



7-10-1975

M. Caldwell Butler Audio Diary - Digest of Transcripts, July 10,1975

M. Caldwell Butler

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LANDMARK

WASHINGTON BUREAU, 936 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20004
Telephone (202) 638-2909

Don Hill
Bureau Chief

Jack Betts
Wayne Woodlief

July 10, 1975

To: M. Caldwell Butler
From: Wayne Woodlief
Re: Impeachment Inquiry Project

This memo will outline why I would be valuable in helping you and your colleagues reconstruct your roles in the impeachment inquiry:

1. Apparently the material you and I assembled, during our taping sessions last year, is the most comprehensive record among those involved in your project of the impact of the events, as they occurred, on a member of the "Fragile Coalition."

2. I now have some expertise in drawing out recollections of those events. The transcripts from our taping would provide a foundation, a framework, for interviewing other members.

3. The earlier exploration I made with New York publishers on the basis of our transcripts has given me some knowledge of what would be a commercially valuable book. I have some useful contacts among agents and publishing houses and some ideas on themes and approaches to a narrative account of the work of the "Fragile Coalition," which I could discuss later in more detail with your group.

4. I have had no books published, but my writing and reporting credentials are strong. I was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard in 1965-66, in a program which selects 12 journalists a year from throughout the country for a year's study at Harvard. (One of my classmates, Jack Bass, may be known to Mr. Mann). I have won various writing awards and I can furnish strong references on request.

5. The possibility of your group eventually negotiating with a "heavyweight" writer of the Theodore White class seems, to me, difficult to achieve. Such writers, if not occupied with other pursuits, would command a large price and probably would be unwilling to take on such a project on speculation.

6. I would be willing to assist in completing the initial phase of your project which, I understand, is to assemble a historical record of your group's role in the impeachment inquiry. In return I would want first option on writing what I believe would be a commercially successful book on the Coalition.



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7. It would work to the advantage of the Coalition and the writer for the professional writer to be involved at the earliest possible date in reconstructing the members' roles. The writer would have a better sense of the flow of events and would bring his professional interviewing skills to bear at a critical point.

8. I would wish to negotiate an arrangement with the Coalition by which I would receive a certain percentage of fees and royalties from sales of the book. I would need to retain a sufficient amount of a publisher's advance payment (I estimate about \$7,000) to allow me to take a leave of absence from my papers to write the book.

9. To cite one of various commercial prospects I see for such a book: It would be published in 1976, the American Bicentennial year, during which there will be vast public interest in our institutions. I envision an account of the work of the "Fragile Coalition" which would show how one of those institutions, Congress, works in a time of testing and great pressure, by focusing on seven of its members; demonstrating how these very human men came to grips with historic issues and principles.

10. Be at liberty to show our transcripts to other members of the Coalition, so that they may judge the depth and quality of what we did. I wish, however, to retain the material until some decision is reached on my potential role in the project.

Digest of
Rep. Caldwell Butler's Impeachment Reflections

March 14, 1974 (first tape)- B. recalls that when Cox first fired, he (Butler) made some "intemperate remarks" which were interpreted as supporting Nixon on the firing. Later put out a "waiting for the facts" statement in newsletter. Butler comments on the Judiciary Committee having the authority to get what it wants from the White House in the impeachment proceeding. President "has to turn it over." Discussion of Anderson columns on Garrison (B. feels the Republicans need a guy like Garrison since Jenner seems not suspicious enough of the Demes). B. recalls his 1972 position on Watergate. The Richard Holland affair. How CREEP never really helped other GOP candidates. The first inkling Watergate might be a biggie: The blowup of the Mitchell appearance at the Candidates' school on weekend of July 31, 1972. At this taping, B. still convinced Nixon had no direct role in Watergate or cover-up, but asks: "How much is he privileged not to know?" B. tells how he got on Judiciary as second choice. Feels in March that it may be only circumstantial evidence at best against Nixon.

March 19- Discusses Wiggins' role at GOP judiciary members' caucuses..
→ How B. is impressed by Rodino's developing ability to handle the "hot heads". Talk of the committee staff perhaps over-reaching. B. on how the GOP house leadership meeting with committee members makes him a little uncomfortable. B.'s assertion of independence: "I consider myself a judge in this." Impressions of Sirica as a "prima donna" in his decision on surrendering GJ tapes to the committee. Cites Post article on Geo. Washington and impeachment. Re-asserts committee's power: "Nothing is secret (from the committee). If we wanted to bug the President's bathroom we could do it, have the power to do it." His early impressions (they change later) of that the DSG by "design"

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put some of the liberal "screwballs" on the committee. But says Rodino "rising to the occasion" as HST did, in keeping the "lunatic fringe" in line. How B. at first didn't think Rodino would be able to do that (~~the~~^{R's} early disregard for GOP members on hiring, etc). How Rodino has trouble, in recognizing members, "seeing around the corner" of the committee bar.

March 23 - GOP caucus. Jenner reassures them that he ~~will~~ will subordinate his own view on the issue of St. Clair x-exam. B. on Doar and Jenner wanting to do their "own little probe." Talk of the "fishing expedition." The uniqueness of the idea of depositions outside the presence of the committee. On how committee beginning to reassert itself, gain some "manhood" back from the staff. Cat and mouse with Doar on whether Butler would be present at deposition taking. B's idea that the committee should be so certain and so deliberate in its approach that IT would be making the impeachment decision, and its findings would be, in effect, rubber-stamped by the Senate, and perceived as just by the public. The need to avoid "petty" arguments with W. House. Theory of Rhodes and others (at that time) that any Republican who votes to impeach is treasonous. Butler criticizes grand jury analogy and rebukes Ron Ziegler. (who tried to "lecture" the committee on how it proceeds before it should get other tapes).

~~March~~ April 3- Transcript of Washington Press Club appearance. Reminds that Newsweek called him a "Persuadable". Talks again of committee role and if it does the job right its decision will be "quickly accepted" by American people. Says President's lawyer should be allowed to x-exam. Adverse inference theory raised if tapes refused by White House. What would senate have left to do if Judiciary Committee is the important settler of the issue? B answers: "I view that with total indifference."

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B. says representation of President at the inquiry is a "matter of grace, not of right." Says hearings should be closed and not on TV unless full questioning by St. C. is permitted. Should Nixon resign? No, it would ^{or could} appear he's being forced out "for political purposes."

B. says he would vote to impeach if the facts justify it, regardless of political consequences: "The job's not that good anyway." Talks of division of staff ^{WORK} for impeachment probe. On balancing conscience against constituents (responsibility to them): "There are damned few people who don't try to make both of them come together."

~~March~~ April 8 - How questions at W. Press Club indicated no sympathy for Nixon. B's first reactions to Nixon's tax bill (The joint committee report was released April 3 and Nixon said he'd pay): B. felt then that Nixon may have paid ^{MORE} when he really didn't need to.

→ B. angry at committee staff for turning off the deposition approach. Hutchinson on how the decision won't be black and white, but settled on circumstantial evidence. Butler on how failure to honor a subpoena would be a "thin reed" on which to base impeachment. Teases Cohen about Teddy White's presence at ~~hearings~~ ^{briefings}. How his kind words about

→ Rodino (in NY Times) help him with the chairman..recognized more frequently, etc. Jenner still ~~troublesome~~ ^{troublesome} to minority, but "too big to fire" because of Sat. Night Massacre implications. Hutchinson defends Sam Garrison at a caucus. B's disappointment that they seem to get nowhere on instructions to Jenner. Comments on slowness of the proceeding, and on the million dollars for staff. How the GOP special order on House floor necessary to prod Rodino. Butler-Edwards colloquy. B. indicates he's still leaning against impeachment at this point. (says "All the bad news"(the anti-nixon material) "is going to come first", and that "it's our obligation" to counter it.

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April 11- Day of the first subpoena of the President. Butler votes with Demos on main vote and on a strengthening amendment. Criticism of Rodino for trying to "ram through" the vote. How a phone call from Doar convinced B. that the White House, through St. C., was "trifling with us" on delivery of tapes. How B's respect for Rodino is increasing (Rodino backing off on "gag" effort). Sam Garrison memo on situation with Jenner getting "intolerable."

May 1- White House calls Butler, then Rodino, seeking his attitude on Nixon's transcript offer. Rodino "waxing eloquent" on Constitution, etc. B. changes mind on need for staff counsel to accompany Hutch and Rodino. B. more and more his own man: someone says the ball's in the democrats' court at a gop caucus, B. replies that, no, it's in the committee's court. Criticism at the caucus of Nixon's delaying tactics on the tapes. Why committee transcripts better than White House's (sophisticated equipment, etc). Butler volunteers to make "inflammatory" statement if nec. to prod Nixon. Rhodes declines ~~maximization~~ to accept. Latta's warning of "You might get re-elected once, but not the second time" if vote to impeach. B. on how an "attitude of impartiality" ^(by committee Republicans) would eventually help Nixon if the facts are on his side. B. ~~gags~~ has brief tangle with Jenner, but Froelich especially hard on Jenner for not getting Congressional milk contributions info. Sidelights: B. moving into new house in McLean, Marshall helping on laying carpet, etc. B. talks of dangers of getting "tape-tied" (instead of tongue-tied). Comments on magazine ~~article~~ ^{mention of} his shotgun vs. rifle ~~approach~~ quote. Talks of the "lonesome" feeling of the five or six uncommitted members who may finally have to make the hard decision on impeachment.

