" to have it out.



REP. M. CALDWELL BUTLER
During Friday's Session

Butler's staff reported receiving about 90 calls by late afternoon Friday, many from as far away as Walla Walla, Wash., and Portland, Ore.

And, while most callers politely expressed their agreement or disagreement with Butler's statement, several were abusive and one repeated caller peppered a female member of Butler's staff with obscene language.

Butler said Friday he had not yet had a chance to gauge reaction to his statement.

"I haven't had the first opportunity. Last night I was worn out and sort of let down. And I was a bit worried that I may have put (the statement) too

strong in the nature of the committee's debate."

But Butler said he didn't think any evidence would turn up to cause him to change his mind.

"I'm not disposed to changing my mind, but if further evidence comes up that warrants it, I'll change it and admit it."

He said, "I felt that having gone through the agonizing process of arriving at a decision, I owed my constituents the courtesy of saying what I'd concluded."

Butler said he had attempted in his statement to "fit myself into the mosaic of the general presentation but touching on points that others had not mentioned in their statements."

In his statement, Butler paid tribute to the committee's counsel, saying he was disturbed that his fellow Republicans had found it necessary to oust former minority counsel Albert Jenner but complimenting new minority counsel Sam Garrison, a former commonwealth's attorney from Roanoke.

Butler said he was impressed with Garrison's representation of the Republican viewpoint while keeping his own counsel on Garrison's personal view of the evidence.

Later, Butler said he made the remarks to allow Garrison the opportunity to refute charges by columnists that his sole function was to obstruct the impeachment of President Nixon.

Garrison said Friday he resented the implications that his job was to blindly obstruct the inquiry.

Garrison said he believed he could not say now what his own views on impeachment are, but indicated he would feel free to say so "once this matter is disposed."

Roanoke Times 7/27

Atlanta Constitution 7/27



Associated Press Photo

Rep. Caldwell Butler Rests His Eyes During Debate

Neenah Bond
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2 Staunton, Va., News-Leader, Sun., July 28, 1974



DURING THE DEBATE—Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan, R-Md., left, and Rep. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., listen to the general debate on the question of impeachment during a session of the House Judiciary Committee in Washington. Rep. Hogan called for the impeachment of President Nixon, and Rep. Butler, during his address, said: "There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President."

(AP Photo)

A Cross Section of America on Display

Debaters Ask: What Warrants Impeachment? What Is Proof?

By ANTHONY LEWIS

WASHINGTON—A person who has lived through much in American political life sat watching the House Judiciary Committee debate and murmured again and again, "Amazing. Absolutely amazing."

Even after all the turns and surprises of Watergate it was utterly astonishing to have the fate of the President of the United States, that most powerful being, debated on television. Past and present met in a civic drama: the rhetoric of Edmund Burke and James Madison, the record of Richard Nixon.

The debate was alternately inspiring and wearying, grand and petty. After opening on a high constitutional tone, the committee moved into the characteristic wrangling of the legislative process. The real issues began appearing—issues of constitutional meaning, legal procedure, politics. The answers were effectively given not in words but in the committee's votes—and will be given thus again and again as the impeachment process goes on.

Watching, one felt the uniqueness of America. Nothing like it could have happened in any other country.

The uniqueness and the size of America. For another striking aspect of the proceeding was the way the 38 members of the Judiciary Committee reflected the diversity of this huge country. There were the voices of Texas and New Jersey, California and Indiana—black and white, conservative and liberal, smooth and rough.

"You know, we are the people of the United States," said Walter Flowers of Alabama. It was one of many genuinely moving moments. Those in the national audience could see themselves in that committee: a group of people intensely American, with all the imperfections and dignity intact.

The members were the more touching because there was in them none of the consciousness of superstar status that commonly affects Senators. They seemed rather ordinary men and women, but repeatedly they rose above the ordinary to speak with a quiet passion and conviction.

The chairman, Peter Rodino of New Jersey, set the elevated tone with his opening statement calling on the committee to proceed "in good will, with honor and decency and



Walter Flowers
Democrat
Alabama

"And . . . what if we fail to impeach? Do we ingrain forever in the very fabric of our Constitution a standard of conduct in our highest office that in the least is deplorable and at worst is impeachable?"

with respect for the views of one another." There was little rancor, though of course some members were forceful and even caustic in attacking or defending the President.

In the general debate the tone was mostly one of sadness in performing such a duty. Several members seemed near tears in the course of their remarks: Republican Tom Railsback of Illinois, for one, as he expressed his divided feelings: "In my opinion Richard Nixon has done many wonderful things for his country . . . I wish the President could do something to absolve himself . . . I just—I just am very, very concerned."

Republicans understandably felt themselves in the more difficult political posture. Some strongly opposed the impeachment, yet condemned the moral tone of the Nixon White House. Wiley Mayne, Republican of Iowa, put it: "I certainly deplore the sorry example which was set by the chief executive . . . in his personal as well as his official conduct." Trent Lott, Mississippi Republican, was alone in calling Mr. Nixon "in many ways the best President" in a century.

Then, as the committee turned to debating the specific articles of impeachment, partisan attacks and parliamentary maneuvers began. Those Republicans opposing impeachment demanded more "specifics" in the words of the articles. Their effort was really designed not to improve the form of words but to divide the proponents over what particulars to include. The committee majority worked to hold its forces together, especially the half-dozen Republicans favoring impeachment but worried by their colleagues' sniping.

And then, yesterday, the committee returned to a more amiable and businesslike mood as it went through the language of the first proposed article and the supporting facts. The changes of mood may well have bewildered the television audience, but they were all part of the way the House of Representatives and its committees do their work.

Underneath the emotion and the tactics, the partisanship and soul-searching, there developed in the week's debates a number of issues and themes. They are likely to continue as major points of controversy in the debate on the floor of the House and then, if it comes to that, in the Senate trial.



Charles Wiggins
Republican
California

"The law requires that we decide the case on the evidence. . . . Most of this is just material. It is not evidence. . . . Simple theories, of course, are inadequate. That's not evidence. . . ."

The most fundamental question is that of standards: What grounds and what evidence are required to impeach a President? It is a complicated question, mixing the general with the particular, the philosophical with the factual.

A first stage in that argument is defining the "high crimes and misdemeanors" specified in the Constitution as the basis for impeachment. Mr. Nixon's lawyer, James St. Clair, had argued that only a serious indictable crime would do. Most scholarly opinion took the broader view that a grave violation of the public trust vested in the President should be the occasion for impeachment.

The St. Clair view had little explicit support on the Judiciary Committee. Most members who discussed the subject took the prevailing historical view of the nature of an impeachable offense. The committee's two articles of impeachment were cast in terms of the President violating his oath of office, first by obstructing justice and second by abuse of power, and then enumerated specifics—some criminal in nature, some not.

But Mr. St. Clair's approach still had important echoes in the committee deliberations. They appeared in the discussion of the "specifics" and of the evidence.

The argument made most forcefully by Republican opponents of impeachment was that there was not enough evidence linking Mr. Nixon personally to either the alleged obstruction of justice or the various abuses of power listed. Thus the man generally reckoned Mr. Nixon's ablest defender, Charles Wiggins of California, used his opening time for a detailed and skillful argument that "there were misdeeds," such as attempts to misuse the I.R.S., but ones traceable only to John Dean or H. R. Haldeman or some other



Barbara Jordan
Democrat
Texas

"My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total, and I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the diminution, the subversion, the destruction of the Constitution."

—not to the President himself

There were lots of crimes committed by lots of people," said another vigorous Nixon defender, Charles Sandman of New Jersey. "But were they placed at the door of the President? I do not think so."

Similarly, some Republicans complained of the volume of "circumstantial" evidence, not direct testimony. David Dennis of Indiana dismissed it as mostly "hearsay" that "will not do" at a Senate trial.

Those who favored impeachment, of course, disputed the claim of insufficient evidence. William Cohen, Republican of Maine, said all criminal lawyers knew that circumstantial evidence was as good as any other: If a man woke up and saw snow covering the ground, he knew it had snowed although he had not actually seen the snow fall. John Seiberling, Ohio Democrat, put it: "I know of corporate executives who have pled guilty and in some cases have gone to jail when there was only a small fraction of the evidence of their complicity that is before us in this case."

Proponents of impeachment mentioned such particulars as Mr. Nixon's promise to Harry Petersen of the Justice Department that he would keep grand jury secrets to himself—followed immediately by his disclosing them to a prime suspect, H. R. Haldeman, and then by his giving Mr. Haldeman tapes to hear. Again, there was much mention of Mr. Nixon's listening with apparent approval to tales of how the Internal Revenue Service was being pressured to get the President's "enemies."

But a further point, never exactly articulated, was that the standard of evidence required might well differ if one looked at this proceeding as measuring abuses of public trust. For then it would be enough if the President knew of crimes or abuses and failed to see to their legal correction. It was enough for Republican M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, for example, to conclude that Mr. Nixon had "condoned and encouraged" misuse of the I.R.S.

As the impeachment process continues, it seems likely that Mr. Nixon's defenders will continue to talk in the narrowest possible terms of criminal cases, criminal standards of proof, criminal responsibility. The other side will main-



Charles Sandman
Republican
New Jersey

"Now . . . maybe I overlooked something. Maybe there is a tie-in with the President. . . . Give me that information. Give it to 202 million Americans. Because up to this moment, you haven't."

tain that those standards are amply met—but will also, to a degree, argue James Madison's view that a President is responsible for wrongdoing all around him, at least on the massive scale found by the committee in this case.

A second issue of importance is political in the large sense—whether removing Mr. Nixon, whatever his wrongs, will be good for the country.

"Any prosecution [in the Senate] is going to divide this country," Mr. Dennis said. Mr. Mayne argued that past Presidents had done bad things, too, and had not been impeached.

To that Lawrence Hogan of Maryland, a Republican favoring impeachment, replied that other Presidents may have erred, "but I was not in a position where I had to take a stand, where I approve or disapprove of blatant wrongdoing." Mr. Butler said a failure to impeach would have "frightening implications for the future" because it would have set so low a standard of conduct for Presidents. A third Republican for impeachment, Harold Froelich of Wisconsin, put it: "Past misconduct cannot logically justify more of the same."

It may have seemed somewhat unfair to the Northern liberal Democrats on the committee that so much attention focused on their Republican and Southern Democratic colleagues. But the latter did have the harder struggle of politics and conscience, and their views could have great influence now in the full House and Senate.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
Sunday, July 28, 1974

Vote Not Expected To Hurt Butler Bid

By James Latimer

Can a Republican congressman who votes for impeachment expect to win reelection this year in the congressional district that was Virginia's most pro-Nixon district in 1972?

This was one variation of a practical political question posed after Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th District on Thursday took his stand firmly and eloquently, if reluctantly, in favor of the impeachment of Richard Nixon.

The tentative answer suggested yesterday by sources inside and outside the Roanoke-Lynchburg-lower Shenandoah Valley district was clearly affirmative.

How does that happen in a district where Nixon polled nearly 73 percent of the presidential vote while Butler was polling 55 per cent of the votes cast for Congress?

No Pro-Nixon Foe

Part of the explanation may be, as an observer in the Roanoke area noted, that Butler is NOT faced with a pro-Nixon opponent on the Nov. 5 ballot. He also has prepared his constituents by a policy of great candor in keeping them informed of the impeachment issues enmeshing him as a member of the House Judiciary Committee.

Butler shares the 6th District ballot with three opponents: Democrat Paul Puckett of Roanoke, who was out strongly for impeachment long before Butler; Warren D. Saunders of



AP Wirephoto

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler
Was Outpolled by Nixon

Bedford, whose American party associates long have been critical of the Nixon regime, and Timothy A. McGay of Goshen, an independent who has said his prime interest is in conservation but has NOT indicated that that includes the conservation of Nixon as President.

Butler's nationally televised exposition of why he felt compelled to favor impeachment stirred up some irate Nixonites to vow they'd never vote for Butler again. They are believed to be very few — at least, by Nov. 5, it seems probable very few will feel moved to vote for a Butler opponent. They may be offset by Democrats and independents impressed by the Butler demonstration of candor and courage.

Among those who didn't think Butler had hurt his reelection

chances, Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., though sticking to the presumption that President Nixon is innocent until proved guilty, said he would have "No adverse comment" on the Butler stand.

"Naturally he's concerned, as we all are, about whether the President will have to be impeached," Godwin told a UPI reporter, "And naturally you can't please everybody."

The governor also told another reporter he doubted that the impeachment proceedings would prove to be a decisive factor in any of the seven Virginia districts where Republican incumbents face Democratic challengers in the 1974 congressional elections.

Other observers wondered, however, if developments between now and Nov. 5 might not change this appraisal. If the House impeaches, and the Senate tries the President, the trial probably would be going on throughout the autumn campaigning. Whichever way they vote on impeachment, seven Republicans running for reelection thus might be subjected to unpredictable consequences from presently unforeseeable evidence. It could be, as one of the seven has said, a no-win situation for some of the Virginia GOP incumbents — meaning that an imponderable number of voters may be alienated by a vote either for or against impeachment.

Though Butler's 6th District gave Nixon his largest majority

Continued on Page 4, Col. 1

Butler Stand May Not Hurt

Continued From First Page

in percentage terms of any of Virginia's 10 congressional districts in 1972, other districts may be more volatile in their reactions to the Nixon-impeachment-Watergate emotional complex. Other Virginia congressmen, therefore, may encounter more political difficulties because of their impeachment stances than the first Virginia incumbent to announce his impeachment intentions.

It now appears that more White House tapes may somehow be made public before election day — in the Senate trial or via court proceedings. What if these tapes served conclusively either to prove President Nixon guilty or innocent?

Poster

Feeling at Home In the House

A Commentary

By Nicholas von Hoffman

The television lights make the place look like a Las Vegas gaming room where the sun never rises and the people never leave. That is how many of them in the Judiciary Committee room must feel. A staff person remarks in sympathy that Doar has lost weight and Don Edwards of California pulls down the bags under his eyes to indicate fatigue.

But Albert Jenner, who is 67 years old, has on a bright pair of argyle socks while he gives off an energetic equanimity. During a recess he puts his committee papers in what is suspected of being a genuine Mark Cross briefcase while he explains that his years as a trial attorney have taught him not to leave such stuff around, and then, in answer to a question, says yes, it's true, he wouldn't be surprised if he had three hundred bow ties. "I've kept every one since high school. I have fat ones and thin ones. You can't wear the same one often."

Jenner is the Republican counsel who was moved

over to the Democratic side of the committee's legal staff for failing to defend the President. But that's a task no one has been able to accomplish. There are no defense witnesses, no defense offerings of evidence. Other than one snippet of tape offered by Mr. St. Clair, they do not exist. No more than there is a defense theory of the case, a defense alternative explanation.

Everybody, or nearly everybody, loves Jenner. It is whispered that he is the most brilliant trial lawyer in the country, a giant in the profession and that when the drama begins in the Senate he will present the House of Representatives' case. The radiclib affection for Jenner is the most extreme case of our generally going cow-eyed over the Republicans who want to impeach the President. Some of us have discovered in Hogan of Maryland, a man for whom we didn't have a decent word two weeks ago, an incisive mind and bed-rock honesty. And when M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, who looks even more like the kindly old judge in the

flesh than he does on TV, offers Mary McGrory his Coke, we come near to a choke.

There is much talk about the system really working, really though, and what a marvelous thing the House of Representatives is, and, oh, snobs that we are, how the caliber of the minds and morals to be found therein are really much higher than is customarily thought. At the coffee break private references are made to the solemnity of the occasion that are almost as lead-footed as what some of the congressmen have said before the cameras.

We must be forgiven if skeptics gulp and get teary. The need to believe in the elected representatives of the people is great just now when we are decapitating a President. Nevertheless, the imagination strains at dressing them up in Colonial costumes, at turning the two-tiered room into a legislative Williamsburg. Putting

See COMMENTARY, B16, Col. 3

COMMENTARY

Feeling at Home

COMMENTARY, From B1

a powdered white wig on Thornton of Arkansas, who is considered to have either a bad barber or a terribly cheap hair piece, might help, but we wouldn't want to lose Congressman Wiggins' marcel and Barbara Jordan wouldn't work at all. She was not one of We the People back then. Henry Smith of New York would look splendid if frozen in oil and framed in gold, but the costumers fantasy will do less for New Jersey's Joe Maraziti, this summer's Sen. Montoya, the man the Nixonites yield to whenever they've run out of arguments but not out of time.

On this day, the news of John Connally's indictment has just come out. The sum involved is only \$10,000. Someone in the corridor disbelieves that the old bag of Texas drawl could have done it. "Why, the door-knobs in his place cost more than that." So many indictments and jailings, and in the room Kissinger's name comes up again. Although there is less zeal to nail him than the Haldemans and the Ehrlichmans, the thought strikes that he may no longer be able to extricate himself, but if he does go down with his colleagues it will be over illicit wire tapping, not unlawful bombing.

At this rate every lamp post on Pennsylvania Avenue will be decorated with one of the President's men. Not that the spirit in the room is especially vengeful. It is impossible to picture a man like Donohue of Massachusetts with that look of a benign, embalmed bulldog taking part in a lynching, yet a process of some sort is under way and, even though the rules of parliamentary procedures are followed with punctillio, no one can control who gets threshed and thrashed.

The debate continues, the yieldings and the moving and the objectings, the pretty young women with the serious faces (the House comelies) fetch papers and bring around glossies of the committee to be autographed like the team baseball. Some of the members are as good as they look, others are batting way over their heads reading words written by others for them, but the whole story is getting out to the whole people, all he did and how he did it is getting through and it will end him.

Panel Urges Impeachment For Obstruction of Justice

27-11 Vote

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee recommended Saturday night that Richard M. Nixon be impeached for violating his trust as 37th President of the United States.

The vote was 27 to 11 on a nine-part article of impeachment accusing the Republican chief executive of having "prevented, obstructed, and impeded the administration of justice" in the Watergate coverup.

The formal roll call in the hushed committee room came just moments after the 38 members had, by a similarly wide margin, adopted an amendment refining the charges against Nixon.

All 21 Democrats were joined by 6 Republicans in affirming the article. Eleven Republicans opposed it.

Thus, for only the second time in the Republic's 198 years, a committee of Congress recommended removal of the nation's highest officer.

The article concluded:

"... Richard M. Nixon has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury to the people of the United States.

"Wherefore, Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office."

Following the action, the committee recessed until 10:30 a.m. EDT Monday.

Action was still to come on yet another — and perhaps more — impeachment articles. A timetable established by congressional leaders calls for the full House to decide the issue by the end of August.

A majority of the House would be required to place Nixon on trial in the Senate, where a two-thirds vote is necessary to convict and remove him from office.

The committee had debated for four days, sometimes courtly, sometimes contentious, as Americans watched on television or listened on radio. Earlier, the 38-member panel of lawyers and their staff of more than 100 had spent six months privately amassing volume after volume of evidence.

Finally, the first of the climactic votes on impeachment came at twilight on a sultry summer Saturday.

The 61-year-old President, reelected 20 months ago with the largest popular vote ever, has proclaimed his innocence throughout the scandal, born two years ago when agents of his campaign burglarized and bugged the national headquarters of the Democratic Party.

Nixon, who was described by a spokesman Saturday as following the committee's proceedings "very closely," has vowed to fight the case in the House and, if necessary, in the Senate.

7/28/77
The President was across the continent, at his home on a California bluff overlooking the Pacific, when the committee acted.

Hours earlier, Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said Nixon had no plan to speak out "at this point" but remained confident the House would reject the impeachment recommendation after examining the issues "with an open mind."

Rep. Charles E. Wiggins, R-Calif., essentially summed up the position of Nixon defenders when he declared in one exchange: "There are plenty of misdeeds by others but unless we attribute them to the President they are not impeachable offenses."

Impeachment advocates spent their day mostly reciting details of evidence rather than with the broader denunciations.

See Page A-4, Col. 1

Text of Impeachment Articles —
Page A-2

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Times Staff Photo

Mrs. June Butler Watches Husband on TV. Story on Page B-1

Butler Votes for Article 1

Roanoke Times 7/28/74

BY JACK BETZ

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Virginia, an ardent conservative and staunch Republican, Saturday cast two votes to impeach the President of the United States.

Butler, Virginia's only member of the House Judiciary Committee, cast voice votes shortly after 7 p.m. finding the President guilty of obstruction of justice. Butler voted for a substitute amendment offered by Rep. Paul Sarbanes, D-

Maryland to an original article of impeachment and then cast his final vote in favor of the obstruction of justice charge.

Butler, like most members of the committee cast his vote in a lowered voice that was barely perceptible in the crowded but almost deathly quiet hearing room in the massive Rayburn Office Building.

Later, asked how he felt as he cast a vote against the president and the leader of his party, Butler replied gently, "How would you feel."

Obviously overcome with emotion by his historic vote, in which he was joined by five other committee Republicans, Butler said, "Just say that I don't want to talk about it for a little while."

The committee spent nearly four hours Saturday afternoon debating amendments to the proposed article.

Butler joined several of his colleagues in consistently rejecting attempts to strike seven of the nine counts in the obstruction of justice article.

At one point he recited the evidence in support of one charge of condoning and counseling witnesses to give false or misleading statements to lawfully authorized investigative officers of the United States.

Today Butler appears with Rep. Ray Thornton, D-Ark., on the CBS network program, "Face the Nation." It can be seen in the Roanoke area on Channel 7 at 12:30 p.m.

JULY 28, 1974

Impeachment

THE NEWS

Recommended

7/28/74

27 To 11 Vote By Committee

By DONALD M. ROTHBERG

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee recommended Saturday night that Richard M. Nixon be impeached as 37th President of the United States for having "prevented, obstructed, and impeded administration of justice" in the Watergate coverup.

Their faces grim, the committee of lawyers voted 27 to 11 to approve a nine-part article accusing the Republican chief executive of violating his "constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed..."

Roll Call Vote

The formal roll call in the hushed committee room came just moments after the 38 members had, by a similarly wide margin, adopted an amendment refining the charges against Nixon.

All 21 Democrats were joined by 6 Republicans in affirming the article. Eleven Republicans opposed it.

Thus, for only the second time in the Republic's 198 years, a committee of Congress recommended removal of the nation's highest officer.

Outcome Announced

The outcome was announced by Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., at precisely 7:05 p.m. EDT.

His words were swift and formal: "Pursuant to the resolution, Article One of that resolution is adopted and reported to the House."

Caldwell Vote

Republicans who approved the impeachment recommendation were Reps. Thomas F. Railsback of Illinois, Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York, Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, William S. Cohen of Maine and Harold V. Froehlich of Wisconsin.

The article concluded:

"Richard M. Nixon has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest in-

jury to the people of the United States.

"Wherefore, Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office."

Following the action, the committee recessed until 10:30 a.m. EDT Monday.

Action was still to come on See IMPEACHMENT, A-8

President Following Impeachment Debate

SAN CLEMENTE, Calif. (AP) — Winding up a 16-day stay at the Western White House, President Nixon was described Saturday as following the House Judiciary Committee impeachment proceedings "very closely" but determined to devote his time to presidential duties.

In describing Nixon's mood, Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said the President had no plans to speak out on the impeachment debate "at this point."

Ziegler said Nixon is feeling fine, and the press secretary reasserted his belief that if the Judiciary Committee sends a bill of impeachment to the House of Representatives, the House will not vote to impeach after examining the matter "with an open mind."

He continued to maintain "there is no evidence to support the allegations."

Ziegler said the President was returning to Washington this afternoon and had no specific schedule yet for the week ahead in Washington. The press secretary said he would not rule out the possibility that Nixon might go to the Camp David, Md., mountain retreat where he earlier reviewed Watergate-related tape recordings of presidential conversations that became evidence in the impeachment proceedings and Watergate cover-up trials.

THE NEWS

7/28/74

Impeachment Of Nixon Recommended

Continued From A-1

yet another — and perhaps more — impeachment articles. A timetable established by congressional leaders calls for the full House to decide the issue by the end of August.

A majority of the House would be required to place

Nixon on trial in the Senate, where a two-thirds vote is necessary to convict and remove him from office.

Four-Day Debate

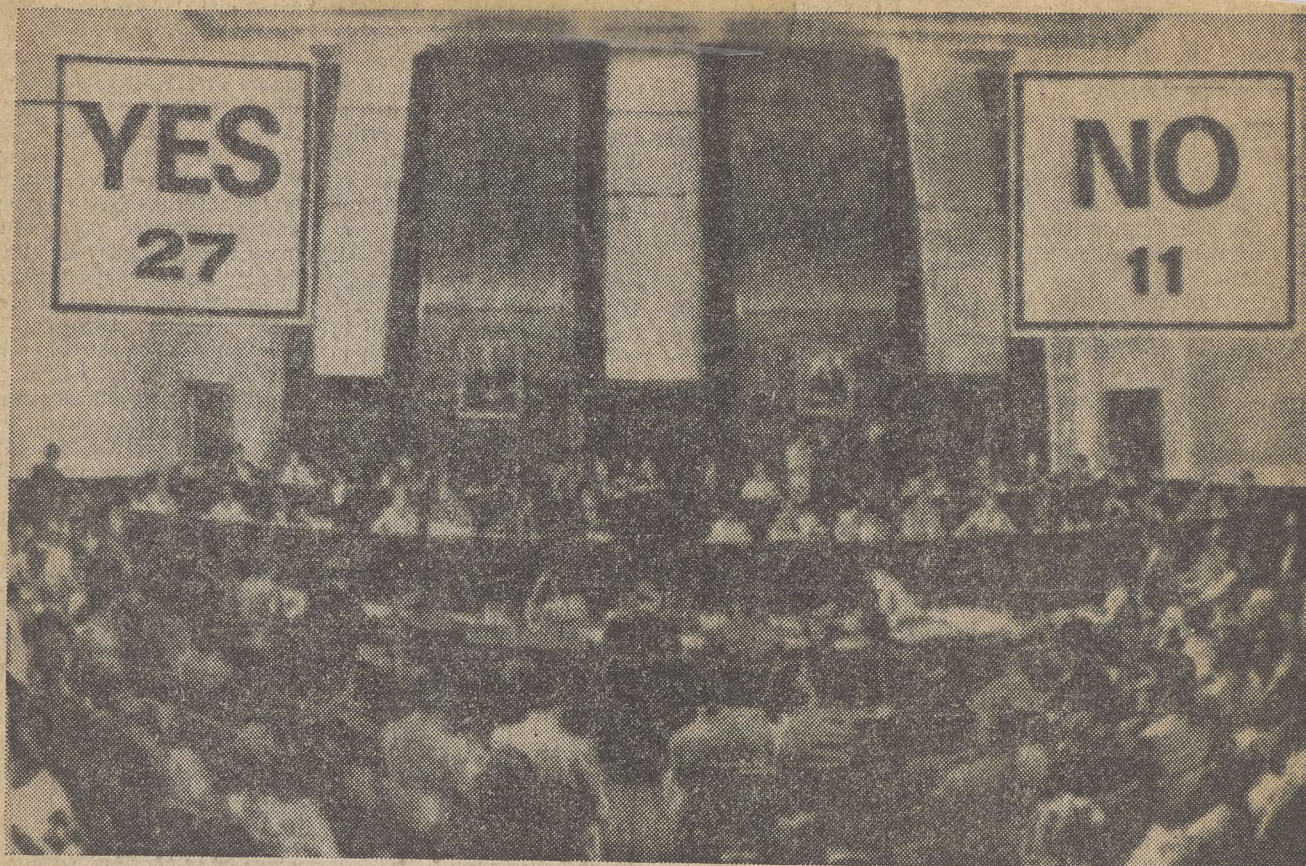
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Americans watched on television or listened on radio. Earlier, the 38-member panel of lawyers and their staff of more than 100 had spent six months privately amassing volume after volume of evidence.

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AP Photo

View of House Judiciary Committee During the Impeachment Debate Saturday

Butler Votes for Article 1

James
7/28/74
front pg -

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

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Mrs. Butler Proud of Husband — Page A-4

New York Times July 28, 1974

The Momentum to Impeachment

By R. W. APPLE JR.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 27—Only a month ago, the storms of destiny seemed at last to be subsiding for President Nixon. Among the knowledgeable in Washington, the conviction was growing that the impeachment campaign against him

News had spent its momentum; at the White House, it

Analysis was hoped that the vote in the House Judiciary Committee would be close, that the President might even eke out a one-vote victory.

It is now clear that the knowledgeable were wrong, that they mistook a break in the clouds for lasting sunshine. The members of the Judiciary Committee have made their decisions, decisions that leave Mr. Nixon in the minority by almost 3-to-1—a disaster for the President, by any reckoning.

Why was the White House unable to hold the line? And what does that failure portend? The basic White House tactic, and one that seemed last month to be working in the committee, was to paint the issue in purely partisan terms by making the President's cause the Republican cause and hoping that some of the Southern Democrats would go along.

A Fleeting Success

Here as elsewhere, the President's agents appear to have underestimated the committee's chairman, Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., Democrat of New Jersey. Rather than buckling when polarization set in, he persevered in patience and flexibility, yielding on several points to James D. St. Clair, Mr. Nixon's counsel.

Having won what turned out to be a fleeting success, the White House pressed on. It pressed too far, in fact, offending the Congressional sense of institution.

These dozen swing votes were offended when Ronald L. Ziegler, the Presidential press secretary, described the committee's proceedings as a "kangaroo court," and by White attacks on the majority counsel, John M. Doar, who had won the respect if not the firm support of most of them.

They were offended when Mr. St. Clair, in his final summation, put before the committee what he described as an exculpatory portion of a tape recording—a recording that the committee had been seeking in its entirety for several months.

And some of the undecided Republicans were offended when Representative Charles E. Wiggins, Republican of California, who has been serving as an unofficial Administration straw boss on the committee, predicted that no Republican member would support impeachment.

Spread Too Thin

In part, some White House officials believe, errors were committed because Mr. St. Clair was spread too thin after his associate, J. Fred Buzhardt Jr., had a heart attack. But the errors were also in keeping with a pattern of counterproductive Administration attacks seen earlier in the struggle over the Supreme Court nomination of G. Harrold Carswell.

The weight of the evidence worked against Mr. Nixon in a number of ways in the decisive weeks.

There were a few damaging final disclosures. Representative Tom Railsback, Republican of Illinois, for example, was propelled toward a proimpeachment vote, by evidence that Mr. Nixon had condoned misuse of the Internal Revenue Service.

But the collation and publication of evidence that the committee had already known about was equally crucial.

Not only did the evidence somehow seem more weighty to many of the undecided members when it was organized into a coherent whole; its appearance in newspapers and on television also helped to recreate a sense of momentum toward impeachment that communicated itself to the members. As one of them said, it is harder to cast a politically dangerous vote "when you don't feel that you're part of the tide of history."

That is not to say that the wavering members made their judgments solely on a political basis. Certainly not Representative James R. Mann, Democrat of South Carolina, in whose district Mr. Nixon is nearly as popular today as when he won 80 per cent of the vote there two years ago. And certainly not Representative M. Caldwell Butler, Republican of Virginia, who has impressed his peers as a man impervious to pressures.

Peripheral Events

As is so often the case in Congress the votes in the committee were an amalgam of personality, tactics and issues. On this occasion, there was another element that may have counted—peripheral events.

By the account of several of the formerly uncommitted members, the conviction of John D. Ehrlichmann, Mr. Nixon's onetime chief domestic adviser, implied to them that Mr. Nixon must have been involved. Representative Robert McClory, Republican of Illinois, cried when he heard the news.

Similarly the pattern of questioning by the Justices of the Supreme Court and then, at the last minute, the decision of the Court in the Presidential tapes case, helped in a vague way to cause Mr. Nixon's defense to fall into disrepute.

The almost universal expectation among House members familiar with the situation is that the full House of Representatives will approve a bill of impeachment late next month, barring some major national or international upheaval. Mr. Wiggins, for example, now talks regularly about "when the Senate trial begins," rather than "if."

Events of the last week in the committee have contributed to that outlook.

If the three Southern Democrats on the committee had come down against impeachment, relatively few Southerners would have been expected to support it in the House. As things turned out, however, Mr. Nixon may retain as few

as two dozen Southern Democratic supporters.

Many observers believe that the actions of Representative Ray Thornton, Democrat of Arkansas, a committee member, indicate that Representative Wilbur D. Mills, another Arkansas Democrat, will back impeachment.

Mr. Mills, Mr. Thornton's mentor, has enough weight in the House to influence a number of votes.

Vote Estimate Revised

By the same token, the decisions of Representatives McClory and Lawrence J. Hogan, Republican of Maryland, to support at least one article of impeachment are likely to produce Republican votes on the floor. Mr. McClory's seniority and record of party regularity will impress some colleagues, and Mr. Hogan's conservatism others.

Whereas Republican liberals were saying two weeks ago that there would be no more than 25 proimpeachment votes from their party, mostly drawn from the ranks of the liberal Wednesday group, they now believe that as many as 45 or 50 are possible.

Thus, with a 248-to-147 Democratic margin in the House, a majority of 80 votes for impeachment—even without any sort of "tidal wave" effect—is expected.

That would never have been possible if the committee had divided narrowly along partisan or regional lines. Because almost 40 per cent of the committee members from the President's party, and all but one of the Southern Members, decided to back impeachment, such action has gained a kind of legitimacy that will count for much on the floor.

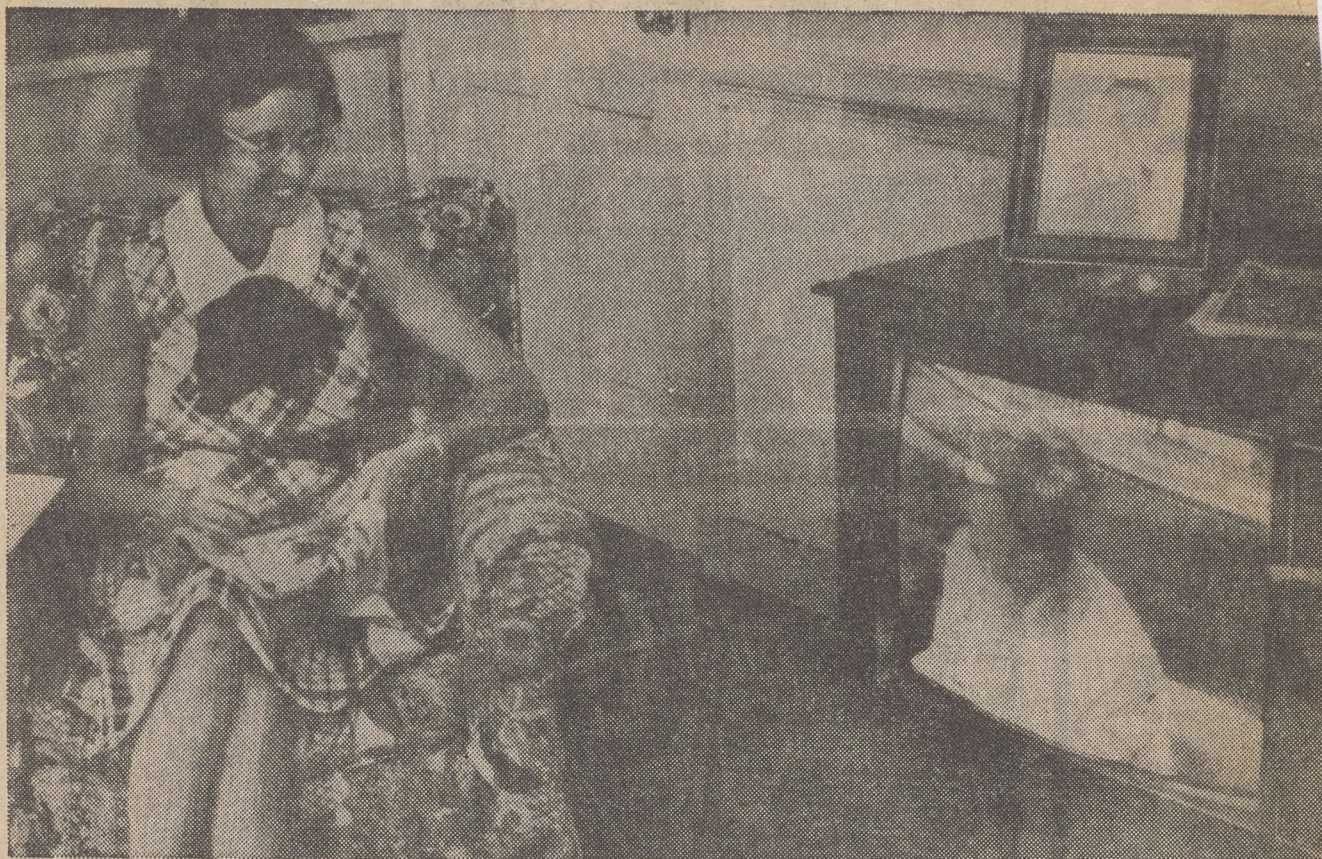
Vice President Ford conceded that point yesterday in Chicago. The defections by committee Republicans, he said, "narrow the odds" against the President's impeachment.

