



7-24-1974

Staff Scrapbook, June 27- July 24, 1974

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Scrapbook June - September 1974 2 of 2

Roanoke Valley News

Roanoke, Va., Thursday, June 27, 1974

23

Split hurts panel try: Butler

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Judiciary Committee's 21 to 17 party line vote rejecting Republican efforts to call six witnesses for the President

was a substantial crack in Chairman Peter Rodino's carefully conceived plan for a bipartisan impeachment inquiry, Roanoke Congressman M. Caldwell Butler said today.

The committee voted to call five witnesses—two of them on presidential attorney James St. Clair's list—and to interview five others to determine if they should be allowed to testify next week.

The vote was taken Wednesday night after all 17 Republicans and four Democrats had forced a vote on a proposal to definitely call all 10 witnesses.

Butler said Rodino was in danger of losing four Democrats on the final vote and had to call a party caucus to "get out the whip and get them in line."

Butler said the split was not "irreparable. Anyway, I'm not absolutely sure the witnesses we are not calling are essential, but we ought to make sure everyone on our committee is satisfied the President has been given a fair shake."

He said he was disturbed that the committee has set a deadline of July 12 for hearing the last of the witnesses.

"It's a real disappointment that the committee, having gone to all the trouble of being so meticulous in the presentation to date, may blow it by setting a cutoff."

St. Clair began an expected two days of rebuttal to the committee's evidence this morning and Butler said the presidential lawyer's presentation was more lively than that of committee counsel John Doar.

"Of course, St. Clair's got a lot more personality than Doar," said Butler.

Butler background

Q. Is this the first or second time for Caldwell Butler as a congressman? What was his position before he became a congressman?—J.P.

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A. Rep. Caldwell Butler is serving his second term in Congress although he was elected less than two years ago. It happened like this: Richard H. Poff resigned from Congress before his term was up in 1972 to accept appointment to the State Supreme Court. So 6th District voters in November of 1972 elected a congressman for two terms—that is, someone to fill out the remainder of Poff's term and someone for the regular two-year term. Butler won both elections. Before being elected to Congress, Butler was a member of the House of Delegates. While there, he served as minority leader of the House and, as such, was a frequent spokesman for the Republican party in Virginia. Before being elected to the House of Delegates, Butler ran for Roanoke City Council, losing by only a few votes. That was his first try for public office, although he has long dabbled in Republican politics on the local and state level.

House Novice May Be Swing Vote on Nixon

By Helen Dewar

Washington Post Staff Writer

Pictures of President Nixon line his office walls and he had one of the most consistently pro-administration records in Congress last year. But conservative freshman Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) — a meticulously precise lawyer with a keen mind, sharp tongue and paucity of tolerance for wrong-doing — is emerging as a key swing vote on presidential impeachment in the House Judiciary Committee.

It wasn't always that way.

At the start, Butler was openly wary of impeachment, saying the House had a heavy burden of proof and he would be hard to convince.

More recently he has grown impatient with the President's refusal to release records requested by the Committee, suggesting at times that an adverse inference might be drawn from noncompliance.

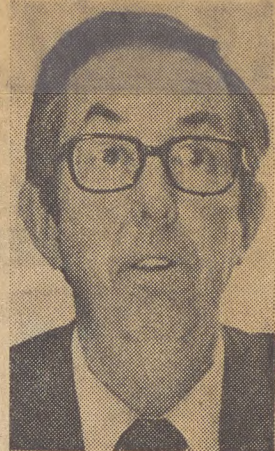
In the Committee's historic April 11 vote to subpoena presidential tapes, Butler was the only Republican to side with the Democrats and ask for more items than the White House was willing to supply, and he has voted with the Democrats on other occasions.

He also is said to have influence on the committee that is uncommon for a freshman. He's a "very thoughtful conservative" who often plays the role of a "common-sense arbiter" of disputes among his colleagues, said Rep. Thoms F. Railsback (R-Ill.), another Judiciary member.

Assiduously keeping his own counsel, Butler tells both his Washington colleagues and Roanoke homefolks that he is reserving judgment until he sees all the evidence. Railsback and others say he's one of the least predictable of the six or seven pivotal members of the Committee.