May 7 - after vote on letter of non-compliance to Nixon. Cohen only Republican to vote with the majority. B. talks of ~~possible~~^{VERBA} abuse of Cohen by some GOP members, and B. speaks up for Cohen. B. says Dean Burch seems another Haldeman and Ehrlichman. Hutch "shuts down" Hogan brief effort to sack Jenner. Rodino peppy and confident now, B. likes Mary McGrory description of tapes as "indecent exposure". Says of the tapes that politics isn't played that way in Va. That such taping would make it tough in the future to deal with other politicians in total candor. How this is a "purging experience" for the GOP. Talks of possible future legislation on executive privilege to get at this kind of taping. Shocked at the "over-familiarity" between Nixon and his staff. Shocked that a President would be discussing bribery, perjury, etc. so casually. But says still no hard evidence yet of P's direct involvement. First impressions of Haig: "Out of his depth" (this changes later). Burch criticized. Nixon said to not know how to read the American people. Nixon's misreading of his electoral landslide. The Demos' failure to "rise to the occasion and come up with a creditable candidatex" in '72. B. sees Demo committee strategy shaping as to give St. C. unprecedented discretion to "emasculate the argument that the President hasn't had a fair trial." B. admires Edwards for his position on St. C.'s representation at the upcoming hearings.

May 15- Day after the formal opening day of the hearings: Flap over St. C. and confidentiality between Rodino and Hoganx (re in St. C. brief ~~for~~ references to confidential material. Michaelson's remark to B.: "Welcome to History". Impressions of St. C: Bulky, his own man (used steno pad, 'stead of yellow legal), but maybe over-matched in staff. B. in favor of speeding up the inquiry for good of country, but still says Nixon shouldn't resign: Bad precedent, would seem

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he was harassed from office, etc. Says it's the politicians who want resignation for their own good, not the people who (at that point) wanted N. to quit. Appalled that Nixon tapes show no concern for "what's good for the country" but concentrate on the PR aspects. Says tapes show Haldeman a "genius" for ~~PR~~ protecting P's time, leaving him free for foreign policy. But Nixon and his staff, at the least, showed "bad judgment" on Watergate.

May 22- How deleting the expletives hurt Nixon more with public than if he'd left 'em in; this also a minor coverup: trying to paint Nixon as the kind of person he really wasn't. The differences in listening to the tapes and reading the transcripts: Better perspective, more of a feeling of participation, etc. First impressions of Dean: "a professional sycophant" giving Nixon bad advice and failing to give helpful advice. At this point, having heard March 21, 1972 tape, B. still feels Dean was telling Nixon a lot that he "didn't already know" about Watergate. Otherwise, B. says, Nixon on the tape "is a great actor." B's impressions of Nixon on tape: A tough-minded thinker, ~~who~~^{who} explores options and makes decisions...the Hunt blackmail payment matter is "carefully considered and affirmatively decided." B. notes that W. House transcript "less complete" than committee's. Absorption ~~in~~ⁱⁿ listening to the tapes. Holtzman not blushing. Nixon "going down without much dignity", though, some like Butler, are "cheering for him to do the right thing" even tho they know it's not going to work out that way. Says Colson and Magruder lacked moral fiber. Fleming and Moore are good guys by exclusion. On Judiciary Committee security: Taking up members' transcripts like school kids. "Who's that stranger?" anecdote (it was Ben Marshall). Some praise for Jenner as pragmatic, able to roll with the insults, etc. to do what he wants to do. Hungate's "technical bastard" story.

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May 22 (cont.): B. feels his constituents are beginning to leave impeachment to his best judgment. Even his mother speaking sharply on Nixon's shortcomings. How the May 21 tape-listening may have been a crucial day: Listening to the March 7 tape in a.m. seemed exculpatory, but hearing the March 21 tape in p.m. left GOP hard-liners dispirited. Morehead's sick laugh at B's joke that St. C. should get his fee "up front." ~~Disappointed~~ June's role in ^(talking) ~~talk~~ about tapes with B. The Woodrow Wilson book (Mrs. W's ~~subsequent~~ takeover). B. shock that N. could take all this time on Watergate (in March, '72) and yet the country ~~keeps~~ rolls on. How it's "frightening" to realize the country CAN operate without a President. "You could hide him in the closet and be years knowing about it". A feeling of "who's really in charge?" B. defending Rodino on closed meetings, explains how his views on that differ from those he held in Genl. Assembly. B's ~~insight~~ insight into how jurors must feel, as he watches St. C. et al. B's motivation on the subpoena-tightening he does in committee. (Not to let White House off the hook on a technicality, etc). Wonders how ^(or whether) to tell GOP leaders in the district that he may have to vote for impeachmentx (before they nominate him). Decides that might leave impression he is already committed.

May 29- Talk of how to enforce the committee's subpoena. B sees some polarizing on the committee. Hutch ~~f~~ in the hospital. Growing recognition among GOP members that impeachment is a real possibility, Nixon delaying tactics irking GOP members. Butler tells Va. members he's still uncommitted. Says a vote either way could be justified at this point, it's still too gray a matter. Begins to see he could influence sevl. other Va. members. Intimations of watergate back in '72 (the strange happenings with Mitchell, criticism of at that time of lack of presidential interest in Hurricane Camille floods in Pa., etc). B's growing suspicion that Nixon used the taping system to


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build his own case, i.e., fencing with Dean on letter of resignation (April 16 tape), etc. Nixon's view of loyalty contrasted to Ike's (re Adams firing). Doar as a "frustrated Sherlock Holmes" puzzling out the Hunt blackmail payments. Staff getting tired.

May 30 - ~~Rk~~ Vote by committee to warn Nixon by letter that adverse inferences may be drawn, etc. B. sees Flowers taking the lead on that as an indicator of Nixon's difficulties within the committee. Edwards the moderate, Flowers the "extremist" on this one. John Doar persuasive on Butler voting for the ~~a~~ letter when B. came prepared NOT TO. B. sees the committee shaping now a consensus to work hard at the ~~inquiry~~ inquiry with a minimum of partisanship (the ability to get a moderate compromise letter, etc). B. explains why he put away his own statement on the issue. Jenner impressive, "brilliant" in opposing Rails and Dennis motions (to go to court on the subpoena issue, etc). J. eloquent in separation of powers argument, B. says. B. says Sandman even complimented the staff on this day. How the White House still seems more concerned with PR than substance. The judiciary committee just the opposite. Conscience is important there, and thus Nixon's position is eroding among committee members. B comments on Doar inflexibility (re a Wiggins motion to perfect language). Owens on open hearings, Edwards and Jordan oppose. B. praises the new "Let's Get on with it" mood he senses on committee.

June 5-x Day after Committee hears Nixon-Kleindienst-ITT tape: Dennis on need to call witnesses (lot of ~~em~~ 'em). B.'s chat with Rodino and they agree it's better to limit witnesses. B. gets Jenner's views on why deposition route discarded. B's irritation at Nixon's decision to go to Mid-East and then Russia, rather than cooperate with committee. Talks of his own hectic weekend.. Jim's ~~baccalaureate~~ (sp) ~~etc~~ etc. How Maraziti gets nicknamed "Streaker Maraziti"..

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Chat with Jenner about his bow ties. Jenner has his "day" in presenting evidence, on ITT: systematic style, gratuitous with some info. Tends to comment unnec. on some things. Not as down-to-earth as Doar. Will try to bluff his way through some things. Loves the word "recused". B. has impression that on ITT, President's actions were dictated by his politics (don't attack bigness for bigness' sake, etc.), not money. ITT's Geneen as a "pusher" and the President as an accomodater, however. White House organization impressive (re marginal notes for action on various memos, etc). But the most significant thing about this ITT matter, to B., is that Nixon clearly commands Kleindienst to "drop the ~~God~~dam thing" (about 20 times), and, of course, later lets K. get ~~is~~ confirmed on a lie about that. How tapes show contrasts between Nixon of spring of '71 (stronger and firmer) and the Nixon of '73 (on discussing payments to Hunt, etc) B. says the president letting K. lie about the ITT matter fits the pattern of P. "digging himself in deeper" in deceit. The Nixon  INDIFFERENCE on perjury and morality bothers B the most. B's initial reactions to Colson: "Religion certainly has paid off for him." B. on milk industry's donations to him and other congressmen. On need to purge campaign finance evils (labor and other special interests).

June 6- B on how good people get dragged into Watergate (whitaker). How the Roa Times' handling of milk money story upset him. More on Jenner: "massive ego", keeps B. waiting while he talks to reporters, ' still a problem for the minority members, etc. Presentation to committee of the Milk issue. Nixon ~~was~~ ^{felt} there was political pressure on and tried to beat Congress to the punch to get the politital benefits. (aside herex on Colson: is his testimony A.C. or B.C.).


White house classification of documents (eyes only, etc). B's rejection of the "everybody does it" argument excusing Watergate. There comes a time, he says, for "purging" the body politic of unethical and illegal practices. How we must remember that there were a lot of other things happening with Nixon besides Watergate in '72. (one tape has Nixon being eloquent on the Greeks and Romans, retreats from leadership, etc. re an SST vote). B. says the evidence exculpates P. of bribery on milk matter, tho agrees with Cohen that it's a bad way to finance campaigns. Nixon jokes with dairy people, and irony in his telling them the room is not taped. Connally's political assessment. ~~Hummer's assessment~~ (at which Nixon says, under those circumstances you relax and enjoy it). Dairy ~~group's~~ group's lobbying-fund raising operation. (4 a.m. meeting, etc.) Connally "persuasive and a great bluffer." A GOP caucus: leadership still trying to rally around the P. B. expresses his own view that you don't need a lot of live witnesses, that the public wants the inquiry handled expeditiously.