And in the Senate? That, of course, is Mr. Nixon's last line of defense—a line in which he has reposed a good deal of confidence, partly because it will take a two-thirds vote to convict him, partly because he has so many conservative Democratic allies there.

But there are elements that could undercut his position. An overwhelming house vote of course. Or damning evidence from the 64 White House conversations now available to the courts, which may become public before the trial. Or, as Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, suggested, Presidential defiance of Senate subpoenas.

"I would think," said the laconic majority leader, "that some of my conservative colleagues might rebel if the President dealt with them the same way he has dealt with the committee."

It could be as close as it was for Andrew Johnson.



Mrs. June Butler Watches Husband on TV

Times Staff Photo

After Congressman's Vote, She Thinks of 'Enemies'

By DONNA SHOEMAKER
Times Staff Writer

M. Caldwell Butler's main sounding board sat in her Roanoke living room, her eyes fixed on her husband and the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment debate Saturday afternoon on the T.V., and commented that she and Butler might be on President Nixon's "enemies list."

June Butler smiled and said that Caldwell would add to that, "at this point, it's safer than the friends list."

In these past few days, when the firm support of Butler has shifted to a position favoring the impeachment of the President, Mrs. Butler has been watching the proceedings on their color television, and keeping in close touch by telephone with him and their 17-year-old son, Jimmy.

Jimmy has been in Washington this week with his Dad, sitting on the 15-minute debate during which the 6th District Republican said he would support two articles of impeachment. Jimmy has alternated the one seat allotted per committee member in the hearing room with Butler's staff.

For her part, Mrs. Butler said, she was glad to be at home watching it all, working on a crewel embroidery bell hanger and a jig-saw puzzle.

His speech Thursday came as a surprise to her, since when she had talked to him earlier that morning, he was still uncertain as to what to say. But watching it with her family, she was "very proud of his performance."

What led to her husband's changing his mind, she theorized, "was not so much

an avalanche as one continuous snowfall of evidence."

As she watched her husband Saturday afternoon go down a list of what the President did and did not know about the break-in, she told an interviewer, "he's pinpointing what the President knew and didn't rise up in righteous indignation about—and that's what got to him."

"In the beginning, his feelings went first one way and then another, almost like a clock," but what brought around Butler's thinking, his wife continued, was the accumulation of evidence.

She, too, has become absorbed with the evidence, and though she has not read all the volumes, she has read with particular care the volume that detailed the differences in the President's version and the Judiciary Committee's versions of the President's tapes.

"I read that book in its entirety—I was so shocked. I was 'I taking notes and marking pages.'"

Her reading of books this week brought her into the national news spotlight when she was quoted as saying she read to Caldwell in bed from Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein's book on Watergate, "All the President's Men."

She explained Saturday, "I approve of bedtime reading, and that's just as good as Little Red Riding Hood." She had read to him from "Zelda" the week before, and a book on Kissinger before that. Her own views on impeaching Nixon paralleled those of her husband, she said. "I hate to do it—he has been a very warm, kind person" in all their personal meetings. And

though it has been "hard to accept the facts that came out in the tapes," she has done it.

Watching each of the committee members during their 15-minute debates this week, she was impressed with the "statesmen making their statements."

But as the debate grew more intricate, with the refinement of the impeachment articles, she said she felt the statesmen "were returning to their natural state of being politicians-lawyers," making following the debate more difficult.

Her own interest in Watergate sprang right from the beginning. Shortly after the Democratic National Headquarters were broken into more than two years ago, she and her husband were attending a seminar for the new Republican candidates. Quite mysteriously, 7 of the speakers that week were cancelled, Mrs. Nixon cancelled a tea, and the President cancelled his reception, Mrs. Butler said.

It left her puzzled since no explanations were offered. At the end of that week, Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, one of the cancelled speakers, resigned.

And come November, if he is not re-elected, then at least it has been "a brief but bright two years,"—and especially the past few weeks—when she has seen her husband make a decision that has brought him into national prominence in the impeachment proceedings.

The reaction of friends to Butler's stance has generally been favorable, and those who have disagreed have done so politely—except for a few crank calls, she added.

Roll Call Vote

7/28/74

WASHINGTON (AP) — Here is the 27 to 11 roll call vote by which the House Judiciary Committee adopted an article recommending impeachment of President Nixon on grounds of obstructing justice.

By an identical vote, the committee earlier accepted the impeachment language proposed by Rep. Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md., as a substitute to an article of impeachment motion originally offered by Rep. Harold P. Donohue, D-Mass.

For The Article: 27

Democrats for: 21.

Donohue, Mass.; Brooks, Tex.; Kastenmeier, Wis.; Edwards, Calif.; Hungate, Mo.

Conyers, Mich.; Eilberg, Pa.; Waldie, Calif.; Flowers, Ala.; Mann, S.C.

Sarbanes, Md.; Seiberling, Ohio; Danielson, Calif.; Drinan, Mass.; Rangel, N.Y.

Jordan, Tex.; Thornton, Ark.; Holtzman, N.Y.; Owens,

(See ROLL, A-8, Col. 1)



— AP Wirephoto

WITH THE CHAIRMAN — Rep. Paul Sarbanes, D-Md., confers with Chairman Peter Rodino, D-N.J., right, during recess of House Judiciary Committee's hearing on articles of impeachment in Washington Saturday.

Roll Call Vote

Continued From A-1

Utah, Mezvinsky, Iowa; Rodino, N.J.

Republicans for: 6.

Railsback, Ill.; Fish, N.Y.; Hogan, Md.; Butler, Va.; Cohen, Maine.; Froehlich, Wis.;

Republicans against: 11.

Hutchinson, Mich.; McClory,

Ill.; Smith, N.Y.; Sandman, N.J.; Wiggins, Calif.

Dennis, Ind.; Mayne, Iowa; Lott, Miss.; Moorhead, Calif.; Maraziti, N.J.; Latta, Ohio.

REP. BUTLER TO APPEAR ON CBS SHOW

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, who recently gave tentative support to the impeachment of President Nixon, is scheduled to appear on the television program Face the Nation today at 12:30 p.m.

Butler will appear for the question and answer session with Rep. Ray Thornton of Arkansas, also serving on the House Judiciary Committee.

The program can be seen locally on Channel 7.

THE NEWS
7/28/74



'PERSUADABLES'—GOP members of the House Judiciary Committee who may vote for impeachment are,

Los Angeles Times

Wed., July 24, 1974—Part I 27



from the left, Reps. Butler, Cohen, Fish, Railsback, McClory, Smith, Sandman, Dennis, Mayne and Froehlich.

(AP) photos

The Moment of Truth Nears for 38 on Impeachment Panel

BY JACK NELSON
and PAUL HOUSTON
Times Staff Writers

WASHINGTON — Long before they had heard the evidence in the impeachment inquiry, Walter Flowers and M. Caldwell Butler emphasized how crucial they considered their votes on whether to recommend that President Nixon be impeached.

Flowers, an Alabama Democrat whose district voted overwhelmingly in 1972 to reelect Mr. Nixon, said, "This is the only vote I'll ever be remembered for and it would not be fair to my family or to myself if I did not cast my vote on the basis of the evidence."

Butler, a Virginia Republican whose district also voted overwhelmingly to reelect Mr. Nixon, bristled when a reporter at a meeting he addressed suggested that political considerations might influence his decisions.

"I would like to get my constituency and my conscience together," Butler declared. "But if I can't, I'll just have to vote my conscience. The job is not worth voting against my conscience."

As members of the House Judiciary Committee, Flowers and Butler, together with their 36 colleagues, are approaching the moment of truth when they must vote "aye" or "nay" on articles of impeachment against the President of the United States.

Debate on proposed articles opens today at 4:30 p.m. PDT with live television coverage, the first time the committee has opened its hearings to the public since it began receiving evidence on May 9.

Throughout the hearings, Flowers and Butler have said their consciences will be their guide. But not all of the committee members feel that political considerations should be brushed aside.

Rep. Charles E. Wiggins (R-Calif.), who has been the committee's most outspoken challenger of the case against the President, contends that the ultimate decision on whether to recommend impeachment will be a political one.

Wiggins says the committee's hearings necessarily began on a political footing, with the majority composed largely of members who oppose the President and the minority made up mostly of members who support him.

Even if a member concluded that Mr. Nixon had committed an impeachable offense, Wiggins said, he still would have to make the political decision of whether the President should be ousted from office because of the offense.

In a presentation which he described as emphasizing the politics in impeachment with "a capital P," Sam Garrison, a minority counsel, told the committee Monday that impeachment "is not a narrow question of what the President did on a particular date or whether there was complicity in a crime, but whether the public interest will be served or disserved by removal of the President from office."

The committee is composed of 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans, all lawyers. Among them are four ex-FBI agents, nine former prosecutors — and four poets, including chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D-N.J.).

For a group so large, it is hardly typical of the House of Representatives, its Democrats tending to be more liberal than their colleagues in the House as a whole, its Republicans tending to be more conservative than their GOP colleagues.

Some Democrats, including Rodino, have speculated that the majority will vote solidly to recommend impeachment. Among the Democrats, only Flowers and another Southerner — James R. Mann of South Carolina — are considered possible votes against impeachment.

Rodino has said he believes that at least five Republican votes are needed to make a strong case for endorsement by the full House. A simple majority would be needed in the 435-member House to impeach the President, putting him on trial in the Senate where a two-thirds vote (at least 67 senators) would be needed to convict.

One Republican vote has already been recorded, that of Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, who announced Tuesday he would support impeachment.

The committee majority hopes that at least five pro-impeachment votes will come from what one Democrat called "a pool of persuadeables" among the Republicans.

Rodino says he believes that other Republicans most likely to vote for impeachment are Reps. Butler, William S. Cohen (Me.), Hamilton Fish Jr. (N.Y.), Thomas F. Railsback (Ill.), Robert McClory (Ill.) and Henry P. Smith III (N.Y.).

Some Democrats are saying that several other Republicans now are considered as possible votes for impeachment. They include:

Charles W. Sandman Jr. (N.J.), David W. Dennis (Ind.), Wiley Mayne (Iowa) and Harold Froehlich (Wis.).

The other Republican members generally are described by pro-impeachment Democrats as having "their feet in concrete" in their opposition to impeachment.

They are, in addition to Wiggins, who has been described by a fellow Republican on the committee as "the President's chief defense attorney," Reps. Edward Hutchinson (Mich.), the ranking minority member; Delbert L. Latta (Ohio), Trent Lott (Miss.), Joseph J. Maraziti (N.J.) and Carlos J. Moorhead (Calif.).

When the committee votes on articles of impeachment, the vote will be cast in the same manner that it uses to vote on all business matters. Rodino will cast his vote after all members of both parties have voted. The Democrats will vote first, beginning with the second-ranking member, Rep. Harold D. Donohue (Mass.), and continuing in order of seniority. Hutchinson will cast the first Republican vote, followed by other minority members in order of seniority.

Thumbnail sketches of all members, with Rodino listed first, and other Democrats in order of their seniority and Republicans in their order of seniority follow:

DEMOCRATS

Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. (N.J.), 65, serving his 25th year on the committee, was raised from relative obscurity by what he frequently has described as "the awesome responsibility" of the impeachment inquiry.

The chairman has been credited by committee Republicans as well as Democrats with guiding the inquiry in an even-handed manner.

Following a policy of compromise, Rodino has kept partisan wrangling to a minimum and hard-liners on both sides of the issue from any serious rebellion.

Under his leadership, the committee gave presidential counsel James D. St. Clair a greater role in the proceedings than the Democrats claimed he deserved under the Constitution, but a smaller role than the Republicans demanded.

As a member of the committee, Rodino helped rewrite the nation's immigration laws and drafted majority reports for important civil rights legislation in the 1950s and 1960s. But he remained a relatively obscure congressman until 1973, when he became chairman.

A 1937 law school graduate of the University of Newark (now Rutgers), Rodino is in his 26th year in the House. He was re-elected with 80% of the vote in 1972 and has only token opposition in the general election this November.

Harold D. Donohue Mass., 73, bachelor, has represented Massachusetts' 3rd District, a manufacturing area around Worcester, the state's second-largest city, since 1946. Donohue, who will retire in January, was unopposed in the 1972 election. The President polled only 46% of the vote in his district in that year.

Donohue keeps a low and occasionally nodding profile. He invariably supports Rodino, who sometimes calls upon him to make motions advanced by the chairman. Donohue served in the Navy during World War II and was a lieutenant commander when he returned to civilian life in 1945.

Americans for Democratic Action and another liberal group that monitors congressional votes, the Committee for Political Education (COPE) of the AFL-CIO, give him a high rating on the liberal scorecard.

Jack Brooks (Tex.), 51, whose criticism of Mr. Nixon is sprinkled with expletives and who has made no secret of his support for impeachment despite the fact the President carried his district by 60% in 1972. Brooks carried it by 66%.

"One of these days," Brooks said recently, "the Republicans are gonna have to sit down to a bullet breakfast, and it's gonna break their (expletive deleted) teeth."

A congressman since 1952, he majored in journalism at the University of Texas, spent two years overseas as a marine in World War II, earned a law degree at Texas, and served in the state legislature. He is a liberal and civil rights advocate. He headed a subcommittee which investigated federal spending at Mr. Nixon's homes in Key Biscayne and San Clemente.

Robert W. Kastenmeier (Wis.), 50, a congressman since 1958, whose voting record is rated a perfect 100 by ADA. He was reelected in 1972 with 69% of the vote, while Mr. Nixon lost the district with 49%.

A 1952 graduate of the University of Wisconsin law school, his district includes the university, a center of liberal and radical student activities.

Kastenmeier was quoted in a recent interview as saying, "Someone voting against impeachment from a district such as mine would get a lot of heat. People are outraged with Mr. Nixon."

There is scant chance Kastenmeier will feel any heat. William Dixon, an attorney on his staff, was the author of memos that cited discrepancies between the White House edited tape transcripts and those of the commit-



POSSIBLY AGAINST—Democrats who may oppose impeachment are Reps. Flowers, on left, and Mann. (AP photos)

tee. The memos were then leaked to the news media.

Don Edwards (Calif.), 59, an ex-FBI agent and former chairman of ADA, perhaps the leading civil libertarian on the committee. He helped persuade Democrats to give St. Clair a relatively broad role in the inquiry and was a leading strategist in keeping the evidentiary hearings closed.

Restrained in his anti-Nixon position through most of the hearings, Edwards opposed releasing committee evidence, contending it violated Mr. Nixon's right to due process of law. Recently, however, he said the evidence showed "criminal activity and misconduct on the part of the President almost since the start of his Administration."

A House member since 1963, he represents the blue collar suburbs of the 9th District (Oakland to San Jose). He got 72% of the vote in the district in 1972, compared to 48% for Mr. Nixon.

William L. Hungate (Mo.), 51, a poet and songwriter and former prosecutor, whose sparks of humor have occasionally brought a note of levity to the otherwise solemn impeachment proceedings.

Moderately liberal, he comes from a largely rural district that gave 65% of its votes to Mr. Nixon in 1972 and reelected Hungate with 67% of the vote.

A 1943 graduate of the University of Missouri, he served as an infantryman in Europe during World War II, then earned a law degree at Harvard in 1948. He was first elected to Congress in 1954.

Commenting on the committee's tapes of presidential conversations, he said, "I think if the public could hear those tapes, perhaps after the children are in bed, that they can form their own judgment."

John Conyers Jr. (Mich.), 45, the first black member of the Judiciary Committee and one of the first congressmen to move for impeachment of Mr. Nixon. He won his Detroit district in 1972 with 88% of the vote. Mr. Nixon polled 14%.

"The way the White House talks about the committee," Conyers says, "I wonder if we're the impeachers or the impeachees."

He voted against a committee letter sent to Mr. Nixon informing him he was in noncompliance with a subpoena. His reason: He felt the letter was not strong enough.

Following Army service in Korea, he earned a law degree at Wayne State University in 1958. He was first elected to Congress in 1964.

Joshua Eilberg (Pa.), 53, a former prosecutor. Relatively shy and soft-spoken, he generated one of the biggest flaps of the inquiry by publicly interpreting evidence on wiretapping as adverse to Sec-

retary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

A former majority leader of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, Eilberg represents the state's middle-income residential 4th District of Philadelphia. He was first elected to Congress in 1966. In 1972 he was reelected with 56% of the vote, compared to 69% for Mr. Nixon.

He majored in economics at the University of Pennsylvania and after graduation in 1941 served as a Navy officer during World War II. He earned a law degree in 1948 at Temple University.

Jerome R. Waldie (Calif.), 49, who sponsored the first impeachment resolution last fall after Mr. Nixon fired Archibald Cox, the first special Watergate prosecutor.

Last April, before the committee began hearings, Waldie said, "What the public already knows sustains the charge that Nixon has committed impeachable offenses."

He represents California's heavily industrial 14th District (most of Contra Costa County), was first elected in 1966 and has regularly won reelection with more than 70% of the vote. He sacrificed a chance for almost certain reelection by running for governor in the Democratic primary this year and finished a distant fifth in a field of seven.

He served as an Army infantryman during World War II, received his law degree from UC Berkeley in 1953 and served 11 years in the California legislature.

Walter Flowers (Ala.), 41, who has come in for considerable attention from Rodino in what the White House would call "stroking" sessions. Rodino is known to believe that Flowers' vote for impeachment is important for the Democrats to put up a solid front in the committee and for articles of impeachment to attract significant support from Southern Democrats on the House floor.

As the evidentiary hearings ended, a reporter asked Flowers how he planned to vote. "I'm in the fork of the tree," he replied, "and I'm not coming down until the roll is called up yonder."

His district reelected him with 85% of the vote in 1972, with Mr. Nixon polling 66%. He earned his law degree at the University of Alabama.

James R. Mann (S.C.), 54, a former prosecutor, who polled 66% of his district's vote in 1972, compared to 80% for Mr. Nixon.

Mann has criticized the President for refusing to relinquish subpoenaed tapes and documents and has defended Rodino against White House charges of bias. He has refrained from commenting on the evidence.

A graduate of the Citadel, he served in the Army in World War II and was

discharged in 1946 as a lieutenant colonel at the age of 26. He earned a law degree at the University of South Carolina in 1947 and practiced law in Greenville, served as a state legislator and a county prosecutor before being elected to Congress in 1968.

Paul S. Sarbanes (Md.), 41, the son of Greek immigrants, a Rhodes scholar and former state legislator who represents the Baltimore suburbs of his state's 3rd District. First elected to Congress in 1970, he was reelected in 1972 with 70% of the district's vote, compared to 67% for Mr. Nixon.

He has not commented on the evidence but has said he believes an impeachable offense does not necessarily have to be a criminal violation.

He was a scholarship recipient at Princeton University where he was a classmate and friend of consumer advocate Ralph Nader. He received a law degree at Harvard in 1960.

John F. Seiberling (Ohio), 55, first elected to Congress in 1970 in a campaign based on peace and environment, reelected with 74% of the vote in 1972 when his district gave Mr. Nixon 49% of the vote.

As he prepared for debating the impeachment issue this week, Seiberling said, "If we find the President has abused his office to the point he has jeopardized the framework of the Constitution, we have to come to a political decision that we cannot permit that conduct or all future Presidents will be allowed to follow that standard and the scheme of the founding fathers will be undermined. We're deciding not an ordinary criminal offense but an offense against the Constitution."

A World War II Army veteran, he was graduated from Harvard in 1941 and from Columbia law school in 1949. He also writes poetry.

George E. Danielson (Calif.), 59, an ex-FBI agent and former assistant federal prosecutor in Los Angeles, who was first elected in 1970 and reelected in 1972 with 63% of the vote. He represents the 29th District, an area of Los Angeles suburbs where electronics and aircraft are major industries. The district gave Mr. Nixon 54% of the vote in 1972.

He has been one of the most active members of the inquiry, leading the effort against permitting St. Clair to turn the investigation into an adversary proceeding. He counseled against citing Mr. Nixon prematurely for contempt, saying, "That's like giving a traffic ticket to a bank robber. We have the greatest enforcement power for our subpoenas known to mankind: impeachment."

After being graduated in 1939 from the University of Nebraska law school, Danielson served as an FBI agent until 1943 when he joined the Navy. He served in the California Legislature from 1962 to 1970.

Robert F. Drinan (Mass.), 53, a Jesuit priest, first elected to Congress in 1970 with only 38% of the vote and reelected in 1972 with 49.6%, compared to 44% for Mr. Nixon.

The first Roman Catholic clergyman to serve in Congress, Father Drinan also was the first member of Congress to call formally for the President's impeachment. An exuberant liberal he has been labeled the "mad monk" by some of his critics in the House.

He holds a law degree from Georgetown law center and is former dean of the Boston College law school.

Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.), 44, a former prosecutor, born and reared in Harlem, first elected to Congress in 1970 after defeating the late Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. in the Democratic primary. The 19th District reelected him by a 96% vote in 1972 when it gave Mr. Nixon 19%.

He first urged an impeachment inquiry in June, 1973.

He served in the Army from 1948 to 1952, was graduated from the New York University school of commerce in 1957 and earned a law degree at St. John's University in 1960. He served as an assistant U.S. attorney, a counsel to the Speaker of the state Assembly and as a state legislator.

Barbara C. Jordan (Tex.), 38, elected in 1972 from Houston's new 18th District, the first black woman elected to Congress from the South. The district, which is 42% black and 20% Mexican-American, gave her 81% of the vote; Mr. Nixon polled 35%.

The articulate Congresswoman has not commented on the evidence but has been outspoken in criticizing the President for refusing to comply with committee subpoenas. Rodino frequently has looked to her for advice and leadership on procedural matters.

A 1956 graduate of Texas Southern University, she has a law degree from Boston University. In 1966 she was elected to the Texas Senate, the only woman in the 30-member body, and four years later was elected its president pro tempore.

Ray Thornton (Ark.) 45, a former Arkansas attorney general, elected in 1972 by an agriculture and timber district which gave 69% of its vote to Mr. Nixon. His colleagues generally expect him to vote for impeachment.

He was graduated from Yale University in 1950 with a degree in political science, served in the Navy during the Korean war and earned a law degree at the University of Arkansas in 1956.

Elizabeth Holtzman (N.Y.), 32, an activist in liberal causes who sued President Nixon last year for bombing Cambodia without the consent of Congress. She is the reason that Rodino, rather than 86-year-old Emanuel Celler, is directing the impeachment inquiry. She upset Celler, a congressman for 49 years and longtime Judiciary Committee chairman, in the 1972 Democratic primary and went on to win election with 66% of the vote in the Brooklyn district. Mr. Nixon polled 46%.

Miss Holtzman has said the evidence shows Mr. Nixon has not lived up to his oath of office. A graduate of Radcliffe College, she earned a law degree at Harvard. She has practiced law in New York and worked on the staff of former Mayor John V. Lindsay.

Wayne Owens (Utah), 37, who was elected in 1972 with 55% of the vote in a district that voted 85% for Mr. Nixon.

A former administrative assistant to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), Owens acknowledges a "built-in antipathy" for Mr. Nixon, but said, "I will vote my own conscience and judgment" on impeachment. He spearheaded the drive that resulted in approval of television coverage for the hearings.

A graduate of the University of Utah, he served as a Mormon missionary from 1957 to 1960. He was Rocky Mountain states coordinator for the late

Robert F. Kennedy's presidential campaign in 1968.

Edward Mezvinsky (Iowa), 37, who campaigned against the Vietnam war and the Nixon Administration in 1972 in unseating Rep. Fred Schwengel (R-Iowa).

A consumer advocate and liberal, Mezvinsky says of the impeachment inquiry, "It is not just Richard Nixon who is on trial here but the Congress and maybe the whole country."

A graduate of the University of Iowa, he has a master's degree in political science and a law degree from UC Berkeley.

Mezvinsky has served in the Iowa Legislature.

REPUBLICANS

Edward Hutchinson (Mich.), 59, first elected to the House in 1963. He is considered a "constituent congressman," a man who has won reelection because of his attention to problems of his district rather than addressing national issues. He is ranking minority member on the committee.

A quiet, conservative man, he has said, "We've only got one President, and impeachment of a President is something the country can't afford."

Hutchinson is the only member of the committee who voted against every one of the subpoenas for White House tapes and documents, arguing in the end that the subpoenas were unenforceable.

One of two millionaires on the committee, Hutchinson represents a largely rural district around the industrial town of Benton Harbor and the residential community of St. Joseph on the Michigan-Indiana border.

Robert McClory (Ill.), 65, came to the House the same year Hutchinson did, but is the second-ranking Republican on the committee because he lost to Hutchinson in a draw for the ranking position.

McClory, however, has been the leader of the Republicans on the committee. He was one of the chief sponsors of Albert E. Jenner Jr. for the minority counsel's job and later became sharply critical of Jenner when he subscribed to the staff arguments for the President's impeachment.

A talkative man whose views on the impeachment question have sometimes seemed to change daily, he has been a supporter of the Nixon legislative programs, voting with the Administration 67% of the time in 1973. His district is in the outer Chicago suburbs.

Henry P. Smith III (N.Y.), 62, a conservative who is retiring at the end of his current term after 10 years in the House. He acknowledges he would like to have a presidential appointment as congressional liaison to the U.S. mission to the United Nations.

Smith has a reputation for integrity among his House colleagues and said he saw no conflict of interest in his desire for a presidential appointment and his upcoming vote on impeachment. He is a graduate of Dartmouth College and the Cornell University law school.

He is considered one of the potential Republican votes for impeachment.

Charles W. Sandman (N.J.), 52, a conservative who has represented a coastal and agricultural district since 1967. He was defeated in a 1973 race for governor, losing his own district, which he had carried by 66% in his 1972 House race.

An Air Corps navigator during World War II, he

Please Turn to Pg. 28, Col. 1

MOMENT OF TRUTH

Continued from 28th Page

20th Congressional race with less than 5,000 votes in 1968, but since then has been reelected by votes of more than 70%.

Wiley Mayne (Iowa), 56, supporter of the Nixon Administration on 70% of his votes, considered a swing vote among Republicans.

He raised the question of how 15 members of the committee who accepted campaign contributions from milk producers could sit in judgment on impeachment charges against Mr. Nixon that include allegations the President raised milk support prices in exchange for contributions from dairy cooperatives.

A former FBI agent, Mayne was elected to Congress on his first try for elective office in 1966. He is a graduate of Harvard University the University of Iowa law school, and is a World War II Navy veteran.

He has shied away from discussion of evidence before the committee, but he has said he believes a President must be guilty of a crime before he can be impeached.

Lawrence J. Hogan (Md.), 45, a philosophical and, until now, politically ally of the President, who announced Tuesday he would vote for impeachment. Hogan, running for governor in Maryland on an anticorruption platform, had been mentioned as a "persuadable" Republican because of the gubernatorial campaign, but he was not generally counted among pro-impeachment votes.

A former FBI agent, Hogan was at the outset of the impeachment inquiry one of the most partisan members on the Republican side. Hogan was born in Boston, the son of a printer. His district is in the Washington suburbs of Prince Georges and Montgomery counties.

M. Caldwell Butler (Va.), 48, a supporter of the Nixon Administration 75% of the time in 1973, but considered a potential vote for impeachment because he has made a distinction between the political and legal aspects of the impeachment inquiry.

Butler, who was elected to the House from a traditionally Republican district in southwest Virginia in 1972, is a former Republican leader in the state Assembly.

Early in the investigation, Butler said, "The time has come to impeach or cease-fire." Considered one of the more capable lawyers on the committee, Butler has acknowledged that the impeachment question weighs heavily upon him. "I find myself thinking about it in church," he said.

William S. Cohen (Me.), 33, a freshman representative, poet, former mayor of Bangor and a former prosecutor.

Cohen is widely expected to cast a pro-impeachment vote, largely because of his liberal tendencies. He comes from a district that is closely divided between Republicans and Democrats. "The outcome is going to be harmful, no matter what," he has said. "So, in the end, I just have to follow my conscience and do what is right."

An all-state basketball player, Cohen majored in Latin at Bowdoin College and studied law at the Boston University law school.

Chester Trent Lott (Miss.), 32, whose Gulf Coast district produced the largest vote for Mr. Nixon of any district in the nation in 1972—87%.

He is a 1967 graduate of the University of Mississippi law school. He supported the President's position 69% of the time in Congress in 1973. His district is a rapidly growing resort, industrial and seafood area.

Harold V. Froehlich (Wis.), 42, a former speaker of the Wisconsin House of Representatives, who was elected in 1972 with 50.4% of the vote.

His district gave Mr. Nixon 61% of its vote in 1972.

Froehlich generally has been regarded as a vote against impeachment, although some colleagues have labeled him as a "persuadable." Asked where he might rank on a list of eight Republican swing votes, he said, "number eight."

He is a 1962 graduate of the University of Wisconsin law school. The Americans for Constitutional Action, a conservative group, gives him an 89% favorable voting record.

Carlos J. Moorhead (Calif.), 52, elected in 1972 with 57% of the vote from the suburban Los Angeles 20th District which cast 68% of its vote for Mr. Nixon.

One of the most taciturn members of the committee, Moorhead is a strong Nixon supporter. As the evidentiary hearings neared an end, Moorhead said, "You can spend \$25 million to investigate any President and come up with the same information. I've seen nothing to convince me he should be impeached."

A graduate of UCLA, he has a law degree from USC.

Joseph J. Maraziti (N.J.), 62, elected in 1972 with 56% of the vote from the state's new 13th District, which Mr. Nixon carried with 70%.

He is proof that not all leaks of evidence heard in the committee's closed-door sessions came from Democrats. In releasing several documents, Maraziti said it was "a legitimate leak" and that he tried to leak information on a fair basis—without discriminating against any newsman. He has been a Nixon supporter.

A 1937 graduate of Fordham University law school, he is a former county prosecutor and a former state legislator. His COPE voting rating of 73% is the highest among committee Republicans.

Delbert L. Latta (Ohio), 54, who was first elected to Congress in 1958, but who is last in seniority because he was not appointed to the committee until shortly before the impeachment inquiry began. Selected for his strong partisanship, according to Republican sources, he has said "not one scintilla of evidence" links the President to an impeachable offense.

Latta's district gave Mr. Nixon 66% of its vote in 1972. The congressman has been reelected with margins of about 70% since he was first elected. A former member of the Ohio Senate, he has a law degree from Ohio Northern University.

The first Republican to be elected to Congress from his district since Reconstruction, Lott has been one of the President's strongest supporters on the committee.

Times-Horizon 7/28

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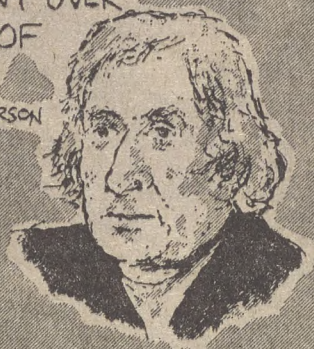
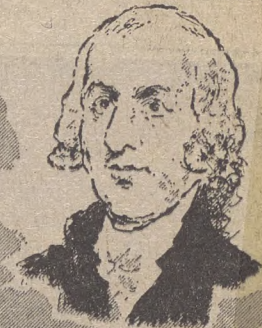
IN The Virginia Tradition

"AN ELECTIVE
DESPOTISM WAS NOT
THE GOVERNMENT WE
FOUGHT FOR."

— JAMES MADISON

"I HAVE SWORN... ETERNAL
HOSTILITY AGAINST EVERY FORM
OF TYRANNY OVER
THE MIND OF
MAN."

— TH. JEFFERSON



USE OF
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WELL BUTLER

Algon
THE VIRGINIA
TIMES

'There Were Tears ... Off Camera ...'

WASHINGTON (AP) — Democrats and Republicans who voted to recommend President Nixon's impeachment Saturday night called it a grave and sobering decision but Nixon's backers on the House Judiciary Committee predicted better odds in the full House.

"When you get right down to casting that vote you realize what a grave and serious thing it is," said Rep. Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md., chief sponsor of the Watergate cover-up impeachment article approved 27 to 11.

Texas Democrat Barbara Jordan, who voted with Sarbanes, said, "There were tears among the men and women of the committee behind the doors and off the cameras after the vote was announced."

Sarbanes said after weeks of weighing the evidence on Watergate, abuse of power and "how the public trust has been violated," he had no choice but to carry the impeachment article. "But there is no joy in it," he said.

One of Nixon's chief backers, Rep. Delbert L. Latta, R-Ohio, said chances are good the full House will not approve im-

peachment articles from the Judiciary Committee.

"If you want my candid opinion, I never thought they (Nixon and his aides) had a chance in this committee," Latta said.

Vice President Gerald R. Ford, the onetime House Republican leader who would become president if Nixon were removed from office, said the full House would reject impeachment if it considers the issue solely on the facts.

He also told a news conference on the lawn of his suburban Virginia home that, "the fact that every Democrat voted for it tends to make it a partisan issue."

Rep. Charles W. Sandman Jr., R-N.J., one of the President's most ardent defenders in the committee, said there is no way to know what will happen between now and Aug. 22 when the House is tentatively scheduled to vote on impeachment.

"As badly as a lot of people dislike Nixon, there are a lot of people who don't want their President moved out of office," Sandman said. "And no one knows how that is going to develop."

Sarbanes would not attempt to predict the outcome in the House, but remarked that 70 per cent of the committee voted for the article of impeachment.

"I think the committee will be able to document its charges...." he said. "We will have no problem meeting the requirement that the President and his counsel know what he is charged with.... The substance of the article is strong and the supporting material is strong."

The article will be accompanied by a detailed report to the House, he said.

Rep. Harold V. Froelich, R-Wis., who had said earlier his vote would depend on the wording of the articles of impeachment, said he didn't decide until Saturday to vote for the article.

Two other Republicans who voted for impeachment appeared deeply moved and had little to say.

"It is a sad occasion," said Rep. William S. Cohen, R-Maine.

"I'd rather not talk about it," said Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va.

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7/28/74

Staunton, Va., News Leader, Sun., July 28, 1974 7

Rep. Butler to be on 'Face the Nation'

U.S. Rep. Caldwell Butler will appear on Cbs's "Face the Nation" today. With him, to be questioned by a panel of newsmen, will be U.S. Rep. Ray Thornton, D-Ark. They are both members of the House Judiciary Committee.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *Chairman and Publisher*

ALAN S. DONNAHOE, *President and Associate Publisher*

JOHN E. LEARD, *Executive Editor* ALF GOODYKOONTZ, *Managing Editor*

EDWARD GRIMSLEY, *Editor of the Editorial Page*

Monday, July 29, 1974

Saddening

Tears welled up in the eyes of some members of the House Judiciary Committee when it voted to recommend the impeachment of President Nixon, and grief filled the hearts of many Americans. Surely, it was one of the most saddening moments in the nation's history.

Today, the country's highest and most powerful leader stands officially accused by a congressional committee of criminal conduct—of preventing, obstructing and impeding the administration of justice. Yet to be acted upon are other accusations against the President. But no matter how the committee disposes of them, it is certain that the House of Representatives will vote on the question of impeaching Mr. Nixon. Should the House accept the Judiciary Committee's recommendation on a single article of impeachment, the President will face trial, and possible eviction, by the Senate.



Nixon

That the case against Richard M. Nixon could have evolved to such a tragic point is distressing beyond words. Here is a man who rebounded from two major political defeats, one of them thought to have been fatal to his career, to attain the nation's highest public office. Here is a man who won reelection only 20 months ago with the largest popular vote a presidential candidate ever received. Here is a man who ended one of America's most demoralizing wars, who moved the nation into a hopeful new era of constructive contacts with the Soviet Union and Communist China and who has pointed the Middle East in the direction of durable peace. Here is a man who might

have promoted domestic reforms that could have given the country more responsible government, more realistic social programs and a more efficient economy. Here is a man who has done much for America and for the world. And he stands on the brink of utter political ruin and total disgrace.

All of this is especially agonizing for those of us who have been supporters of Richard Nixon and who have fervently hoped, ever since the ugly news of Watergate flashed around the world, that he could decisively refute the damaging charges and suspicions against him. This, painful though it is to say, he has not yet done. To be sure, the President has been found guilty of no crime; and he may yet be exonerated, if not by the House then possibly by the Senate. But as it has been summarized by the Judiciary Committee, the case against the President is powerful.

Mr. Nixon's own words, taken from his own tapes and his own transcripts, portray him as a man who was at least willing to consider condoning perjury, the payment of hush money and other illegal acts to conceal the truth about the crime of Watergate. His own words portray him as a man more interested in finding ways to circumvent the law than in ways to enforce it. The disturbing and damaging implications of these words the President has yet to overcome.