Butler acknowledges that "it's hard to put aside party loyalty" and quite natural to want to be charitable to your friends" but adds: "I don't have any sort of commitment to condone anything that is inappropriate."

His own Sixth District, stretching across the lower Shenandoah Valley from the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge to the Alleghenies and encompassing some of the most Republican territory in Virginia, gave the President his biggest victory margin in the state (72.7 per cent) in 1972.



M. CALDWELL BUTLER
... 'common-sense arbiter'

law partner and later as Virginia's first GOP governor in this century, in reorganizing Roanoke's moribund Republican Party.

This, coupled with Republican growth among transplanted Yankees in the Washington suburbs, was the real beginning of the party's resurgence in Virginia, which had been solidly Democratic since the end of Reconstruction.

In 1961, after an unsuccessful City Council race, Butler won election to the House of Delegates, where he found himself in the lonely company of seven Republicans, out of a total of 140 Assembly members.

Getting the treatment reserved at that time for Republicans and wayward Democrats, he served for six years without appointment to a committee that ever met. "One of my committees was the Currency Committee," he recalls. "If we had ever met, we'd have had a stranglehold on the economy."

Butler's partisan role frequently got under the skin of Democrats, as did his rapier-style debating skill, but regard for him crossed party lines.

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"Even when we had our differences," said Majority Leader Thomson recently, "I always had a very high regard for his ability and integrity . . . for his good, keen, logical mind and insight."

Butler campaign aides named

J. W. Langhammer, Roanoke businessman and civic leader, today was named chairman of 6th District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's campaign for reelection.

Butler said that the campaign treasurer will be William R. Holland, accounting officer at Mountain Trust Bank.

Langhammer is secretary-treasurer of Fabricated Metals Industries, Inc. and lives at 2528 Stanley Ave., SE, with his wife, the former Page Muse, and their four children.

He is chairman of the American Cancer Society fund drive and of the Roanoke Central YMCA membership drive, a past president of the Arthritis and Rheumatism Fund and secretary of the Virginia Military Institute alumni association.

Langhammer was chairman of Butler's election campaign in 1972.

Holland lives with his wife



J. W. LANGHAMMER
Appointed chairman



W. R. HOLLAND
Chosen treasurer

and three children at 2425 Rosalind Ave., SW.

Butler described Langhammer and Holland as outstand-

ing businessmen and said he is confident that the management of his campaign is in good hands.

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9-1-74

Butler Survey Results

6th District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler has completed the announcements of the results of his district-wide questionnaire.

By a majority of 57 to 35 percent, residents of the 6th District who responded indicated that they favor legislation which would permit the removal of automobile pollution control devices during the gasoline shortage.

Over 21,000 citizens responded to the following question accordingly:

"Do you favor legislation permitting removal of automobile pollution control devices during the current gasoline shortage?"

11,890 (56.8 Percent) Yes; 7,401 (35.3 percent) No; 1,625 (7.7 percent) No Opinion

The Congress recently completed action of legislation which provides for a one and possibly two year delay in the implementation of stricter automobile pollution standards, primarily because the necessary equipment to accomplish this without further decrease in gasoline mileage is not yet ready for production. In addition, amendments were offered on two occasions to repeal the requirements for pollution control equipment on autos which are registered in areas in which do not have pollution problems. Both attempts were unsuccessful.

With regard to the questions on trade with the Soviet Union citizens answered the following question accordingly:

"An important question before the Congress is the expansion of trade with the Soviet Union, promoted by mutual preferential trade and credit arrangements. Some urge that such a policy should be predicated upon the Soviet Union's willingness to liberalize its policies, particularly with respect to the freedom of immigration."

"Do you believe we should increase our trade with the USSR?"

9,147 (43.7 percent) Yes; 7,877 (37.6 percent) No; 3,892 (18.6 percent) No Opinion

"Do you believe we should insist on changes in Soviet policies before increasing our trade with them?"

12,133 (58.0 percent) Yes; 5,678 (27.1 percent) No; 3,105 (14.8 percent) No Opinion

The House last year passed Comprehensive Trade Legislation, one feature of which prohibits low interest loans or preferential tariff treatment for communist countries which do not permit their citizens to immigrate freely. The Senate has not yet completed action in the bill. Approval for several low-interest loans to Russia is pending before the Export-Import Bank, and the House is shortly to consider a resolution banning all such loans until action is completed on the trade bill.