June 11- (The week after GJ names Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator and Nixon advises committee that he won't honor the 4th committee subpoena): Butler talks of his nominating convention. Still thinks he has a free hand from his constituents on impeachment. 6th district GOP's irked at Nixon's delays/ GJ's naming of Nixon as conspirator had less public impact than B. would have thought; he reasons that it may be people are almost immunized by constant Watergate shock. B. "horrified" that Nixon backs down on arrangement with judge Gesell in Plumbers' trial. June getting more and more down on Nixon. Holton indicates that Kissinger is worried Nixon trip to Mid-East might shake up the delicate balance K. has shaped. B. "shocked" by Judge Hart's light treatment of Kleindienst. Says he may have to "re-examine" his own thinking, i.e. congressional discretion NOT to impeach if that would be in the national interest.

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June 12 - B. amplifies his concept that Congress has the discretion NOT to impeach, even if ~~xx~~ a provable crime has been committed, if Congress deems that the continuation of a particular President in office is essential to the national interest. Mentions a conversation with ex-associate Alan Stapleton who told him the country "just cannot stand an impeachment." This, plus Kissinger's threat to resign unless his name was cleared of wiretap-falsehood allegations at a press conference the day before focused B's thinking on the effects of Watergate and impeachment. His concern over the Kissinger leaks from the committee. says the discretion theory a "seed that's been planted", something B will crank "into my computer." Tempers getting short on committee. Cites McClory being a little snappy with girl in B's office, and "that's not his nature." Dennis and Rodino clashing in committee over St. Clair brief, Latta's sarcasm ("that's right, cut off discussion"). ~~xxxxxx~~
On Presidential stonewalling: failure to honor a subp. not enough to impeach. Thinks the presidential refusal ~~to~~ in this case is "so unique" that it won't set harmful ~~precedent~~ precedent if unchallenged by Congress
Discussion on what if Nixon refuses and then Congress doesn't find enough other evidence to impeach. B says ~~xx~~ President "has 5th amendment rights" but that he ought not "be placed in the humiliating position of having to fall back on the 5th amendment." Says Congress should
- consider defining executive privilege by statute: How much a President should be required to release or not, etc. Sidebar on how busy an impeaching member gets: back on plane tuesday a.m., rush to committee meeting. There all day, 3 hours signing mail that night. up at 6 am the next day, cut the hedge, cut the grass, washed dishes, load of clothes, cooked breakfast and away by 9:30 for another session. Criticism of Democrats: With the exec. branch close to prostrate, Demo leaders haven't been able to assert themselves. Can't get land use bill passed, couldn't get an energy bill together, etc. Krogh memo and "eating crow (krogh). B thinks presentation on Ellsberg-Plumbers doesn't show direct Nixon involvement. ~~Ellsbergzhatz~~ Byr Nixon, Ehrlichman and Byrne. At this point B. says Nixon just "made a sociable contact with Byrne" but didn't act improperly on holding out fbi job (B changes on this later). Wiretapping: "A little frightening" if continued without "any real basis." Got to be careful because "it's so easy to abuse." Kissinger shows swelf as someth ofa prima donna, who, "if you want to get his goat, you start needling hi about his sacred honor."

June 13- B. calls Eilberg to task over Kissinger leaks. Talks with Barbara Jordan about possible Demo leadership plans to televise House i impeachment hearings, about keeping committee hearings closed and on impeachment theories. Finds her influential. Lunch with Va. delegation. Tells them impeachment inquiry is still touch and go. Dan Daniel says white house trying to determine if strong congressional resolution of support for Kissinger will fly. B. warns them off, recalling pains over A Agnew on similar situation. Discussion of Wiggins, and Butler predicts that if Wiggins votes for impeachment, "It will be a clear indication that the President is getting ready to leave office." In Committee: Impoundment case presented, red-haired Harvard lawyer. Barabra Jordan agrees Nixon not likely to be impeached over impoundment. Dean Burch "sticks his big mouth" in again on Eilberg, irritates B. Tapes of ~~Zanis~~ "enemies' list" talks being played. Thin link to Nixon. Cohen invited and then disinivted on Sequoia trip. John Wayne's taxes. Trent Lott comment that that seemed to go back to 1966-LBJ days and says h that to the victor goes the right of harassment. A break for Hank Aaron and Flag Day. Feeling emotional and patriotic with Mann and Jordan. McClory wants to clean up John Ehrlichman's language ("screw" and "crappy") Committee getting testy over Kissinger business. Maraziti wanted a vote of confidence an Kissinger. Rodinso says committee has enough problems. Railsback says committee becoming a joke. B says of Kissinger leaks: "We've got to tough it out." The unlikeliness of Eilberg as the point of controversy. Og Judge Byrne: B. now says Nixon "launched" Ehrlichman on Byrne. Byrne not without fault in that he accepted invitation to talk. Star-News got the story through the San Clemente ~~gardener~~. B. still thinks Ellsberg is "a cheap, opportunistic crook," whom White House stupidity made a martyr. B. thinks Doar and staff ~~want~~ now see a "place



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history" only if they impeach. Otherwise, "it's like playing in the World Series and not hitting a home run." Says this is probably an unconscious feeling. "They've handled themselves well." No bombshells from John Doar., who "makes the existing seem dull." If any bombshells, they "would have exploded and we wouldn't even have noticed" due to Doar's low-key style. The quiet of the tape-listening sessions. Sometimes a giggle. Or smiles. Earphones tight. Trying to follow election finance reform at House administration committee. Killing pace. Wiggins' role as president's defender, keeping Doar "intellectually honest", etc. (i.e. a "so what" on ~~xxx~~ caulfield's background). Hutch playing a kind of neutral role, not pressing his view on others (when he's there). No real GOP ramrod. B. buys Rodino approach on witnesses. Rodino more diplomatic and considerate of minority than Blackie Moore's crowd was in Va. legislature. B senses some chagrin among other GOP's on committee that Butler ~~ixzx~~ may be "turning into the weak link in the Republican defense. "I'm ~~spe~~ separating myself from the view that this is a ~~Republican~~ ^{partisan} witch-hunt." Says it's a case of "our horse being indiscreet."

June 18- Heavy weekend in Roanoke. Manley's operation. Jimmy's wreck. Marshall out late and Junie worn out. (Example of home pressures plus re-election pressures on top of impeachment pressures). Nixon in Mid-East as PR battle. Leaks hurt committee. Anti-Nixon sentiment up in 6th. (elderly woman at cocktail party indicates loss of faith in Nixon integrity). Country club set (in tennis game) suggesting it's time to impeach. Some pro-Nixon mail re adverse inferences letter. Evans-Novak col. listing B. as an impeachment leaner. GOP caucus (that Monday, June 17)x at which "us vs. them" syndrome strong. B. disturbed by the polarization along party lines that he sees shaping at this point. "Would be disastrous for the country," tho might help Nixon in the short run (in that Demos would

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lack the "intestinal fortitude" to put impeachment over on their own). Also, the long-range impact of such a polarization over the Nixon presidency on the Rep. party AND the presidency itself would "not be good." B. says at this point he's probably the only guy ^{GOP side of committee} on the ~~swing~~ who thinks this particular president must be separated from the presidency, and this issue from the party. Also, B says he has re-thought his idea of last week on NOT impeaching if that's the national interest. Now is concerned about the effect on the country "if the President goes scot-free." Worried that that would be condoning the constitutional abuses. Censure seen as impractical. "I'm not sure that the natl. interest doesn't lie in impeachment rather than my earlier view that the national interest (might) demand that we keep the President in office." B. sees Mid-East trip as a ploy. Fearful of the kind of commitments Nixon might make ~~for~~ to try to save himself. "We can't live under a cloud of this sort." Says natl. interest is to "clean it up one way or the other," otherwise (saying of Nixon): "We know his personality now and he's going to be playing this game from now on." Chat with Rails. About Flowers and others. Flowers and B. agree they're among the six who ^{can} ~~may~~ shape ~~the~~ the final decision. \$75,000 payoff seen as critical ~~x~~ by Rails. The LaRue party. Chimney smoke. B. doubts on the details here. Talk of GOP specialty areas, dividing assignments. GOP members still upset abt. Dixon memos leaking. How being classified a swing vote is getting B more media ~~x~~ attn: Helen Dewar, Natl. Journal, etc. Sees Flowers and Mann as the swing Demos. From talks with other S.C. member B. thinks Mann, ~~xxxx~~ who is well-respected in his district, could vote impeachment and not hurt himself too much. Feels same for Flowers ~~x~~ and him. Sees Jordan as having strong influence with Rodino (advise on his black constituency, etc) and as being "one of the architects" of the Demo impeachment line.

June 19- On June 18, more GOP raps on Dixon. His McGovern background. B. irked at the "hypocrisy" of the member whose staff man leaked the Dixon memos to press. Says the guy's out to impeach a President for not controlling HIS subordinates, and won't control his own. The leaks let "that screwball Dean Burch make hayx" and downgrade the committee in the continuing PR fight. Criticizes Kleindienst sentencing again (Punish the big fish to set an example that justice is even-handed; that didn't happen here). June 18 session marks turn-around from pro-Nixon momentum (mid-east trip, leaks, etc) back towards impeachment danger: Re the tape gap, ^{18½-minute} added on to Hunt payoff, Kleindienst, etc. Jenner explaining waiver of testimony covering waiver of documents re Nixon-Cox-Richardson. B's view of Haig changes: Now thinks he's stronger: "A good hater" re being a strong loyalist, rapping Dean, etc. Cox showdown could have been avoided. But case before Supreme Ct. now. Ct's decision to define law in exec. privilege area. B. at this point sees nothing impeachable in Sat. Night Massacre. Evans-Novak re Latta upbraiding Butler. (L. * asks B. why did he want to strengthen a subpoena. B. explains that they ought to have best possible investigation and not, as a partisan maneuver, try to take advantage of sloppy drafting. Fix it instead.