There is no doubt that Mr. Nixon often has been unfairly and even viciously treated during the Watergate controversy. Frequently he has been the victim of blatant political partisanship and of prejudicial journalism. Even some members of the Judiciary Committee displayed contempt for the elementary rules of fairness at times, and some of them may have been motivated as much by hatred for Richard Nixon as by the evidence against him in voting to recommend his impeachment. But it would be difficult to argue that the committee's decision was purely an act of political vindictiveness when one-third of the Republican members—including Virginia Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, normally a Nixon supporter—voted with the Democratic majority; and since so much of the case against the President, the President himself has built.

Committee moves to finish 2nd impeachment article; 'stand may hurt,' Butler

WASHINGTON (AP) — Chairman Peter Rodino is conducting sessions of the House Judiciary Committee today and tonight in an effort to complete action on a second impeachment article. Members say article two will accuse Pres. Nixon of violating his constitutional oath in several ways. The charges are expected to include illegal use of federal agencies and wiretapping without justification. Bipartisan approval is expected.

Because southern Democrats and several Republicans on the committee are supporting impeachment, it now seems likely that a majority of the full House will go along. Even White House Chief of Staff Alexander Haig admits a House vote now would be very close.

A House majority for impeachment would force a trial in the Senate. And today, the Senate's Republican and Democratic leaders plan a meeting to launch formal plans for a trial. The assistant Democratic leader, Robert Byrd, said yesterday that there are not yet enough impeachment votes to convict the President. But he said the chances are growing every day.

Butler said

Virginia congressman M. Caldwell Butler has acknowledged that his stand in support of impeaching Nixon will hurt his bid for re-election in the fall.

Butler said that his stand has offended some strong party regulars, and Butler says he owes his job to them.

But the Sixth District Representative said the significance of the impeachment vote far outweighs his political future or the political future of anyone else in Congress. Butler said he felt that the politically expedient thing for him to do would have been to oppose impeachment. Butler's district has been strongly pro-Nixon in previous elections.

Butler also answered criticism that the first article of impeachment against the President is not specific enough. The freshman Congressman said he feels that the article is a strong statement of the case and that it tells the President what he is charged with.

Hurt in race

Although Butler said his vote would hurt him in his Fall race for the Sixth District seat, political observers in Virginia speculated over the weekend that Butler's stance would have little impact. Observers surveyed pointed out that Butler has no pro-Nixon opponent in the Fall race.

Yesterday, Butler said on the

CBS television program "Face the Nation" that he believes the House will impeach Nixon by a margin similar to the committee's 27-11 vote for impeachment. The vote was on the first article of impeachment, charging Nixon with obstruction of justice. Butler said at least one-third of the Republicans in the House will vote for impeachment.

Leaders outline

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435 MEMBERS IN HOUSE

Lengthy Impeachment Debate Predicted

An AP News Analysis
By DONALD M. ROTHBERG

WASHINGTON (AP) — The impeachment debate under way in the House Judiciary Committee is but a preview of what will take place in mid-August on the floor of the House.

That was assured Saturday when the committee voted 27 to 11 to recommend to the House that it impeach President Nixon.

But instead of 38 debaters the number will be 435 when the question reaches the House floor.

They will repeat many of the arguments heard in the committee debate, wrangle over wording and procedures and treat one another with elaborate parliamentary courtesy tinged with sarcasm in debate expected to last 60 to 100 hours over a period of about two weeks.

There has been no decision yet on whether to permit radio and television coverage of the House debate. The broadcast coverage of the committee debate is the first ever allowed by the House.

The pressure is on to extend it to the House debate and the odds seem in favor of approval.

If the debate is broadcast, the American people will see

further proof of what they are discovering while viewing the committee sessions: Some of history's most significant and dramatic moments unfold with an agonizing slowness and preoccupation with minute details.

There will be Rep. Charles Wiggins, the silver-haired Republican lawyer from Southern California, attacking point by point the case against the President with the studied calm and logic of an experienced trial attorney.

And once again, Republican Rep. Charles Sandman of New Jersey will direct his criticism at the Democratic majority.

They have led the President's defense within the

committee and they will play major roles on the House floor.

But one of the most important votes will occur before the House impeachment debate begins. It will be in the House Rules Committee, the 15-member panel that will decide whether the articles of impeachment can be amended or must be voted up or down as reported to the House floor.

The expectation is that the articles will be open for amendment, a procedure that will permit every House member to offer whatever changes he wants, even additional articles of impeachment.

There will be a bewildering array of changes offered, with some accepted quickly, others

rejected, and still others touching off hours of wrangling.

The overriding themes are likely to be the same as within the committee.

Impeachment backers will argue that the evidence against Nixon is clear and conclusive.

From the anti-impeachable forces will come demands for more definitive evidence, claims that Nixon is being blamed for actions of his aides.

And when the final votes are taken on articles, impeachment will be approved or rejected by simple majorities. Only in the Senate when a vote is taken on conviction is a two-thirds majority required.



— AP Wirephoto

JUDICIARY MEMBERS INTERVIEWED — House Judiciary Committee members M. Caldwell Butler, right, of Virginia's Sixth District, and Ray Thornton, D-Ark., chat prior to start of CBS' "Face the Nation" Sunday in Washington. After voting in favor of first article of impeachment Saturday some panel members worked privately Sunday shaping further charges against President Nixon.

7/29/74 THE NEWS

Stand On Impeachment May Hurt, Says Butler

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WASHINGTON (AP)—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., acknowledged Sunday his decision to support the impeachment of President Nixon "undoubtedly" will be harmful to his bid for re-election in his home 6th District in Western Virginia.

"It clearly has offended some of our strong party people to whom I owe my job," Butler said in an interview with Richmond television station WTVR.

Butler said his vote for the impeachment of Mr. Nixon is a factor that the voter will have to take into consideration, but the freshman Republican con-

gressman repeated "something I have said many times before:

"The significance of this vote far outweighs the political future of me or anybody else in Congress. It's my first term and the job is not so good that I would feel compelled to make the judgment on a political expediency."

Butler said he felt, on the contrary, the politically expedient thing for him would have been to oppose the impeachment of the President.

Turning to the criticism by some of Nixon's supporters that the first article of impeachment against the President wasn't specific enough,

Butler said "I feel very strongly that we have a strong statement of the case, which is what the function of an article of impeachment is...to tell the President of the United States the things with which he is charged."

Butler added that the House Judiciary Committee set out general areas of the evidence in the article charging Nixon with obstructing justice and the actual setting forth of time, place and specific details is "not the function of the original pleading in any litigation."

Butler, appearing on the CBS interview program, "Face

the Nation," later Sunday, said he expects the vote in the full House to mirror the 27-11 margin in the committee.

He also predicted that at least one-third of the Republicans in the House would vote for impeachment.

Although Butler's acknowledgment that his recent actions could be fraught with harmful political consequences, observers in Virginia speculated over the weekend that the impact on his bid for re-election in the district might be minimal since none of his three opponents in the race are Nixon supporters.

2 THE NEWS-VIRGINIAN, Waynesboro, Va. Monday, July 29, 1974

Butler Admits Impeachment Stand Is Harmful

WASHINGTON (AP)—Virginia's man on the House Judiciary Committee, Rep. M.

Caldwell Butler, knows he's also on the hot seat, but says the job of a congressman isn't so good that he'd play politics with Presidential impeachment just to save his skin.

Butler said in an interview

here Sunday he realizes his decision to support articles of impeachment against Richard M. Nixon hasn't set well with many of his supporters in the 6th District.

But, said Butler, holding his

ground, "The significance of the vote far outweighs the political future of me or anybody else in Congress."

The freshman Republican also told a national television audience later on the CBS interview program, "Face the Nation," that he believes the full House will impeach the President by a margin similar to that on the committee, which voted 27-11 late Saturday on the first article of impeachment.

At least one-third of the Republican members of the House will support impeachment, he said.

Butler admitted his decision to vote for impeachment could be harmful, politically.

Butler: Vote To Hurt Re-election Bid

WASHINGTON (AP)—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., acknowledged Sunday his decision to support the impeachment of President Nixon "undoubtedly" will be harmful to his bid for re-election in his home 6th District in Western Virginia.

"It clearly has offended some of our strong party people to whom I owe my job," Butler said in an interview with Richmond television station WTVR.

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weighs the political future of me or anybody else in Congress...It's my first term and the job is not so good that I would feel compelled to make the judgment on a political expediency."

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**Butler Opposes Nixon Resignation —
Page 1**

*front pg
serial*

7/24/74

J. M. M.

Nixon Will Face More Charges

Opinions Point To Impeachment

By GAYLORD SHAW

WASHINGTON (AP)—Members of the House Judiciary Committee were shaping additional charges against President Nixon on Sunday amid growing predictions from both Republicans and Democrats that impeachment is likely.

Nixon, meanwhile was flying back from a California working vacation, already focusing on the full House, where he predicts he will win vindication.

The committee voted 27 to 11 Saturday night to recommend

Nixon's impeachment for having "prevented, obstructed and impeded administration of justice" in the Watergate coverup. All 21 Democrats and six of the 17 Republicans on the committee voted for the article of impeachment.

Senate Majority Whip Robert C. Byrd, D-W. Va., predicted Sunday the House will impeach Nixon.

He said the votes were not yet present for a Senate conviction.

See NIXON, A-8, Col. 4

Nixon Will Face More Charges

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Continued From A-1

tion, but that "the possibilities for conviction, I think, are growing daily."

A majority vote in the House is needed for impeachment, with a two-thirds vote required in the Senate for conviction and removal from office.

One of the six committee Republicans who voted for the impeachment recommendation, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, said Sunday he expects the vote in the full House to mirror the margin in the committee.

Appearing on the CBS interview program, "Face the Nation," Butler predicted at least one-third of the Republicans in the House would vote for impeachment.

Another committee member, Rep. Ray Thornton, D-Ark., predicted on the same program that a number of Southern Democrats also will support impeachment.

Rep. Paul Sarbanes, D-Md., sponsor of the impeachment article approved Saturday night, told newsmen, "I think the judgment reached by a 70 per cent majority of the committee will have an impact on the House."

One of Nixon's defenders on the committee, Rep. David W. Dennis, R-Ind., acknowledged "that's the popular wisdom and I suppose there's some truth to it."

House Democratic leader Thomas P. O'Neill of Massachusetts, who has repeatedly predicted the House would approve impeachment by a margin of 60 votes or more, predicted after the committee's 2711 decision that impeachment would carry by at least 70 votes.

Democratic committee members caucused Sunday to discuss additional articles of impeachment. Many were in casual dress and most appeared relieved that the climactic vote was behind them.

"Last night was the first good night's sleep I've had in a month," said Rep. Walter Flowers, D-Ala. "I'm glad it's over."

The committee probably

won't conclude its nationally televised and broadcast deliberations until Tuesday.

When it reconvenes at 10:30 a.m. EDT today, it will take up other articles of impeachment which sponsors spent the week-end refining.

The first probably will be a broad article charging Nixon with violating the constitutional requirements of his office by various acts, ranging from alleged misuse of the Internal Revenue Service to setting up the White House plumbers unit.

The committee's second-ranking Republican, Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois, has drafted such an article. He also has prepared another one accusing Nixon of contempt of Congress for failing to comply with eight committee subpoenas for 147 taped conversations. McClory voted against the article of impeachment approved by the committee on Saturday.

Another article, being drafted by Rep. Edward Mezvinsky, D-Iowa, charges Nixon with claiming unauthorized income tax deductions and using government funds to improve his California and Florida homes.

Nixon was returning to Washington Sunday from a 16-day stay in his San Clemente estate.

The President was strolling on the Pacific beach when the committee voted Saturday night.

He picked up an outdoor telephone to receive word of the vote from one of his closest aides, Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler.

"The President was not surprised. We have expected this ..." said spokesman Gerald L. Warren.

Later, the Western White House issued a terse statement:

"The President remains confident that the full House will recognize that there simply is not the evidence to support this or any other article of impeachment and will not vote to impeach. He is confident because he knows he has committed no impeachable offense."

Callers give Nixon 2-1 edge

From Page 1

peached."

"I think the whole House Judiciary Committee should do some soul-searching and clean the skeletons out of their own closet first."

"This is what the Communists want."

"An extreme injustice has been done to a great President."

"I'm against impeachment. When a man is elected by a landslide or any other method we should stand behind him and help him and stop being so unduly critical. We're all guilty of something so why crucify one man? Look at all the good he's done."

"Yes. I feel he is a criminal."

"No impeachment! No evidence! The Nixon haters and the media are trying to ruin the country."

"I do not think he should be impeached because of the adverse effect it would have on our nation."

"No longer can I as a Christian teen-ager have faith in a government with such corruption and abuse of power."

"He bought his way into office with bribes from big business which the American taxpayers paid for with blood and sweat."

"Any member of the Judiciary Committee who votes for this impeachment is very much a hypocrite. There is a great deal of evidence that each and every member, including Mr. Butler, is just as guilty or more

so of wrongdoing in misuse of power than Mr. Nixon."

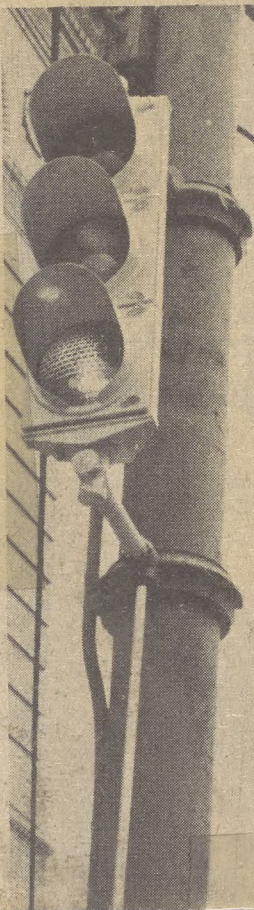
"The evidence of many crimes is overwhelming. Now is the time for Congress to act."

Some said they're against impeachment because of the turmoil they thought it would bring. Said one caller:

"The trauma of Watergate

has already lasted too long and has done tremendous damage to the functioning of vital interests to our country. To have impeachment and the subsequent trial in the Senate would take time that we cannot afford to give. The government is not functioning. Let's get on with the solution of our problems and get Watergate behind us.

WN 7/29/74



CVPDC awarded \$20,000 grant

The federal Urban Mass Transportation Administration has awarded a \$20,000 technical study grant to the Central Virginia Planning District Commission.

The grant awards announced last week by Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler, will help fund planning activities for the cities of Lynchburg and Bedford and Amherst, Appomattox, Campbell and Bedford counties.

Federal funds will permit development of procedures for annually updating the Lynchburg area short-range Transit Development Program to insure continued area eligibility for federal capital grants. The grant also will provide funds for preparing a regional Special Transportation Needs Plan and updating the district's Unified Transportation Work Program.

Commission Chairman William F. Overacre said, "A recently completed short-range transit study, sponsored by the

City of Lynchburg for the Lynchburg area, has produced a five-year Transit Development Program which must be updated annually. Funds from the grant will allow this updating process necessary to insure continued eligibility for federal money for transit facilities."

The Special Transportation Needs Plan will be prepared to aid the elderly, handicapped and low-income residents throughout the planning district. A study will be made to determine transportation needs of these area residents for getting to locations where social services are administered.

All transportation planning activities anticipated by the agencies and jurisdictions within the planning district will be incorporated in the updating of the Unified Transportation Work Program. This program consolidates all proposed planning projects in the region for a fiscal year and serves as a basic structure for more detailed planning.

Rep. Butler Against President Quitting

Roanoke Times 7/29

By MELVILLE CARICO
Times Political Writer

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler said on CBS's "Face The Nation" Sunday he does not think President Nixon should resign although he believes now the House is going to impeach him.

The President, he said, is entitled to trial in the Senate.

"In the absence of an admission of total guilt and an acceptance of responsibility which would be the equivalent of a plea of guilty I think it would be a serious mistake for the President to resign," Butler said in reply to a question.

Butler was invited to appear with Rep. Ray Thornton, D-Ark, on the network program after he disclosed Thursday—the first day of the televised hearings—he would be one of the Republicans voting for impeachment.

By broadcast time Sunday the usually witty congressman had regained his composure after being upset Saturday when, with five other members of his party, he voted for the first article of impeachment.

"Just say I don't want to talk about it for a little while," Butler told reporters who sought him out after the historic vote with the strain showing on the faces of members of the House Judiciary Committee for all to see on TV.

The crackle was back in Butler's answers by air time.

Asked if he had been subject to pressure from other Republicans in the House or the GOP back home, Butler replied:

"Maybe I'm not smart enough to recognize that kind of pressure . . . I don't feel there has been any pressure at all but like I say we've been so busy since we started the debates that maybe they are laying in wait for me and I haven't heard about them."

Butler was asked about the reaction back home.

He said he has disappointed some, particularly Republicans, but overall it appears support is running "slightly ahead" of criticism.

But, he added, there has been enough "negative reaction" for him to take it seriously.

Butler said, in effect, that if his vote for impeachment should cost him his House seat it will just have to be that way.

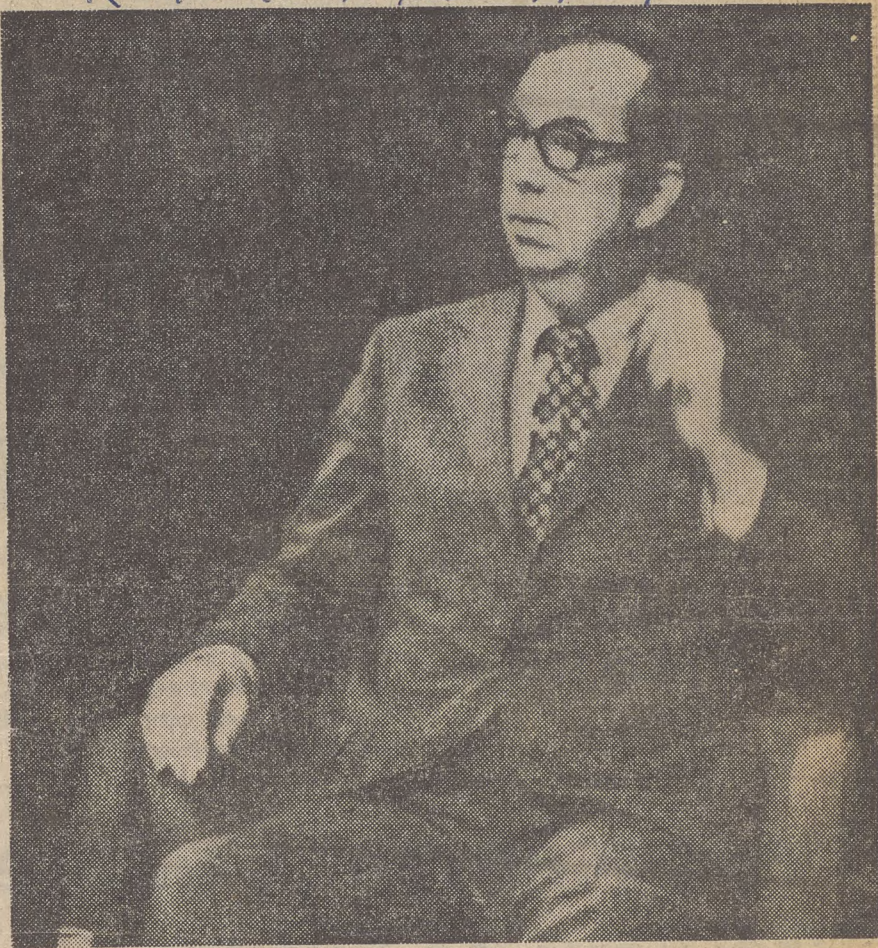
"Certainly the job isn't that good that you want to compromise yourself on what you think is right," he declared.

Butler said he thinks there should be only two articles of impeachment—the obstruction of justice article which the Judiciary Committee approved Saturday with its history-making 27-11 vote and another on abuse of power.

These two, Butler claimed, would put the case squarely before the Senate.

Butler said he could not support an article charging the President with failure to cooperate with the committee by not honoring its subpoenas for the White House tapes.

"I cannot accept the theory a man can



AP Photo

Rep. Caldwell Butler on 'Face the Nation'

be impeached for failing to cooperate in his own impeachment . . .," Butler reasoned.

Butler said he believes, as of now, the House will vote to impeach the President—not on the strength of the committees bi-partisan vote, but what he said is an informal poll that has been taken among members.

Butler confirmed newspaper reports that at night Mrs. Butler read him the Woodward-Bernstein book, "All The King's Men," but rejected implications it may have influenced his vote.

He said while the "style" of the two Washington Post reporters in their account of Watergate was more interesting than that of Committee Counsel John Doar but "there were not a lot of surprises in it."

Butler said he reached his decision about five days ago because of the "accumulative effect" of all the information the committee got in its closed door hearings.

Much of the realization that he would have to vote for impeachment came in a bipartisan caucus of some committee members who, Butler said, "was a small group, troubled, undecided . . ."

"We were trying to do what we thought was the best for the country and it was apparent to me I was dealing with people I had real regard for—we all had the same problems."

"It's not one of those things you can just walk away from," Butler quoted one participant as remarking as the evidence justifying impeachment, as the congressman put it, "accumulated."

Butler said the experience of live TV and radio coverage of the Judiciary Committee debates convinces him that committee work in the future should be open to this kind of coverage.

Members, he said, "started off self-conscious" but after the initial reaction "the impact of TV was less than I anticipated." This, he said, caused him to change his mind about TV coverage.

But, the congressman said, he has "real reservations" about live TV coverage of the impeachment debates in the House. One reason, he confessed, is that the committee has just 38 members; the House 435, raising the question of "whether we would ever finish."

Butler Says Impeachment Vote Will Hurt Re-election Bid — Page 13

2N 7-29-74 (14)

Butler wants Senate trial

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler yesterday agreed with a colleague on the House Judiciary Committee that President Nixon shouldn't resign.

Nixon, said Butler and Rep. Ray Thornton of Arkansas, is deserving of a trial by the Senate.

Butler is among six of the 17 Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee who have said President Nixon ought to be impeached and removed from office. Thornton joined the 20 other Democrats on the committee in saying the same thing. Thornton and Butler were among those who voted on Saturday for one article of impeachment.

The two congressmen appeared yesterday on the CBS-TV show, "Face the Nation."

Butler said he's not sure whether his action hurt him in his 6th District area. Political pundits generally agree that it hasn't.

Butler said there has been enough "negative reaction" to cause him some worry.

Butler managed to get a little humor into the otherwise staid nationally telecast program.

He was asked about a report that his wife, Junie, read to him nightly from "All the

President's Men," the book about Watergate and related scandals.

Butler said the style of the book was a vast improvement over that of John Doar, House Judiciary Committee counsel, but actually it didn't offer up many surprises.

Butler and Thornton added little new to what they've already said. Butler said, as he has before, that there ought to be two articles of impeachment. Two would, he said, put the case squarely before the Senate.

Butler said he couldn't support a charge that the President hasn't cooperated with the committee.

"I cannot accept the theory a man can be impeached for failing to cooperate in his own impeachment," Butler said.

Butler knows his vote placed him on hot seat

DAILY ADVANCE

7/29/74

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WASHINGTON (AP)—Virginia's man on the House Judiciary Committee, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, knows he's also on the hot seat, but says the job of a congressman isn't so good that he'd play politics with Presidential impeachment just to save his skin.

Butler said in an interview here Sunday he realizes his decision to support articles of impeachment against Richard M. Nixon hasn't set well with many of his supporters in the 6th District.

But, said Butler, holding his ground, "The significance of the vote far outweighs the political future of me or anybody else in Congress."

The freshman Republican also told a national television audience later on the CBS interview program, "Face the Nation," that he believes the full House will impeach the President by a margin similar to that on the committee, which voted 27-11 late Saturday on the first article of impeachment.

At least one-third of the Republican members of the House will support impeachment, he said.

Butler was one of six of the committee's 17

Republicans who joined all 21 Democrats in voting for Article I of the impeachment.

Butler admitted his decision to vote for impeachment could be harmful, politically, and suggested the politically expedient thing would have been for him to oppose Nixon's impeachment.

He reiterated that his decision was based on the facts that have come to light before the House committee and his conscience.

"It clearly has offended some of our strong party people to whom I owe my job," he said.

On another matter, Butler, a lawyer, defended the committee's handling of the drafting of the first article of impeachment, the one that charges the President generally with obstruction of justice.

Butler said, "I feel very strongly that we have a strong statement on the case, which is what the function of an article of impeachment is...to tell the President of the United States the things with which he is charged."

Butler said the committee set out general areas of evidence in the article charging Nixon with obstruction of justice.

Virginian Saunders Wants Congress Salaries Cut 10%

Here's another potential shock for U.S. House members stunned by Virginian Republican M. Caldwell's Butler's denunciation of President Nixon during last week impeachment debates before the House Judiciary Committee.

Warren D. Saunders, Butler's American party challenger in the fall elections, says one of his first actions as a house member would be an attempt to cut every congressman's salary by 10 percent as an example aimed at balancing the federal budget and controlling inflation.

Oh yes, and the President's salary, too.

Meanwhile, Fairfax Democratic Committee Chairman Harold O. Miller, a former House campaigner himself, is going around advising Democratic con-

Virginia

gressional contenders to zero in on the economy and let Watergate take care of itself as a campaign issue.

"Even in this relatively secure economic area," Miller said recently, "the tight money situation, the shortage of materials, and the high price of housing are having an impact on the economy."

Adds Miller: "I think that is probably the number one issue. I'm advising the candidates to speak on that — someone else can take care of Watergate."

Harris and Parris: Democratic challenger Herbert E. Harris II of Virginia's nearby 8th District will have Rep. John A. Brademas, D-Ind., chief deputy majority House whip, as a special guest for a Harris campaign fund-raiser Wednesday night, 7 to 9 o'clock, at the home of Gerald Halpin, 7979 East Boulevard Drive in Fairfax County's Mt. Vernon area.

Harris hopes to raise some \$90,000 for

his campaign this fall against Republican freshman Stanford E. Parris in the 8th. Admission Wednesday: \$25 per couple.

Republican Parris, in the meantime, will hold the first in his projected series of open town meetings with his constituents tomorrow evening at the Manassas Community Center, 9312 Peabody St. Time: 7:30 p.m. Later, Parris will meet with the public in Springfield, Alexandria and Woodbridge. Admission: Free.

Fairfax County Young Republican Chairman Glenn Mosher isn't happy about the rumble of elephants he hears stumbling around in the impeachment jungle. In a press release last week, the 20-year-old Mosher said, "It is about time that the summertime soldiers and sunshine patriots in Congress stand up in outrage at the way the Judiciary Committee is performing its most serious task."

"Not only is it disgusting to see the committee treating the impeachment inquiry as a partisan political matter, but also it is disturbing to view the rest of Congress covering in the cloakrooms — afraid to stand up for what is fair and against what is not. We all deserve better representation than this."

Although the 28 members of his club — all less than 20 years old — have not voted on how they feel about impeachment, Mosher said he was certain that all but two or three members agreed with him. Events of the last few days have only strengthened Mosher's conviction. He said the declaration for impeachment by Rep. Lawrence Hogan, R-Md., had simply "reinforced my opinion that everyone is doing what they think is popular."

Contributors this week are staff writers Allan Frank and Mary Margaret Green.

Washington Star - July 29

IMPEACHMENT

Continued from Page A-1

THE CHARGE against the President, Wiggins argued, is a "subjective" one that lends weight to Vice President Gerald Ford's now famous statement that an impeachable offense is anything that a majority of the House says it is at any particular time.

By approving article II, Wiggins said, "we are in effect saying that a President may be impeached in the future if a Congress expresses no confidence in his conduct — not because he has violated the law, but because Congress declares his conduct abusive in its own subjective judgment."

Danielson replied that the offenses charged in Article II are "uniquely presidential" since they are based on the language of the con-

stitutional oath and duties of the chief executive.

"These are indeed high crimes and misdemeanors," Danielson said. "They are offenses against the very structure of the state — against our system of government."

"Is not the violation of the solemn oath of office an impeachable offense? Otherwise, why would the Constitution include the oath of office," Danielson asked rhetorically.

WIGGINS attempted to challenge the article on a parliamentary "point of order" contending the charges failed to state an impeachable offense.

But Rodino ruled that the definition of an impeachable offense "is a matter for this committee, the

House itself and ultimately the Senate to decide."

REBUFFED by the chairman, Wiggins then tried to amend the article to limit the charges to those offenses which were directed "personally and through his subordinates and agents acting with his knowledge or pursuant to his instructions."

Wiggins argued that the committee was attempting to charge Nixon for the actions of his subordinates, "seeking to impeach the President vicariously," he argued.

His effort was resisted by advocates of the impeachment article. Danielson said the Wiggins amendment would "unreasonably and unrealistically restrict the proof required" to prove the charges.

McCLORY SAID the abuse of power charge "really gets to the crux of our responsibility — it directs our attention to the President's constitutional oath and to his constitutional responsibility."

The proposed second article, he said, focuses on Nixon's alleged failure to fulfill his constitutional duty to "take care" that the laws of the United States are faithfully executed.

McClory said today barring unforeseen developments, "I definitely will offer a separate article" based on the President's defiance of committee subpoenas.

A number of members who favor impeachment on obstruction of justice and abuse of power charges, however, have expressed reservations about a separate contempt charge.

Some feel it would be preferable to make no specific mention of Nixon's defiance of the committee

but to allow each member to draw, if he chooses, an adverse inference from Nixon's conduct.

Others argue the President was asserting what he believed to be a constitutionally based concept of executive privilege in refusing to comply with committee demands for evidence and should not be punished for doing so in the absence of a court test of his claim as it pertains to a congressional impeachment inquiry.

Other members have indicated that they also may seek committee approval for additional charges against the President. Rep. Edward Mezvinsky, D-Iowa, has prepared an article accusing Nixon with impeachable wrong-doing in the handling of his personal finances, and several other members are known to be considering a charge against the President relating to the secret 1969-70 bombing of Cambodia.

A recommendation to the full House that Nixon be impeached and bound over for trial in the Senate was assured Saturday when the committee, in the first such action in 106 years, approved the impeachment article accusing the President of obstruction of justice in the Watergate investigation.

A draft of the article before the committee today charges that the President misused his office in authorizing or permitting unlawful wiretaps, creating the secret White House "plumbers" unit, passed on Justice Department information to presidential aides under criminal investigation and making political use of the FBI, the CIA and the Internal Revenue Service.

Meanwhile, the deputy Democratic leader in the Senate, Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, predicted yesterday that the full House would approve a

resolution of impeachment against the President.

"There is not an absolute certitude," he said, "but I would have to think" that the House would vote to impeach, "based on recent developments."

Byrd, known as one of the Senate's best vote-counters, cited as those "developments" the recent conviction of presidential aide John D. Ehrlichman, the Supreme Court decision last week ordering Nixon to surrender White House tape recordings and the bipartisan vote of the Judiciary Committee in approving the obstruction of justice article against the President.

Byrd, interviewed on ABC's "Issues and Answers," said he did not believe, however, that there are sufficient votes in the Senate at the present time to convict the President.

Byrd's assessment of the Presidential support in the House was buttressed yesterday by Rep. M. Caldwell

Butler of Virginia, one of six Republicans on the Judiciary Committee who voted for the first impeachment article.

Interviewed on CBS' "Face the Nation," Butler said he believes that "the division that we have on the committee is at least what the division will be among the Republicans in the House, but I have no expertise in this regard."

If Butler's prediction is correct, it would mean that Nixon would lose about one third of the 187 Republicans in the House, virtually assuring the President's impeachment.

Yeutter to join panel at farm conference

Sixth District Representative M. Caldwell Butler announced today that Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Clayton Yeutter, will join the panel for his farm conference, Aug. 5, at McCormick Farm.

Yeutter heads the International Affairs and Commodity Programs Division of the Department of Agriculture, and is responsible for the areas of domestic farm programs and for export markets for American farm products. The panel will begin at 10 a.m. and will be followed by a free barbecue luncheon at noon. "Yeutter is a lawyer, an economist, and a farmer, and he has extensive background in domestic farm affairs. He knows all aspects of agriculture, and we are extremely lucky to have him", Butler said.

Yeutter has a law degree and a PhD in agricultural economics from the University of Nebraska, and has operated a 2500-acre crop farming and cattle ranch in central Nebraska. He has served as both administrator and Assistant Secretary for the U.S.D.A.'s Consumer and Marketing Service.

Yeutter joins Rep William Wampler, ranking minority member of the House Agriculture Committee as guest panelists for the conference. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and Butler, cosponsors of the event, will complete the four-member panel. Butler commented, "With Congressman Wampler and Assistant Secretary Yeutter we have two of the most knowledgeable men in Washington for agricultural policy. Accordingly, our format this year will emphasize

the opportunity for individual interchange with the panelists. This will be a learning experience both for the guests and for the members of the panel."

Also participating in the conference as a resource personnel will be representatives of the Soil Conservation Service, Farmers Home Administration, State Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Occupational Safety and Health Administration and V.P.I.'s Agriculture Extension Service and the Agriculture Experiment Station. Each will be available for individual consultation and discussion.

7-30-74

Yeutter Is Farm Panelist

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Special) — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler announced today that Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter will join the panel for his farm conference, Aug. 5 at the McCormick Farm in Steeles Tavern.

Mr. Yeutter heads the International Affairs and Commodity Programs Division of the Department of Agriculture and is responsible for the areas of domestic farm programs and for export markets for American farm products. The panel will begin at 10 a.m. and will be followed by a free barbecue luncheon at 12 noon.

"Mr. Yeutter is a lawyer, an economist, and a farmer, and he has extensive background in domestic farm affairs. He knows all aspects of agriculture, and we are extremely lucky to have him," Mr. Butler said.

Mr. Yeutter joins Rep. William Wampler, ranking minority member of the House Agriculture Committee as guest panelists for the conference. Seventh District Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and Mr. Butler, co-sponsors of the event, will complete the four-member panel.

Mr. Butler said, "Our format this year will emphasize the opportunity for individual interchange with the panelists. This will be a learning experience both for the guests and for the members of the panel."

Also participating in the conference as a resource personnel will be representatives of the Soil Conservation Service, Farmers Home Administration, State Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Occupational Safety and Health Administration and Virginia Tech's Agriculture Extension Service and the Agriculture Experiment Station. Each will be available for individual consultation and discussion.

Pledges open mind

WN 7/30/74

Butler may oppose new charges

By JACK BETTS
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Roanoke Congressman M. Caldwell Butler says he doesn't plan to support any more articles of impeachment that will be presented by the House Judiciary Committee.

Butler, who yesterday cast his second vote on articles to impeach President Nixon, said he is "presently inclined against" voting for any other articles.

The Republican representative last night voted with six other Republicans and all 21 Democrats on the committee to impeach the President on charges that he failed to faithfully execute the laws of the United States and abused the powers of the presidency.

Committee debate today, was to center on several more articles, including allegations of presidential tax fraud, contempt of Congress in failing to comply with committee subpoenas and possibly charges dealing with the Cambodia bombing and the ITT and milk deals will be proposed.

Butler said, "I'm presently inclined against them but I'll listen to the arguments."

He said he was still thinking about the matter of the President's tax troubles, but added "I haven't thoroughly made up my mind. Paying his taxes is not really in the discharge of the office of the presidency. And the charges are not fully substantiated."

Butler also said he did not plan to support the contempt of Congress charge because he

did not believe it was proper to impeach the president for "failing to cooperate in his own impeachment inquiry."

He spoke rarely during the long debate Monday morning, afternoon and night. At one point, he cosponsored an amendment with Maine Republican William Cohen that made one of the five abuse of power charges more specific, and that language was accepted without debate.

Butler's wife, June, attended

part of the day's session after helping him plow through the cascade of letters, telegrams and telephone messages that have flowed into his office since he announced last week that he would vote for impeachment.

Although some of the mail has been abusive and obscene, much of it is in support of Butler's position.

Several callers have offered contributions to Butler's reelection campaign. But the

high point of the mail was directed not to the congressman, but to Mrs. Butler.

One letter, apparently was prompted by reports that she had read excerpts from the book "All The President's Men," by Washington Post investigative reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, at bedtime.

Wrote Washington humor columnist Art Buchwald, "June—Where were you when I needed you? Love, Art."

THE RO

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front P9 James 7-30-74

Committee Approves Article 2

WASHINGTON (AP)—Expanding its formal accusations against President Nixon, the House Judiciary Committee adopted a second impeachment article Monday night charging him with broad misuse of federal agents and agencies.