Rep. Butler declined to release the response to the following question:

The United States Constitution provides that the President of the United States may be impeached and removed from office "for treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

a. In your opinion, should the President of the United States be impeached and removed from office in accord with the above?

b. In your opinion should a President of the United States be impeached and removed from office for the misconduct of his subordinates even if it were established that the President had no personal knowledge of their misconduct and had not consented to it?

"Indications in editorial and citizen comment accompanying response to these questions indicated substantial confusion as to the meaning of the questions. It was valuable to me in gauging citizen comment at the time it was submitted in March, but I do not believe it would serve a useful purpose to reveal the results for publication at this time; and it could be misleading," Butler stated.

"I will be glad to provide any constituent with the results should he wish them."

7/24/74
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Butler Names
2 Top Officials
For Campaign

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler said Monday his campaign will be in "good hands" in announcing his two top campaign officials in his bid for re-election in the 6th District.

J. W. Langhammer, a Roanoke businessman, will be campaign chairman—a post Langhammer had when Butler won his first term in Congress two years ago.

William R. Holland, accounting officer at the Mountain Trust Bank in Roanoke, will be campaign treasurer.

Langhammer is secretary-treasurer of Fabricated Metals Industries, Inc., and is active in civic affairs.

Butler is opposed by Paul J. Puckett, sheriff in Roanoke, winner of the Democratic nomination; Warren D. Saunders, Bedford County businessman who is backed by the American party of Virginia; Timothy McGay, a farmer in Augusta County who is running as an independent.

Committee Kills Butler Amendment To Prohibit Large Campaign Loans

Times 7-2-74

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A House committee Monday rejected an amendment by a Virginia Republican that was designed to prohibit by law huge loans similar to one that U.S. Sen. William L. Scott received during his 1972 campaign.

Offered by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler to campaign reform legislation approved by the House Administration Committee, it would have limited the amount of loans

that contributors can guarantee in federal elections to \$1,000, but the amendment failed on a 13-8 committee vote.

The committee then unanimously approved the bill, which in part limits all contributions and direct loans from individuals to candidates to \$1,000.

However, the bill does not put any limits on the amounts of loans that candidates may receive from banks when such loans are cosigned—

guaranteed—by other individuals.

While much of the committee bill is aimed at prohibiting direct loans of over \$1,000, Butler spied what he called a "gaping loophole" in the legislation.

He told the Administration Committee members that under the approved bill, an individual could cosign as large a loan as he wished—for instance, \$50,000—for one candidate. But if the candidate were unable to raise the funds to pay off the amount

of the loan, the cosigner would then assume responsibility for the loan and pay it off.

That, Butler said, would be the same thing as making a direct loan for \$50,000, or 50 times the amount allowed by the new bill.

Butler, who has jokingly referred to his amendment as "the Stets Coleman amendment," obliquely referring to J. D. "Stets" Coleman of the The Plains, Va., who loaned Scott \$200,000 during the 1972 campaign. The Coleman loan

was a direct one, and would be outlawed under the new bill.

"We have had a campaign contribution in Virginia like this and as a result it gave a bad name to the political process," Butler argued. But the amendment lost anyway, with the Democrats voting against the measure and Republicans supporting it.

A Butler aide said Monday night that Butler had not decided whether to attempt offering the amendment on the House floor when it comes to a vote there.

EPA grant verified for treatment plant

Verification that the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has approved a \$4,934,050 grant for the regional sewage treatment plant to be built at Lynchburg was received Wednesday by City Manager David B. Norman.

The verification came from the office of Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler. A telegram announcing the grant had been received earlier.

A grant of \$2,242,750 for the nearly \$9 million project also has been approved by the State Water Control Board and City Council at its last meeting awarded a construction contract for the plant to the Pizzagalli Construction Co. of Richmond.

The plant will be developed by the City of Lynchburg and the counties of Amherst and Bedford.

*The Daily Advance -
7/3/74 - p. 15*

U.S. Approves Grant For Area Sewage Plant

By GARY KEARNS

News Staff Writer

Notification was received by the city Wednesday that the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has approved the grant for the new regional sewage treatment plant.