June 20- (A.M.)- Re June 19 session. on Sat. Night Massacre. How Cohen lost some confidential papers one day. Reporters suspected. Same kind of circumstantial evidence, B says, ^{for which} ~~that~~ "some people want to impeach a President." Anger at Drinan holding press conference, talking about "confidential" things discussed in morning session, ^{re Cox firing.} This sort of thing gives committee a bad image, B. says, lets Burch and Burchanan have ammo. On Open sessions: Demo leadership pushing for them. B says that would be "sign of weakness...we've got to have internal discipline" to stop the leaks. He's afraid Plumbers might be dismissed if leaks keep up. Says sessions move faster without reporters and subsequent grandstanding.

(How Conyers talks full speed with cameras there, has said little or nothing in exec. session). Criticizes Mansfield for criticizing committee for "slowness." B says they've gone ~~to~~ the thoroughness route: meticulous examination of when tapes were checked out and how (re the gap), etc. How the leaks, ~~COINCIDING WITH THE PRESENTATION OF EVIDENCE FAVORABLE (OR EXCULPATORY TO NIXON~~ have shifted the momentum. GOP hard-liners getting a better feeling B says that shouldn't affect the committee, but that it does "in the back of your mind." How these swings in public consciousness affect the committee

Thinks Flowers may now be shifting to anti-impeach. How if two Demos join all GOPs in opposing impeachment, that would deadlock it. Might not get out a report, certainly would ~~do~~ further divide the country and would make non-impeachment likely on the floor. (re the committee having more liberals proportionately). How he's reading each day's transcript now. Trent Lott thinking Flowers leaning anti-impeachment. (Rails had the opposite view after a chat with Flowers the day before; may be that F. just playing it cagy, while being uncommitted). Lott says Flowers and Mann have become conscious that they, between them, can decide Nixon's fate. How B and Flowers basically from same constituency and probably will "come to the same conclusion, independently." B. tells staff man for full committee that he thinks, despite Dixon leaks, overall security has been good. Geo. Daniels upset that Washington Post got the Dixon memos first, asks Rodino permission to turn his own over to his hometown paper, LA Times. Staff man (Gliesman?) as possible clue to Rodino's thinking on leaks since he's closest staff man to R. Haig taking Jaworski message to President and vice-versa. Jordan explains that Jaworski WANTED to be at arm's length from Nixon. How she talked Demo leadership out of unloading on Jaworski when he was first named. The White House "machievellian" in the ~~to~~ Cox sacking. B agrees Cox was arrogant and over-bearing with White House. (Letters exchange with Buzhardt). But Nixon tried to take advantage of this to stop further probes of himself

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and White House. (After Agnew quits, Nixon tells Richardson, now that that's cleared up, we can get rid of Cox). (pg 16). White House "set up" Richardson, getting him to agree to Stennis deal under conditions he thinks were acceptable to Cox. But Wright goes behind Richardson's back to Cox directly, and then Nixon starts issuing statements about Cox's intransigence, says Richardson agreed and Cox wouldn't. Richardson thus set up so that he has no choice but to resign. B considers Cox "a persistent bastard." says "I admire tenacity, but it's got to be tempered with tact." B's view of Nixon as a "difficult client," Buzhardt and Wright as "ineffectual" and the whole showdown with Cox was virtually inevitable.

June 20- ~~xxxxxx~~ (continued)- Rose Mary's Boo-Boo. The experts and the "Stop" button B calls to their attention on the Uher. Oliphant (sp?) and his demonstration convince B that tape gap was done manually. Doar's love of detail, re the tape custody. Buzhardt-Cox and Bull. Rosemary had 8 of 'em. Doar building the case vs. Nixon with these layers of detail. I.E., 28 Haldeman-Strachan political memos, only 21 handed to Jaworski. Buzhardt had 'em, so B. wonders (re Buzhardt heart attack), "Is Buzhardt ~~REALLY~~ really SICK? Or is Buzhardt REALLY sick?" Sup. Ct. decision again viewed as critical, re the Haldeman-Nixon tape of April 26, 1973. (When they discuss the March 21 Dean-Nixon tape). Nixon had Haldeman take the tapes and listen to 'em after Dean started singing to GJ. If President continues balking on this tape, must draw ^{adverse} ~~adverse~~ inference. June 4 tape (which tends to be exculpatory and was released) is probably a "set-up" to help Nixon, B says. B predicts Sup Ct. will uphold Jaworski and will move quickly. At any rate, "We're not going to wait for the Sup Ct." unless its decision is imminent. ^{McLain's} ~~Wiggins~~ theory on standard of proof: That a

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House member, as a potential manager in a Senate trial, should insist on reasonable doubt. B. says this is a "cop-out" Tells how William Hill letter helped change his thinking. ^{B. now} Says Senate might be able to get access to more information during a trial, and that American people are entitled to an airing of the charges. (B's earlier view was that House should impeach only if it is satisfied that 2/3 of Senate would vote to remove. He's changed that view). ACLU lobbying for impeachment..Morgan at Roanoke Rotary. B now thinks standard of proof must be somewhere in between probable cause and reasonable doubt. Managers must make sure Senate has the facts on all sides, so comparison to a prosecutor is inexact. House standard of proof should be: Is there a reasonable basis for Senate to find him guilty on those facts. B remains "intellectually and emotionaall curious" as to how you eventually draw the line on the standard. His first responsibility when he ~~is~~ makes his decision: To explain it in writing to his constituents.

June 20 (Evening): Happy Birthday to Albert Jenner at June 20 morning session. Whole committee sigs. He's 67. Jenner's investigative techniques. (Interview subject, then let him see the affadavit). B surprised that Doar and Jenner didn't tape their extensive interviews, but relied on notes and dictated memos. "Human error" possible. Also, B says, should the top men be doing so much personal investigating? Staff presentation of ~~IRExzkuxxxx~~ Nixon taxes. Tight security on exhibits. Staff getting partisan, B says. (Nusbaum esp.). President's negligence penalty. Leaks on that to press. NY Times editorial criticizes committee on leaks. "manna from heaven" to W.' House, B says. Doar theory on president's constitutional duty to see that laws are carried out and if he cheats on his own taxes, that's impeachable. The case forwarded to GJ. B thinks at this point that Nixon's tax lawyer, DeMarco, more at blame than Nixon. The presentation

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puts people to sleep: Jenner and St. Clair doze as many yawn. But St. C. wakes up when a Nixon-DeMarco exchange is mentioned, so he's a "selective sleeper." Haig on "lawyers will cause the downfall of the govt."

B impressed with money the tax appraisers make (\$25,000 on the second \$2 million V-P papers appraisal). Jack Brooks honing in on emoluments. (use of govt. airplanes, etc). B suggests Brooks' "idol and mentor", LBJ, prob. did the same thing. How the leaks issue is "isolating the crazies"-- (Eilberg, et al). B worried that the leaks are undermining the stature of the committee, and, possibly, the public acceptance its final verdict may get. So that those who are most interested in impeaching Nixon are hurting their own cause when they leak. Les Arendts, a president's man, delighted with the issue. Re witnesses: Need to probe Hunt payoff details, with Dean, Kalmbach, etc. But if call too many, and that is seen as a GOP delaying tactic, the party gets thrown in bed too much with Nixon.

Sidelight: Time spread on Mezvinsky...a preview of things to come. How Wiley Mayne taking the same judicious approach B taking. Owens' motion to open hearings. Doar advises no. Jordan, also. Wiggins fighting hard on due process for President..says some of the evidence would prejudice that process if made public. Edwards eloquent on concern for people whom the evidence and testimony might defame. Mentions House rules that such should be in executive session. Complexities of enforcing that rule in this case. On putting a report together: Avoid "excessive baggage". Committee STILL CLOSE on Impeachment. Leaks "give credence to argument that this is a Demo. witch hunt." Republican members (not on committee) felt better on defending Nixon at dinner with Butler that night. Pro-Nixon Democrats happier, too. Also, some Demos, like Flowers, sounding doubtful on impeaching..The "weak horses" of evidence coming before committee at same time as leaks, creating momentum for Nixon. Harold Donohue "quiet like Tar Baby" on the trolley. No Demo ramrod on the committee, B says.

Rodinio's been so careful to be fair and objective it's left Demos without a good spokesman. Brooks too abrasive (and picky on emolouments). Walde a lame duck. Edwards and Hungate have the ability, but "haven't emerged" as the ramrod, takes energy, etc. How B compartmentalizes: Impeachment, family problems, congressional duties, etc. You learn to do it when you practice law. He's consciously tried to develop the trait. Hasn't yet lost sleep over impeachment (Cohen has). Physical drain of it all, walking between Rayburn and Cannon, reading the transcripts, hearing the tapes. B is hoping to get staff theories on impeachment soon. Doar hinting at "failing to take care" of the laws approach. B has some "top of the head" doubts about the presidential course of conduct in the "take care" realm "without more overt action than we have at the moment." Says he could change as he sees more facts and theory... More on the compartmentalization, re Manley in hospital, etc.. June's growing anti-Nixon attitude (Nixon messing up her life re the uncertainty of when they move, et How she spotted Ehrlichman as a liar on a TV program before the '72 election, because "he was just having so much trouble doing it (Lying)." Jimmy reading "All the President's Men", finds it hard to think Nixon didn't know. B suggests to Doar an approach to laying out on a graph how all the separate paths of the probe correlate, re subversion of the Consttution. Exchanges with Senate Watergare committee. To listen to June 4 tape again tomorrow. Legislating on the run on campaign finance. Helping to get ~~xxx~~ quodums to keep Wayne Hays honest, has to dash out of impeachment hearings at critical phases of examination sometimes. On the GOP caucuses in general: Informal, Hutch keeps loose rein. Some guys courteous, some impetuous, everybody gets his say.