The vote was 28 to 10, with seven Republicans joining all 21 Democrats in accusing Nixon of ordering or condoning wiretapping, private peeks at tax returns and other activities "violating the constitutional rights of citizens."

The bipartisan majority was one vote greater than on Saturday night, when the committee voted 27 to 11 a first article recommending Nixon's removal from office for obstructing justice in the Watergate cover-up.

The additional vote in support of the second article came from Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois, second ranking Republican on the committee.

The committee recessed immediately after the vote until 10:30 a.m. EDT Tuesday.

Butler Votes 'Aye'

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., late Wednesday night cast a vote for a second article of impeachment against President Richard M. Nixon.

Butler cast his vote, the second in three days, at 11:22 p.m. as the clerk polled the 38 members of the House Judiciary Committee.

When it was over, the committee's pro impeachment majority had picked up one more Republican vote in Rep. Robert McClory, R-Ill.

Saturday, Butler voted with five other Republicans in approving the first article of impeachment against the President in 106 years.

Butler indicated after the vote that he did not plan to support any further articles of impeachment.

When debate resumes this morning, two more articles, one involving allegations of presidential tax fraud and another finding the President in contempt of Congress for failure to comply with committee subpoenas, will be brought up.

Butler said, "I'm presently inclined against both, but I'll listen to the arguments for them. I haven't thoroughly made up my mind on the tax fraud charge because paying taxes is not really in the discharge of the office of the President and because the charge has not been fully substantiated."

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Panel Votes 28-10 For Second Article

From Page 1

knew of the illegal activities of his subordinates.

The first of a series of motions to drop allegations was beaten 28 to 10 in a vote indicating the second article might have even more support than the first. Article One was approved Saturday night on a vote of 27 to 11.

Six Republicans joined all 21 Democrats in the final vote on Saturday.

A similar number of Republicans, though not necessarily the same ones, were expected to vote for the second article.

Again leading the fight in Nixon's defense was Rep. Charles Wiggins, R-Calif., who opened the debate by attempting to have the entire article thrown out on a point of order — that it did not directly involve "impeachable" offenses. That complaint was immediately rejected without a formal vote. Then Wiggins offered amendments aimed at narrowing the charges.

By a vote of 28 to 9, the committee rejected Wiggins' motion to include in the specific allegations the words "acting with his (Nixon's) knowledge and pursuant to his instructions" where they refer to actions by presidential aides.

The impeachment bloc opposed the proposed change on ground it could eliminate actions which the President approved after the fact even if he had no prior knowledge.

One of the strongest statements in opposition to the amendment came unexpectedly from Rep. Wiley Mayne, R-Iowa, generally regarded as a hard-line member

of the outmanned group fighting impeachment.

Without saying how he planned to vote on the entire article, Mayne referred to attempts to use the IRS for political purposes, — one of the allegations in the article — as "outrageous."

"I think that not only does the President have a responsibility not to directly approve such indefensible actions but he has a responsibility not to ratify it after it has occurred," said Mayne.

A second amendment by Wiggins was directed at an allegation that Nixon "failed to take care that laws were faithfully executed ... concerning the unlawful entry into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee, and concerning other matters." Wiggins amendment, which would have deleted the "other matters," was defeated 24 to 14.

At the opening of the debate, Wiggins raised a point of order on the ground the proposed article "does not state an impeachable offense under the Constitution."

Wiggins claimed that there was serious question whether noncriminal abuse of presidential power meets the Constitution's definition of impeachment as "treason, bribery and high crimes and misdemeanors."

Rep. George Danielson, D-Calif., responded by saying that "the offenses charged against the President in this article are uniquely presidential offenses. No one else can commit them."

Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., rejected Wiggins' protest without a vote. But as the debate continued, it was clear that Wiggins had stated what would be the oppositions main theme.

7 Staunton, Va., Leader, Tuesday, July 30, 1974

Yeutter will join farm panel

U.S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler announced today that an assistant secretary of agriculture, Clayton Yeutter, will join the panel for his farm conference Monday at McCormick Farm.

Mr. Yeutter heads the International Affairs and Commodity Programs Division of the Department of Agriculture, and is responsible for the areas of domestic farm programs and for export markets for American farm products. The panel will begin at 10 a.m. and will be followed by a free barbecue luncheon.

Mr. Yeutter is a lawyer, an economist and a farmer, and he has extensive background in domestic farm affairs. "He knows all aspects of agriculture, and we are extremely lucky to have him," Rep. Butler said.

Mr. Yeutter has a law degree and a PhD in agricultural economics from the University of Nebraska, and has operated a 2,500-acre crop farming and cattle ranch in central Nebraska. He has served as both administrator and assistant secretary for the USDA's Consumer and Marketing Service.

Mr. Yeutter joins Rep. William Wampler, ranking minority member of the House Agriculture Committee as guest panelists for the conference. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and Rep. Butler, co-sponsors of the event, will complete the four-member panel.

Also participating in the conference as a resource personnel will be representatives of the Soil Conservation Service, Farmers Home Administration, State Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Occupational Safety and Health Administration and VPI's Agricultural Extension Service and the Agricultural Experiment Station.

Agriculture Official *2 min*

Will Join Farm Panel *7/30/74*

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler has announced that Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter will join the panel for his farm conference Monday at McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern.

Yeutter heads the International Affairs and Commodity Programs Division of the Department of Agriculture, and is responsible for the areas of domestic farm programs and for export markets for American farm products.

"Yeutter is a lawyer, an economist and a farmer and has extensive background in domestic farm affairs. He

knows all aspects of agriculture and we are extremely lucky to have him," Butler said.

Yeutter, who operated a 2,500-acre crop farming and cattle ranch in central Nebraska, has a Ph.D. in agricultural economics from the University of Nebraska.

He has served as both administrator and assistant secretary for the USDA's consumer and marketing service.

Yeutter joins Rep. William Wampler, ranking minority member of the House Agriculture Committee, as guest panelists for the conference. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and Butler, cosponsors of the event, will complete the four-member panel.

**Best Moves Up
To Big Board;**

4. Pg WN 7-30-74

Bouquets and barbs

A BOUQUET to Rep. M. Caldwell Butler for an attempt to close a loophole in a campaign reform bill recently passed by the House Administration Committee. Butler failed in his attempt to limit direct and indirect loans to candidates for campaign purposes. The loophole would allow a candidate to receive a loan when it is cosigned by other individuals. That easy alternative makes hay of the bill's prohibition on loans of more than \$1,000 to candidates. The Democrats on the committee, who voted down the Butler amendment to close the hole, thoroughly deserve A BARB.

Agriculture Aide Joins Farm Panel

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler announced that Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Clayton Yeutter, will join the panel for his farm conference, Aug. 5 at McCormick Farm at Steele's Tavern.

Yeutter heads the International Affairs and Commodity Programs Division of the Department of Agriculture, and is responsible for the areas of domestic farm programs and for export markets for American farm products. The panel will begin at 10 a.m. and will be followed by a free barbecue luncheon at noon.

Yeutter is a lawyer, an economist, and a farmer, and he has extensive background in domestic farm affairs.

Yeutter has a law degree and a Ph.D. in agricultural economics from the University of Nebraska, and has operated a 2,500-acre crop farming and cattle ranch in central Nebraska.

Yeutter joins Rep. William Wampler, ranking minority member of the House Agricultural Committee as guest panelists for the conference. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and Butler, cosponsors of the event, will complete the four-member panel.

THE NEWS

7/30/74

Joseph Kraft

Post 7/30

Impeachment: The Republican Realignment...

The morning after his slashing attack on the impeachment inquiry by the Judiciary Committee, the New Jersey Republican, Charles Sandman, rode on the subway with Lud Ashley, a Democratic congressman from Toledo. "Pretty rough stuff," Ashley murmured. Sandman shrugged, and said: "I was only trying to win over a couple of votes on our side."

That comment expresses exactly what the struggle inside the Judiciary committee has been all about. The fight has been between Republicans, and at issue is the future of the party. Judging by the relatively wary reaction of Vice President Gerald Ford and House Minority Leader John Rhodes, the Nixon wing of the party is not winning.

By all normal standards, the Republican interest is to unload Mr. Nixon with dispatch. The party would then be out from under the Watergate burden. It could line up behind Mr. Ford and be in good position to win in 1976. The more so as the party could claim that it had the strength to clean its own house.

Republican congressmen who have voted for impeachment in the Judiciary Committee have been advancing precisely those arguments. Thus Tom Railsback, the congressman from Illinois who has led the Republicans for impeachment in the committee, underlined the difference between the President and the party at a breakfast here the other day.

"The future of the Republican Party," he said, "doesn't lie with President Nixon. The future belongs to Republicans in the Senate, the House, and the state legislatures."

Caldwell Butler, the Virginia Republican who joined the impeachment forces in the committee, put the argument in the debate itself. In his opening statement he said:

"Watergate is our shame. These things happened in the Republican administration while we had a Republican in the White House and every single person convicted to date has one way or the other owed allegiance to the Republican Party . . . It is we, not the Democrats, who must demonstrate that we are capable of enforcing the high standards we would set for them."

To bar the way to that seductive argument, the President has only one weapon. It is the weapon of fear—the threat that any Republican who deserts in this hour of need will be impaled on the glittering blade of retaliation.

In that vein, hard-core Nixon supporters around the country have been mobilized. They are deluging Republican members of the Congress with mail and telegrams threatening to take vengeance at the polls against Republicans who abandon the President.

Similarly, the White House itself has been quick to stigmatize the commit-

tee and individual Republicans. Thus when the direction of the committee became clear, Ron Ziegler called it a "kangaroo court." When Congressman Lawrence Hogan of Maryland became the first Republican to announce against the President, he drew withering fire from presidential counsellor Dean Burch.

Inside the Judiciary Committee, the Nixon loyalists have also been brandishing the threat of retaliation. The President's hard core supporters—Charles Wiggins of California, David Dennis of Indiana, Del Latta of Ohio and Mr. Sandman—have centered their charge on the argument that the Articles of Impeachment lack specificity and a direct link to the President himself.

That is a way of telling other Republicans that they will have to vote on a vague indictment, thus exposing themselves to punishment from Republican voters who need chapter and verse to be convinced of the President's culpability. As Mr. Wiggins asked:

"Wouldn't it be a damning indictment, Mr. Chairman, if this committee, if after all this time and all this money, we were unable to state with specificity what this case is all about?"

But the notable feature of the Nixon loyalists is that they come from conservative-cum-Wallaceite districts where Republicans do not have to woo the middle to win. Thus Mr. Latta won by 73 per cent in his last race, and Mr. Wiggins had 65 per cent of the vote. Messrs. Dennis and Sandman also

won comfortably, and in their districts George Wallace took 12 per cent of the vote in 1968.

Republicans obliged to win middle-of-the-road votes, particularly those at the head of the party, seem to be divorcing themselves from the hard-core Nixonites. Thus when House Minority Leader John Rhodes advises the President to take his case to the public in a television address, he is in effect saying: "I can't do it for you." Vice President Ford, while making noises friendly to the President, is clearly not throwing his vast congressional prestige into the battle. Mr. Ford plans to spend Aug. 8 through Aug. 19—the critical days of the House debate—in California, Oregon, Washington state and Hawaii.

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The 'Working of the Bar'

By Sally Quinn

Shortly before chairman Peter Rodino pounded the gavel to call the House Judiciary Committee hearing to order, reporters, photographers and assorted guests were still milling around, cruising up and down the first tier of congressmen, "working the bar," as it is called in the business.

The committee room of the Rayburn Building, all mint green and velvet draperies, took on the demeanor of an oriental bazaar, a trading center or market place where reporters busily worked over the congressmen for new tips, picking up a little here, a little there, exchanging pleasantries and bits of gossip.

Perhaps the best day to watch the "working of the bar" was Saturday, the day of the roll call vote on the first article of impeachment.

Art Buchwald came in after lunch. He walked over to the end of the Republican side of the tier where Rep. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) was sitting.

Buchwald, obviously intrigued with the new public stature Butler had attained, shook his hand.

"I read your stuff," said Butler, impressed. "Are we on camera?" he asked Buchwald, standing up. "Turn around and look. Maybe my

wife is watching TV." He called his son over from the audience. "Jimmy," he said, "come over and meet Art Buchwald." And to Buchwald, "He reads you, too." Buchwald signed an autograph for him.

NBC's John Chancellor slipped in for a while to see what was going on. It was ABC's day for the pool coverage, so he had some spare time. He was surrounded by committee members who "just wanted to shake his hand."

Later Walter Flowers (D-Ala.) boasted to a colleague, "I met an anchorman today."

A woman reporter remarked that John Doar, the special counsel, is now a bachelor and predicted he'll be the next Henry Kissinger "eligibility wise" in town. Buchwald wandered over to Doar and jokingly told him that Ethel Kennedy thinks he's famous enough now to play in the Kennedy Tennis Tournament at Forest Hills in August.

Autographing and celebrity greeting was being traded at the tiers almost as much as inside information.

Even Fish Bait Miller, the House Doorkeeper, came in one day with an enormous picture of the committee with an autograph of each

See HEARINGS, B3, Col. 1



By Tom Allen—The Washington Post

Crew and staff members of the major networks outside the House Judiciary Committee hearing room.

Post 7/30

Watching the 'Working of the Bar'—Like a Bizarre Bazaar

HEARING, From B1

member. He was as excited as if he had gotten an autographed picture of the old MGM crowd.

For most of the representatives, it was a new experience. Until recently members of the House with few exceptions had been, you might say, low profile figures on the Washington scene. For one thing, there are 435 of them and most of them have rarely been heard from. Suddenly those on the Judiciary Committee have been catapulted to national prominence.

To Washingtonians and many members of the press who cover the "stars" it is as though they just crawled from underneath a rock.

The members of the press, in many cases, are better known than those they are covering. And in some cases, too, the people they are covering are suddenly prominent only because they are covering them.

So it all ends up with strange, sort of symbiotic overtones, especially when the lines are so clearly drawn, as they are in these Judiciary Committee hearings.

The way the session begins each day is with the members of the committee arriving at the appointed time, drifting in casually, along with the press.

Those members, depending on whether they have something prepared to say for the cameras, either whisk in past the reporters, stroll in to be caught by a reporter or sneak in one of the side doors.

Once the scramble is over for interviews and stand-uppers, the committee room fills up with participants who mingle like boxers shaking hands before a fight.

Working the bar seems more like a "stroking" exercise than a profoundly effective method of news gathering. Congressmen tell how tired they are, and the press sympathizes. The press asks what will happen that day, and the members toss out *bon mots* designed for media consumption.

Wives and visitors sit off to a corner, and less than 20 members of the general public rotate every 15 minutes or so.

There are no large crowds or mobs, no pushing and shoving, and surprisingly, always a few extra seats in the press section.

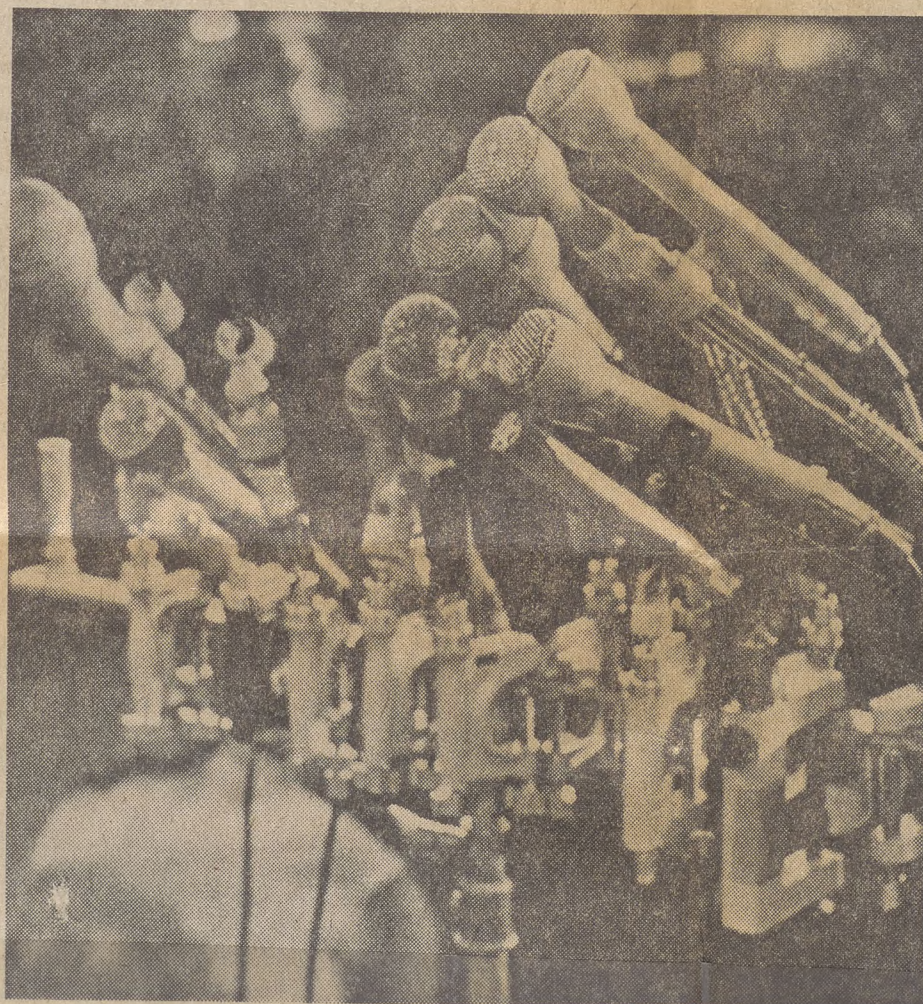
Early in the hearings, the members seemed stiff and tense, unsure of how they would fare in the face of millions of Americans. They



By James K. W. Atherton The Washington Post

Post
7/30

Ray Scherer and John Chancellor of NBC sit with columnist Art Buchwald at Saturday's hearings, above; microphones in the hall outside the hearing room, right, are used for interviews; below, a view of the press gallery used by the broadcast media.



By Tom Allen The Washington Post

dressed up—stiff white shirts, fitted suits, nice ties, distinguished hair cuts. As the days went on they relaxed, became comfortable with their roles as possible national heroes and began acting like old time "statespersons."

Members of the press and the guests learned to rattle off names, states and parties of each congressman, like they would their favorite soap opera characters, picked favorites and took bets on how each one would vote on each paragraph of each article of impeachment. Murmurs of annoyance or surprise would echo through the room if a congressman went the unexpected way.

Occasionally someone would make a joke to break the tension and the laughter was relieved.

A few weeks ago a Washington journalist returned from a short trip to London. "How is everybody," he was asked.

"You'll find out soon enough," he said. "They're all planning to come over for the impeachment."

It was said as though they were all planning to come over for the Mardi Gras or the Kentucky Derby, some spectacle surrounded by a mad round of festivities, some fabulous social event requiring a special wardrobe, a special performance to munch popcorn to, another media circus, complete with hot dog stands and impeachment T-shirts.

On the opening day of the Watergate hearings last spring, and indeed, throughout the duration of those hearings, there was a certain commercial atmosphere, as though some kind of hustle were going on.

The oral arguments at the Supreme Court several weeks ago had the same side-show atmosphere, certainly outside, though it was somewhat more contained than at the Watergate hearings.

Somehow, though, the impeachment hearings are not the same. There is an atmosphere of solemnity, of seriousness among the members of the House Judiciary Committee and the members of the press that one senses immediately. There is, finally, a sense that this time they're not messing around.

There are, to be sure, a few who sometimes grandstand. Rep. Charles N. Sandman Jr. (R-N.J.), taking his glasses on and off for effect, waving papers about, blustering; Rep. Delbert L. Latta (R-Ohio) and Father Robert F. Drinan (D-Mass.) all seem to be aware that they are performing and Sandman even said, on Saturday, "Let's not bore the American people to death."

But the committee seems truly aware of the unhappiness of its mission. The humor, in general, is low-key and tasteful.

Rep. William Hungate (D-Mo.), a humorist, at one point apologized for his occasional amusing remarks, saying that he didn't think a sense of humor precluded a sense of responsibility.

"I found it better to have a sense of humor than no sense at all," he said.

And it was with a sense of humor that Rep. Lott with a touch of chaerin remarked to a member of the press

about his distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Virginia, "I told Caldwell Butler that we'd been on this committee so long that even he was beginning to look pretty."

Judiciary Roll Calls

Amendment by Rep. Charles E. Wiggins to require proof that President Nixon knew of or ordered conduct alleged in Rep. William L. Hungate's substitute Article II of the impeachment resolution:

YES (9)

Hutchinson (R-Mich.)
Smith (R-N.Y.)
Sandman (R-N.J.)
Wiggins (R-Calif.)
Dennis (R-Ind.)
Froelich (R-Wis.)
Moorhead (R-Calif.)
Maraziti (R-N.J.)
Latta (R-Ohio)

NO (28)

Donohue (D-Mass.)
Brooks (D-Tex.)
Kastenmeier (D-Wis.)
Edwards (D-Calif.)
Hungate (D-Mo.)
Conyers (D-Mich.)
Eilberg (D-Pa.)
Waldie (D-Calif.)
Flowers (D-Ala.)
Mann (D-S.C.)
Sarbanes (D-Md.)
Seiberling (D-Ohio)
Danielson (D-Calif.)
Drinan (D-Mass.)
Rangel (D-N.Y.)
Jordan (D-Tex.)
Thornton (D-Ark.)
Holtzman (D-N.Y.)
Owens (D-Utah)
Mezvinsky (D-Iowa)
McClary (R-Ill.)
Rallsback (R-Ill.)
Fish (R-N.Y.)
Mayne (R-Iowa)
Hogan (R-Md.)
Butler (R-Va.)
Cohen (R-Maine)
Rodino (D-N.J.)

Lott (R-Miss.) did not vote.

Amendment by Rep. Charles E. Wiggins to strike from the fourth enumerated paragraph of the William L. Hungate substitute Article II of the impeachment resolution the phrase "and concerning other matters."

YES (14)

Waldie (D)
Flowers (D)
Hutchinson (R)
Smith (R)
Sandman (R)
Rallsback (R)
Wiggins (R)
Dennis (R)
Mayne (R)
Lott (R)
Froelich (R)
Moorhead (R)
Maraziti (R)
Latta (R)

NO (24)

Donohue (D)
Brooks (D)
Kastenmeier (D)
Edwards (D)
Hungate (D)
Conyers (D)
Eilberg (D)
Mann (D)
Sarbanes (D)
Seiberling (D)
Danielson (D)
Drinan (D)
Rangel (D)
Jordan (D)
Thornton (D)
Holtzman (D)
Owens (D)
Mezvinsky (D)
McClary (R)
Fish (R)
Hogan (R)
Butler (R)
Cohen (R)
Rodino (D)

Rep. Charles E. Wiggins' motion to strike the second enumerated paragraph of Rep. William L. Hungate's substitute Article II of the impeachment resolution:

YES (10)

Hutchinson (R)
Smith (R)
Sandman (R)
Wiggins (R)
Dennis (R)
Mayne (R)
Lott (R)
Moorhead (R)
Maraziti (R)
Latta (R)

NO (28)

Donohue (D)
Brooks (D)
Kastenmeier (D)
Edwards (D)
Hungate (D)
Conyers (D)
Eilberg (D)
Waldie (D)
Flowers (D)
Mann (D)
Sarbanes (D)
Seiberling (D)
Danielson (D)
Drinan (D)
Rangel (D)
Jordan (D)
Thornton (D)
Holtzman (D)
Owens (D)
Mezvinsky (D)
McClary (R)
Rallsback (R)
Fish (R)
Hogan (R)
Butler (R)
Cohen (R)
Froelich (R)
Rodino (R)

Post 7/30

Gaps Open in Nixon Support Among House Southerners

By Mary Russell
and David S. Broder

Washington Post Staff Writers

Important gaps opened yesterday in Southern support for President Nixon's effort to beat impeachment in the House of Representatives.

A survey of key representatives from that region indicated that fewer than half the 74 Southern Democrats in the House may vote with the President.

Meantime, a telephone check of Midwest Republican leaders—another base of Mr. Nixon's strength in the House—indicated there may no longer be any clear advantage for Republican congressmen from that re-

gion in voting with the President.

With most Northern Democrats expected to favor impeachment, Mr. Nixon's chances of escaping a Senate trial lie in losing no more than 40 of the other 261 House members—187 of them Republicans and 74 Southern Democrats.

Rep. L. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.), one of the more influential of the uncommitted Southerners, said yesterday that the Judiciary Committee staff and members "have done a very careful job of fitting the pieces together."

Referring to the pro-impeachment votes of Judiciary Committee members James R. Mann (D-S.C.) and

Walter Flowers (D-Ala.)

Preyer said, "when people like Mann and Flowers come out for impeachment, it will make it easier for other members from my area who might be inclined to support impeachment. Everyone knows they aren't secret liberals."

Preyer, who said the televised Judiciary Committee hearings have allowed members to "argue the case with constituents ... overnight and reach people we couldn't reach if we worked all year at it," predicted pro-impeachment votes out of the Georgia, North Carolina

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The President's support among conservatives shows signs of erosion. Page A14

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Gaps Appear in Nixon Support Among Southerners

POLITICS, From A1

and South Carolina delegations.

Rep. Gillis Long (D-La.), also uncommitted, said votes against the President would likely come from his state, from Georgia, and "possibly even one from Mississippi."

Long said the conduct of the Judiciary Committee had been "exemplary" and "tends to shore up the confidence of people that the matter's being handled fairly."

The President did pick up a formal pledge of support from one of his staunchest

Dixie backers, Rep. G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D-Miss.), who said he found "the evidence is not that strong."

Among the key uncommitted Midwest Republicans, Rep. John Erlenborn (R-Ill.) said he wanted "to take a close look at the criminal

charges," perhaps even listening to the tapes himself.

The shifting sands of Midwest Republicanism were indicated by R. L. (Dick) Herman, the Nebraska GOP national committeeman.

Although Sen. Carl Curtis (R-Neb.) has been among the President's most vocal defenders, Herman said "it's going to be extremely hard for any member" of Nebraska's all-Republican congressional delegation "to cast a vote either way. They're not only voting on the President, they're voting on their own political integrity. It's a tough, tough decision for all of them."

Herman said the impact of the televised hearings was "not good from the President's standpoint and was not good for politics. People want the whole thing over," he said. "They want it done with."

In Ohio, with 15 Republican representatives, state GOP chairman Kent B. McGough said, "There is no political hay to be made either way they go, and, in general, our surveys show, there's no vote that's free from danger."

The two Ohio members of the Judiciary Committee are split, with Democrat John F. Seiberling supporting impeachment and Republican

Delbert L. Latta opposing it.

McGough, too, commented that "people are so fed up with the thing that I'd have to say the televised hearings didn't have near the impact, for or against the President, I'd thought they would."

"I don't think the average person saw quite as strong a case against the President as he might have expected," he said, "but it's very disturbing to anyone who's thinking at all."

In Wisconsin, whose two Judiciary Committee members, Democrat Robert W. Kastenmeier and Republican Harold V. Froehlich, both support impeachment, Republican National Committeeman Ody J. Fish said, "It's very difficult to assess politically which is the wiser course" for the state's four Republican representatives. "The wisest course is probably for them to search their conscience and do what they have to do."

Fish noted that in the hearings "the support for the President was based on a legalistic argument as to whether these are impeachable offenses, rather than whether things occurred that should or should not have happened. I think the majority of people in Wisconsin believe the entire sequence of events to have been a rather shabby stewardship of the office of the President."

In praise of Southern strength

By Ernest Furgurson

WASHINGTON — THE UNBROKEN consensus here is that the televised impeachment proceedings have done more for the image of the much maligned congressman than anything else lately. From numbers on a score sheet, faceless politicians operating behind closed doors, they have become real to the public. Real, struggling, worrying men.

And among them, one group has distinguished itself most historically.

Of all the country's politicians, those most sneered at elsewhere in the national have been those from the South. Many Americans do not know that the South produces both Christian gentlemen and redneck louts, men who will sacrifice themselves for principle and those who will laugh contemptuously at anyone who does, good politicians and bad.

The good ones are often far above national average. If they are aware of history at all, they know they are the heirs of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

True, the political-spiritual heritage of the South is in the Democratic Party, and for the past 20 years most of the South has started voting for Republican presidents.

But that does not mean that all of the region has forgotten; indeed, some Republicans have maintained since Franklin Roosevelt's time that the Jeffersonian tradition has been abandoned by the Democrats, and some argue that one of its great modern bearers is Richard M. Nixon himself. Mr. Nixon has been saying so on his own behalf since the first time he drew 150,000 Atlantans to Five Points at rush hour, in a campaign 14 years back.

So, in the 1972 presidential election, our current President swept the South, including the 7th district of Alabama with 66 per cent of the vote; the 4th district of Arkansas with 69 per cent; the 4th district of South Carolina with 80 per cent and the 6th of Virginia with 74 per cent.

Normally, that should be a heavy clue to how the congressmen from each of those districts would vote if faced with judging evidence against Mr. Walter Flowers of Alabama spoke of being

unable to sleep lately, and of how "the people that I represent—just as I do, and most Americans—want to support the President." But, he said, "If the trust of the people in the word of the man to whom they have given their highest honor is betrayed, if the people cannot know that their President is candid and truthful with them, then the very basis of government is undermined . . ."

James Mann of South Carolina got 66 per cent of the vote in his district last time, but Mr. Nixon got 80 per cent. Mann spoke of how men in the past had died for our system of government, yet wondered "if the people still do want their elected representatives to fulfill their oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution . . ."

Ray Thornton of Arkansas, like Flowers and Mann a Democrat, said he approached the question "as a matter of law and because I have faith that the people of this country believe in a system of law to which all men are subject . . ."

For Caldwell Butler of Virginia the decision may have been hardest of all. He is a Republican, a long-time Nixon follower, a freshman from a conservative district, and he came here two years ago with just 55 per cent of the vote. All that had to weigh on him. But so did the knowledge that he represents the very Virginia that Jefferson, Madison and James Monroe called home.

He agonized before he decided, but then he spoke strongly. "If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people . . . My present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and abuse of power. But there is no joy in it for me," he said.

And back home in Roanoke and in Lynchburg, as in Tuscaloosa and Bessemer, Pine Bluff and El Dorado, Greenville and Spartanburg, thousands of people who had voted for both Mr. Nixon and these congressmen were furious. But if they thought hard on it, even they could be proud at the same time. For the men they chose were living up to a tradition too many other Americans have forgotten.

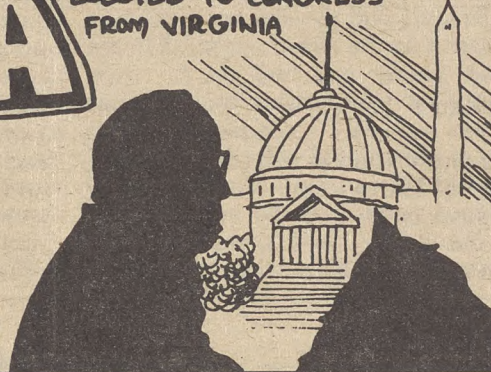
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Richmond News

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VIRGINIA COMIX

ONCE UPON A TIME A YOUNG MAN NAMED BALDWELL CUTLER WAS ELECTED TO CONGRESS FROM VIRGINIA



LIKE MANY MODERATE VIRGINIA REPUBLICANS YOUNG BALDWELL WAS A LITTLE NAIVE...

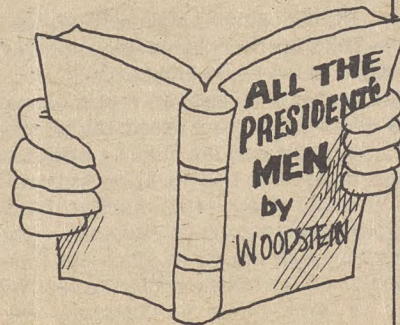
FOR YEARS WE REPUBLICANS HAVE CAMPAIGNED AGAINST CORRUPTION AND MISCONDUCT IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



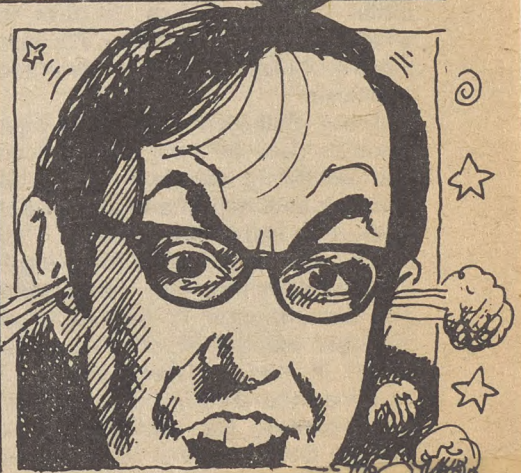
ONE DAY HE FOUND HIMSELF ON THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE LISTENING TO HOW HIS FELLOW REPUBLICANS FOUGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION AND MISCONDUCT:



TO HELP HIM RELAX HIS WIFE READ TO HIM AT NIGHT



FINALLY, VIRGINIA'S REPRESENTATIVE HAD TO PASS JUDGEMENT ON NIXON'S CONDUCT



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Wednesday, July 31, 1974

Washington Star-News



—Associated Press

Rep. Lawrence Hogan confers with Rep. M. Caldwell Butler. (Story on A-4.)

Nation Gets Rare Look at Hill

By William Greider
Washington Post Staff Writer

Everybody kept calling it an ordeal, the terrible drama of impeachment that the House Judiciary Committee staged for the nation via television.

The otherwise peaceful ulcer of Rep. Walter Flowers of Alabama was offered in evidence. Rep. William Hungate of Missouri resorted to sunglasses, his weary eyes stung by the glaring television lights. Rep. William Cohen of Maine had ear trouble, which made it difficult to hear the debate, a welcome affliction at times. Every committee member said, over and again, how anguished they were.

But you know, down deep, Mr. Chairman, they sort of enjoyed it. For the House of Representatives, an assembly where personal glamor is scorned, the impeachment hearings provided an institutional ego trip. For the American public, it was a grand civics lesson in how things work at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan, the Republican from Prince George's County, was peppered with bitter remarks from his conservative friends last week when he announced for impeachment. Now, he says, he is getting cordial notes of congratulation.

"Our colleagues," said Hogan, beaming, "are saying that we have enhanced the prestige of the House. Everybody's used to seeing those buffoons from the Senate on TV. We've shown that the House operates with real dignity."

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, a hitherto little-known freshman from southwest Virgin-

ia, stepped through the lobby doors off the House floor. "Here he comes," an elder colleague proclaimed, with a touch of the needle, "star of stage, screen and television."

At the end of the ordeal, the 38 committee members were exchanging autographs with each other, collected as keepsakes for their grandchildren, no doubt. "E Pluribus Unum," as the banner on their committee room wall proclaims. From many, there was one awesome moment of history.

For the American audience, the civics lesson was just like the ones they teach in high school, partly genuine and partly hokum. Congress, let it be said, does not usually do business with

Commentary

such humid rhetoric about the Founding Fathers. Nor do the 435 representatives always stay in their seats so obediently. The minority, in usual circumstances, is not so long winded; the majority usually shuts it up.

Still, if people were watching, they saw a rare glimpse of a legislative committee at work, tedious and careful, proceeding through the words which, line by line, section by section, added up to an impeachment charge against the President. They spoke in quaint phrases:

"I thank the gentleman for his valuable remarks."

"Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, and I will not object."

"I yield 45 seconds to the gentleman from New York."

Those antique expressions of courtesy still lubricate the legislative process. They are necessary grace notes in a game that is supposed to produce collective judgment out of bitter differences.

Above all, with rare lapses, the Judiciary Committee maintained its civility before the cameras.

Indeed, once they were past that initial trauma of voting the first article of impeachment on Saturday night, the committee members settled comfortably into the routine of voting a second and a third one. It was the normalcy of the proceedings, despite the florid rhetoric, that may be remembered best by history, the orderly way a collection of such different folks proceeded to do the awesome deed.

Parliamentary gamesmanship, a staple in the House of Representatives, ate up a lot of time without changing the outcome in any significant way. Even some members got dizzy when a Sieberling amendment and a McClory amendment and a Wiggins amendment were stacked up on the Hungate substitute to the Donohue resolution.

Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., who presided with a magisterial gavel, was a lot more benign than your average House committee chairman. He hardly said a word for himself, beyond the opening pieties. He allowed members of both parties to dispute on how they should proceed and accepted their collective decisions in good humor.

"There is one hour and 20 minutes remaining," Congressman Flowers asserted at one crossroads. "That is 80 minutes, is it not? That would be 40 minutes to a side. I realize this is the Judiciary Committee, and we don't deal with these numbers very often."

Such small jokes are common in congressional discourse. Congressman Hun-

gate, who represents Mark Twain's old home district in Missouri, offered comic relief of a higher order.

"As I hear the argument," Hungate told his fellow lawyers, "I think I know not why there are not lawsuits in heaven. The other side has all the good lawyers."

Those personal glimpses were educational, too. In between the dramatic moments, different characters performed on screen, people who lacked the majesty of presidential entrance or even the glitter of a handsome senator.

Hutchinson, the ranking blank on the Republican side. Barbara Jordan, a beefy woman with a void made for Shakespeare. Hungate's cracker barrel. Coffey's Mr. Cool. Railback's nasal earnestness. Charlie the Sandman, tossing grit in everybody's eyes. Harold Donohue, whose lullaby could put anyone to sleep.

James Mann, the slow draw marksman from South Carolina. Drinan, the bald priest, not the hot-eyed radical people thought. Trent Lott, the Jaycee from Dixie. Dennis and Wiggins and Mayne, granite face and razor arguments. Jol Maraziti, Jersey's version of "a good ole boy." Elizabeth Holtzman, cold steel from Brooklyn.

What can you make of them? They were an expressive collection of American voices, homely and handsome, comic and vain and tedious, serious and agonized and occasionally eloquent. Yet collectively they are powerful politicians powerful enough to topple a President, anyway. It really is E Pluribus Unum—the branch of government that operates without ruffles and flourishes. *Post 7/31*



By James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) leans over to talk to Rep. James R. Mann (D-S.C.) at impeachment hearing.

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Judiciary Committee votes on a point in Article III. Front row, from left: Wayne Owens, Lawrence Hogan, M. Caldwell Butler and William Cohen. Back row: Robert McClory, Henry P. Smith, Charles W. Sandman and Thomas Railsback.

Panel Approves Article on Defiance of Subpoenas

IMPEACH, From A1

will contain bills of particulars to back up the first two articles.

Supporters of the article on impeachment dealing with Mr. Nixon's refusal to obey committee subpoenas argued that if presidential defiance were not made an offense, impeachment would become an empty provision of the Constitution. They claimed that future Presidents could refuse to turn over any information to impeachment inquiries.

Opponents contended that the charge standing alone did not rise to the level of seriousness required of impeachable offenses, especially since the President had claimed what at the time he could have believed to be a constitutional right to refuse information and the committee had refused to go to court for a decision. Both sides drew on last week's Supreme Court decision in the tapes case, which held that executive privilege, on which the President relied, does exist but is not absolute.

Some on both sides argued that the defiance charge should more properly be made one count in the obstruction of justice or abuse of power articles previously adopted. An attempt to shift it into one of those substantive articles may be made when the House votes on impeachment next month.

Rep. Tom Railsback (R-Ill.), who had voted for the first two articles, vigorously opposed the third as "political overkill." He warned Democratic supporters they could weaken their case in the House by trying to push through an article not solidly based. Railsback recalled that the committee had refused to seek a full House citation of contempt against the President or to go to court to seek enforcement of its subpoenas.

"Watch what happens to your fragile bipartisan coalition" of members who believed there were grounds for the two previously adopted articles on Watergate crimes and violation of citizens' rights, said Railsback. He added, however, that this did not lessen his support for the first two articles.

When the vote came, the 28-to-10 majority—consisting of all 21 Democrats and seven Republicans—which had adopted the second article Monday

slipped to 21 to 17 as two Southern Democrats—Walter Flowers of Alabama and James R. Mann of South Carolina—voted against, and only two Republicans—Robert McClory of Illinois and Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland—voted for it. Hogan was the only Republican member to vote for all three adopted articles.

McClory sponsored the defiance article. He noted that the Constitution vests "sole" power over impeachment in the House, but contended that if the President has the right to "determine the extent to which the inquiry is carried on, we don't have sole power." He quoted a rule of law that "a person cannot be the judge of his own cause."

Rep. Charles E. Wiggins (R-Calif.) opposed the amendment, contending that since the committee had found enough "clear and convincing" evidence to recommend impeachment in two articles, it could not now turn around and recommend impeachment for failure to provide evidence. "You can't have your cake and eat it, too," said Wiggins.

Rep. Wayne Owens (Utah) said the committee "must say to future Presidents that impeachment will be automatic if the President uses his unique power to stonewall. He is the only person in the United States who can refuse to honor a congressional subpoena because he is the commander in chief and the head of the executive branch and we haven't the physical ability to overcome his defiance."

Rep. Harold V. Froehlich (R-Wis.), who had voted for the first two articles but opposed the third, called the subpoenas issue a "classic confrontation" between two branches of government, which should be settled by the courts.

The committee had refused to seek court enforcement of its subpoenas on grounds that this would require delegating to the courts some of the impeachment power which the Constitution placed solely in the House.

Rep. Ray Thornton (D-Ark.) offered an amendment, adopted 24 to 14, designed to make clear that presidential defiance of a congressional subpoena would be an impeachable offense only in an impeachment inquiry, not in response to a committee drafting general legislation.

Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier (D-Wis.) responded to Wiggins' contention that

the committee appeared to have plenty of evidence by saying that other impeachment articles on the milk and International Telephone & Telegraph Corp. matters might have succeeded had Mr. Nixon turned over subpoenaed tapes.

Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.) argued that if the committee failed to approve the article on presidential defiance, "we will diminish if not destroy the only safety valve in the Constitution to protect ourselves against a President who so misbehaves that he poses a threat to the country." In a parliamentary system, new elections can be called when the government loses a vote of confidence, but in the United States a President serves at least four years unless impeached.

But Rep. David W. Dennis (R-Ind.) argued that the committee was in effect saying to the President: If you don't agree with our view of the Constitution we are going to impeach you. "The President believed he had a constitutional right of executive privilege to withhold" the material, said Dennis.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.), who supported the first two articles, opposed the third. "Would this article standing alone constitute impeachable conduct?" asked Butler. "I think not."

"We don't need this article," said Butler. "It serves no useful purpose." He added that it offended his sense of fair play because the committee had not exhausted other means, through the courts or a House contempt citation, to enforce its subpoenas.

Flowers, who had agonized his way to supporting the first two articles, joined Butler for the same reasons.

The committee's subpoenas had been approved by wide margins, up to 37 to 1. The only member to vote against all of them was Rep. Edward Hutchinson (R-Mich.), the committee's senior Republican, who felt they were a futile gesture because they could not be enforced.

"Just as the President cannot order the House to do anything," said Hutchinson yesterday, "so I also think the House cannot order the President to do anything."

But sponsors of the article contended that the President cannot rely on the separation of powers doctrine to justify his non-compliance and that the impeachment provision is an exception to this doctrine.

Hutchinson also said he had abandoned a position taken early in the impeachment inquiry when he said that "the doctrine of executive privilege must fall" in an impeachment inquiry. Hutchinson said he had changed his mind after the Supreme Court last week recognized that some privilege does exist.

The proposed article on the Cambodia bombing was doomed from the start, but its authors insisted on making a record that in their view the President had violated the Constitution by concealing the B-52 raids from Congress and the American public.

The impeachment inquiry staff had published an inch-thick memorandum on the bombing but had not made any judgment on Mr. Nixon's role. Some senior Democrats who voted for impeachment on other articles had hoped to keep it from coming up for debate.

Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.), sponsor of the article, said it would serve notice to other Presidents that Congress has the right to declare war. "Many people have forgotten who has the power to declare war in 1974 in the United States," he said.

The bombing of Cambodia was ordered by President Nixon in early 1969 and was not formally reported to Congress until 1973.

The Conyers article specified that Mr. Nixon had violated his constitutional oath by concealing the raids, not by ordering them in the first place, and by giving Congress false information on the nature and scope of the bombing.

Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman (D-N.Y.) asserted that the President had not only

concealed the bombing but misled the public by insisting in public statements that the neutrality of Cambodia was not being violated.

But opponents insisted that Congress had to share blame for not acting early to end the bombing. They provided statements from military leaders that key officials of both the House and Senate had been privately informed of the bombing.

Republicans also observed that President Johnson had acted secretly in beginning escalation of the war in Vietnam before Mr. Nixon came to office. "How many articles of impeachment were filed against President Johnson for his part?" asked Flowers. "This is a bad rap on President Nixon." He acridly told proponents, "You don't have any corner on conscience on this matter and my conscience requires that I vote against it."

One Republican, Rep. Harry P. Smith (N.Y.), had indicated last week that he might be prepared to vote for an impeachment article dealing with Cambodia on grounds that the public and Congress had been deceived.

But yesterday, Smith voted against Conyers' resolution, contending that "too many aspects are not clear" and complaining that the committee had not gone into the issue deeply enough. The final vote opposing the article was 26 to 12.

The committee wound up last night with frequently bitter two-hour debate in prime television time on an article that Mr. Nixon should be impeached because he willfully attempted to evade the payment of a portion of his federal income taxes from 1969 to 1972. The article also alleged that Mr.

Nixon violated his oath of office by receiving unconstitutional emoluments specifically in the form of improvements to his private estates in California and Florida and travel for his family.

The tax charge centered on Mr. Nixon's attempt to claim a \$576,000 charitable deduction on his 1969 taxes for donating his vice presidential papers to the National Archives. It has been shown that the paper deeding the gift was signed after the federal law allowing such deductions had expired.

Rep. Edward Mezvinsky (D-Iowa) who sponsored the article, said the tax charge was an impeachable offense even though it did not involve an official act. Mr. Nixon benefited from his official office because the illegal deduction would have left Mr. Nixon open to a tax-evasion count if he had been a private citizen.

"He took advantage of the presidency to avoid paying the proper taxes," Mezvinsky said. "It's not just the Treasury that's poorer, but the whole system of self-government."

The fault cannot be traced solely to Mr. Nixon's aides and tax lawyer, Mezvinsky said, because there is evidence that the President paid close attention to his personal finances. "And remember, he was on the bottom line," he added.

But Wiggins contended that Mr. Nixon's role in the transaction was minimal. The final decision, he said, came in a 85-minute meeting in April, 1973 when the President was told by his tax and personal lawyers that the deduction was proper.

"That's how finely this web of fraud is spun," Wiggins said sarcastically.

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1 of 3

Butler Vote Is Vilified, Praised

WHEN I ANNOUNCED in the last election to one of my fellow conservatives that in addition to my support for our very able President, Mr. Nixon, I would vote for Mr. Caldwell Butler, he stated that Mr. Butler was a phony conservative and that time would show it, and it has.

Mr. Butler states he has accepted the President's support and favors and admits he is a fine President but he has been one of his worst enemies by his words and actions; mainly by saying "I like the President but" thus damning with faint praise.

Now he has managed to talk out of both sides of his mouth and work his way around to join the liberal elements who are now swarming around him telling him what a good conservative he is.

I should like to advise my fellow conservatives to consider not voting at all rather than vote for Mr. Butler. We do not have much choice.

J.J. SEBASTIAN, M.D.

Lexington

Favors Nixon

I'M SURE in these impeachment hearings Mr. Butler acted according to his convictions, but I disagree with his assumption that President Nixon is guilty of an impeachable offense. Indeed, he is the only President since I started voting I have felt had the good of the country paramount in his actions and has consistently fought its enemies. Unfortunately he has had more enemies at home than abroad.

As I watch the impeachment proceedings on TV, I am struck by the President's opponents who want to hurry the proceedings. This is the most solemn occasion any of us, hopefully, will ever witness. It deserves long and careful deliberation and rebuttal. If I remember correctly, the infamous "Chicago Seven's" trial lasted four years. The Angela Daves and Daniel Ellsbergs are freed on technicalities. Why such a hurry to convict a President who has ended a war, brought the prisoners home, stopped the draft, reversed the tide of permissiveness and tried to eliminate some wasteful and even harmful federal programs?

MRS. ROY BURGESS

Martinsville

Butler Decision

I NOTICE a great deal of publicity as "Butler Held Role of Nixon Backer for Many Years." Of course, Rep. Butler was a Nixon backer when it was popular in this area to do so. When the Nixon hand was playing and the crowds cheering, Rep. Butler was beating his chest and marching right along, but when the going gets rough and the cheers have stopped, and the bands are playing for the opposition, Rep. Butler yells "I'm for impeachment!"

Any good lawyer (and Rep. Butler is a good one) can prepare a case for or against impeaching almost any president, and I am reasonably sure it would depend on his popularity at the moment as to how much support it would get, and almost any good attorney could prepare a one-sided statement to present to the public as his excuse for doing so.

At an hour when all politicians are suspect, one cannot help but believe that Rep. Butler surely must have thought, in this election year, that he would gain more votes than he would lose by stating that he would vote for impeachment.

I remember the Roosevelt days and the awesome power he possessed and wielded relentlessly.

There were no tapes and no talk of impeachment, yet what went on in the big cities (political corruption) and in some states (West Virginia, New Jersey, Illinois, etc.) would make Watergate and Nixon's power politics look like a Boy Scout caper. I know, because I was involved in West Virginia politics at the time!

RUFUS HURT

Roanoke

7-31-74

Tax Case Roll Call

WASHINGTON (AP) — Here is the 26 to 12 roll call vote by which the House Judiciary Committee rejected a proposed impeachment article citing President Nixon for his tax troubles.

For the amendment: 12.

Democrats for: 12.

Brooks, Tex.; Kastenmeier, Wis.; Edwards, Calif.; Conyers, Mich.; Eilberg, Pa.

Deiberling, Ohio; Danielson, Calif.; Rangel, N.Y.; Jordan, Tex.; Holtzman, N.Y.

Mezvinsky, Iowa; Rodino, N.J.

Democrats Against: 9.

Donohue, Mass.; Hungate, Mo.; Waldie, Calif.; Flowers, Ala.; Mann, S.C.

Sarbanes, Md.; Drinan, Mass.; Thornton, Ark.; Owens, Utah.

Republicans against: 17.

Hutchinson, Mich.; McClory, Ill.; Smith, N.Y.; Sandman, N.J.; Railsback, Ill.

Wiggins, Calif.; Dennis, Ind.; Fish, N.Y.; Mayne, Iowa; Hogan, Md.

Butler, Va.; Cohen, Maine; Lott, Miss.; Froehlich, Wis.; Moorhead, Calif.

Maraziti, N.J.; Latta, Ohio.

Subpoenas Roll Call

WASHINGTON (AP) — Here is the 21-17 roll call vote by which the House Judiciary Committee approved an article of impeachment charging President Nixon with violating his oath of office by refusing to give the committee subpoenaed evidence for its impeachment investigation.

For the article: 21

Democrats for: 19

Donohue, Mass.; Brooks, Tex.; Kastenmeier, Wis.; Edwards, Calif.; Hungate, Mo.

Conyers, Mich.; Eilberg, Pa.; Waldie, Calif.; Sarbanes, Md.; Seiberling, Ohio.

Danielson, Calif.; Drinan, Mass.; Rangel, N.Y.; Jordan, Tex.; Thornton, Ark.

Holtzman, N.Y.; Owens, Utah; Mezvinsky, Iowa; Rodino, N.J.

Republicans for: 2.

McClory, Ill.; Hogan, Md.

Against the article: 17

Democrats Against: 2.

Flowers, Ala.; Mann, S.C.

Republicans Against: 15.

Hutchinson, Mich.; Smith, N.Y.; Sandman, N.J.; Railsback, Ill.; Wiggins, Calif.

Dennis, Ind.; Fish, N.Y.; Mayne, Iowa; Butler, Va.; Cohen, Maine.

Lott, Miss.; Froehlich, Wis.; Moorhead, Calif.; Maraziti, N.J.; Latta, Ohio.

Cambodia Roll Call

WASHINGTON (AP) — Here is the 26-12 roll call vote by which the House Judiciary Committee rejected an article of impeachment asking that President Nixon be impeached for the 1969 secret bombing of Cambodia.

For the article: 12

Democrats for: 12

Brooks, Tex.; Kastenmeier, Wis.; Edwards, Calif.; Hungate, Mo.; Conyers, Mich.

Waldie, Calif.; Drinan, Mass.; Rangel, N.Y.; Jordan, Tex.; Holtzman, N.Y.

Owens, Utah; Mezvinsky, Iowa.

Democrats against: 9.

Donohue, Mass.; Eilberg, Pa.; Flowers, Ala.; Mann, S.C.; Sarbanes, Md.; Seiberling, Ohio; Danielson, Calif.; Thornton, Ark.; Rodino, N.J.

Republicans against: 17.

Hutchinson, Mich.; McClory, Ill.; Smith, N.Y.; Sandman, N.J.; Railsback, Ill.

Wiggins, Calif.; Dennis, Ind.; Fish, N.Y.; Mayne, Iowa; Hogan, Md.

Butler, Va.; Cohen, Maine; Lott, Miss.; Froehlich, Wis.; Moorhead, Calif.

Maraziti, N.J.; Latta, Ohio.

PRESUMED INNOCENT

THE
NEWS

8/31/74

Views On Impeachment Reiterated By Godwin

By GEORGE W. WILBUR

RICHMOND (AP) — Gov. Mills Godwin said Tuesday that his views on the possible impeachment of President Nixon have not been altered by House Judiciary Committee deliberations in Washington.

He told a news conference that the committee was exercising its judgement on the basis of evidence not available to the general public and "I'm not criticizing them for their actions."

At the same time, however, Godwin reiterated an assertion he has made frequently in the past:

"I think the President is entitled to the same presumption of innocence as any other individual," he said.

The governor said the same principle applied to former Treasury Secretary John Connally, indicted Monday by the Watergate grand jury on charges of bribery.

Throughout his comments to numerous questions on the impeachment controversy, Godwin adroitly avoided taking a partisan stance and emphasized repeatedly that Nixon's guilt or innocence should not be prejudged by anyone.

He conceded, however, that events of recent weeks "have certainly not been on the plus side as far as the President is concerned."

Opinions Differ

The governor said there remains considerable difference of opinion between "many learned lawyers and judges" on whether the Constitution restricts the grounds for impeachment to criminal acts.

But he said he personally felt that the articles of impeachment would have to be based on "more than inadvertent oversights" and would certainly have to include actions touching upon criminal matters.

Godwin said he personally hoped that the question of impeachment would be "decided one way or another" without delay because the country could not afford any further "paralysis" in its government.

Asked again whether he thought the pro-impeachment votes by Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler would hurt his chances for re-election this fall in Virginia's 6th District, the governor said, "I question seriously whether they will have any effect."

Like the other judiciary committee members, he said, Butler was "exercising his own best judgement on the basis of the evidence as he interpreted it."

where attempts are being made to form police unions.

—He is "optimistic" that federal Secretary of Transportation Claude S. Brinegar will expedite approval for construction of an unfinished segment of Interstate 66 in Arlington County.

—There is "no conflict of which I'm aware" between Virginia Tech officials and the Council of Higher Education on a proposal to build a school for veterinary medicine on the

Blacksburg campus.

On this issue, Godwin said he still favors a regional approach to establishing such a school but believes Tech would offer the best solution to solving the need for new veterinarians in the northern tier of states belonging to the Southern Region Education Board.

At the same time, he emphasized that Virginia's tight revenue situation makes it unlikely that any capital outlay funds for such a school can be

provided in the foreseeable future.

—There has been no final decision on where to build a new reception and diagnostic center or what to do with state property in the Green Springs section of Louisa County originally earmarked for the facility.

—He still feels that higher salaries for correctional officers and new facilities should be priority goals in Virginia's correctional reform program.

Farm Meet To Bring Officials

Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter will be a guest panelist for the farm conference to be held Monday at McCormick Farm at Steeles Tavern.

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler announced yesterday that Yeutter will participate. The conference is being sponsored by Butler and 7th District Rep. Kenneth Robinson.

The panel discussion will begin at 10 a.m. and will be followed by a free barbecue luncheon at noon.

"Mr. Yeutter is a lawyer, an economist and a farmer, and he has extensive background in domestic farm affairs," Butler said. "He knows all aspects of agriculture, and we are extremely lucky to have him."

Yeutter heads the International Affairs and Commodity Programs Division of the Department of Agriculture and is responsible for the areas of domestic farm programs and for export markets for American farm products.

He received a law degree and Ph. D. in agricultural economics from the University of Nebraska. He has served as both administrator and assistant secretary for the Department of Agriculture's consumer and marketing service.

Yeutter joins Rep. William Wampler, ranking minority member of the House Agriculture Committee as guest panelist for the conference. Robinson and Butler will complete the panel.

Also participating in the conference as resource personnel will be representatives of the Soil Conservation Service, Farmers Home Administration, State Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Agricultural Stabilization and Con-

servation Service, Occupational Safety and Health Administration and V.P.I.'s Agriculture Extension Service and the Agriculture Experiment Station.

Each will be available for individual consultation and discussion, Butler said.

Hogan Reports Decision Led to 'Personal Abuse'

By Martha Angle and
Shirley Elder
Star-News Staff Writers

Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan, R-Md., has appealed to other House Republicans to study the evidence carefully before condemning him and other GOP members of the Judiciary Committee for supporting impeachment of President Nixon.

In a letter yesterday to all House Republicans, Hogan said he has been "subjected to a great deal of personal abuse" from some of his congressional colleagues, political workers and even personal friends since last week, when he announced his intention to vote for impeachment.

In the letter Hogan said: "To my fellow Republicans who have asked, 'How can you vote to impeach a Republican president?', I ask them in turn, 'How can I vote to excuse the wrongdoing of a Republican president?'"

HOGAN, a candidate for

opponent if I was going to drop out. I told him he'd better go ahead and give it to her — that she was going to need it," Hogan said last night.

The Maryland congressman said he has not seen Zion since last Wednesday and does not know whether the Indiana Republican contributed to Miss Gore's campaign.

Hogan said there has been "not the slightest rancor" among Republicans on the Judiciary Committee, despite the split which saw 7 of the 17 vote to impeach the President.

The other six, who agreed with that observation, were Reps. Tom Railsback of Illinois, Robert McClory of Illinois, William S. Cohen of Maine, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, Harold V. Froehlich of Wisconsin, and Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York.

NOR HAVE THESE GOP

members encountered hos-

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McClory of Illinois, William S.
Cohen of Maine, M. Caldwell
Butler of Virginia, Harold V.
Froehlich of Wisconsin, and
Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York.

HE POINTED OUT that for the first six months
of 1974 there had been eight robberies, 29 assaults
and four disorderly offenses on Metro buses.
Roughly speaking, this would mean there was an
incident for every 1.2 million passenger trips on a
Metrobus, Maclean said, adding "Some of the inci-
dents (reported) are pretty minor."
Johnson said the COG study, made earlier this
year, shows that crime isn't a significant factor in
keeping people from riding Metrobuses. Maclean
echoed the conclusion, pointing out that statistics
seem to favor COG's conclusion rather than the
TRB study.
The TRB study, one of five reports released last
month, also analyzed crime in rapid rail systems
and pointed out certain precautions that should be
taken to reduce such crime.
Maclean said Metro has been working on an anti-
crime program for this area's planned 98.5-mile
system. The first 4.6 mile segment is due to begin
operating next summer.
Maclean said Metro will have its own police
force, that stations have been designed to elimi-
nate darkened areas where assailants might hide
the GOP

people more concerned with levels of service than
with personal security. He said the top four con-
cerns, in the order of importance, convenience of
the bus route, frequency of service, how long the
bus takes and whether the bus is clean or not.
Metro's director of security, Angus Maclean,
noting he is familiar with both studies, said the
"perception of crime in the District is horrible. But
the crime rate isn't as bad as people think it is."



—Associated Press

Rep. Lawrence Hogan confers with Rep. M. Caldwell Butler. (Story on A-4.)

Wash. Star News 7/31

front pg 7-31-74 WJW

Hearings on impeachment end

WASHINGTON (AP) — Proclaiming that President Nixon "warrants impeachment and trial and removal from office," the House Judiciary Committee has ended its historic inquiry with a three-part resolution to be sent to the House.

In it the committee recommends Nixon's impeachment for obstructing justice, misuse of his powers and failing to obey its committee subpoenas for evidence.

Debate in the House will begin in about two weeks.

The third impeachment article relating to the subpoenas was approved Tuesday by a narrow 21-17 vote.

The three articles of impeachment charge Nixon with "high crimes and misdemeanors" by:

—Obstructing justice in covering up the Watergate affair,

the break-in of Democratic national headquarters June 17, 1972, once described by a White House spokesman as just a "third-rate burglary."

—Abusing his powers through misuse of federal agents and agencies to violate constitutional rights of citizens by wiretapping, income tax audits and other activities.

—Refusing to comply with committee subpoenas for 147 tape-recorded conversations and other material sought as evidence by the inquiry.

Rejected as impeachable offenses before the committee concluded its inquiry were proposed articles recommending impeachment for concealing the bombing of Cambodia from Congress, and perpetrating tax fraud by underpaying his income taxes. Both were defeated by 26-12 votes.

The committee's recommendations must first face the formality of passing through the House Rules Committee before making their way to the House floor.

A majority vote is needed in the House to impeach the President. The Senate then would conduct a trial, in which a two-thirds majority would be

needed to convict and remove Nixon from office.

The House committee's proceedings ended with a rap from the gavel of Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. and his ruling that "This concludes the work of the committee."

As he left the committee room, Rep. Charles E. Wiggins, R-Calif., Nixon's leading defender during the six days of debate and voting on the impeachment articles said: "At the moment, I would have to say the odds are that the House would pass them."

The final day of the committee's deliberations saw a break-down in the bipartisan coalition that adopted the first two articles by votes of 27 to 11 and 28 to 10. The committee has 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans, all lawyers.

Although the second-ranking Republican, Rep. Robert

McClory, R-Ill., offered the article dealing with subpoenas, it won the support of only one other Republican, Rep. Lawrence Hogan of Maryland. Hogan was the only Republican to vote for all three articles that were adopted.

In urging adoption of Article III, McClory said Nixon's refusal to comply with eight committee subpoenas for 147 taped conversations was an act of "stonewalling" that threatened the impeachment process itself.

But other Republicans, although they had supported the issuing of the subpoenas, said Nixon's failure to comply with them was not a serious enough offense to warrant impeachment by itself.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., a backer of the first two

See PROBERS, Pg. 2, Col. 1

Probers end hearings; action by House next

From Page 1

articles, said Article III offended his sense of fair play.

"The adoption of Articles I and II will have placed the issue of whether the President should be removed before the Senate," he said. "We don't need any more articles."

Some Democrats agreed, notably Reps. Walter Flowers, D-Ala., and James R. Mann, D-S.C., who voted against Article III, and after the vote Rodino held a caucus of Democratic members to see if an agreement could be reached to call a halt. It could not.

Since the inquiry began last winter different members have staked out different areas of interest, and the secret bombing of Cambodia and Nixon's underpayment of his income taxes had a solid nucleus of support among the Democrats as possible impeachable offenses.

Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., who offered the Cambodian bombing article, said concealment of the bombing from Congress and the Ameri-

can people "presents indisputable evidence of impeachable conduct."

The debate over the article produced melancholy echoes of the debate over the Vietnam War, with most Republicans pointing out that Nixon inherited it from former President Lyndon B. Johnson.

"You want to throw him out because he ended the war," said Rep. Charles W. Sandman Jr., R-N.J. "Anybody else would get a medal, but you want to impeach him."

Rep. Delbert Latta, R-Ohio, said "the mothers and wives of servicemen who are alive today because of the action President Nixon took would ask us not to vote impeachment because of an act that saved the lives of their loved ones."

Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., said it was not the bombing itself, but the concealing of it from Congress and the falsifying of official records that warranted impeachment.

All 12 votes for the article

were cast by Democrats. Nine other Democrats, led by Rodino, joined the 17 Republicans in defeating it.

Rep. Edward Mezvinsky, D-Iowa, and Rep. Jack Brooks, D-Tex., led the effort to add an article covering Nixon's taxes and the use of government funds to improve his private property at San Clemente and Key Biscayne to the impeachment resolution.

Mezvinsky said both criminal wrongdoing and abuse of presidential powers were involved in the backdating of a deed to make valid a gift of pre-presidential papers, for which Nixon claimed a \$576,000 income tax deduction.

After an investigation, the Internal Revenue Service disallowed the deduction and billed Nixon for \$432,787 in back taxes.

"The President has set us a very sorry example," said Rep. Wiley Mayne, R-Iowa. "Even if it was technically legal, it was highly improper to claim such

a huge deduction for his personal papers. But much as I deplore it, the question is, did he commit fraud?"

Mayne said he did not, but only followed the advice of tax experts.

Latta said he could find the President guilty of "gross negligence" for not going over his tax returns more carefully, but that no finding of fraud could be sustained.

The long inquiry began officially last October when impeachment resolutions were assigned to the committee. It really got going for the members last May 9 when the staff began presenting the evidence it had gathered.

It was 11:07 when Rodino rapped his gavel to end the inquiry.

The committee report is supposed to be ready by next Wednesday, at which time Rodino probably will request a meeting of the Rules Committee to set the terms for the House debate.



Associated Press

Rep. George Danielson (top), D-Calif., Rep. Charles Rangel (left), D-N.Y., and Rep. Caldwell Butler show effects of lights

House V. Nixon Concludes Impeachment Inquiry

7-26-75
313 FEDERAL BLDG.
LYNCHBURG, VA. 24505

THE NEWS 7/31/74

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee formally concluded its epic impeachment inquiry Tuesday night by thrice urging "in the name ... of all the people" that Richard M. Nixon be stripped of the presidency for high crime and other misconduct.

In the final hours the committee voted a third impeachment article for Nixon's defiance of its subpoenas. It rejected charges based on his personal finances and the secret bombing of Cambodia.

"This concludes the work of the committee," intoned Chairman Peter W. Rodino, D-N.J., after the final vote less than an hour before midnight.

Thus, automatically and without a final symbolic vote, the panel of 38 lawyers affirmed a covering resolution as the vehicle for action by the House — and possibly the Senate — on three articles charging the Republican executive with "high crimes and misdemeanors." To wit:

—Obstructing justice in covering up the Watergate affair, a political scandal born two years ago when Republican agents burglarized and bugged Democratic national headquarters.

—Misusing federal agents and agencies in broad-scale violation of citizens' rights through wire-tapping, tax investigations and other activities.

—Refusing to comply with eight committee subpoenas for 147 tape-recorded conversations and other material sought as evidence for the impeachment inquiry.

The end of the committee's six days of nationally televised deliberations seemed almost anti-climactic after the high drama of the initial, crucial vote Saturday night on the first impeachment article.

The committee's umbrella resolution urged that a majority of the 435-

member House, "in the name of itself and of all the people of the United States of America," place Nixon on trial in the Senate. There, a two-thirds vote would convict and remove him from office.

Only once before in America's 198 years has a presidential impeachment come this far — in 1868 when Andrew Johnson was impeached by the House but acquitted by the Senate.

Innocence Proclaimed

Nixon, who 20 months ago was re-elected with the largest popular vote in the nation's history, has repeatedly proclaimed he is innocent of an impeachable offense. And he has vowed to fight to the bitter end of a Senate trial if necessary.

There was no immediate comment Tuesday night from Nixon or his spokesmen.

But four hours before the committee's final vote, Treasury Secretary William E. Simon emerged from a meeting with Nixon declaring "I've never seen the President in a more positive, affirmative frame of mind."

The committee is expected to take

about a week to prepare the back-up report accompanying the resolution sent to the House, including dissenting views of Nixon's defenders.

Those presidential supporters found themselves on the losing side of the votes on the three articles: 27 to 11 on the first, 28 to 10 on the second and 21 to 17 on the third.

Bipartisan Edge

The size of the bipartisan edge on the first two articles has caused even some of Nixon's staunchest defenders to concede that House impeachment is a strong possibility.

Republican Sen. John Tower of Texas, for example, said Tuesday the White House view that the issue will never reach a Senate trial "is a singularly unenlightened one."

House debate is expected to start in mid-August and last about two weeks. If impeachment is voted, congressional leaders hope to begin a Senate trial in late September.

The charge that Nixon evaded income taxes and used federal funds to improve his California and Florida homes was defeated 26 to 12 after two

See Panel, A-8, Col. 2

Va., Wed., July 31, 1974

Panel Debates Case

Continued From A-1

hours of sometimes acrimonious debate.

The committee rejected by the same margin an attempt to cite the secret bombing of Cambodia as a fourth impeachment article. This decision came hours after it had adopted 21 to 17 the third article on Nixon's defiance of the panel's demands for evidence.

In all, the panel had logged 35 hours, 46 minutes in the open phase of its deliberations.

Rep. Edward Mezvinsky, D-Iowa, offered an article charging the President "knowingly and fraudulently failed to report certain income and claimed deductions ... on his federal income tax returns which were not authorized by law."

Rep. Charles Sandman, R-N.J., argued "there is absolutely no attempt to defraud" in the President's tax returns. "You cannot be held for fraud if you rely on the advice of an attorney and that's what Richard Nixon did."

"I'm thoroughly convinced," said Mezvinsky "that the evidence justifies — indeed it even demands — that the President be called to account for the matter of how he handled his federal tax returns."

Basis Of Article

The tax article was based primarily on findings that because of im-

proper deductions for the tax years 1969 through 1972, the President was liable for \$432,787 in back taxes and penalties. Nixon subsequently agreed to pay the amount.

In recommending Nixon's removal from office, the committee voted 27 to 11 Saturday to accuse Nixon of obstructing justice in the Watergate coverup and decided 28 to 10 Monday to charge him with misusing federal agencies.

"Prime Example"

The third article was submitted by the committee's second ranking Republican, Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois, who said Nixon's defiance of subpoenas for 147 taped conversations was, "the prime example of stonewalling."

It was the only one of the impeachment articles sponsored by a Republican.

The Cambodia proposal marked the first time all 17 Republicans voted against an impeachment article.

Rep. Hamilton Fish Jr., R-N.Y., said "the fact is, we in the Congress share responsibility" for keeping the facts of the Cambodia bombing from the American people.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., noted that congressional leaders were told about the bombing but did not

pass the information to other members of Congress.

All 17 of the Republicans opposed the motion and were joined by nine of the Democrats, including chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. The panel then recessed for 90 minutes before entering what likely would be its final session.

The Cambodia article was offered by Rep. John Conyers, D-Mich., and charged Nixon "ordered and ratified the concealment from the Congress of the facts ... (of) the scope and nature of American bombing operations in Cambodia."

Debate Limited

Time for debate was limited to 90 minutes and eight committee members said they wanted to speak in support of it while 12 Republicans and southern Democrats sought time to oppose it.

Conyers said Nixon "unilaterally took action against another sovereign nation then denied to us and the American people that he had done so."

Rep. Delbert L. Latta, R-Ohio, said there were more than 500,000 American troops in Southeast Asia and "I think the American people, particularly the mothers and wives of the men who are alive today" would oppose impeachment because of the bombing.

Most State Solons Undecided

By The Associated Press

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, 6th District, is apparently the only member of Virginia's congressional delegation who has decided how to vote in the House impeachment proceedings.

Spokesmen for the state's other nine congressmen told the Fredericksburg Free Lance Star that their bosses won't reach any decision until evidence is presented to the House.

Typical of remarks was that

of a spokesman for 8th District Rep. Stanford E. Parris, a Republican, who said "the congressman is looking through the 39 volumes of evidence collected by the House Judiciary Committee.

"He has consistently said he will reach his decision solely on the basis of the evidence."

A spokesman for 7th District Republican Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson, said Robinson "does not want to vote to impeach the President. He is looking for ways not to do it. But the congressman will not make up his

mind until he has seen all the evidence."

Rep. Robert W. Daniel, R-4th, remains undecided on the impeachment issue, according to his spokesman.

The spokesman said Daniel has issued a statement saying he was sure Butler had reached his decision as a matter of conscience based on the facts but that "it is possible for different people to see the same set of facts different ways."

See MOST, B-3

Most

Continued From B-1

An aide to Rep. G. William Whitehurst, R-2nd, said Whitehurst has "expressed dismay about many things which went on in this administration," but wants to examine all evidence before reaching a conclusion.

A spokesman for Rep. David E. Satterfield, D-3rd, said the congressman "hasn't made up his mind and won't until he hears all the facts."

Spokesmen for William C. Wampler, R-9th; Joel T. Broyhill, R-10th; Thomas N. Downing, D-1st and W. C. "Dan" Daniel, D-5th, also said they were undecided on the impeachment question.

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Butler Speaks Strongly In Favor Of Impeachment

Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler voted Saturday in favor of the first article of impeachment against President Richard M. Nixon, and on Monday voted in favor of a second article of impeachment.

Butler, in an opening statement Thursday, told the House Judiciary Committee that "there are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President..."

Butler's complete opening is printed below:

For years we Republicans have campaigned against corruption and misconduct in the Administration of the Government of the United States by the other party.

And somehow or other we have found the circumstances to bring that issue before the American people in every succeeding national campaign.