June 27- On a.m. of June 27, American Bicentennial Commission breakfast: Causes B. to ~~xxxx~~ reflect on how an impeachment trial would impact on the bicentennial. On other hand, how would it impact of "enduring values of American govt" if all the ~~xxxx~~ ^{White House} top aides are convicted of crime and the man who directed them goes free, isn't impeached? On June 26: B votes with majority (25-13) to close witness testimony. Impressed with Edwards' arguments on this. Also avoid any effect on Ehrlichman trial, jury being impaneled that day. Demos' sharing the presenting of these resolutions. Thornton a good sport on not being allowed to read his. Talk with Hungate, re trying to get the W. House pattern of deniability from Butterfield. (The effort to keep Nixon out of the conspiracy). Rodino joins B and H -brings B up to date on scheduling, ~~xxx~~ grouping of witnesses (into priority groups), etc. Sandman move to add O'Brien and Bittman as Class 1 witnesses. Demos ~~xxxx~~ caucus. Edwards and Mann switch votes to beat Sandman motion on a 19-19 tie. Flowers votes with Sandman, causing B. to speculate Flowers leaning vs. impeachment. Other efforts (on Colson, Mitchell, Haldeman, etc. to be added to Class 1 witnesses) also fail on 19-19, with Edwards and Flowers joining the GOP. It's getting partisan, B says, with Rodino under pressure to wrap up the inquiry by July 12. "It's a shame to see them panic after having such orderly procedures," B says. This is first time B feels Rodino is losing control of himself. "I think he's compromising, under pressure, what he set out to do." Del Latta keeps needling Rodinko, and that bothers him. B says Doar "dropped the ball" on not going to use immunity. B concedes that might have been too time-consuming, however. But B. disappointed that Ehrlichman isn't being called as a witness. (An aside: Conyers vs. Kastenmaier on DAR patent). B ~~waxksa~~ drafts resolution to propound interrogatories to Nixon on his taxes. But he's "faked out" by John Doar..it gets tangled up with Doar and Mezvinsky, and Wiggins finally "kills it with kindness", when he says he wants to attach an amendment for general interrogatories..How earlier White House tapes on how to evade probes put a taint on the

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interrogatory ~~approach~~ approach. Doar "a good detective, but a damn poor procedurist."

July 1- Re June 27 session: St. Clair opens his first presentation. Says he's been treated courteously. Doar has monotone, but St C hits inflections (i.e., ^{on} Dean testimony, St. C recites: "First time I EVER talked to the President was on Sept. 15"). St C trying to tear down Dean, emphasize Nixon's limited knowledge prior to March 21. ^{Eight or nine} Demos come and go during St C's presentation. Walk out for quorum calls, etc. St C more of an advocate than Doar. More personality. Discussion on whether Doar monotone has dampened some of the inquiry enthusiasm, B doesn't think so. Holtzman tries to corner St C on differences in committee and W House transcripts. St C smiles and skips away on it, B says. Haldeman's "Big P" on political matters memos.. sign of his organization. Waldie challenge on St C referring to transcripts for which committee lacks tapes. Danger of bog-down. Rodino heads it off. White House paper cheaper than committee (on transcripts), typing not as accurate, etc. B thinks Jaworski brief to Sup Ct better than St C's. Says White House lawyers apparently working hard, under much pressure. Chas. Allen Wright, on a cruise, now seems indifferent to his old client's position. Contrast in St C (4 volumes) and Doar (35-40 volumes) on bulk of presentation. B impressed with St C's ITT argument. (Says it's "significant that he was silent on Kleindienst, however). Nixon-Klein. lying still bothers B, more than others. Says "The president of the U.S. was misrepresenting K's status when he was nominated," that, in effect, Nixon "told the people of the United States that I have great confidence in this man who just lied to you."

Re June 28: Helen DeWar's article on Butler runs in Post. Committee members kid him (Wiggins, etc..some ask for autographs).

Still on June 28 session: St C disarming when challenged on accuracy of a statement- he says the member is probably right, so just ignore that statement, smiles and goes on. B breaks for a House Administration session on campaign finance, loses on a couple of amendments. Returns to Judiciary, to find Star-News has story on St C presentation, which was leaked by Republicans. "I was embarrassed." St C tired. News release (LA Times) quoting Rodino that all 21 Demos will vote to impeach. But Flowers indicates he's still uncommitted. GOP hard-liners pounce on the Rodino story. Rodino denies it all in an impassioned floor speech. But Rodino, in private chat with B, didn't seem too upset by it all. (B was also cited in the article as a possible impeachment vote in Rodino's judgment..six or 7 Republican members listed). B's response to that: "I do feel the Democrats look upon me as a hope." Even Jack Brooks nice to him in giving him a clip from the Post. (He jokes with Brooks, who picks up the gavel, that that's like giving Jack the Ripper a new knife). St C closes on the tax issue. Affidavits from tax lawyers. B. says Joint Committee on Taxation may have moved too fast on the President's taxes probe...B Says they should have (he thinks they could have) forced answers out of Nixon on the taxes (as to his state of mind, etc). Says Jim Johnson (Colorado) theory that the tax situation was fraudulent because as a lawyer Nixon knew better has "some merit," but impeachment counsel hasn't hit that thrust yet. Still waiting for impeachment theory. Says St C didn't add many facts, but gave a "subtle defense" of Nixon. Left 'em with the feeling that ITT w matter was a policy decision, didn't "overpush", claimed Nixon relied on counsel x on his taxes, and had no knowledge of Watergate until March 21. B and June spend the ~~weekend~~ Friday night in McLean: fire in the fireplace. Drive to Roanoke Saturday am. Jimmy pressing for impeachment case. Gets B reading Newsweek on the case. Also reads some of the transcripts, Jaworski's brief, etc. On July 1: B votes with GOP members for open meetings, tho he really doesn't want them. Says he's tired of "being the only Republican out there, and this wasn't that significant a vote."

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Discussion of some snafus: Rodino's advisory committee failing to avoid a "fiasco" on the floor over the 5-minute rule. GOP caucuses still mostly inconclusive, the McClory trying to pick up from Hutch and give them some direction.

July 3- Back-tracking to session of June 25: Lack of Demo organization reflected in Jack Brooks failing (21-15) to table Wiley Mayne re disclosure of Congressional milk money. Thornton argues that it's a question, in the President's case, whether the PROMISE of money was involved. B. says he thinks it was relevant for the committee to know that the President and Congress were being subjected to the same pressures. So voted with GOP ~~and~~ and a few Demos (including Hungate) who deserted Brooks. Executive committee information to the public. session on releasing ~~the~~ Nothing said that couldn't have been said publicly. Various votes, along party lines, to afford the President every witness that he wants. B agrees. Wiggins and B. think some of the material to be released to public could be prejudicial to John Mitchell and others when they come to trial.. But Demos vote to make it public, bit by bit, on Kastenmaier motion. Thornton (it was his turn to read the typed-up motion) moves to call the limited class of witnesses, with Class 2 witnesses to come if necessary. Into executive session. (This is day Ehrlichman jury is impaneled, so B votes for exec. session to avoid influencing). B raps Republican leakers as well as Demos. Rodino the Peacemaker on the witness issue, says we'll call everybody we need, seems to be gracious to Republican wishes on this. Butterfield testimony-~~x~~ Demo members think he linked the President to the coverup thru Haldeman. GOP's, including B, had opposite impression. The session: Rodino's lecture on "self-discipline." The oath, etc. Butterfield testifies without a lawyer. Good witness. ~~My~~ child, didn't make Naval Academy, but made Air Force his career. Knew Haldeman at UCLA. Haldeman brought him into White House in '69.

Part of ~~H's~~ H's pattern of assembling his old (and presumably loyal) friends. B's impressions of Butterfield: competent administrator, limited imagination, not much humor, dedicated and decent, career-oriented. B convinced he was "completely removed from the conspiracy", and he blew the whistle on the tapes, acting candidly and honestly. Too bad, says B, others in the inner circle couldn't have had the same attitude. Butterfield outlines the White House structure. First time committee's had a strong grasp of it. Butterfield as a sophisticated traffic cop for white house traffic (paper and people). Haldeman in Sherman Adams' old office. Higby as Haldeman's alter ego. Butterfield says, not smiling, "I'm not Deep Throat." Colson, in spring of '72, moves in on Herb Klein. John Dean "just another young boy at the White House," rarely seeing President until March of '73. (Nixon trying to build atty-client privilege?). Percentages of time Haldeman spent with Prez. (7 or 8 times more than anyone else). Doar told Butterfield to work all that up. (which indicates to B that staff now has theory of impeachment and is moving now from investigators to prosecutors. That's premature, he says, but he doesn't challenge it yet). St C takes notes spasmodically, on relevant parts. His aide, McCahill, takes notes all the time. No Doar and Jenner notes during St C x-exam. Impressions of Nixon thru the testimony: Works in his leisure time, preoccupied with detail. (B thinks some of that which Doar wanted to pull out of Butterfield may have been over-stated. Thinks Nixon, because of social insecurities, etc., may simply have wanted his parties done right, and so fussed about the details.) Jenner "does the President in" with his x-exam of Butterfield: Re it being out of character for Haldeman to do anything major without Nixon's approval. B a little piqued at Jenner's role on this: Says he's acting more like a prosecutor than an investigator, and certainly not as minority counsel.

St C shakes Butterfield a little bit, rattles him on the Haldeman percentage business, etc. St C disarming again. Handles Holtzman graciously, without losing a stroke, on her objection during his exam. Shakes Butterfield on theory that Haldeman wouldn't do anything without consulting Nixon, and Butler thinks St C had the best of it. St C tries to expand his x-exam latitudud while Rodino's out of the room and Donohue's in the chair. Demos scramble to get Rodino back in. Never gives a firm ruling on it, but B has the impression St C will be able to go as far as he wants as long as he doesn't abuse the privilege. Wiggins says there'd be long delays, with challenges over every point unless the committee is reasonable with St C. Looks like committee will be, and that the inquiry will move along. B concedes that Butterfield testimony is subject to interpretation, but that he sees it of limited damage to Nixon. (Butterfield not a policy maker, etc. n not really an expert witness B thinks). B discusses Doar and Jenner asking Butterfield to prepare ~~ask~~ to indicate that Nixon a great detail man on social details, protocol, seating at dinners, etc. "Leading questions."