But Watergate is our shame. Those things happened in the Republican Administration while we had a Republican in the White House and every single person convicted to date has one way or the other owed allegiance to the Republican party.

We cannot indulge ourselves the luxury of patronizing or excusing the misconduct of our own people. These things have happened in our house. And it is our responsibility to do what we can to clear it up.

It is we, not the Democrats, who must demonstrate that we are capable of enforcing the high standards we would set for them.

The gentleman from California, Mr. Wiggins, in his remarks of this morning reminds us once more that we must measure the conduct of the President against the standards imposed by law.

I would like to share with you for a moment some observations I have with reference to these standards.

The conduct which the American people are reasonably entitled to expect of the President is spelled out in part in our Constitution and part in our statutes. And we are particularly grateful to our colleague from New York, Congressman Fish, for his exposition on the duties imposed upon the President by our Constitution.

It is my judgment also that the standard of conduct which the American people are reasonably entitled to expect of their President is established in part by experience and precedent. And this is one reason why I am so convinced about what has been revealed to us by our investigation.

It will be remembered that only a few hours ago the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. Mayne, has argued that we should not impeach because of comparable misconduct in previous Administrations.

There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President, because we will by this proceeding establish as a matter of record a standard of conduct for the President which will be for all time a matter of public record.

If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people. We will have condoned and left unpunished a Presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process he has sworn to uphold. And we will have condoned and left unpunished an abuse of power totally without justification.

And we will have said to the American people these misdeeds are inconsequential and unimportant.

The people of the United States are entitled to assume that their President is telling the truth. The pattern of misrepresentation and half-truths that emerges from our investigation reveals a Presidential quality cynically based on the premise that the truth itself is negotiable.

Consider the case of Richard Kleindienst, nominee for the Attorney General of the United States. The President had told him in unmistakable terms that he was not to appeal the I.T.T. case. But before the Senate of the United States, Mr. Kleindienst explicitly denied any effort by the President to influence him in this regard. And the President who had knowledge of this affirmed to the people of the United States his continuing confidence in this man.

The record is replete with official Presidential misrepresentations of non-involvement, and representations of investigations and reports never made if indeed undertaken at all. There are two references to a Dean report which we have not seen.

Consider the case of Daniel Schorr. In a moment of euphoria on Air Force I, Presidential aides called upon the FBI to investigate this Administration critic. Upon revelation, Presidential aides fabricated and the President affirmed that Schorr was being investigated for Federal appointment.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Let me also observe that throughout the extensive transcripts made available to us of intimate Presidential conversation and discussions there is no real evidence of regret for what has occurred or remorse or resolutions to change and precious little reference to or concern for constitutional responsibility, or reflection upon the basic obligations of the office of the President.

In short, a power appears to have corrupted. It is a sad chapter in American history but I cannot condone what I have heard, I cannot excuse it and I cannot and will not stand still for it.

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Butler votes against last three articles

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Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke, who has said that he feels President Nixon should be impeached, declined to vote for three additional articles of impeachment that were presented yesterday.

Butler, a Republican who represents the Sixth Congressional District, and is a member of the House Judiciary Committee, said that he feels the two articles already approved are sufficient.

Butler voted Saturday with five other Republicans on the committee to impeach the president on charges of obstruction of justice in the Watergate coverup and one

finding that Nixon has abused the powers of the presidency.

During debate yesterday, Butler said that approving additional articles of impeachment "would extend this proceeding unnecessarily...and we don't need the additional article."

He opposed one motion that would ask for impeachment on the grounds that the President had usurped constitutional powers in his decision to bomb Cambodia during the Vietnam war.

The motion was defeated 28-12.

Late last night, Butler joined the committee majority in refusing to support impeachment

of Nixon for alleged irregularities in his tax returns and misuse of public funds for improvements to his Florida and California homes.

He also opposed an article relating to the President's refusal to comply with subpoenas of tapes in the Watergate case.

Butler said he is concerned about this matter, but "to impeach a president for failure to cooperate in his own impeachment inquiry...in my opinion is unfair. This article violates my sense of fair play and I'm prepared to vote against it."

He said that he feels that impeachment on these grounds without exhausting other avenues is "unwise."

Pg 2

7-31-94

WN



AP Photo

Rep. Lawrence Hogan (left) and Rep. Caldwell Butler Confer

Butler Opposes Last 3 Articles

By JACK BETTS
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., who has voted twice in the last five days in support of articles to impeach President Nixon, declared Tuesday the committee needed no further articles and voted against 3 more impeachment motions.

Butler voted with 14 other Republicans and two Democrats Tuesday afternoon in opposing a successful move to impeach the President for failure to comply with committee subpoenas for presidential tape recordings.

The Roanoke native had voted for each of the committee's subpoenas approved on four different occasions during the sixth-month impeachment inquiry.

Later, Butler opposed another motion — that lost 26-12 — to impeach the President on grounds that he had abused his office and usurped constitutional powers in his decision to bomb Cambodia during the Vietnam War.

Late Tuesday night, Butler joined the majority in refusing to support impeachment of Nixon for irregularities in his tax returns and alleged misuse of public funds in improvements to his California and Florida homes.

The "no" votes on the resolutions were expected. Earlier, Butler said he would listen to the arguments of the propo-

nents of the articles but doubted he would support them.

During debate Tuesday, he said approving further articles of impeachment would "extend this proceeding unnecessarily" and added, "we don't need this additional article."

He said also that "to impeach a President for failure to cooperate in his own impeachment inquiry . . . in my opinion is unfair. This article violates my sense of fair play and I'm prepared to vote against it."

Butler said he was concerned about the President's noncompliance with the committee's subpoenas but that he believed impeachment on those grounds without first exhausting all other avenues was "unwise."

He said those avenues would have included such actions as a congressional resolution directing the President to show cause why he should not be found in contempt, and litigation in the federal courts to obtain materials demanded by the committee.

Butler voted last Saturday with five other Republicans to impeach the President for obstruction of justice in the Watergate breakin and coverup case. Monday, he sided with six other Republicans in supporting a second article of impeachment, that one finding the President had abused the powers of the presidency.

Roan
7-31-74

3 Counts Face Nixon

Panel Rejects Final 2 Articles

*Final Pn
D. mis
7-31-74*

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee formally concluded its epic impeachment inquiry Tuesday night by thrice urging "in the name ... of all the people" that Richard M. Nixon be stripped of the presidency for high crime and other misconduct.

In the final hours the committee voted a third impeachment article for Nixon's defiance of its subpoenas. It rejected charges based on his personal finances and the secret bombing of Cambodia.

"This concludes the work of the committee," intoned Chairman Peter W. Rodino, D-N.J., after the final vote less than an hour before midnight.

Thus, automatically and without a final symbolic vote, the panel of 38 lawyers affirmed a covering resolution as the vehicle for action by the House — and possibly the Senate — on three articles charging the Republican executive with "high crimes and misdemeanors." To wit:

—Obstructing justice in covering up the Watergate affair, a political scandal born two years ago when Republican agents burglarized and bugged Democratic national headquarters.

—Misusing federal agents and agencies in broad-scale violation of citizens' rights through wire-tapping, tax investigations and other activities.

—Refusing to comply with eight committee subpoenas for 147 tape-recorded conversations and other material sought as evidence for the impeachment inquiry.

The end of the committee's six days of nationally televised deliberations seemed almost anti-climactic after the high drama of the initial, crucial vote Saturday night on the first impeachment article.

The committee's umbrella resolution urged that a majority of the 435-member House, "in the name of itself and of all the people of the United States of America," place Nixon on trial in the Senate. There, a two-thirds vote would convict and remove him from office.

Only once before in America's 198 years has a presidential impeachment come this far — in 1868 when Andrew Johnson was impeached by the House but acquitted by the Senate.

Nixon, who 20 months ago was re-elected with the largest popular vote in the nation's history, has repeatedly proclaimed he is innocent of an impeachable offense. And he has vowed to fight to the bitter end of a Senate trial if necessary.

There was no immediate comment Tuesday night from Nixon or his spokesmen.

But four hours before the committee's final vote, Treasury Secretary William E. Simon emerged from a meeting with Nixon declaring "I've never seen the President in a more positive, affirmative frame of mind."

The committee is expected to take about a week to prepare the back-up report accompanying the resolution sent to the House, including dissenting views of Nixon's defenders.

Those presidential supporters found themselves on the losing side of the votes on the three articles: 27 to 11 on the first, 28 to 10 on the second and 21 to 17 on the third.

The size of the bipartisan edge on the

See Page 2, Col. 2

Bombing Article Voted Down 26-12

From Page 1

first two articles has caused even some of Nixon's staunchest defenders to concede that House impeachment is a strong possibility.

Republican Sen. John Tower of Texas, for example, said Tuesday the White House view that the issue will never reach a Senate trial "is a singularly unenlightened one."

House debate is expected to start in mid-August and last about two weeks. If impeachment is voted, congressional leaders hope to begin a Senate trial in late September.

The charge that Nixon evaded income taxes and used federal funds to improve his California and Florida homes was defeated 26 to 12 after two hours of sometimes acrimonious debate.

The committee rejected by the same margin an attempt to cite the secret bombing of Cambodia as a fourth impeachment article. This decision came hours after it had adopted 21 to 17 the third article on Nixon's defiance of the panel's demands for evidence.

In all, the panel had logged 35 hours, 46 minutes in the open phase of its deliberations.

Rep. Edward Mezvinsky, D-Iowa, offered an article charging the President "knowingly and fraudulently failed to report certain income and claimed deductions ... on his federal income tax returns which were not authorized by law."

Rep. Charles Sandman, R-N.J., argued "there is absolutely no attempt to defraud" in the President's tax returns. "You cannot be held for fraud if you rely on the advice of an attorney and that's what Richard Nixon did."

"I'm thoroughly convinced," said Mezvinsky "that the evidence justifies — indeed it even demands — that the President be called to account for the matter of how he handled his federal tax returns."

The tax article was based primarily on findings that because of improper deductions for the tax years 1969 through 1972, the President was liable for \$432,787 in back taxes and penalties. Nixon subsequently agreed to pay the amount.

In recommending Nixon's removal from office, the committee voted 27 to 11

Saturday to accuse Nixon of obstructing justice in the Watergate coverup and decided 28 to 10 Monday to charge him with misusing federal agencies.

The third article was submitted by the committee's second ranking Republican, Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois, who said Nixon's defiance of subpoenas for 147 taped conversations was, "the prime example of stonewalling."

It was the only one of the impeachment articles sponsored by a Republican.

The Cambodia proposal marked the first time all 17 Republicans voted against an impeachment article.

Rep. Hamilton Fish Jr., R-N.Y., said "the fact is, we in the Congress share responsibility" for keeping the facts of the Cambodia bombing from the American people.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., noted that congressional leaders were told about the bombing but did not pass the information to other members of Congress.

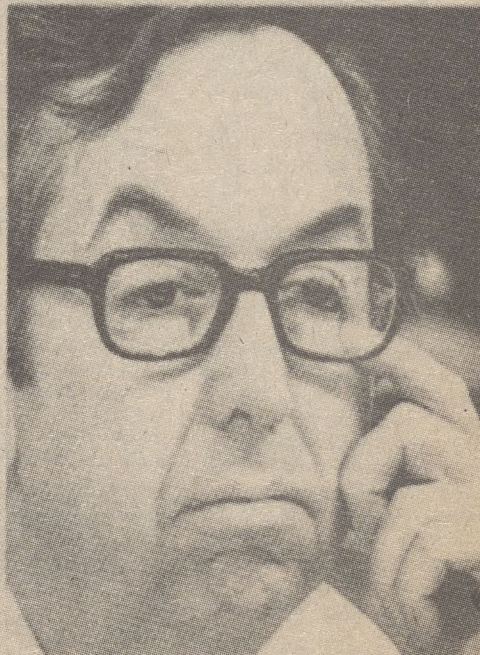
All 17 of the Republicans opposed the motion and were joined by nine of the Democrats, including chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. The panel then recessed for 90 minutes before entering what likely would be its final session.

The Cambodia article was offered by Rep. John Conyers, D-Mich., and charged Nixon "ordered and ratified the concealment from the Congress of the facts ... (of) the scope and nature of American bombing operations in Cambodia."

Time for debate was limited to 90 minutes and eight committee members said they wanted to speak in support of it while 12 Republicans and southern Democrats sought time to oppose it.

Conyers said Nixon "unilaterally took action against another sovereign nation then denied to us and the American people that he had done so."

Rep. Delbert L. Latta, R-Ohio, said there were more than 500,000 American troops in Southeast Asia and "I think the American people, particularly the mothers and wives of the men who are alive today" would oppose impeachment because of the bombing.



THE NEWS 7/31/74

— AP Wirephoto

TIRED EYES — Bright television lights and long days of hearings took toll on eyes of House Judiciary members Tuesday. Rubbing eyes are Rep. George Danielson, D-Calif., top; Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., bottom left; and Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., whose district includes Lynchburg.

August, 1974

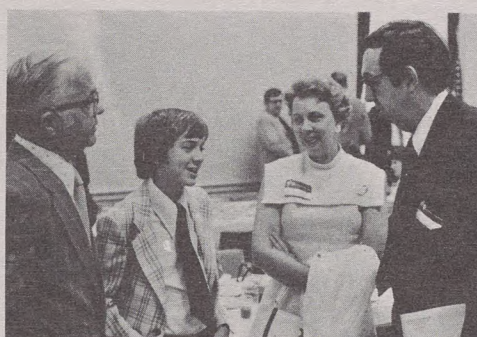
VAP CONGRESSIONAL LUNCHEON

"PROFESSIONALS CAN ACT DECISIVELY ON RE-EXAMINATION ISSUE THROUGH VAP"

In a brief message to members and Representatives who attended VAP's Congressional Luncheon on June 12, Dr. Robert D. Shreve, President, spoke of VAP's ability regarding political and social issues to position itself on a broader scale than is feasible for individual professional societies. This enables VAP to render far-reaching professional objectives and outspoken professional opinion. Dr. Shreve cited the matter of re-examination of professionals as an issue that can be dealt with unreservedly through VAP. (Continued--next page.)



W. C. "Dan" Daniel (left)



M. Caldwell Butler (right)



William C. Wampler (right)



Thomas N. Downing



David E. Satterfield (right)



G. William Whitehurst

VAP'S TENTH ANNUAL MEETING WILL BE HELD SEPTEMBER 21-22 AT THE CHARMING SHERATON-FREDERICKSBURG. READ MORE ABOUT OUR WEEKEND AT THIS ENCLAVE AWAY FROM HOME ON PAGES 4 and 5.

Butler Supports Impeachment

On Thursday, July 25, Sixth District Congressional Representative M. Caldwell Butler told the House Judiciary Committee that "While I still reserve my final judgement, I would be less than candid if I did not now say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of ob-

Buena Vista News

Second Section

Opinion • Church • Youth • Sports

Thursday, August 1, 1974 Page 15

struction of justice and abuse of power (for the impeachment of the President)."

Butler told the committee that "If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people; we will have condoned and left unpunished a President's course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process which he is sworn to uphold; and we will have

condoned and left unpunished and abuse of power totally without justification."

Butler gave as his observations two things which he felt could have a bearing on what the Congress would eventually do: that the "people of the United States are entitled to assume that their President is telling the truth;" and that "The pattern of misrepresentation and half-truths that emerges from our investigation reveals Presidential policy cynically based on the

premise that the truth itself is negotiable."

Butler cited the IT&T case, the FBI's investigation of Daniel Schorr, the lack of remorse or regrets by the President over what has occurred, the continuing policy by the President of coverup after March 21, 1973 the Presidential abuse of power given him by statute and the Constitution and that the President condoned and encouraged the use of the Internal Revenue Service Taxpayer Audit as a means of harassing his political enemies.

Butler told the committee that "In short, power appears to have corrupted: It is a sad chapter in American history. But I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand still for it."

①

Finest ~~News~~ Herald

8/1/74

Butler Speaks Strongly In Favor Of Impeachment

Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler voted Saturday in favor of the first article of impeachment against President Richard M. Nixon, and on Monday voted in favor of a second article of impeachment.

Butler, in an opening statement Thursday, told the House Judiciary Committee that "there are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President..."

Butler's complete opening is printed below:

For years we Republicans have campaigned against corruption and misconduct in the Administration of the Government of the United States by the other party.

And somehow or other we have found the circumstances to bring that issue before the American people in every succeeding national campaign.

But Watergate is our shame. Those things happened in the Republican Administration while we had a Republican in the White House and every single person convicted to date has one way or the other owed allegiance to the Republican party.

We cannot indulge ourselves the luxury of patronizing or excusing the misconduct of our own people. These things have happened in our house. And it is our responsibility to do what we can to clear it up.

It is we, not the Democrats, who must demonstrate that we are capable of enforcing the high standards we would set for them.

The gentleman from California, Mr. Wiggins, in his remarks of this morning reminds us once more that we must measure the conduct of the President against the standards imposed by law.

I would like to share with you for a moment some observations I have with reference to these standards.

The conduct which the American people are reasonably entitled to expect of the President is spelled out in part in our Constitution and part in our statutes. And we are particularly grateful to our colleague from New York, Congressman Fish, for his exposition on the duties imposed upon the President by our Constitution.

It is my judgment also that the standard of conduct which the American people are reasonably entitled to expect of their President is established in part by experience and precedent. And this is one reason why I am so convinced about what has been revealed to us by our investigation.

It will be remembered that only a few hours ago the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. Mayne, has argued that we should not impeach because of comparable misconduct in previous Administrations.

There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President, because we will by this proceeding establish as a matter of record a standard of conduct for the President which will be for all time a matter of public record.

If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people. We will have condoned and left unpunished a Presidential course of conduct designed to interfere

with and obstruct the very process he has sworn to uphold. And we will have condoned and left unpunished an abuse of power totally without justification.

And we will have said to the American people these misdeeds are inconsequential and unimportant.

The people of the United States are entitled to assume that their President is telling the truth. The pattern of misrepresentation and half-truths that emerges from our investigation reveals a Presidential quality cynically based on the premise that the truth itself is negotiable.

Consider the case of Richard Kleindienst, nominee for the Attorney General of the United States. The President had told him in unmistakable terms that he was not to appeal the I.T.T. case. But before the Senate of the United States, Mr. Kleindienst explicitly denied any effort by the President to influence him in this regard. And the President who had knowledge of this affirmed to the people of the United States his continuing confidence in this man.

The record is replete with official Presidential misrepresentations of non-involvement, and representations of investigations and reports never made if indeed undertaken at all. There are two references to a Dean report which we have not seen.

Consider the case of Daniel Schorr. In a moment of euphoria on Air Force I, Presidential aides called upon the FBI to investigate this Administration critic. Upon revelation, Presidential aides fabricated and the President affirmed that Schorr was being investigated for Federal appointment.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Let me also observe that throughout the extensive transcripts made available to us of intimate Presidential conversation and discussions there is no real evidence of regret for what has occurred or remorse or resolutions to change and precious little reference to or concern for constitutional responsibility, or reflection upon the basic obligations of the office of the President.

In short, a power appears to have corrupted. It is a sad chapter in American history but I cannot condone what I have heard, I cannot excuse it and I cannot and will not stand still for it.

C/

Butler Plans Farm Conference Aug. 5

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, the Sixth Virginia District's member of the House of Representatives, will hold his third annual farm conference at the McCormick Farm near Steele's Tavern a few miles northeast of Lexington next Monday, Aug. 5.

The conference will start at 10 a.m. and there will be a free barbecue luncheon at noon.

For this occasion Mr. Butler will be joined by two House colleagues, Rep. William C. Wampler of the Ninth District, and Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson of the Seventh District, who will be co-sponsors, and by a high level official of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. All three congressmen are Republicans.

Mr. Butler indicated the conference will emphasize an informal give and take session between Sixth District farmers and agricultural interests present and the panel. An opportunity for more formal presentations by those who desire this opportunity will also be provided, however.

Representatives of the Soil Conservation Service, Farmers Home Administration, State Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and VPI's Agricultural Extension Service and Agriculture Experiment Station will be present to respond to questions. They will also remain afterward in order to provide personal assistance and answer inquiries.

Mr. Butler said that although it is not essential, those planning either to speak at the conference or attend the barbecue are urged to call or write any of his offices and advise.

Bedford Bulletin-Democrat - 8/1/74 - p. 3B

Agriculture official to be on farm panel

8/11/74
DAILY ADVANCE

WASHINGTON — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler said today that Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter will join the panel for his farm conference Aug. 5 at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern.

Yeutter heads the International Affairs and Commodity Programs Division of the Department of Agriculture and is responsible for the areas of domestic farm programs and for export markets for American farm products.

The panel session will begin at 10 a.m. and will be followed by a free barbecue luncheon at noon.

Yeutter has a law degree and a PhD in agricultural economics from the University of Nebraska, and has operated a 2,500-acre crop farming and cattle ranch in central Nebraska. He has served as both administrator and assistant secretary for the U.S.D.A.'s Consumer and Marketing Service.

Butler said Yeutter "knows all aspects of agriculture and

we are extremely lucky to have him."

Yeutter will be serving on the panel with Rep. William Wampler, ranking minority member of the House Agriculture Committee, as guest panelists. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson, who is co-sponsoring the event with Butler, and Butler will complete the four-member panel.

Butler said that "With Congressman Wampler and Assistant Secretary Yeutter we have two of the most knowledgeable men in Washington for agricultural policy. Accordingly, our format this year will emphasize the opportunity for individual exchange with the panelists. This will be a learning experience for both the guests and for the members of the panel."

Also participating in the conference as a resource personnel will be representatives of the Soil Conservation Service, Farmers Home Administration, State Department of Agriculture and Commerce,

Post 8/1

Ford: A Time for Independence?

Vice President Gerald Ford has launched his trenchant new defense of President Nixon to avoid political reprisal from the pro-Nixon Republican hardcore, undercutting him with Republican moderates—including staunch friends in the House.

Ford's thesis, spelled out to aides repeatedly, is that he must not risk a trace of a fingerprint on the impeachment dagger to insure that the Republican right wing will not turn on him.

As Republicans and voters of all persuasions join the pro-impeachment ranks, intimates say Ford is convinced their resentment will disappear if, in the end, he is catapulted into the White House. That is in the future. For the present at least, even old Republican friends are expressing doubts about the Vice President's political judgment in handling a delicate and unprecedented situation.

In fact, the Vice President has been subjected to quiet pressure from his own staff not to tie himself to Mr. Nixon.

Just as the House Judiciary Committee began its formal impeachment investigation, a Ford aide drafted a speech for the Vice President to get him off the hook. The thrust of that never-delivered speech: now that the House is considering the evidence, it would be injudicious for Ford to express an opinion since such evidence is not available to him; he had faith in the President but would refuse ex parte judgments.

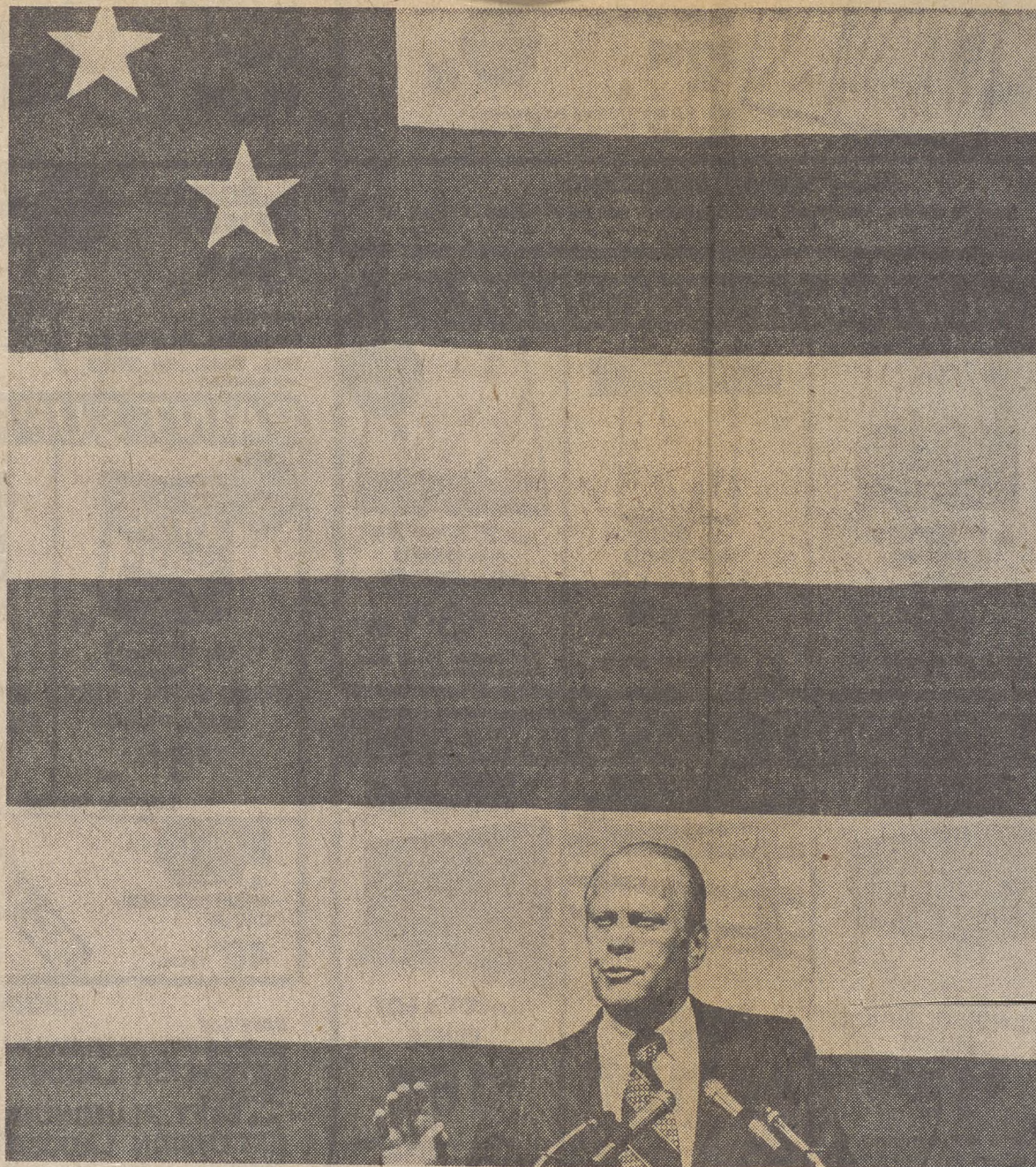
Ford threw the speech away, to the dismay of staff aides anxious to preserve Ford's credibility and popularity.

Ford's political lieutenants say he has no intention today of modifying his loyalist defense of the man who made him Vice President. He still lobbies quietly, urging House Republicans to give Mr. Nixon the benefit of every doubt (but avoiding arm twisting).

His top assistants have been dismayed by the escalation of Ford's public defense of the President while other Republicans abandon the sinking presidential ship. That new intensity began July 25 in Muncie, Ind., in his speech for Rep. David Dennis, a Nixon defender on the Judiciary Committee facing re-election troubles—a speech viewed by some Ford intimates as a disaster.

Outside pressure for a change of course is on the rise. There is almost as much gossip in the House Republican cloakroom over Ford's repeated declarations of Mr. Nixon's total "innocence" as over impeachment itself. The criticism comes not only from pro-impeachment Republicans but from fence-sitters and Nixon loyalists deeply worried that Ford is frittering away his gilt-edged asset of national popularity by blatant catering to the dwindling Nixon hardcore.

"We all want Jerry to shut up and stay that way," one of his longtime friends in the House told us. "He is the hope of the party and of the country for 1976."



By Frank Johnston—The Washington Post

What gives that critical comment special force is the fact that it comes from one of the elected House Republican leaders, a Ford-style Republican who himself is uncommitted.

Another member of the House Republican leadership holds similar views. Ford, he says privately, is wasting his unique political assets both within his party and in the country at large by asserting Mr. Nixon's innocence in the face of overwhelming House Judiciary Committee votes declaring him guilty of impeachable acts.

Ford is being strongly advised not to overestimate the pro-Nixon hardcore, particularly with the defections of such conservatives as Maryland's Rep.

Lawrence J. Hogan and Virginia's Caldwell Butler. The Hogans and the Butlers, they believe, are vastly more important than the handful of ultra-Nixonites who have written the Vice President scathing letters for having said that a vote for impeachment will not keep him from campaigning on behalf of a Republican congressman.

But Ford seems oblivious. Concentrating in his cross-country speaking tours on Stone Age Republican audiences who roar their approval of his defense of Mr. Nixon, Ford seems out of touch with the trend among House Republicans now threatening the President with a massive impeachment defeat.

That could leave Ford a hero with

the so-called hardcore but a villain—at least momentarily—with the rest of the country. More uncomfortably for Ford, he would be on the wrong side of the fence from every Republican in Congress who ends up voting not that "the President of the United States is right," as Ford proclaimed in Muncie, but that he is very wrong.

Having spoken out loudly for Mr. Nixon when other Republican leaders were silent, Ford has more than paid his dues. Now, his friends believe, is the time to avoid getting trapped on the wrong side of the fence, not by turning against the President, but by simply deciding to "shut up and stay that way."

World News 8/6/74
Letters to the editor

Butler's actions please readers

MR. HOREN'S letter published in The World-News (Aug. 1) motivates me to stand up and be counted in support of our statesman, M. Caldwell Butler.

In my opinion Mr. Horen is amiss in his accusation that Rep. Butler is acting contrary to his law training. The vote to impeach Richard Nixon is not a conviction of guilt but rather a vote to offer Mr. Nixon the opportunity to defend himself against the alleged nefarious actions committed while he was in the office of president of the United States. His innocence or guilt will be decided by the U.S. Senate if the House of Representatives follows the recommendations of its judiciary committee.

As a member of this committee, Mr. Butler rose above party lines to vote his convictions thereby putting his political future on the line. This, Mr. Horen, separates the politician from the statesman. I am proud that my representative is a proven statesman.

We need more M. Caldwell Butlers to preserve our great system from present or future tyranny and I shall support him ("my representative") at the polls.

Roanoke

GEORGE SEIGLER

Praise for Butler

REPRESENTATIVE M. Caldwell Butler is to be commended, and the people of the Sixth District to be congratulated, on his part in the work of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

We are fortunate to have as our representative a man who has the integrity to put what he thinks is right ahead of personal interest. I hope that he will continue to work for us for many years to come.

Roanoke

LAURA S. WEAVER

Butler, courageous

THIS IS A letter to congratulate Mr. Butler on his fine performance on the Judiciary Committee. He certainly showed much courage and high moral standards when he voted for the impeachment articles against Nixon.

When faced with the overwhelming evidence, he voted his convictions. Certainly if his few other Republican constituents had voted on the obvious evidence, there would have been almost unanimous coalition among the committee as a whole.

No matter, the die is cast and justice is close at hand. If Mr. Butler has lost a few hard-core Republican votes in the district, they will be made up by the many Democrat and independent votes for him come next election. He has mine.

Roanoke County

ROBERT GREGORY JR.

Butler-Nixon

ANYONE WATCHING the House Judiciary Committee hearings July 29 may have wondered why M. Caldwell Butler kept yielding his time when asked to speak. Could it be that he was afraid of his convictions, that he did not have any, or that he might want to retract them the next day? I do not trust anyone who is afraid to voice his convictions, or who will not stand by them. As for the man that Mr. Butler is so anguished over speaking out against, he has finally been exposed as the fraud that he is and always has been.

Richard M. Nixon is now hiding behind the respect for the office of the presidency. I am sure all Americans have great respect for this office, but in the minds of the vast majority of Americans, there is no respect left for the man.

In November, M. Caldwell Butler will find out if he pleased or fooled enough of the people with his wishy-washy performance.

Vinton

IRENE FERGUSON

Enough lawyers

BOTH SUPPORTERS and critics of Mr. Butler's initial position on the impeachment of Mr. Nixon need to review all actions taken by him during the hearing. They may find themselves trading corners. Specifically, it appears that his actions were that of sortitio (drawing of lots) as to his stand for good and against evil, or for evil against good.

Initially, his first two votes indicated his revulsion against unlawful acts. Then he apparently could see no evil in Mr. Nixon's failure to comply with a lawful subpoena, or in Mr. Nixon's conversion of government service to his own private personal gain. The above mentioned charges were made with the utmost clarity, and were fully supported by either self-acknowledged or undeniable evidence.

Had you or I committed any one of the above unlawful acts, we would have long since suffered the penalty of law. However, with regards to Mr. Nixon, we have Mr. Butler joining many other lawyers on the committee establishing two standards of law—one for we, the people—the other placing Mr. Nixon beyond the law. Remember that only through the impeachment process can he be held accountable to the same legal standards as those for every other citizen.

Voters of the Sixth Congressional District, based on the above, you and I know that we should plead "non compos mentis" and have our heads examined if in November we should select a lawyer to represent us in Congress.

Roanoke

FRANKLIN M. RIDENOUR

Consolidated governments

THE SPRAWLING North Florida city of Jacksonville is the seat of the largest locally consolidated government in the United States.

In 1968 citizens of Jacksonville and urban Duval County voted 2-to-1 for a consolidated government, and they have been saving money ever since.

Not only that, but every property owner in Jacksonville has had his taxes reduced over the past six years. Why is it that it is taking the citizens of the Roanoke Valley and surrounding areas so long to consolidate and save money for all of the citizens?

I was a member of the former Citizens' Committee for Greater Roanoke, which strongly recommended consolidation about 10 years ago. Nothing has changed my mind since to favor consolidation. From a statewide standpoint, there is no real reason for more than 30 to 40 local governments in all of Virginia. Think of the staggering tax savings that will eventually result.

Roanoke

ROBERT J. WILKINSON JR.



**Mary
Bland
Armistead**
T*G*I*F*

History made but not noted

I have a friend who adopted a real Lenten attitude about the presidential impeachment hearings this week. She cut out her daily joys of televised money-grabbing games and heart-rending soapies and, in magnificent self-denial, went channel by channel down the whole road with the House Judiciary Committee.

While the hearings were not her idea of the ultimate in entertainment, and the back of her bouffant is mashed from long sessions on the lounge, she believes she got a whole lot out of the committee's doings. This is because she has been heard to boom about what an uncivil age this is, a time when seats are not relinquished to ladies, a time of boorishness and venality, but none of that showed among the courtly committee members, mostly because there were seats enough to go around for the ladies, and no one wanted to act boorish while on television.

My friend was utterly charmed by the resonant references to "the gentleman from Indiana," for example, and the general friendliness of style and mannerly dispositions towards "the gentlewomen from New York and Texas."

Of equal importance to her way of thinking, she being not too mindful of historic events, she has decided Chairman Peter Rodino looks very much like Ray Milland, and her decision comes with authority—she's in front of a movie screen with her screamies when she's not in front of the television with her soapies, and she hasn't gotten over how impressive Ray Milland was in "Lost Weekend."

She tells her overdrinking cronies they should check out their problem with him "because he's been through it all," but they claim they've never hidden a bottle in a chandelier like Ray did, and where they do hide their morning nips is none of Ray's business anyhow, so that's how far her crusade for temperance has gotten.

Movie a sure thing

But she knows she's on to a good thing in another direction after faithful viewings for six days and possessing the oracle eye. She thinks the whole Watergate affair, from the bumbling at the door to the last rap of Rodino's gavel, will be a box office smash, and she's working for a wedge in the movie rights.

She has her cast: Ray Milland for Rodino, naturally; Lorne Green leaving "Bonanza" to play Charles Wiggins the wavy-haired of California; Bob Newhart turning his collar around to portray Father Bob Drinan of Massachusetts; and Lloyd Nolan stepping in for dapper Tom Railsback, the gentleman from Illinois.

I asked how she would cast the rest of the committee and she said she would get to that later. Right now, she's working on the smaller details, like checking moustaches, and who of the committee has one. The answer is one, John Conyers Jr. of Michigan. Having become familiar with "deception and concealment," which has rung in her ears for so long, she has ascertained some kind of ill-fitting wig hides Ray Thornton's cranium (as apparent when the gentleman from Arkansas was on "Face the Nation" with the gentleman from Virginia, M. Caldwell Butler. My friend hasn't cast him yet).

But she's looking especially for Rep. Ed Mezvinsky's double, considering him among the handsomest of the group with his wavy hair and dimpled chin, and she wishes Felix Frankfurter were still around to portray the impeccable David Dennis of Indiana who spoke in so scholarly a manner.

THE DAILY ADVANCE

LYNCHBURG, VA., FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 2, 1974 13

Scott blames labor, media for impeachment climate

RICHMOND (AP) — Sen. William R. Scott, R-Va., said today labor unions and the liberal media are partly to blame for the pro-impeachment climate which he conceded is growing stronger day by day in Congress.