July 10- On July 9, Butler gets into conversation with Fish and Railsback. (Between Bittman and Mitchell testimony). Rails says that the uncommitted members ought to get together a bit- including Flowers. This seems the start of the Fragile Coalition. Fish and the mail he gets from his father's anti-impeachment ads, (B says older people generally form the bulk of Nixon's ^{hard-core} defenders in his area). Fish's inner wrestling: Can the nation stand an impeachment? Well, it's already a tragedy, so you can't avoid the tragedy. Both Fish and Rails say that as lawyers, they have to find some ground they can be "comfortable with". We "have this thing in our hands," Rails tells Butler. They agree to get the group together in the next few days.

B explains why he, Rails and the handful of others who've approached impeachment "judiciously" can be so crucial. But says he mentioned it to Manley last night, and M said "This operation is causing some people to get a swelled head." B says a close vote in the House should be avoided. Would be divisive and Senate would not get a 2/3 for removal. The momentum wouldn't be there. B says he's thought of talking with Sen. Hugh Scott (born in Fredericksburg) about impeachment. Doesn't want to talk with Rhodes about it (R popped off too much early about resignation).

B talks with wife June about impeachment, respects her judgment and considers her a good index to ~~xxx~~ reactions of the district voters.

Is influenced some by sitting next to Cohen (an ex-prosecutor). Hogan on the other side is campaigning for Gov. Doar and Jenner as laborious cross-examiners. Still trying to get impeachment theory from staff.

Now afraid "It will be dropped on us at decision time". Wiggins the "hatchet man" to force it loose from the staff. He prods them in sessions.

B changing re Sup Ctx and whether committee should wait for its decision: Would much like to have the court's decision first, to avoid indulging in adverse inferences and then, possibly, have the inferences "blown out of the water" ~~ix~~ by potential presidential action between time of committee vote and House impeachment vote. (This is day after Sup Ct heard the oral arguments. Some committee members were impressed by Jaworksi's man Lacovara.) B supposed to see Post editorialize on the arguments, ttrying to "tell the Sup Ct what to do." Butler on his first face-to-face contacts with Nixon: In 1960, as Roa city chairman, planning rally at stadium, etc. In 1965, in Holton campaign, Master of ceremonies for Nixon at speeches around the state..got tagged as Nixon's "favorite M.C." Also presided at the 1969 Roanoke rally. How B has

changed his view on House ~~xxx~~ not impeaching unless it's sure Senate will remove
Now says: "What the Senate is going to do ought not to be determinative
for ~~xxx~~ what the House does."

July 11- (day After Mitchell testifies, headlines feature differences between W House and Judiciary transcripts). Irony of Mitchell being afraid to invoke his 5th Amendment protections, because of the climate he and his ilk helped set. (Making the 5th seem the equivalent to an admission of guilt). B joins Mitchell's counsel in objecting to one line of Jenner's x-exam, x which was almost identical to an indictment allegation. Jenner gets huffy. B says J.'s professional standing has diminished with the committee during x-exam. Tedious, slow, self-serving "lectures" when challenged. Doar's examinations "confident but ~~art~~ artless, not big league." B concerned staff will pull a fait accompli re impeach theory. Flap on the floor over Rodino and the 50,000 copies of report. Sails thru. B. chagrined. Fears Demos will write a damning impeach report and use it "steamroll" public sentiment for vote on House floor and in Senate. Says centrists like himself better be prepared to write strong individual views. "Embarrassed" that he didn't rise and object before it was too late. That Gross or Sandman would. Re B's own impeachment theory: He goes back to Doar conversation re the White House conspiracy within "ring of Presidential power" to create pattern of deniability. B says that sounds like vicarious liability. No, says Dear, it's a ring of circumstantial evidence. B not yet convinced. Wants that bloody knife in Nixon's hands, not Nixon's wife's to make it a firm case. But B disturbed about 3 things: The \$75,000 Hunt payoff, Kleindienst lying (and Nixon's assent) and the tax problem. (Tho he's convinced Hunt payoff either already made or at least launched even before the March 21 Dean-Nixon discussion on it). Impressions of Mitchell: Stone face, Not nervous. Tough. B on how he has to stay judicious even in face of what he sees as Rodino turn from fact-finder to prosecutor.

July 12- ~~Rx~~ On Peterson as witness: Most candid and effective yet. ^{many}
M P. on his meetings with President. B impressed that ~~most~~ of the major
characters (such as Peterson) were virtual strangers to Nixon until they
enter the "play." (Dean, too). Peterson comes across as a moral man,
Nixon looks bad to B by NOT responding with horror at revelations Peter-
son gives him. Also by feeding Peterson info to Haldeman-Ehrlichman after
assuring Peterson it was confidential between them. GOP caucus: B not
there, but hears that Hutch said he can't understand how any Republican
can vote to impeach. B fears "bloodshed" on this kind of thing. Railsback
upset at it. Lunch with ~~Rx~~ Cohen and Rails. More talk on theory. Senate
saves taxpayers some money on the 50,000 reports. Dean testifies: His
recall still impressive, he's self-assured, a little thinner than last
summer at Senate hearings. Dean's testimony on abuse of IRS to hurt
political enemies causes B to put that on list of potential impeachable
offenses. Doar as an interrogator: Often doesn't listen to the answer,
fails to follow up properly. Dean's "pregnancy." Mitchell evaded~~x~~ hard
questions through not "recalling," Dean evades with long, involved ~~answ~~
answers.
~~xxxxxx~~ Dean puts committee on trail of the 17-minute Nixon-Haldeman
tape in summer of '72. It's apparently the one which knock~~d~~ Nixon out
when he finally released it, after Sup Ct. decision, and showed he was
deep in cover-up six days after Watergate break-in. B says Nixon never
took any "affirmative action" re Watergate until he was pushed into it --
by McCord blowing the whistle, Dean, etc. Nixon gets angry only when
Peterson tries to look into Ellsberg-Plumbers. Nixon chews him out, says
keep out of that. * This accumulation of presidential amorality is
getting to B, in the fashion of a "Chinese water torture" --drip after
drip wearing down his initial desire to believe in the man. (Dean was
St. C witness, called to throw dust on the \$75,000 payoff issue. But,
to Butler, Dean testimony ends up accumulating more indication that
Nixon abused his office.)

July 18 - Kalmbach testimony (on July 16-17): Ring of candor- B says he has an "affadavit face", a "tear in his voice". B liked Kalmbach, but not Colson. (Aside: B says Jenner was hurt by publicity that morning that committee Republicans now looking to Garrison to present the impeachment negative). Jenner too laborious, too pompous (law as a profession can be pompous, B says). Seems to be building a great case for Ct of Appeals, but not leading witnesses, etc. And here there's no Ct of Appeals. Kalmbach's most damaging testimony: Linking the milk decision closely to the \$2 million pledge. Ehrlichman, the midnight meetings, etc. A 3-minute tape gap that could have erased bribery evidence. Sale of ambassadorships. Everybody trusted Kalmbach. Gave him millions of dollars. Dean and K in the park. Presidential "license" on the embassy x "sales" if not direct approval. Again on this, says B, not enough evidence to convict beyond a reasonable doubt, but "You've got to be pretty blind not to see the need for a trial." Aside: B's dealings on Homstead flap with "Pedge", the embattled ~~ambassador~~ ambassador to Jamaica. How the Watergate kind of politics foreign to Va. Byrd Machine ^{had} tight grip on politics but ^{was} "literal minded" on integrity and corruption. (In Va., says B, the trade is in "positions of honor" to friends and cronies. Thus, many boards that should have able people are filled with people whose "intellectual attainments" don't match the jobs they're in. Says Holton changed that system a bit. Worried that Godwin may have to restore it to maintain his organization. And that x could keep a lot of people with ideas and energy out of public life when they could contribute to it. Under the old way, "You don't get anybody until they arrive...you ought to get them on the way up." But there's no linkage to money corruption). Colson impressions: still seems a con man (explaining his plea). Trying to be candid, "but he lacked experience." Reluctant to say anything to overtly damage Nixon. A ~~guy~~ ^{HAIR} fellow, young man on the make.

A lot of charm, but he blew it. Drinan's joke about Colson conversion (Can't tell until you see how much he gives to the church).

July 18-evening following St C's summary: St C disarmingly humble again. Great ~~task~~ ^{task,} am I equal to it, etc. But your job is heavier, he tells committee, because I can pick up my briefcase and go; you must answer to your constituents. "Masterful presentation": selects issues well, (tho glosses over Kleindienst affair~~xz~~ and President's snubbing committee subpoenas. Picking at the payoff to Hunt. Closes on a ~~humble,~~ "rare dramatic note": a soft, "Mr. chairman, may I be excused?" Restrained and able- about 1:45 time consumed. Says committee ought to insist on clear and convincing proof~~x~~ (even greater than reasonable doubt).

B. says that's pushing too far, but the President's congressional defenders picked up the phrase as their new war cry- hear it everywhere by end of day. B's sum-up of how St C's presentation affects him:

Great on general principles and masterfully done, but glossing over some of the big specifics, i.e. "I don't think he dealt properly with the President's misrepresentations." (in public statements, etc).

Flap over St C trying, in Demo eyes, to "sneak in" 3 minutes of a tape W House had refused to yield. B not upset by it, tho Rails was.

Ford coming to Roanoke for a weekend trip. His speechwriter asks B what he wants said: Just leave me free to go either way on impeachment. GOP caucus that day; with leadership: Wiggins and John Anderson debating on President's involvement. Rails says some Republicans are disturbed by the mounting evidence and could possibly vote to impeach. B. keeps "discreetly quiet," because he was late and could see he'd change no mind. Arendts and Rhodes on "this is politics," as Republicans we have to fight it, etc. Sure it's politics, says B. Demos are putting the heat on their guys, and Flowers is only possible anti-impeacher. BUT, B says,

"It's an opening we gave them," and the Republican party "ought to be measured by how it responds to the problem, and if we respond by condoning, we're really going to hurt the party." Generational thing: Says only the young members (like himself and Rails) at the caucus "are even in doubt" ~~or~~ McClory the only exception, he says. The others want to fight for Nixon. John Anderson an exception, too. Peggy Heckler tells him a lot of people are watching B and the uncommitted group. Maybe 35-40 Republicans who would vote to impeach if they get support from the committee. Lunch with Broyhill: He would like a Butler vote against impeachment as a crutch for himself. Says that politically a vote to impeach offends your die-hard voters without gaining much from the liberals who'd be against you anyway. B tells Broyhill to start educating constituents that a vote to impeach isn't necessarily a vote for conviction. Lott, at caucus, says Rodino's being fair on the little things so he can "zing us" on the big one. Froelich, perhaps aiming at B, says, yeah, we've doctored up their imperfect motions and then they throw it in our face. B repeats his belief that you ought to get the best possible subpoenas, etc. Aside: pic of the Six taken for Time cover. ~~re~~ The Press's impact on Butler: The papers, such as Post, help put emphasis on ~~ax2xz~~ the issues discussed, tho B often ~~ag~~ disagrees on what is considered significant. Time Mag. biased vs. Nixon. Newsweek more objective, US News even more so. He scans these and goes back to read parts of the evidence they highlight: He has a set of tabs at home, a set in Roanoke and a set at the office. Says the members are somewhat at mercy of staff re organizing the evidence, but "we've got enough minority representation (and also St ^C ~~Q~~ that the facts have been ground out." (Sam Garrison in on that hard). Leery of voting before Sup Ct decision: "Sometimes I think Rodino is racing with the Sup Ct."

How June, reading "All The President's Men," marks good parts and tells him about them. How the GA felt it had enough evidence to indict Nixon. Buchanan's "poor statement" on racial makeup of the GJ., credits St C for not using that. Lott says that the specific proof of the Hunt payoff is fading in significance to many committee members. B says this is probably so: that ~~xxxxxxx~~ it's not so much pinning down ^{one} a specific act anymore but "The combination and failure to act, and all those things!" Dean on & Schultz and IRS ("Candy-Ass" remark by Nixon). B beginning to shape up his own position: No longer feels you have to prove a statutory crime. Must show that Nixon has FAILED to adhere to "a standard of conduct" required for Presidents by the Constitution and the "reasonable expectations of the American people." The major change, then, from B's initial view that the Committee and the House had to settle the issue so firmly that Senate would just be rubber-stamp. Now it's "Our discretion is x to impeach or not. The Senate's discretion is (whether) to remove." B has been meeting informally with Rails and Fish and Cohen. To meet with Cates on July 19, Sandman probably there too. B B says Cohen may feel a little isolated, but not him or Rails. B says he doesn't feel any real pressure. "Nothing personal"...B gets no Sequoia invitations. Does get Kennedy Center invite, probably "in the normal rotation." B. declined, politely. Says "I let it be known in that first caucus a long time ago that I thought it was inappropriate for us to have any dealings with the White House." Cohen's nocturnal piano playing. O'Brien as a witness. Mrs. Hunt's \$250,000 policy. LaRue: shifty, "whipped." Jenner looking tired (hands between knees habit, etc.). Bittman's James Bond style. St C plays on the Hunt payoff confusion. BUT ~~But~~ Butler's view now is that even if the payoff was launched before March 21, Nixon "condoned it", ^{didn't} wasn't outraged, did nothing to stop it and ~~didn't~~ report it to Peterson.

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July 20 (back for Sat. session after Ford visit in Roa. night before):
On July 19, Doar began his presentation of impeachment theory, giving committee a big book on statement of information, with draft articles of impeachment: D makes a speech, casts off investigator's "mantle," puts on prosecutor's. He contends the evidence of Nixon's impeachable conduct IS clear and ~~convincing~~ (B not sure it is, but also doesn't think it has to be). Doar "surprisingly forceful, almost evangelical," in showing Nixon pattern of inaction, cover-up and lies. Jenner and McClory get Garrison in a bind: He has to comment on presentation before he's even seen it or ready to defend. Jenner's presentation "better than usual." Agrees on impeaching. Ties it to history, patriotism, devotion to the Constitution. Talk of rules of evidence, admissability re **HABITS** (i.e. ~~Habitz~~ Nixon's habitz of using Haldeman as his altar ego), thus Nixon had to know a lot about what Haldeman did, etc.). Mann's searching questions of Kalmbach (an aside). Committee breaks until Sat. a.m. Butler and Ford fly to district together. (costs B \$1300). "tremendous boost" for campaign. No lobbying by Ford, B. tells him B still reserving judgment. And Ford delights B by telling the crowd he's for him whether he votes to impeach or not. (Ford's insight into Jenner from Warren Commission). CBS film crew- hits a GOP reactionary and then a woman who says B is great, will do what his conscience dictates...cbs doesn't know it, but it's MRs. Holton. Constituents still leaving B with free hand.

July 20, part 2 (Following Sat. committee session)- Presentation based on the 300-page summary. Watergate coverup role of Nixon becoming clearer. 18½-Min tape gap coming into "sharp focus" as significant. Evidence that White House knew what was up almost from the beginning, ~~buzzzzzzzz~~ long before FBI, police, etc. (About Hunt for instance), also Mexican connection, etc.

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expand
Ex on how session with Cates (earlier in week) and Saturday presentation helped put all that in focus for him (how the 18-min gap HAD to be about Watergate, etc). Liddy the laundry man, winds up with his own laundered money back. Dahlberg talking to Stans ~~xxxxxxx~~ while FBI looks for him. ~~xxxxx~~ Adverse inference on the tape gap strong. Doar did Watergate, Jenner picks up on abuse of IRS power. "Pretty convincing". Ehrlichman forcing tax data on O'Brien from Schultz; giving it to Kalmbach to plant with newsmen; "stronger case than I thought" on IRS abuse, B says. Flap over St C turning over a transcript purported to be March 22, but deals with things that happened on the 23rd. B says this will hurt Nixon badly. "The Camel's back is about to break." Raps Ziegler on "Kangaroo court" stuff. Nusbaum on non-compliance with subpoenas, B won't buy. Foresees prospect, if precedent set here, of some "frivolous" charge brought in future and an unpopular President bumped for refusing to comply. Jenner and Brooks re San Clemente expenditures, Doar not ignoring facts, but Nusbaum does, B says. (Dennis, Rails, Hogan, McClory also attended earlier session with Cates). Rumors that Hogan and Froelich will vote for impeachment for political purposes. Ford remarks "free me" a bit to go either way.

July 23 * (Tuesday)- Back in session Monday. Sam Garrison and Rodino clash briefly on whether the staff setup should have had a more partisan hue from the beginning. (Jenner takes Rodino side, says if Sam's route were chosen, the minority staff would have become "2nd class citizens."). B says he's satisfied with the findings of fact as they worked out. Sam's "Prudent prosecutor" theory: Great care before taking the case to the Senate, etc. Attacks inference theory.

(B muses that Sam not such a "Prudent Prosecutor in Roanoke..was known as Hangin' Sam).

Sam tries hard, makes forceful argument, but lacks the age and physical presence to be too impressive. Vote to televise the debates. B votes yes reluctantly, a bit fearful committee "could be held to ridicule."

McAllister
B Jim Broyhill and ~~McAllister~~ of Nebraska still looking to B for some guidance. Waldie, Conyers, etc. working on impeachment drafts,

B and Waldie criticize the staff versions. This spins Butler off to Mann and Flowers re getting in on drafting sessions, B talks to Rails and they agree to get together. Another crucial step toward Fragile Coalition. They met this am (July 23) at breakfast. (Aside: Rodino's ^{real} only lobbying of B: Hands him the Kilpatrick impeach-Nixon column)

Also, Teddy White now attending the public meetings. B teases Cohen on that. Jenner's rebuttal to Sam: You're statesmen. Don't need clear and convincing evidence, just CLEAR evidence. B thinks Jenner "giving

us a good view of the law," and he regrets some of the beating J is taking in GOP caucuses (which produce Jenner-dumping resolution).

B says ~~Jenner's~~ the grounds on which J was hired were misunderstood.

The leadership failed to make them clear and handled Jenner thing with lack of tact. Sam lacks Jenner's standing and the Republicans "will

be embarrassed by comparison of the quarterbacks." Impt: The first Butler-Flowers-Mann-Thornton-Railsback-Mooney session. Brief talk on how they all generally feel: Flowers sums it up: "We can't walk away from this". Mann says it's nice to find COMPANIONS, others fighting the same internal battle. (Mann, Flowers and Thornton had talked before about obstruction of justice and abuse of power as main issues..that was kicked around). it was a 2-hour breakfast meeting. Thornton: Cover-up is continuing and does serious damage to govt. Flowers: Does the punishment fit the crime? (Censure considered but discarded). Mann: American people not yet educated to the threat posed by these disclosures, and unless we impeach, they won't be. They discuss how Congress ~~must~~ must

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ax act more responsibly generally, that impeachment with trial, etc could take six months, agree to more sessions. Why Froelich, Smith, Hogan not invited. Smith task force on Cambodia. Ford's call to Hogan. Day the debates begin.