In a news conference devoted almost exclusively to the move to impeach President Nixon, Scott gave few specifics to back up his charge against the media.

But he noted labor unions contributed heavily to the reelection campaigns of Democratic members of the House Judiciary Committee, which has voted three articles of impeachment against the President.

The conservative senator seemed to indicate in his response to questions that he has tempered his previous optimism that Nixon won't be impeached and agreed that it

now appears almost certain the matter will come to trial in the Senate.

As for the Senate's action, he said, "I would guess it would not vote for impeachment."

Scott reiterated his belief that Nixon has committed no impeachable offense, but went on to say he would vote for impeachment if the charges against the President were "supported by provable facts."

"I'm not suggesting that the President hasn't done things he shouldn't have done," the senator said, "but they haven't been proven."

Scott conceded things have "changed for the worse" for Nixon in recent weeks. But he said the President should still be extended a presumption of innocence until there is "clear and convincing evidence" of major wrongdoing.

Scott said he didn't agree with the conclusions reached by 6th District Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, who voted for two of the three impeachment articles, but wouldn't question Butler's right to reach those conclusions.

At the same time, however, he said, "I will have some hesitancy" about campaigning for Butler in his re-election bid this year. And Scott made it plain that his reason would be Butler's vote for the impeachment articles as a member of the Judiciary Committee.

Scott repeatedly declined, when asked, to amplify his charge against the liberal me-

★ Scott

(Continued from Page 13)

dia.

He did say, however, that on rare occasions he reads the Washington Post, and "I find it slanted throughout."

Asked whether he felt the television broadcasts of the Judiciary Committee's deliberations were anything but factual, he said, "Anyone who hasn't heard anything of a propaganda nature just hasn't been listening."

Scott was more willing to amplify his charge about labor influence and cited figures which, he said, showed labor unions had contributed \$189,000 to Democrats on the Judiciary Committee and only \$2,100 to Republican members.

He also noted that nine members of the committee were among the 35 congressmen who voted against confirmation of Gerald Ford as vice president.

"If they'd vote against him, it's a sure thing they'd vote for impeachment," the senator said.

He suggested the full House would do well to "consider the makeup of the committee" during its debate on the impeachment articles.

While conceding that part of the accumulation of evidence against the President is "undoubtedly true," Scott said he still believed the articles of impeachment fell short of constitutional requirements.

(Please turn to Page 16)

Christian Science Monitor 8/2

The Lonely Republican

By Roderick MacLeish

Washington

The most moving drama of history is not its acts — the voting of articles for the impeachment of Richard Nixon — but the inner turmoil in the lives of people who participate in the acts. Andrew Johnson escaped conviction. But the career of Republican Sen. Edmund Gibson Ross of Kansas, who by fidelity to principle saved Johnson, was wrecked. That is the drama of an ironic sort.

When, on the evening of July 25, 1974, a forty-nine-year-old Virginia Republican congressman named M. Caldwell Butler looked into the molten eye of the national television cameras and said, "There are frightening implications for the future of our country, if we do not impeach the President of the United States," the drama was not immediately evident.

Most people watching the impeachment inquiry of the House Judiciary Committee that evening were aware that Mr. Nixon's fate in the House depended, to some degree, on how many committee Republicans sided with the Democratic majority in voting to send articles of impeachment to the House floor.

That M. Caldwell Butler might become one of those Republicans was an improbable thing. Mr. Butler represents the Sixth District of Virginia — a long valley sweeping out of the Blue Ridge Mountains with Roanoke as its population center. The sixth has always been a Republican enclave in traditionally Democratic Virginia. When Mr. Butler went from there to the Virginia general assembly in 1962, he was one of only seven Republicans in that body. By the time he was elected to his first, full term in the House in 1972, the Virginia Republicans had captured the state house, one of two Senate seats, and seven out of Virginia's 10 house districts.

Richard Nixon's revival of the national Republican Party was one reason for the Virginia GOP's success and Caldwell Butler knew it — and liked it. He became a Nixon stalwart in the House — with an 80 percent support record for administration proposals — and when Watergate erupted he was inclined to think of it as a smear job on the President by Democrats, liberals, and the press.

His migration from that comfortable, partisan view to the night, two years later, when he told the committee, the nation, and the Sixth District of Virginia that, "I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot

excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand for it" is both complex and simple.

The complexity came in the flood of unorganized but revealing data that poured in upon the committee from tapes and transcripts. The President's tax problems bothered Representative Butler but he doubted they were grounds for impeachment. The use of the Internal Revenue Service to "get" White House enemies deeply disturbed him. He was shocked by Mr. Nixon's broken promise to Henry Petersen — to keep details of the Justice Department investigation secret from potential defendants.

The simple moment came a few weeks before the dramatic night of July 25. At home in Roanoke Butler tried to balance the threat to his long Republican career and his emotional and intellectual ties to his party against the evidence which, to his lawyer's mind, unavoidably pointed to wrongdoing. It didn't work. He decided for impeachment.

To Caldwell Butler it still seems simple. He still supports the Nixon program. He is still a deeply devoted Republican, still a visceral if moderate conservative. One suspects that this amiable, unpretentious man is puzzled by people who believe that he has betrayed his party by succumbing to conclusions about Richard Nixon's stewardship which are, to him, obvious. "The moral issue," he said, "is the difference between me and the White House."

He may be in trouble in the sixth district, especially in its rural reaches. If he is, it will be because those who dislike his leap to a moral conclusion believe that the impeachment issue which wracks this nation is, somehow, a partisan game. Caldwell Butler believes it is a matter having to do with the uses of the power that democracy grants — a question beyond partisanship or ideology.

If Butler's fidelity to his convictions costs him his House seat, he may be able to take compensation from something a fellow House member said about him: "Caldwell Butler represents the genius of our system. Out of all the people picked at random and deposited by fate on the Judiciary Committee, there was bound to be someone as principled as him."

Mr. MacLeish is an author and radio and television commentator for the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company.

August 2, 1974

Virginia Delegation Labors Over Impeachment

By WAYNE WOODLIEF

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—U. S. Sen. William L. Scott, R-Va., visited the House floor and cloakroom this week to talk with members of the Virginia delegation about the imminent debate on the impeachment of President Nixon.

"He was just curious as to what the other members thought," said Rep. William C. Wampler, R-9th District, of Bristol; one of the Virginians who discussed impeachment with Scott.

Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson, Winchester Republican, said Scott "mentioned that he was going to be in Richmond Friday (for a press conference) and that he was interested in surveying our sentiment on impeachment so that he might reflect, as much as he could, the

An Analysis

attitudes of the (Virginia) House members."

Don Ruby, Scott's administrative assistant, said the senator had talked informally Wednesday with members of the House delegation "to assess what has happened on impeachment and what may happen in the future."

The decision of Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, the only Virginian on the Judiciary Committee, to vote for impeachment of Nixon for obstruction of justice and abuse of powers has provoked much soul-searching among Butler's Virginia colleagues.

Some delegation members, notably Rep. Joel Broyhill of Arlington, Virginia's senior Republican, have been trying to find grounds for a delegation consensus on impeachment.

Other members think that consensus is impossible on an issue of such grave personal as well as national consequence, and that the delegation probably will split.

The betting among the delegation—and among delegation watchers—is that the split will be at least five votes for impeachment, and perhaps six or even seven if the current impeachment momentum in the House continues.

Butler's strong remarks on impeachment—"I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it; and I cannot and will not stand still for it"—struck a

responsive chord among Robinson, Rep. G. William Whitehurst, R-Va., of Norfolk, and Rep. Thomas N. Downing, D-Va., of Newport News.

Whitehurst hailed Butler's remarks for their power and precision. Downing termed them "magnificent" in a letter he said he wrote Butler "immediately after the speech."

Robinson said Thursday, "I'm sure (Butler) made a conscientious and sincere decision based on his best judgment."

Robinson said, "I hope I will not have to vote for impeachment." He said he is "deeply disturbed" by indications that Nixon misused "the agencies of government, the IRS, the CIA."

Rep. W. C. Daniel, D-Va., Danville Democrat who is an old personal friend

of Nixon and who recently cruised the Potomac with the President and a few other congressmen on the presidential yacht Sequoia, is considered Nixon's staunchest ally in the Virginia delegation.

To a man the Virginia congressmen, except for Butler, say they are uncommitted on impeachment until they hear the evidence for themselves in House debate, which may begin Aug. 12.

Rep. Robert W. Daniel Jr., R-4th District, has been the most deliberate in choosing his words on the issue. He termed Butler a man of "high integrity and conscience" but said, "I don't know that I will respond to the same facts in the same way that he did."

Rep. David E. Satterfield III, D-3rd District, of Richmond has said he

wants to examine the evidence more thoroughly.

Broyhill and Rep. Stanford Parris, another Northern Virginia Republican, have said the same thing. But they have Washington suburban constituencies with rising impeachment fever to consider.

That leaves Rep. Wampler, generally considered the delegation's most vulnerable incumbent in this year's elections.

Wampler said, "This probably will be the most important vote I will ever cast and I suppose in the final analysis I'll decide on the basis of whether to impeach or not to impeach is for the good of the country."

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Butler Mail Now Favors Impeachment

Roanoke
8/2/74

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—After an initial outburst of vicious telephone calls and strongly worded letters opposing his impeachment stand, public opinion toward Roanoke Rep. M. Caldwell Butler seems to have turned decidedly—but not overwhelmingly—favorable.

Butler's staff, which has kept a running total of the mail to his district and Washington offices this week, reported that mail from the district was more than 56 per cent in favor of his proimpeachment stand.

And, said Gail Goodson, Butler's press secretary, mail and telephone calls from the rest of Virginia were slightly more favorable with nearly 59 per cent of the callers and writers registering approval of his vote for two articles of impeachment against President Richard M. Nixon.

She said of nearly 1,000 letters and calls received in the first two days this week, 336 district constituents had approved the actions while 262 residents opposed them. From the rest of the state, 236 correspondents and callers favored them while 142 opposed them.

The mail is flowing in from outside Virginia, too, and while the staff is not counting those letters yet, most feel they are running more strongly favorable.

Like a number of members of the Judiciary Committee, Butler and his wife, June, received some obscene and threatening calls. And, like most, he has received at least 50 letters containing stones, a reference to the Biblical admonition, "Let he who is without sin cast the first stone."

Butler doesn't plan to throw them out, however. He's collecting them and displaying them in a vase in his front office.

One woman caller asked for his address so she could send him 30 pieces of silver, apparently relating Butler to Judas. The woman later hedged her bets and sent only a quarter and a nickel. The coins were put into the office safe, aides said.

On the other hand, several writers—from both within and without the district—have requested the addresses of Butler's re-election committee so, they said, they can contribute to his campaign.

But most writers and callers simply express their opinions of the Republican first-termer.

Some of it was short and sweet.

"A combination of conscience and guts," wrote a Roanoke woman.

"Simply wonderful," wrote a 73-year-old retiree who promised campaign help.

"Dread to have you represent us," said a Salem couple.

Others were more wordy, like a four-page letter by a suburban Washington writer. "I might totally disagree with your voting, record . . . but your statement was like a fresh breeze," she said in part.

One Roanoke Valley constituent wrote, "Your statesmanship has reaffirmed my trust in our process of government."

A Lynchburg voter said, "I wish you were wrong... Unfortunately you are correct on every point as I see it."

Said a Covington resident, "You are standing tall and strong."

And then there was the other side.

A Buchanan area couple wrote a curious note. "We are shocked and highly disturbed . . . it is apparent that you have deserted most of your constituents and voted your conscience instead . . ."

And a Roanoker said, "It would seem your announcement was timed and calculated to influence other votes on the committee . . ."

A Lynchburg correspondent was downright incensed and asked Butler to reconsider or else:

"I am through with Representative Butler unless he reverses his position and comes up with an equally dramatic statement in support of President Nixon."

Then there was the Covington writer who summed it up clearly if ungrammatically: "Petty offenses do not make peach-able (sic) offenses."

A Lynchburg writer mourned Butler's stand by writing, "When I watched you voting along with the rag-tag radicals, my heart broke."

And there was this note from a Hot Springs writer who apparently worships the President: "Compared to the other presidents, he is the Prince of Peace."

But many of those who wrote to differ with Butler showed they had retained their sense of humor.

One, for instance, sent him a get well card that said, "Hope you're feeling better soon."

No Impeachable Offense Proven, Says Sen. Scott

By GEORGE W. WILBUR

RICHMOND (AP) — Sen. William L. Scott, R-Va., said Friday he would vote to remove President Nixon from office if charges against him could be "supported by provable facts."

But he emphasized at a news conference that, thus far, "I don't believe an impeachable offense has been proven." And he expressed doubt that any would be.

Scott, one of the most conservative members of the U.S. Senate, softened his previous insistence that Nixon would never be impeached, let alone convicted in the Senate.

"I believe the House will

vote to impeach the President," he said.

And while admitting that it was "pure speculation," he said, "I'd guess the Senate would not vote for conviction."

Conceded Changes Dim

Scott conceded that Nixon's chances of escaping impeachment "have changed for the worse" in recent weeks and said this was due in part to the emotional atmosphere of the televised meetings of the House Judiciary Committee, which recommended three articles of impeachment.

He said he was not in favor of televising any further impeachment proceedings because it precludes a fair

hearing and "brings out the ham" in those taking part.

The senator questioned the objectivity of the Judiciary Committee and suggested that the full House consider the makeup of the committee during its impeachment deliberations.

He said he considered it significant that labor unions had made political contributions totaling \$189,000 to Democratic members of the committee and only \$2,100 to Republican members.

Hits Liberal Media

Scott singled out organized labor and the "liberal media" as having contributed to the pro-impeachment climate which he conceded has grown to sizeable proportions in Congress.

The Washington Post, he said, "is slanted throughout."

Scott said he disagreed with the conclusions reached by 6th District Republican Congressman M. Caldwell Butler who cast votes for two articles of impeachment as a freshman member of the Judiciary Committee.

Asked whether he would help Butler's campaign for reelection, he said, "I would have some hesitancy but that doesn't mean I wouldn't campaign for him if asked."

On the other hand, he said he already has agreed to work with Rep. Stanford Parris, R-Va., in his campaign for reelection from the 8th District, despite Parris' recent statement that he had some reservations about the propriety of some of President Nixon's conduct.

No Clear Evidence

While insisting that he has seen no "clear and convincing

See SCOTT, B-4, Col. 6

Scott 8/31/74

NEWS

Continued From B-1

evidence" of any presidential wrongdoing, Scott said, "I'm not suggesting the President hasn't done things he shouldn't have done but they haven't been proven."

The senator said he didn't condone lawlessness at any level but felt that many of the presidential actions under attack "should be considered in the setting in which they happened."

Referring to protests over the Vietnam War, radical elements threatening violence and the burning of the flag, he said, "The President of the United States has a responsibility to preserve this nation."

"A man should be judged within the framework of the situation as it existed at that time," he added.

Scott said he still felt a majority of Virginians supported Nixon and noted that his mail was running as much as 10-to-1 on favor of the President.

Asked whether Nixon has made any effort to influence his position on impeachment, the senator said, "He hasn't courted me."

Scott said he thought it would be "unwise" for the President to seek a unanimous vote of impeachment in the House in order to expedite a trial in the Senate.

"I think we should follow the normal impeachment process," he said.

THE NEWS-VIRGINIAN, Waynesboro, Va. Saturday, August 3, 1974

Farm Conference Is Set For Monday

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler has announced final plans for his farm conference and barbecue, which will begin at 10 a.m. Monday at the McCormick Farm.

Guest panelists for the conference are Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter, who heads the division of International Affairs and Commodity Programs; and Ninth District Rep. William Wampler, who is ranking minority member of the House Agriculture Committee. Seventh District Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson and Mr. Butler, cosponsors of the event, will also be panelists.

Mr. Yeutter will also make an informal address at the free barbecue luncheon which begins at 12 noon, Mr. Butler said.

"I'm looking forward to a lively discussion of agricultural policies and problems," said Mr. Butler, "because our guest panelists are experts who can address the issues directly and honestly. In addition, we have a wide-ranging group of resource personnel who can contribute specific information about state and local farm programs."

He announced the names of

those persons who will serve as resource personnel. They are S. Mason Carbaugh, commissioner of the State Department of Agriculture and Commerce; Ferris S. Anderson, district supervisor of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration; David Grimwood, state conservationist from the U. S. Soil Conservation Service; Richard Goodling, state director of the Farmers Home Administration; Mahlon Rudy, state executive director of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service; Randal M. Robertson, dean of the Agricultural Research Division at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University; Dr. Coyt T. Wilson, director of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Virginia Tech; and Dr. Frank Ellmore, director of Agriculture and Natural Resources at Tech.

To reach McCormick farm, follow I-81 to Exit 54, proceed east towards Steeles Tavern, and follow the signs towards the Shenandoah Valley Research Station at the McCormick Farm. Or, follow U. S. 11 to Va. 606 at Steeles Tavern, proceed west on 606 and follow the signs to McCormick Farm.

Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Sunday, August 4, 1974

Caldwell Butler's Critics

Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler has been subjected to considerable criticism—some of it in this newspaper's letters column—since his vote in support of two articles of impeachment against President Nixon. Much of that criticism, in our view, has been manifestly unfair, personally based, and entirely unfitting.

Reasonable people can differ over whether the evidence so far shown justifies the grave step of impeaching and possibly removing this President from office. No one's opinion on that matter, however, should automatically make him the object of personal attack, of charges that he is viewing the evidence through biased eyes, is pandering to political opinion or has concealed motives. Some of Mr. Nixon's supporters on the Judiciary Committee have been vilified in that way, and it demeans the level on which so momentous a matter should be considered.

Perhaps the strangest thing said

about Mr. Butler is that he has proved himself no true conservative. That charge seems to equate conservatism not with principle, but with loyalty to a President who styles himself a conservative. It implies that one who sails under the flag of conservatism can commit no wrong—or that conservatives are in such danger of extinction that they cannot afford to abandon any of their company. Surely, neither of these premises is true.

Mr. Butler may be correct or he may be misled in his reading of the impeachment case. Either way, he is a participant in a solemn and deliberate process expressly provided for in the Constitution, and unless his actions indicate otherwise, he is entitled to an assumption that he is acting honorably and honestly. Mr. Butler's critics are convicting him on a gram of circumstance, meanwhile asking that he ignore the pounds of evidence that weigh against the President.

James
8-4-74

Voting Convictions

By GEORGE M. KELLEY
Times Richmond Bureau

Virginians expect their congressmen to vote their convictions, Gov. Mills E. Godwin said recently and when a vote is cast on that basis the voters usually understand it.

This apparent maxim of state politics was sounded as instant fame came to freshman Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke and as other members of the state delegation to Washington were hit with the fact that they too will now have to stand up and be counted on the impeachment of President Nixon.

Butler came into the spotlight by shedding his hardcore Republican trappings and voting, as a member of the House Judiciary Committee, for impeachment. His 6th District is known in the Old Dominion as one where party lines are strong and you don't cross them frivolously.

Godwin, as a Democrat-turned-Republican of just one year, seemed to be reflecting a personal understanding of what Butler went through in reaching the decision that he had to break out of his party mold. And, after all, the voters understood when Godwin broke totally with the state Democratic party in winning a second gubernatorial term last fall.

An awareness of all the facts on an issue usually brings on strong personal conviction, Godwin explained, and one has to live with personal convictions.

His position also seemed to stand as a signal to other Virginia lawmakers on the Potomac that it's easier to defend a vote on a personal conviction than one on any other basis. And there was agreement among campaign-scarred veterans who touch base regularly at the Jeffersonian Capitol here.

With the impeachment recommendations now going to the House of Representatives, political sensitivity will next bear down on Butler's six Republican colleagues in the Virginia delegation. Like Butler, each of the six have Democratic challengers in the fall election.

Three Democratic incumbents—Thomas Downing of Newport News, David Satterfield of Richmond and W. C. "Dan" Daniel of Danville—are unchallenged by the GOP for new terms and consequently will not have to consider any immediate political expediency in deciding how they will vote.

Neither will the state's two U.S. senators, Independent Harry F. Byrd Jr. and Republican William L. Scott, be under election year pressures should the House approve impeachment and make the trial by the Senate mandatory. Byrd doesn't run again until 1976; Scott doesn't come up until 1978.

No matter how you look at it, this just isn't a good year for politicians and many holding office from both parties feel blessed that they do not have to stand for election this year.

And expressions of this have become more and more evident as the credibility of politicians generally appears to be eroding under what the politicians call "impeachment hysteria" and conclusions that it's all over for Nixon, former Texas Gov. John Connally and others who may be swept into the sticky aftermath of the 1972 election year.

Assessments early this year were that the fallout from what is generally termed Watergate would be felt primarily in Northern Virginia's 8th and 10th districts.

And reports from the northern region indicate this still stands as far as the participants in the campaigns now under way there are concerned.

As a consequence, much attention now is being focused on impeachment-related statements by veteran 10th District Rep. Joel Broyhill and freshman Stanford Parris of the 8th. Both are Republicans and how they vote when the full House membership makes its stand on impeachment may be vital to their re-election chances.

Both men have moved cautiously during the past week, despite pressures from their Democratic challengers.

The two districts are made up primarily of voters who work for the federal government and strong impeachment sentiment is reported in government worker circles. It should not be surprising, therefore, that both Broyhill and Parris have hinted they would not be averse to voting impeachment if the facts they get in voluminous reports now being prepared by the Judiciary Committee justify it.

There is evidence from across the state that some Republican party stalwarts are chilled by the thought a Republican congressman would vote to impeach a Republican president. And there also are reports from Democrat campaigners in Republican-held districts that they feel the impeachment uproar is helping them.

"This is a good year to be a Democrat," reported a worker in the conservative-minded Southside 4th District where Democrat Lester Schlitz is out to unseat Republican Robert Daniel. "People are volunteering to work and that's different than it was for the Democrats in a past election."

These surface signs indicate the political impact from the near total news concentration on impeachment in the past month. But in the wake of the vote by the Judiciary Committee last week, the Virginia pros still insist the woes for Nixon will have only a passing or moderate impact on most of the congressional races.

And privately, politicians at the state level say they would not be surprised if most of the 10 Virginia congressmen end up with Butler in the pro-impeachment column.

The outcome of the 2nd District race between GOP incumbent William Whitehurst and Democratic newcomer Robert Richard isn't expected to hinge on how Whitehurst votes on impeachment. He's rated a moderate politically and even before Watergate had found the magic formula for survival in what is traditionally a Democratic stronghold.

Nor is Bob Daniel's vote expected to have a vital bearing on his chances against challenger Schlitz. Southside politicians report ideology still is the big factor there, along with the realities that civil rights leader Curtis Harris is in position to drain votes from the Democrats as the independent "third man" in the race.

Butler may have made some of his Republican constituents unhappy with his vote on the Judiciary Committee but he still is front-running the race there, according to all political reports.

And in the 7th and 9th districts, where Republicans Kenneth Robinson and William Wampler are the incumbents, respectively, the voting patterns also are expected to be affected more by local issues than by the troubles of Richard Nixon.

Nixon Loser In Survey Of Solons

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. (AP) — Spokesmen for seven of Virginia's 10 congressmen agree that at least half of the Commonwealth's strongly conservative delegation will vote to impeach President Nixon.

In a poll taken by the Charlottesville Daily Progress, the staff members concluded that the final vote among the Virginians will range between 5-5 and 7-3 in favor of bringing Nixon to trial before the Senate.

Figure May Change

They also agreed that this estimate is based on the summaries of evidence given before the House Judiciary Committee, and that the figure may require revision when the actual evidence is presented. None, however, believe that the additional evidence will improve Nixon's position with the delegation.

The staff members interviewed who would name names, believe that four and possibly five of the GOP members are presently leaning toward impeachment.

They are Reps. Joel Broynum of the 10th District, William Whitehurst of the 2nd, Stanford Parris of the 8th and M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th.

Under Pressure

Robert Daniel of the 4th is also believed to be leaning toward impeachment, but is under terrific pressure from his supporters in the conservative southside district to stand by the President.

Only one GOP congressman, J. Kenneth Robinson of the 7th District, was believed to be "locked into" a vote against impeachment.

Of the Democrats, Thomas Downing of the 1st District is regarded as favoring a Senate trial, with David Satterfield of the 3rd and W. C. (Dan) Daniel of the 5th opposed.

Army's active rolls in recent years as the Army was scaled down drastically from the Vietnam war peaks of almost 20 divisions and a total Army strength of about 1.5 million men.

In effect, Callaway signalled plans to bring these three tradition-encrusted divisions back on active duty.

Impeachment Climate Attributed to Media

WP
Aug. 4

RICHMOND (AP)—Sen. William R. Scott (R-Va.) said yesterday labor unions and the liberal media are partly to blame for the pro-impeachment climate that he conceded is growing stronger day by day in Congress.

In a news conference devoted almost exclusively to consideration of the move to impeach President Nixon, Scott gave few specifics to back up his charge against the media.

He noted labor unions contributed heavily to the re-election campaigns of Democratic members of the House Judiciary Committee, which has voted three articles of impeachment against the President.

The conservative senator seemed to indicate in his response to questions that he has tempered his previous optimism that Mr. Nixon won't be impeached and agreed that it now appears almost certain the matter will come to trial in the Senate.

As for the Senate's action, he said, "I would guess it would not vote for impeachment."

Scott reiterated his belief that Mr. Nixon has committed no impeachable offense, but went on to say he would vote for impeachment if the charges against the President were "supported by provable facts."

"I'm not suggesting that the President hasn't done things he shouldn't have done," the senator said, "but they haven't been proven."

Scott conceded things have "changed for the worse" for

Mr. Nixon in recent weeks, but he said the President should still be extended a presumption of innocence until there is "clear and convincing evidence" of major wrongdoing.

Scott said he didn't agree with the conclusions reached by 6th District Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, who voted for two of the three impeachment articles, but wouldn't question Butler's right to reach those conclusions.

At the same time, however, he said, "I will have some hesitancy" about campaigning for Butler in his re-election bid this year.

Asked whether he felt the television broadcasts of the Judiciary Committee's deliberations were anything but factual, he said, "Anyone who hasn't heard anything of a propaganda nature just hasn't been listening."

While conceding that part of the accumulation of evidence against the President is "undoubtedly true," Scott said he still believed the articles of impeachment fell short of constitutional requirements.

He said he thought the only grounds for impeachment would be a criminal offense.

The senator said mail from his constituents is running as much as 10-to-1 in favor of the President.

He said he hasn't noticed any special effort on the part of the President's forces to influence either his position in impeachment or that of other conservative members of the Senate.

"He, Nixon, hasn't courted me," he said.

Poll indicates split on impeachment

CHARLOTTESVILLE (AP)—A poll taken by the Charlottesville Daily Progress indicates that at least half and maybe more of Virginia's 10 congressmen will vote to impeach President Nixon.

Polled were staff members of seven of the state's congressmen, who, while asking not to be named, agreed that the final vote among the Virginians will range between 5-5 and 7-3 in favor of bringing Nixon to trial before the Senate.

The staff members also agreed that this estimate is based on the summaries of evidence given before the House Judiciary Committee, and that the figure may require revision when the actual evidence is presented, or when other evidence such as the subpoenaed tapes becomes available.

But none believed the President's position with the delegation would improve because of the additional evidence.

One Republican congressman's press representative said he is "scared to death" of the tapes ordered turned over by the Supreme Court.

"I can't but believe that if

those tapes would have been helpful to the President, they would have been turned over long ago," he said.

Ironically, the heaviest vote favoring impeachment among the Virginians will apparently come from Nixon's own party.

The staff members interviewed who would name names believed that four, or possibly five, of the seven GOP members are presently leaning toward impeachment. In their

view, only one of the three Democrats favors impeachment at this time.

The Republicans believed to be favoring impeachment are Reps. Joel Broyhill of the 10th District, William Whitehurst of the 2nd, Stanford Parris of the 8th and M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th.

Robert Daniel of the 4th District is believed to be also leaning toward impeachment, but is under terrific pressure from his

supporters in the conservative Southside district to stand by the President.

Only one GOP congressman, J. Kenneth Robinson of the 7th, was believed to be "locked into" a vote against impeachment.

"Unless there is some real dynamite evidence that makes the vote all but unanimous, I would say that Kenny Robinson will hang in there with Nixon along with Dave Satterfield and

Dan Daniel," said a Republican staffer.

Satterfield and Daniel are Democrats who represent the 3rd and 4th Districts respectively.

Democrat Thomas Downing of the 1st District is generally regarded as favoring a Senate trial. None of those questioned would venture a guess as to the position of the GOP 9th District representative, William Wampler.

8-5-74 Clifton

Vepco's decision on Bath project affects construction at site

MOUNTAIN GROVE (AP) — For months, 80-year-old Frank Foster sat in his porch swing, strategically situated about 25 feet off State Rt. 600, and watched trucks, earthmoving machines and men move up into the valley formed by Back Creek and Lantz Mountains in Bath County.

For several weeks, however, he has been watching most of them move back out of the valley.

It was a while before Foster found out what was happening, but now he, and nearly everyone else in the county, knows.

In a word, the Virginia Electric and Power Co. has decided to stop construction on its \$500 million hydroelectric storage facility — known locally as “the dam” — in Bath County. Construction will resume, according to Vepco, in perhaps one to three years.

Vepco officials announced July 24 that a decline in earnings coupled with rising interest rates for borrowing money precluded completion of the dam as well as projects in the state.

A revised timetable calls for the dam to be operational in 1982 — three years later than originally planned. But a Vepco vice president's reported statement recently that the company may have difficulty obtaining a license from the Federal Power Commission to build the dam has fired speculation in some quarters that the project will not be completed until long after 1982, if at all.

For weeks prior to the official announcement of the dam's postponement, rumors circulated that a layoff of construction workers at the dam site portended abandonment or at least delay of the project.

A high-ranking Vepco corporate officer told a local weekly newspaper, however, that nothing like that was going to occur and the layoff of workers merely marked a transition from one phase of the project to another.

Then shortly afterward, in a series of hastily called meetings with local government leaders, followed by a press release, Vepco disclosed that the dam would indeed be delayed.

Local officials, the business community and apparently most other Bath County residents were shocked, surprised

and disappointed by the disclosure.

Many had been counting heavily on the estimated \$3 million to \$4 million the dam was expected to generate annually once it was finished. Now, to many, the \$3 million to \$4 million seems a lot further off.

Even The Board of Supervisors already had tentatively earmarked much of the money for countywide improvements such as the extension of water and sewer service to nearly every home. To a small rural and relatively poor county such as Bath — the yearly personal income is only slightly more than \$5,000 — countywide water and sewer service was only a dream.

Today, with the delay in tax revenues from Vepco, it is still only a dream.

According to local sources, young people in the county were depending on the dam's construction to provide them with high — paying jobs. They also hoped to get on-the-job training in trades that would last them long after the project was completed. Some of them are now preparing to leave the county for jobs in other areas.

A local government leader said another victim of Vepco's decision to delay the dam on Back Creek probably will be the vocational building planned for Bath County High School.

The building was designed to provide training for the large number of county students who do not go to college but who have few salable skills.

On Tuesday night, the school board and the Board of Supervisors will meet to discuss whether to go ahead with the estimated \$1 million vocational facility now that the expected windfall in tax revenues will not be forthcoming.

Even though the arrival of Vepco in Bath County was welcomed enthusiastically by the Board of Supervisors, chamber of commerce and other civic groups, its

popularity was not universal.

Some farmers and hunters opposed the dam because they felt it would inundate irreplaceable agricultural and hunting land. Environmentalists as well as several property owners near the dam complained that

construction activities were silting streams and that water supplies were being threatened.

Overall, though, opposition to the dam was minimal because in most minds, the economic benefits far outweighed other factors.

The base camp at the site of the dam on Back Creek now presents a strange picture. For the first time in months, huge earthmoving machines sit idle.

The large tract the machines have scraped and leveled in preparation for a portion of the dam is being seeded in grass. And although there is still a large contingent of construction workers from the Daniel Construction Co. on the job, Vepco officials have said that shortly only a caretaker force will be left.

Roy M. Cleek, chairman of the Bath Board of Supervisors, is a firm believer that Vepco will, within a year or so, resume its project. Even if it doesn't, Cleek is not about to concede that the county will go into slide.

“We have some strong willed people in Bath County,” he said, “and they and the county will survive whether Vepco comes or goes or anyone else does.”

How a Fragile Centrist Bloc Emerged As House Panel Weighed Impeachment

Page 8/15 NYTIMES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4—The verdict of the House Judiciary Committee came, in the end, from the President's own men.

Seven Republicans, three conservative Democrats. In all, 10 natural allies of President Nixon whose votes, shaped in anguish and cast in sorrow, were the critical mass of an explosive moment in history.

That moment came to pass, visibly, stunningly, in the televised decision of the Judiciary Committee to lodge the first formal charges against a President in more than a century.

Yet the real drama of impeachment, the test of wits and struggles of conscience that produced the decisive votes, occurred largely in private.

It was a drama at once constitutional, political and per-

This article was written by James M. Naughton and is based on reporting by him, R. W. Apple Jr., Diane Henry, Marjorie Hunter and David E. Rosenbaum.

sonal. It involved the reluctant conclusion months ago by the committee chairman, Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., that the White House tapes and other evidence traced a pattern of misconduct by the President whose signed portrait graced the chairman's office wall.

It turned on a strategy designed to provide time for John M. Doar, the special counsel, to assemble the evidence that might convince key Republicans and Southern Democrats—the crucial, uncommitted center of the divided committee—

that a vote for impeachment was worth the peril to their own political careers.

It concluded a massive, procedural sleight of hand through which Mr. Doar was able to lay before the committee, without objection from the President's lawyers or Mr. Nixon's defenders on the committee, the central elements of evidence on which the judgment would ultimately be based.

And the climax was caused in part by an uncharacteristic attempt by the senior Republican, Representative Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, to put pressure on the committee minority to make a united defense of the President. The gambit backfired, driving four Republicans into a bipartisan

Continued on Page 14, Column 1

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

caucus—called, self-effacingly, "the Unholy Alliance"—where the first two articles of impeachment were drafted.

The alliance of the center in favor of impeachment almost collapsed twice, over a procedural disagreement and a tactical lapse, in the closing days of the committee deliberations.

But when the inquiry ended last Tuesday only 10 bitter-end Republicans out of the 38 committee members had opposed adoption of the resolution that urged, in the stark language of parliamentary law, "that Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors." And the votes of the 10 critical men at the center echoed fatefully through Congress.

Walter Flowers, Democrat of Alabama: "Aye." James R.

Mann, Democrat of South Carolina: "Aye." Ray Thornton, Democrat of Arkansas: "Aye." Robert McClory, Republican of Illinois: "Aye." Tom Railsback, Republican of Illinois: "Aye." Hamilton Fish Jr., Republican of New York: "Aye." Lawrence J. Hogan, Republican of Maryland: "Aye." M. Caldwell Butler, Republican of Virginia: "Aye." William S. Cohen, Republican of Maine: "Aye." Harold V. Froehlich, Republican of Wisconsin: "Aye."

How the 10 came to their separate judgments to enact two or more articles of impeachment and then coalesced to shape the wording of the indictment formed the central act of the drama. Based on interviews with each of them — and with other committee members and aides, some on condition that they not be identified — here is how it happened:

judgment the outcome would hinge.

The political phase of the strategy was brutally simple. It was to preserve a bipartisan approach and obtain an image of fairness by holding in check those in the committee's majority who were prepared, some eager, to presume the worst about Mr. Nixon's conduct. At closed party caucuses, Mr. Rodino kept warning the Democrats that the proceedings must be fair — that the committee's decision was one that the public in turn would judge and that the nation at large might not accept the verdict if Democrats were seen to have jumped to a partisan finding.



Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, left, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, center, and William S. Cohen of Maine: three Republicans who voted for impeachment.

The New York Times

NY TIMES 8/15

The Drafters

At 8:30 A.M. on July 23, the Unholy Alliance — Republicans Railsback, Cohen, Butler and Fish, Democrats Flowers, Mann and Thornton — gathered, for the first of many times during the week of the impeachment debate, around a conference table in Mr. Railsback's office. There were coffee and rolls — "Toss me Danish," Mr. Cohen asked Mr. Railsback and the pastry sailed the length of the table — and there was unanimity.

"It was a terrible butterfly-in-the-stomach day," Mr. Fish later remembered. "I would have questioned my judgment if everybody else had decided against impeachment."

The group discussed those issues they could agree were not grist for impeachment — secret bombing in Cambodia, Mr. Nixon's political donations from corporations and industries — and then agreed they all could support two articles of impeachment, if phrased accurately, carefully, without political hyperbole. Mr. Railsback agreed to draft Article I, alleging obstruction of justice in the Watergate case. Mr. Mann said he would try his hand at Article II, accusing Mr. Nixon of persistent abuses of power.