July 24- Smith "hopeless" on impeachment. ~~Yx~~ On Wed am (24th),

the 7 members of Coalition meet again. Go over drafts. Lunch with Va. delegation. B tells 'em what he's doing on drafting, that he's offended by obstruction of justice, abuse of power esp. Bill Whitehurst agrees. Sam Garrison's phone call...emphasizes that he's just an attorney in his present role, that his real feelings may not be too far from B's. Broyhill still trying for united front (see p. 3). Jimmy Butler joins Coalition in Rails' office. McClory discussion. Abuse of power proving hard to draft. Mann agonizing. Want to put in only the provable things. How do you list 3 or 4 examples and make them hold up? B and Flowers wondering whether they really have enough proof to make it stick.

Rails disagrees. Says IRS abuse is enough in itself. Plus electronic surveillance, Dan Schorr, etc. Again, a recognition of the power of the Coalition. Jimmy B's role as historic messenger- to Doar and to McClory. Mann's re-draft never gets there, but Mann, with people running in and out, brings 'em up to date on what Demos are doing: They want the Coalition's drafts soon to crank the ideas into their debating. Compromise on Nixon-clemency language. B buys the "wink and a ~~N~~ nod" suggestion of clemency argument. "the price we paid" for unanimity on the obstruction of justice article. Rail~~s~~back-Rhodes meeting. Rails "lays it on the line" and Rhodes ~~razognk~~ seems to be reconciling that impeachment's coming.

July 26 (Day after Butler's statement on national TV): On the opening night: Bomb scare, call to Junie, says he's gonna declare himself. Junie taking notes at home. Railsback and Edwards impressive. Junie says: Don't tell jokes. Back at house, B tries to write his thoughts out. Gives up at 2 am. Writing in long hand. Wanted to stress the personal pain in going against Nixon. But that President must conduct himself to meet "reasonable expectations" of the people. Wakes up ^{at} 6 am, dictates the "amenities"; then, riding in the car, starts thinking how the Presidential lying bothered him most of all: ~~the~~ shapes the line on that Nixon made "the truth negotiable". Working on the speech at the office, dictating, girls typing drafts, polishing, etc. Polishing it during the debate. Wiggins gives him an opening re standards of presidential conduct. Betts and McD encouraging him on the Republican responsibility line. Chats with June: Make it strong. Liz Tremble helps assemble IRS abuse proof. No joy in it for anybody..."I'll say, including the President." B didn't realize he had as strong a speech as it proved to be. Was talked about in the cloakrooms. Letter from Downing. B says Fish did well. Don Riegle's note. Rodino: choked up: "I was moved, I was moved." Tip O'Neil: "You were ~~xxxx~~ beautiful." Robinson of NY, Steelman say kind things. Jim Broyhill. Heavy media attention. District reaction: About 50-50. Very few nut calls, though some to Junie, so they get unlisted number. ("Turncoat", etc). But, B says, the speech "emasculated" the local Demos on Watergate issue. A few second thoughts (mild ones): Was I taken in by Nixon's "natural enemies"--the press, liberal Republicans and Democrats? But then says, no, that the Fragile Coalition group "as fine" as anybody he's ever worked with. "Motivation as pure as you're going to get in political arena." (3 Phi Beta Kappas, etc). Flowers' humor: (How some of his people think if Nixon's impeached, McGovern goes in.)

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Thursday (July 25)

July 27- Re the ~~Friday~~ ~~July 26~~ session: Wiggins may be hurting self by ~~over~~ sticking neck out too far for Nixon, tho "He's doing a great job as spokesman" for the hard-liners. Hanging Demos like Conyers, Waldie, even Eilberg, show "remarkable restraint" in debate. Good showing for American people. Wiggins and Dennis strong on other side. Leak on Nixon-Schultz IRS orders. Dean substantiated. Mayne wants to resurrect LBJ and impeach him. Cohen strong. Hogan "outstanding," B's respect for him growing. He knows the facts, etc. (likes TV). Flowers good. Evening drafting session at Capital Hill Club. Freulich and ~~Harper~~ Hogan join. Their product close to (incorporated in Sarbanes Substitute. McC asks endorsement of a "take care" article. B. notes: "Now there are seven", number of GOP's for impeach gaining. "It's a good feeling." Rodino eloquent in debate. (Nixon "found wanting")
Freulich: "If you're going after Caesar, make sure you get him."
B: I don't feel quite that way. I'll be ~~happy~~ content if Senate doesn't remove him. But we've got to air this thing. The threats of violence and obscene calls to his home and office. The police watch. Friday morning drafting session: Mann as the intermediary, first-class draftsman, agonizing over the product and being patient and careful. Article One shaping up, but Article Two still up in the air. Worried about specifics. (McClory motion for delay re tapes beaten down). B votes for that "holding my nose." Procedural exchanges during the day remind B of Hays' "sausage" remark. How Sandman on Friday debate is strong on "SPECIFICITY", and pro-impeachers suffer on image. (Lack of organization, too. Demos have to caucus and re-program Sarbanes).

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Article One

July 29- (Monday, after the Impeachment votes): Recalling Coalition efforts: Dinner meeting Friday. Feeling of Sandman stampeding them. Cohen trying to nail Froelich's vote with a specificity supplement. B cautions against getting too specific. Might have proof problems in the Senate (Stonewall it, he says). They decide to stay cool, broad and general~~x~~ on Article One. Ralls did come up with solid change: amending ~~x~~ "policy" to "course of conduct". Strengthens the case. Mann and Polk back and forth between Coalition and Sarbanes group.

(Doar in with Sarbanes drafters). Jenner's good quote on "strangulation from over-specificity. B's ~~xxxxxx~~ lesson about TV debates: Let the other side go first, so you can get the last word in. How the rush of newsmen to the bar affects perceptions: Newspeople saying Sandman is whipping 'em up on national TV, etc. Rodino and Wiggins clash briefly (wiggins unintentionally abrasive via open mike). Junie says Sandman wasn't coming over that well to her. Seemed like a N.J. thug.

July 30- Facing Vote today on Article ~~xz~~ 3-article 2 voted on July 29: A lot of the drama gone by Article Two vote. "Specious" arguments against Article Two convince B he's right in favoring it. Grass-roots notices for Committee are good. ~~Man~~ Several members cite Butler's favorable impression in their districts. (Okla, Tex., N.C., etc) He gets mail from all over U.S., generally favorable. Reaction of the office staff (alive and happy. like a birthday party). B's mood of "total ~~xxx~~ satisfaction with what I've done". Press looking tired now, to. Aside on Nixon hypocrisy. How Mann, Cohen and Butler, independently, all got on writing out specificity charges. They merge their products, staff gets in on it, Cohen ~~gix~~ gets the "name" on it, but publicly credits Butler, too. Edwards compliments B's legal skills.

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July 30 (cont.)- Crucial defeat of a Wiggins amendment on the question of Nixon subordinates. B on how Bill of Rights were designed to prevent the illegal wiretapping, etc. NOT justified by leaks, anti-war protests, etc. Raps Ellsberg. A traitor. But he has constitutional rights, nonetheless, and we have to protect them for all our good. Nora Ephron of New York Magazine comes in to interview B about the

Coalition: How Rails felt Hogan's press conference announcement took some of the heat off the others. But other Republicans thought it was an opportunist move. B says it did help remove the "lonesome" feeling. The Friday night meeting. Some disarray, on specificity. B says basically he trusted the Demos Mann was negotiating with. Ephrone says there was a lot of tension building that day (p. 11). B concedes maybe some, but when they let a certain "deadline" (set by Demos) pass, "The pressure was off." (Pressure to get ~~some~~ a final draft on the Wednesday debate began). Coalition wanted articles "we could be comfortable with."

July 31- B at 93rd Club meeting. Frey plan kicked around. GOP troubles in N.J. Judiciary members being treated like celebrities. Rhodes urges GOP not to split, pick up the pieces etc. Broyhill still trying for a unified Va. delegation position. Junie and B visit Rodino: He says he used to pray Nixon would be exonerated (by the facts). Autographed Time picture. Has violinist-small hands. B on how he's gained new respect for almost everybody on the committee. Conyers, etc. Rodino's giggling. Good mood. How Hogan's announcement story took press attention off first drafting session of Coalition, and kept it from, perhaps, falling apart under too much publicity. Media attention to Butler: von Hoffman, Buchwald, McGrory, Face the Nation, Christian Science Monitor. How getting to know the national press

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~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ as people, individuals, dispelled a lot of suspicion of them B once had.

August 1- B's recollections of July 27-29. On July 27: GOP meeting, Rhodes repeats, let's keep the party together no matter how it breaks. Intensity of attack on Hogan. Rhodes seen as shifting. Other impressions of the day: Judiciary members getting a fraternal feeling for one another, bi-partisan. B. getting better-known. Hays agrees to let out his Stets Coleman amendment. Dellums, McAllister, Waggoner. Mail running heavy in his favor now. Power of TV debates. (more detail on the Friday night drafting session). Then, the strategy of Flowers vs. Sandman on getting quite specific during the Saturday debate. Think they scored points for the case for impeachment on TV.

B's descriptions of the vote on Article One: The silence, Near tears. Mixed emotions toward Nixon. Drained when it's over. Walk with Jimmy and Thornton. Call to Junie. Grateful for the men he worked with in the Coalition. "Heart out" to Moorehead. Home late, up on Sunday.

Paper boy's message: Cook the Crook. Cuts lawn mower cord. Finds neighbors in conservative suburb applaud what he did. Hogan-Hungate by-play on Article Two. B on why he opposed article #x 3.