The political risks were clear. Mr. Flowers leaned toward Mr. Butler at one point, and noting how near the old capital of the Confederacy was to Washington, he drawled, "You better be careful, Caldwell. Every pick-up in Richmond could be here by nightfall."

Democrats who had been

assigned by Mr. Rodino to draft impeachment articles gladly consented to Mr. Mann's suggestion that the draft come instead from the coalition of centrist Republicans and Democrats. The morning of July 24, the day the first formal Presidential impeachment deliberations in 106 years were to begin, the Unholy Alliance met again in Mr. Railsback's office. At 7 P.M., barely 45 minutes before the debate began, they finished a rough, and not totally satisfactory, draft. It was introduced that night by Representative Harold D. Donohue, Democrat of Massachusetts, who had been a fellow Navy officer with Mr. Nixon at a small base in Iowa during World War II.

Throughout the week-long debate, the coalition revised the drafts of Article I and Article II and Mr. Mann shuffled with the various versions between the coalition group and the liberal Democrats working under Representative Jack Brooks of Texas. The two clusters agreed on a substitute Article I. Friday, July 26, it was introduced by Mr. Sarbanes. They agreed on a substitute Article II. Monday, July 27, it was offered by Representative Hungate.

They helped to shape, but did not all sanction, an eventual Article III — Mr. McClory's charge based on the President's defiance of committee subpoenas — and when the week was over it would be the President's men who had drafted the indictment of Mr. Nixon.

NY TIMES 8/5

Panel discussion opens farm meeting

STEELES TAVERN—U.S. Rep. William Wampler of the 9th District and ranking minority member of the House Agricultural Committee, told more than 400 persons attending a farm conference held at McCormick Farm here today that American agriculture is "plagued with inflation" due to government deficit spending.

Rep. Wampler's remarks came during a panel discussion which also included Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter, U.S. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson of the 7th District and U.S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th District.

Reps. Butler and Robinson were sponsors of the meeting, intended to give farmers the opportunity to discuss agricultural problems with members of government.

Rep. Wampler also accused the government of interfering with "the laws of supply of demand" and said that recently there has been far too much interference from the government and the Cost of Living Council.

Mr. Yeutter told the audience that he sees the farmer as pressed between declining demand for protein foods—beef, pork and poultry—and rising production costs.

The Secretary, who heads the International Affairs and Commodity Programs Division of the Department of Agriculture, said that feed prices are rising because of the drought in the Midwest, and that this crisis will create an additional problem for farmers. Another problem cited by Mr. Yeutter is the slowdown of the economies of developed countries of the world resulting in a decreased demand for protein foods.

The opening remarks were to be followed by a panel discussion and a question-and-answer period.

Congressmen seen favoring impeachment

8/5/74
DAILY ADVANCE

CHARLOTTESVILLE (AP)—A poll taken by the Charlottesville Daily Progress indicates that at least half and maybe more of Virginia's 10 congressmen will vote to impeach President Nixon.

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"I can only believe that if those tapes would have been helpful to the President, they would have been turned over long ago," he said.

Ironically, the heaviest vote favoring impeachment among the Virginians will apparently come from Nixon's own party.

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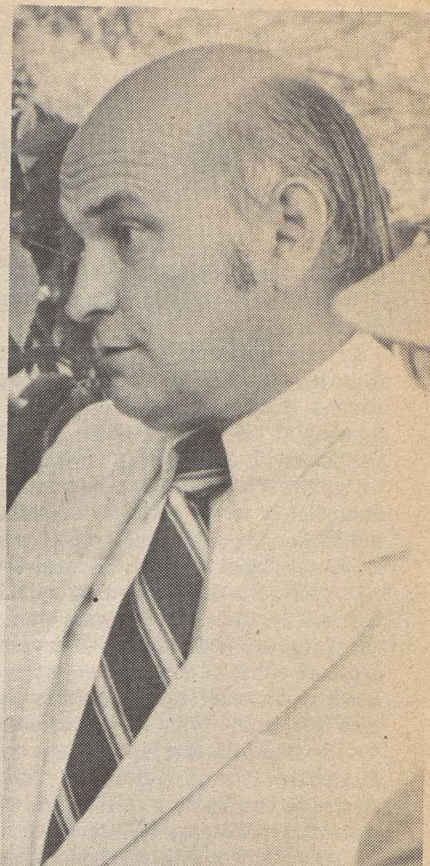
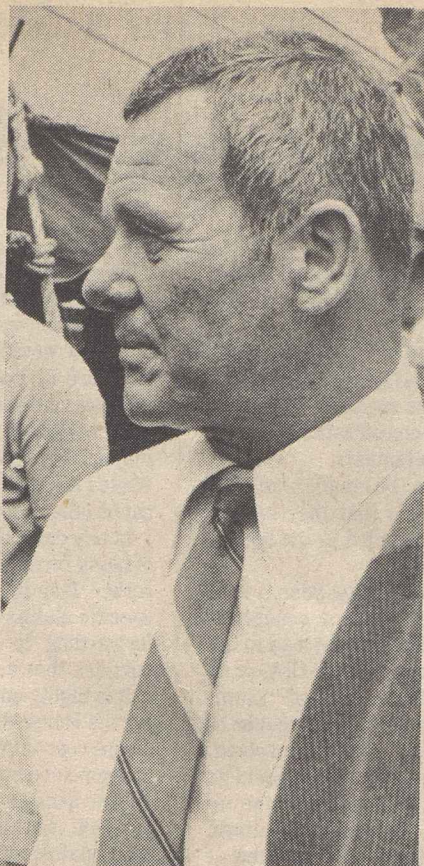
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Aug. 6 '74

News - Virginian
Waynesboro

THREE CONGRESSMEN did more listening than talking yesterday at the third annual Farm Conference at the Cyrus McCormick farm near Steeles Tavern. The event, attended

by about 600, was sponsored by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (left) and Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson (center), with Rep. William C. Wampler as special guest.

(N-V Photos by Berlin)

Butler fields Watergate questions

STEELES TAVERN — The subject was supposed to have been agriculture, but like a pesky weed, Watergate kept cropping up at a farm conference held Monday at McCormick Farm here.

In his opening remarks, U.S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler said he knew what was on everybody's minds, but during the conference he didn't want to become diverted by "that" subject. Afterwards he would be happy to hear comments.

And the comments came. A freckle-faced 12-year-old stepped up and forthrightly told the Representative that

(See BUTLER, Page 2)

Aug. 6 Steeles Tavern
Reading Room

Farm Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

American feeders are losing their shirts? If you're up there to do the job, you're certainly not doing it. There certainly should be enough common sense to see . . . that some are going bankrupt. We don't get free haircuts as the senators do or \$1 haircuts as the congressmen do."

Mr. Robinson and Mr. Wampler interrupted to assure Mr. Horn that their haircuts cost \$2. "Then you're not keeping us informed," Mr. Horn retorted. He went on to imply a certain "deception" in the agriculture budget, to which Rep. Robinson heatedly replied:

"There is no deception. It is a pet peeve of mine when I read the size of the agriculture budget that half of it is going to food stamps. This is not a department program; it is a welfare program. And if you think there will be any repeal of food stamps, you are wrong, as much as the Virginia delegation would be happy to do it. Stamps should not be charged to the Department of Agriculture, but we can't get rid of the situation because of the way the stupid law is worded." This response also elicited applause.

Mr. Butler, a member of the House Judiciary Committee which has just completed preliminary impeachment proceedings, opened the conference on a lighter note: "There is one subject we can't talk about here today because it may divert us — and if you don't know what that subject is, I'm not going to tell you."

Mr. Yeutter, however, violated the groundrules: "Mr. Butler conducted himself (at the hearings) with great grace and dignity . . . You can take off your hats to him for that."

Mr. Robinson spoke of the "depressing climate" in Washington and said there are rumors that members of the House will serve four-year terms in the future — "two in Congress, two in jail."

Mr. Wampler, ranking Republican on the House Agriculture Committee, observed that "you probably would be willing to swap the presence of all three of us for one good soaking rain."

More seriously, Mr. Wampler voiced the opinion that "our great capacity to produce food and fiber is the greatest weapon for peace." But, he said, "we must see agriculture receiving its fair share of the national income. In this, government has a legal and moral responsibility . . ."

Mr. Yeutter, in his opening remarks, expressed concern at the recent decline in consumer demand for protein products — meat, poultry and dairy foods — and said the problem will not be solved "until the economy starts rolling again."

Problems of spiraling costs, uncertain markets, stiff foreign competition, fuel shortages, high taxes and declining profits were detailed before the panel by spokesmen of the dairy, poultry and banking industries, the Virginia Agribusiness Council and individual farmers.

and the ad-

ministration have failed miserably to counteract inflation," said Mike Ellis of the Virginia Poultry Federation, who also called the proposed Consumer Protection Agency "a monstrosity." Paul Williams, executive director of the Agribusiness Council urged government economy and a balanced budget. John Miller, executive director of the Virginia State Dairymen's Association, urged the adoption of new policies to combat foreign competition.

Mr. Wampler said his committee has passed a resolution asking the President to invoke quotas on beef imports. But he warned that this step may invite counter-measures; "it is not as simple as waving a magic wand."

In response to a question posed by Mrs. Mary Frances Houff of Weyers Cave, panelist Ferris S. Anderson of the U.S. Department of Labor said that new federal safety standards for older farm equipment are being evaluated and that, in any event, they do not apply to owner-operated machines.

Following a barbecued chicken lunch, members of the audience spoke informally with the three congressmen and the visiting agricultural experts.

Farmers Complain Of Costs, Prices

From Page 15

tary restraints on beef sales to the U.S. with several countries.

Expansion of American agricultural exports, according to Yetter, is the key to lower consumer food prices here without denying the farmer a living.

His theme did not seem to garner much enthusiasm from the farmers present, several of whom responded by noting the high import duties placed on American products abroad, particularly in Europe. The notorious Russian wheat deals of 1972 were also mentioned.

"That series of transactions has been unduly criticized," said Yetter. "In general it has been a good thing, for the farmers and the consumer. It was a significant improvement of our relations with the USSR and opened new trade markets."

Yetter said the livestock farmer, who presently faces spiralling feed costs and lowered consumer demand for

meat at home, could be doing better by increasing export sales. He said livestock producers, processors and retailers should form a world council for livestock exports such as the successful grain council formed by American grain producers.

Paul Williams, executive director of the Virginia Agri-Business Council, agreed that agricultural trade should be expanded but on the domestic scene he, along with John Miller of the Virginia Dairymen's Association and several others called for a stop to "government meddling in the free market."

A representative of the state poultrymen's association said the large federal bureaucracy, by overspending and creating mounds of paperwork, is "stifling production and service innovations for the consumer."

He said various regulatory agencies often clash among themselves over what a producer must do.

Farmers Complain Of Costs, Prices

By KATHY CRADDOCK
Times Shenandoah Bureau
STEELES TAVERN — High production costs, low market prices, government interference and unrestricted agricultural imports were among the complaints fielded Monday by three Virginia congressmen, an assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and other state and federal officials at the third annual farm conference.

About 150 area farmers gathered on the benches of baled hay under the large tent set up at the McCormick Farm Memorial to air their views and ask questions at the event co-sponsored by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-6th District, and Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson, R-7th District.

J. Troy Horn of Churchville, who described himself as a small feed operator, lambasted the congressmen for doing an ineffectual job by allowing importation of beef "while American feeders are losing their shirts."

Rep. William C. Wampler, R-9th District, said the government should do something about beef imports but pointed out that trade barriers set up by the U.S. may prompt the country affected to take similar action against U.S. exports.

"Blame me, not your congressmen" for the beef imports, said Clayton Yeutter, assistant USDA secretary for international affairs and commodity programs.

Implementation of import quotas is a responsibility of the administration, said Yeutter.

He said the reason beef quotas have not been established is because "we need to have exports as well as imports. We risk losing three dollars in export sales for every dollar we save by cutting off beef imports."

Wampler added that he understood the government has been able to negotiate volun-

See Page 18, Col. 1



Times Photo by Kathy Craddock

Rep. William C. Wampler Speaks at Farm Conference in Augusta
Sitting to His Left Are M. Caldwell Butler, J. Kenneth Robinson and Clayton Yeutter

8-6-74 Jams

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employer.

Meanwhile, State Police Investigator R. D. Grimes, who traveled to Roanoke today to confer with Dr. David Oxley, chief medical examiner, about bones and particles of clothing which were uncovered Saturday at the spot where the couple was reportedly abandoned, said "new information" has cropped up concerning the

(See Suspects, Page 2)

OVER

Sandman said there is no question in his mind but that the transcript establishes an impeachable offense under the first article of impeachment voted by the committee — the one charging obstruction of justice in the cover-up of the Watergate break-in.

Asked whether he thinks the Senate would convict Nixon if the House votes impeachment, Sandman replied, "I can't see how they could do otherwise."

Rep. Charles E. Wiggins, R-Calif., who

(See Republicans, Page 2)



U.S. REP. M. CALDWELL BUTLER of the 6th District, left, chats with **Richard L. Coffey**, Augusta County extension agent, center, and **C. A. Marks** of Waynesboro, representing the State Board of the Virginia Farm Bureau.
(Photo By John A. Miller)

Farmers air problems with government officials

By **JOHN A. MILLER**
Leader Staff Writer

STEELES TAVERN — Discussion of international trade negotiations, import quotas and the European Common Market's tariff on poultry alternated with more homespun concerns, such as lack of rainfall, Monday at a farm conference held at McCormick Farm near here.

The session attracted 650 farmers and agri-business persons to what was billed as an opportunity to air problems to U.S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th District, U.S. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson of the 7th District, U.S. Rep. William Wampler of the 9th District, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter and a panel of agricultural experts.

Farmers voiced displeasure over purely domestic matters such as what they

considered to be excessive land taxes, unfair restrictions on the use of herbicides and overly burdensome safety protection for farm machinery. But when it came to complaints of too much imported beef or the uncertainty of demand for farm products, the discussion soon became enmeshed in the international situation.

J. Troy Horn, a cattle farmer from near Churchville, questioned the policy of allowing beef imports from Argentina, Australia and Poland when American cattlemen like himself are faced with serious losses this year.

The reply came from Mr. Yeutter, who is a cattleman in addition to being the head of the International Affairs and Commodity Programs Division of the Department of Agriculture. He said this country invites retaliation against exports

(See Farmers, Page 2)

Aug. 6
Staunton Leader

(OVER)

Inflation problems examined

Stricter farm import quotas denounced

STEELE TAVERN (AP) — A U.S. Department of Agriculture official told a gathering of Virginia farmers yesterday it could be a "big mistake" to try to fight inflation by imposing stricter import quotas on farm products.

U.S. farm production is a val-

uable tool in foreign relations, and stricter quotas might damage international trade, said Clayton Yeutter, assistant secretary of agriculture.

He said the country would run the risk of losing \$3 in agricultural trade for every \$1 in quotas imposed on foreign im-

ports.

The occasion was the 3rd annual free beef barbecue hosted by Reps. M. Caldwell Butler, 6th District, and J. Kenneth Robinson, 7th District, for their constituents. It was held on the sprawling farm near here where Cyrus McCormick invented the modern reaping

machine more than 140 years ago.

About 150 persons attended the barbecue-conference including several U.S. and state agricultural officials.

In an informal atmosphere, participants sat on bales of hay and bantered with lawmakers and officials about their partic-

ular worries and ideas.

The tone was set at the outset by Butler, who told the gathering in his opening remarks that the conference should limit itself to the subject of agriculture, and not drift into the area of impeachment.

The chief concern of the farmers was inflation and a plunging consumer demand for farm products—especially beef. The consideration of import quotas was raised by several farmers as a possible solution.

Food stamps and other commodity programs came under attack by Robinson, who told the group these programs have become "government hand-outs" and should be transferred from the jurisdiction of agriculture to the welfare departments.

All Over Now, Butler Says

From Page 1

Butler said he would not call for the President's resignation nor would he speculate on the President's chances in a Senate impeachment trial. "That's their problem now," he said.

Ninth District Rep. William Wampler, R-Va., said he had just gotten back to Washington and could not say yet what effect the surprise announcement would have.

"It has obviously damaged the President's case but we will still have to wait until we have the articles before us," Wampler said he would not speculate on the President's chances or call for him to resign.

"That is a matter for him to decide," Wampler said.

Meanwhile, 4th District Republican Robert Daniel, in his strongest statement to date, said it was apparent that President Nixon was providing cover to Watergate defendants.

"I think he is conceding that the American people were misled by what he said. He is saying he withheld relevant information shortly after the Watergate break-in occurred.

"He seemed to be aware that the action he chose would provide cover for Watergate participants," Daniel said. Daniel said he did not consider it his job to advise the President to resign but added, "I'm sure he feels that the pressures for resignation have increased."

'All Over Now,' Says Butler

Times Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — Rep. Thomas Downing, D-Va., has called for the President's resignation while Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke has predicted that "the ball game is all over now" in the wake of President Nixon's revelation Monday that he withheld evidence from the House Judiciary Committee in its impeachment inquiry.

The President has maintained for months that he first learned of the Watergate coverup on March 21, 1973, but Monday he released portions of presidential conversation indicating that he knew of it shortly after the Watergate break-in on June 17, 1972.

In a brief statement issued by Downing from his Newport News home, he said, "This has got to be a devastating blow to the President, some of his most

ardent supporters now feel that he has betrayed them, and as a consequence they now favor impeachment.

"Impeachment in the House now seems to be a certainty and conviction in the Senate is most probable," Downing said. "The President, in the best interests of the country and of himself, should resign."

Downing also said he expected the House and Senate would be willing to grant immunity from prosecution if the President left office voluntarily.

Meanwhile, Butler said he believed the President's admission would insure that every member of the House Judiciary Committee would now support the first proposed article of impeachment charging the President with obstruction of justice.

See Page 2, Col. 2

Staunton, Va., Leader, Tuesday, August 6, 1974 5

TO MEET WITH RESIDENTS

Miss Mary Frances Whissen, representative of U.S. Rep M. Caldwell Butler, will be in Council Chambers of Staunton City Hall Thursday from 9 a.m.-noon to meet with residents.

Del. Garland says Nixon should resign

WN
front pg 8/6/74

By OZZIE OSBORNE
Political Writer

One of the Roanoke area's three Republicans in the General Assembly today said he believes it would be best for President Nixon to resign.

"I don't see how he could possibly sustain himself in office now," said Del. Ray L. Garland.

Garland's statement was one of the strongest made on Nixon by Republicans following the President's disclosure that he had withheld evidence from his own lawyers, from Congress and the American people.

Rep. G. William Whitehurst of Norfolk in a harsh statement said "I'm just sick over this."

"I don't think any man has the right to deliberately lie to the people and continue to hold office," he said.

Whitehurst said Nixon "certainly ought to consider resignation. This thing is agonizing for the country and he should consider the implications of a Senate trial and the evidence that would be produced at the trial."

He said further he agrees with the President that impeachment by the House is a foregone conclusion. "Under the circumstances I believe the Senate would probably convict him."

General shock was expressed by some other Republicans, with Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th District saying "the ball game is all over now" for the President.

Butler is a member of the House Judiciary Committee, which has been conducting an impeachment inquiry.

Butler said he would not call for the President's resignation, nor would he speculate on the

President's chances in a Senate impeachment trial.

"That's their problem now," he said.

In calling for Nixon's resignation, Garland said no good purpose would be served by having the Senate hash over the evidence that has been presented to the House Judiciary Committee.

Garland said Nixon's position now appears completely unsupportable.

Another Roanoke area legis-

lator, State Sen. David F. Thornton of Salem, said he was "very upset and very disappointed" at the latest turn in the Nixon case.

"Resignation might be the easy way out," he said. "But I wouldn't go so far as to urge him to resign at this point."

The strongest statement from a Virginia Democratic House member concerning Nixon was made by Rep. Thomas N. Downing, who said the President ought to quit.

"This has got to be a devastating blow to the President. Some of his most ardent supporters now feel that he has betrayed them and, as a consequence, they now favor impeachment."

"Impeachment in the House now seems to be a certainty and conviction in the Senate is most probable. The President, in the best interests of the country and of himself, should resign."

Republican Rep. Robert

See DEL., Pg. 4, Col. 2

Del. Garland says Nixon should quit

From Page 1

Daniel, making his strongest statement on the Nixon affair so far, said it was apparent that President Nixon was providing cover to Watergate defendants—something he has vehemently denied.

"I think he is conceding that the American people were misled by what he said," said Daniel. "He is saying he withheld relevant information shortly after the Watergate break-in occurred."

Daniel said he didn't feel qualified to call for the President to resign, but added, "I'm sure he feels that the pressures for resignation have increased." Daniel represents the Southside 4th District.

U. S. Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr., independent, said he has not made up his mind on impeachment.

"I have not prejudged this case and I shall not," said Byrd. "I have made no statement publicly or privately."

Byrd was listed in the latest Newsweek magazine as one of the 36 senators the White House is counting on to vote innocent if and when the President is tried in the U. S. Senate.

U.S. Sen. William L. Scott, the state's junior Republican senator, said he is going to withhold judgment on the President. He added that he was surprised that the President didn't make a full disclosure to begin with.

He alluded to U.S. Sen. Edward Kennedy when he said people attack the President, "but I still think of that little girl under nine feet of water at Chappaquiddick and closed

court records and no autopsy." He was referring to the drowning of a girl in a car driven by Kennedy.

College cost

The cost of attending a good, private American college has risen to as much as \$24,000 for four years, according to a recent survey of student expenses for the 1974-75 school year.

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Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., said Nixon's statement "makes me a little more comfortable with my vote."

See 5 probers, Pg. 4, Col. 3

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Four others said they were reassessing their position and the 10th could not be reached for comment.

One of those reassessing his position, Rep. Delbert L. Latta of Ohio, said in an interview

Latta, asked if switched, said: "I've never cast that vote."

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Latta appeared on the CBS Morning News.

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5 probers change opinions

From Page 1

on. Rep. Otto E. Passman, D-La., said the disclosure of the new tapes would not be enough to force him to vote for impeachment.

"I've got to judge him overall, by what he's accomplished," Passman said. "To err is human, to forgive is divine."

Rep. G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery, D-Miss., who has been trying to rally support for Nixon among Democrats, said "I don't feel very good, and it's my birthday."

He said he was "not ready to throw rocks at the presidency until I can read the transcripts. Then I will announce my decision."

Rep. Joe D. Waggonner, D-La., said he wanted to wait until the dust settled before committing himself. But he added, "the only thing I've got to say — it hurts."

That was a typical reaction among Republicans who have been uncommitted or leaning against impeachment. "The thing that bothers me most is that he deceived his fellow man. That's what hurts," said Rep. Carleton J. King, R-N.Y.,

Rep. Barber B. Conable, Jr., R-N.Y., an influential leader among conservative Republicans, said he was prepared to vote for impeachment on the basis of Nixon's own announcement.

5 GOP probers change minds

WASHINGTON (AP) — Rep. Charles W. Sandman Jr., R-N.J., who vociferously defended President Nixon during the House Judiciary Committee inquiry, said today he has called on Nixon to resign and that he will vote for impeachment if the President does not do so.

Among the 10 Republican members of the committee who had opposed all proposed articles of impeachment, Sandman was the fifth to change his

mind because of Nixon's disclosure that he withheld evidence from the committee.

Four others said they were reassessing their position and the 10th could not be reached for comment.

One of those reassessing his position, Rep. Delbert L. Latta of Ohio, said in an interview this morning: "I've always felt that in order to impeach a president you had to have direct evidence and here the President was furnishing the direct

evidence himself."

Latta, asked if his vote had switched, said: "Well, we haven't cast that vote, but certainly you can't defend that one particular charge. I think the only remaining question is whether or not that standing in and of itself would be an impeachable offense."

Latta appeared on the CBS Morning News.

Sandman told a news conference that the transcript of a June 23, 1972 conversation re-

leased by Nixon Monday "is the type of hard proof I believe is necessary. I can see no escape from this information."

Sandman said there is no question in his mind but that the transcript establishes an impeachable offense under the first article of impeachment voted by the committee — the one charging obstruction of justice in the cover-up of the Watergate break-in.

"I sincerely hope the President will act with dispatch," Sandman said. "My view now is the vote will be practically unanimous."

Asked whether he thinks the Senate would convict Nixon if the House votes impeachment, Sandman replied, "I can't see how they could do otherwise."

Rep. Charles E. Wiggins, R-Calif., who carried the main burden of Nixon's defense in the Judiciary Committee, said Monday: "After considerable reflection, I have reached the painful conclusion that the President of the United States should resign." Wiggins added that he would vote for impeachment if Nixon remained in office.

Also changing their minds Monday on impeachment were Republican Judiciary Committee members David W. Dennis of Indiana, Wiley Mayne of Iowa and Joseph J. Maraziti of New Jersey.

Those on the committee reassessing their positions, in addition to Latta, were Carlos J. Moorhead of California, Henry P. Smith III of New York and the committee's ranking Republican, Edward Hutchinson of Michigan.

Rep. Trent Lott, R-Miss., could not be reached for comment.

Meanwhile, committee members who voted for impeachment said Nixon's action confirms their view. One of them,

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., said Nixon's statement "makes me a little more comfortable with my vote."

A kernel of support remained among the southern Democrats who have long sided with Nixon.

See 5 probers, Pg. 4, Col. 3

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June 8-6-74



Retaliation Feared

Will Nixon's Legion Shell Its Own Troops?

By JAMES J. KILPATRICK

THE HOUSE of Representatives is moving inexorably toward the destruction of Richard Nixon, and some of Mr. Nixon's most ardent supporters are moving, in the same tidal wave, toward the destruction of their own best interests.

Forget Mr. Nixon for the moment. What are these convulsions doing to the Republican party? And what lies ahead for conservative causes?

The 1972 election saw 47.2 million votes cast for the Republican Nixon, 29.2 million for the Democrat McGovern. If these 76.4 million voters constitute a reasonable political universe, we can make some rough extrapolations from the popularity polls. These polls show that about 26 or 27 per cent of the people still stand by the President. Conclusion: Some 20 million voters—call them Nixon's Legion—remain bitterly opposed to the President's impeachment and removal from office.

The figures are rough, but they probably are roughly accurate. A legion of 20 million fired-up voters is a potent political force; and anyone who supposes the President's defenders are not fired up should browse through the mail now flooding Republican offices. The legion sees impeachment as a conspiracy between double-standard Democrats and a double-standard press. These voters have blood in their eyes.

"The pro-Nixon voters have it within their power, if they choose to exercise that power, to make or break a score of Republican or conservative congressmen this fall."

The question arises: How will Nixon's Legion expend its political force? These voters have it within their power, if they choose to exercise that power, to make or break a score of Republican or conservative congressmen this fall. By withholding campaign contributions, or by staying home in November, the legion can effectively deny re-election to members of the House who vote in favor of impeachment.

It would not be an easy road, under the best of circumstances, for Republicans in marginal districts this fall. Rightly or wrongly, a president and his party tend to be blamed for economic ills, and such blame rubs off on a party's candidates. Historically, the party in presidential power loses close seats in off-year elections. If one adds to these factors the anger of Nixon's Legion, the problem of a pro-impeachment Republican becomes evident.

Consider, for example, the position of M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia's Sixth District. He is a first-term who won

election in 1972 by 55 per cent of the vote. Or consider the situation of John M. Ashbrook of Ohio's 17th District. He won his sixth term in 1972 with 57 per cent of the vote. Both men are solid conservatives; both are seeking re-election. The arithmetic tells its own story: If the legion abandons these two excellent congressmen, they could be in serious trouble.

Prejudice runs deeper than reason. If it were possible for members of the legion to suspend their pro-Nixon prejudice, and to listen to the cool voice of reason, perhaps they could be persuaded of the political disaster they are courting. Their passionate support of the President can do little for Mr. Nixon now; but if this passion is turned in retribution against such men as Butler and Ashbrook, the result could be a liberal landslide.

This is madness. The leaders of organized labor are licking their chops and looking to November. If 30 or 40 seats in the House change hands, passing from moderate-conservative Republicans to moderate-liberal Democrats, we will approach the "veto-proof" Congress that is the dream of organized labor. The consequences cannot be reckoned in terms of labor legislation alone; the consequences would ripple across the whole surface of congressional power. The legion would lose both the battle and the war. What price passion?

The President's defenders cannot let their anger destroy their common sense. Simmer down, I would say. Sober up! Look ahead! If Mr. Nixon goes down the drain, let him go. But if we have one ounce of political maturity, let us save what is left.

Butler: ^{OVER} Yeas Still Ahead

By N-V Staff Writer

STEELESTAVERN — Taking time out from his Farm Conference to talk with reporters, Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler said here yesterday that "a substantial number" of his constituents have expressed "disappointment" at his vote in the House Judiciary Committee to proceed with articles of im-

peachment against President Nixon.

On the other hand, he said, responses endorsing his vote are running "modestly ahead" of the negative responses.

Turning to another subject, Mr. Butler said that legislation to provide funds for design work on the proposed Verona Dam remains in the hands of a con-

ference committee. Funds have been approved by the Senate, but not by the House, he disclosed.

Congress has approved a plan through which the dam would be designed before its actual construction is authorized. The original bill, however, merely authorized the preliminary work; it did not provide the funds.

Butler ^A ^{DAILY ADVANCE} says it's ^{8/6/74} 'all over'

WASHINGTON — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., said Monday night President Nixon's admission that he had withheld evidence from the House Judiciary Committee during its impeachment inquiry made it almost certain that every member of the committee would support impeachment.

The Roanoke Times' Washington bureau quoted Butler as saying the revelation that President Nixon had withheld portions of presidential conversations meant "the ball game is all over now."

Butler, who admits he may owe his seat in the House to the President's campaign effort in his behalf in 1972, voted with several Republicans and all 21 Democrats of the judiciary committee in approving two articles of impeachment.

Butler backed one article charging the President with obstruction of justice in the Watergate coverup and a second article charging the President with abuse of power in the office of the presidency.

Butler said that he got back to Washington late Monday afternoon and that the revelation was the topic of virtually every conversation on the House floor.

"The reaction is one that you might expect," Butler said. "I think every one on the committee will now support article one and probably article two as well."

Butler's milk money

⁸⁻⁵⁻⁷⁴
Q. I understand from the press that Caldwell Butler only accepted \$1,000 from the milk cooperatives for his election. Is that true? — H.R.H.

A. Yes, Rep. Butler accepted \$1,000 from SPACE, which is the political arm of Dairymen, Inc. Butler said the money was handled legally. He said recently that there are substantial dairy interests in his district and he considered these contributions as a legitimate expression of their interest in his campaign. "My campaign committee has followed the spirit and letter of the law in every detail and promptly and properly reported these contributions," he said. The money was used in Butler's 1972 campaign.



AT FARM CONFERENCE Monday, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler chats with a group from Rockbridge. From left are

Clarence Tardy, Butler, Pete Whitlock, Jack Smith and David F. "Jim" Bear.

staff photo

*Lexington
News Gazette*

Event Draws Crowd:

Farm Problems Aired At Area Conference

With farm prices down and production costs spiraling, farm spokesmen had plenty of suggestions to give their congressional representatives at Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's farm conference Monday.

A crowd estimated at over 600 overflowed the big tent erected for the conference at the McCormick Farm at Steeles Tavern.

The conference, organized by Butler who represents the 7th District, was co-sponsored by Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson of the 7th District and Rep. William C. Wampler of the 9th District.

It was, as Robinson commented, one of the rare occasions when the three congressmen are able to get together for such a public event.

Views from the top echelon of the U. S. Department of agriculture were communicated to the gathering by Clayton Yeutter, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for international affairs and commodity programs.

After the formal portion of the program the crowd enjoyed a free chicken barbecue dinner in perfect summer weather. The dinner was arranged by the Butler farm committee and refreshments were sold by members of the Rockbridge 4-H Honor Club.

In his brief opening remarks, Butler said that "one subject is off limits," and he left no doubt that the subject was his recent vote in the House Judiciary Committee for the articles of impeachment.

The only reference made to the subject during the meeting was a compliment from Yeutter, who said Butler had conducted himself with "great dignity" during a "very difficult period" and he added, "you can take your hats off to him." The comment was greeted by applause from the audience.

During and after lunch groups gathered to talk informally with the congressmen and with the panel of nine agriculture experts who had been assembled for the conference.

Butler received a number of comments — both favorable and unfavorable — from constituents on his impeachment stand. He said that in the mail and calls his office has received, the comments in favor of his position were running "modestly ahead" of those opposed. A member of his office staff who was present said that the mail which had flooded the office the first few days after his statement on impeachment had "tapered off some" but was still so heavy that the staff could hardly keep up with it.

During the morning session spokesmen for several

agricultural organizations used most of the time allotted for comments from the public.

However, one individual spokesman, J. Troy Horn of Augusta County, a small cattleman, livened the proceedings by calling the congressmen and government officials to task.

Claiming that the quotas on beef cattle importation that were lifted last year should be reinstated, he charged the congressmen with being "ineffective."

He also charged that the budget of the U. S. Department of Agriculture is being vastly inflated by placing the food stamp program in that department instead of in the

agency that administers welfare. This makes it falsely appear that great sums are being spent for the benefit of the farmer.

Rep. Robinson replied that he agreed with Horn on the food stamp program, but said that in order to accomplish the change the stamp program as it is now set up would have to be repealed.

Commenting on the import quota question, Yeutter said that by urging voluntary restraints on foreign countries the U. S. has reduced the imports of beef almost to quota level. If the administration reimposes quotas, he said, it would risk retaliatory action against U. S. agricultural exports that

could cost this country \$3 for every \$1 saved.

He noted that the U. S. should do a job of promoting the exports of meat comparable to the job done by the successful grain council formed by American grain producers.

John Miller, spokesman for the Virginia Dairymen's Association urged imposition of countervailing duties on imports of cheese and powdered milk, to counteract the subsidies of foreign governments on these products.

Yeutter said the U. S. had succeeded in getting subsidies removed from European dairy products and his department is asking the Treasury Department to move with countervailing duties against other nations in an effort to get them to remove their subsidies.

Noting complaints raised by the dairy spokesman on the cost-price squeeze, he said the industry needs to get a price for its product that will give dairymen a fair return. "We must get the public to understand that food is not costly in this country. In other countries housewives give food a higher priority in their budgets," he declared.

Paul Williams of the Virginia Agri-Business Council, pointed out that after a good year in 1973, the present year is shaping up as one of the worst for many farmers. Hogs and poultry are selling for less than the cost of production and low prices are being offered for feeder calves, he said.

In addition to urging better trade legislation, he asked the congressmen to strive for

(continued on page 1)

a balanced federal budget and to avoid any further attempts to freeze agricultural prices.

In informal comments later, Yeutter stated that agriculture had fared poorly in the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations, but that in the current round of negotiations, with which he is working, it should fare better.

Several questions expressed concern about regulations for farmers proposed by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). Ferris Anderson, OSHA district supervisor, said that the new regulations will not apply to family farms, but will only come into play where a farmer employs help.

Others Say

ROANOKE TIMES AUG 7

A Bonus for Mr. Butler

From the Virginian-Pilot

Even Senator William Lloyd Scott of Virginia, who is normally one of the last to get the word, is conceding now that President Nixon's position has "changed for the worse" in recent weeks. He recognizes that the impeachment of Mr. Nixon is likely to come to a Senate trial, though he—like the rest of the Honorables—is being coy how he'd vote.

But Mr. Scott said that he didn't agree with the reasoning of Representative M. Caldwell Butler, the Republican from Roanoke who voted for two of the three articles of impeachment in the House Judiciary Committee proceedings, and noted that he'd be reluctant to campaign for him this year. Mr. Butler is getting all the breaks lately.



SERVING REFRESHMENTS to two Virginia congressmen are members of the 4-H Honor Club at Butler's farm conference held Monday at the Cyrus McCormick Farm. Pictured (from left) are Scotty Knick, Susan McKemy, Jeany Tardy, Gwen Johnson, 9th District Rep. William C. Wampler and 6th District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler.

Farm Talks To Be Held In Rockbridge

Three western Virginia congressmen will discuss agricultural matters today at a farm conference and barbecue at McCormick Farm in Rockbridge County.

Reps. M. Caldwell Butler, 6th district, J. Kenneth Robinson, 7th district, and William C. Wampler, 9th district, will participate in a panel discussion with Clayton Yeutter, assistant secretary of agriculture who heads the division of International Affairs and Commodity Programs.

Yeutter will also make an informal address at the free barbecue luncheon which begins at noon, Butler said.