Word of the grant approval was received by City Manager David B. Norman from the office of Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler.

The federal grant approved by the EPA was in the amount of \$4,934,050. This is an increase of \$1,192,400 over the original amount of \$3,741,650.

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The State Water Control Board, in a similar action taken in early June, increased its original approved grant of \$1,700,750 to \$2,242,750.

Both the EPA grant and that of the State Water Control Board brings the state and federal share of the project up to \$7,176,800—or 80 per cent of the net project cost.

It is expected that the construction contracts will be signed shortly and work will commence within the next 60 days.

At its June 25 meeting, City Council introduced a resolution appropriating \$9,036,400 for the regional sewage treatment plant to be developed by Lynchburg and the counties of Amherst and Bedford.

At that same time, council also awarded the project's construction contract to the Pizzgalli Construction Co. of Richmond over the protests of two local Negro organizations—the Lynchburg chapter of the NAACP and the Lynchburg Voters League.

At the meeting, representatives of the two groups said they would seek an injunction

against the city, charging it with failure to comply with federal regulations governing equal opportunity employees.

The two groups also sent a letter to the EPA, asking that it suspend confirmation of federal funds allocated for the project until "you have more thoroughly delved into the status of Lynchburg . . . as an equal opportunity employer."

The Negro spokesmen did not say why they had singled out the regional sewage treatment plant project when the city has been approving projects using federal money for many years.

Norman, replying to the

criticism of the city's hiring and promotional practices, said last Saturday that Lynchburg has an ongoing commitment to the principles and practice of equal employment opportunity for all of its citizens and employees.

Campbell County originally had been slated to join in the development of the project, but refused to sign the agreement because it provided that Lynchburg is to own and operate the regional sewage treatment plant.

Campbell County stipulated that the plant should be owned and operated by a regional authority.

LOCAL

THE NEWS, Lynchburg, Va., Thurs., July 4, 1974

C-1

The News - 7/5/74 -
Butler Says *p. B-3*
Nixon's Trip
'Diversion' *B*

ROANOKE (AP) — Rep. Caldwell Butler, R-Va. said Wednesday night he is "pretty optimistic" about the President's Moscow trip but called it a "diversion that doesn't affect our deliberations" in the House Judiciary Committee.

The 6th District congressman is a member of the committee.

"I just hope his optimism is justified and I think it is, but I haven't had time to assess the whole trip," Butler said from his home here.

"Of course the President is in a stronger position with the people because of the trip," he said, "but if the committee is doing its job we won't be affected by that."

"Overall as far as its effect, it's a diversion and quite frankly, I welcome the diversion," Butler said.

Butler agrees Gathright will cost more

By FRANK HANCOCK
Environmental Writer

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler took a look at the Gathright Dam under construction near Covington yesterday and concluded that the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers "is proceeding as it should" in its troubles with contractors and caverns in the abutment of the dam.

Butler, a lawyer, said he would not presume to make an engineering judgment on allegations that the dam might not be safe.

"There will be some extra cost involved (in sealing off the caverns) but I have no

idea how much." The Corps of Engineers currently has "under advisement" a request from contractors on the dam for more money because of what they say were more extensive caverns than they were led to believe.

Butler spent a good part of the Fourth of July holiday touring the site in the Kincaid Gorge on the Jackson River 18 miles above Covington.

He was escorted by Col. Robert Ayers, Norfolk District engineer, and Bruce Cavanaugh, geologist on the project. Butler added that he had "a very candid discussion" of the problems "and, basically, it

was a very educational experience."

It was his first visit and, while he has generally supported the project, he pointed out that he was not in Congress when the dam was authorized in 1946 as a flood control measure.

"I don't know how I would have felt about it then," he commented, "but it is nearly 50 per cent complete and

there would be problems if it were abandoned." He mentioned the contractual commitments the engineers have on the dam that is now estimated to cost \$50 million. He conceded that it might cost more.

The congressman said that he doesn't feel that a \$6 million appropriation for work on the dam during the fiscal year that began July 1 is in

jeopardy. It has already passed the House but is still subject to action by the Senate.

Some conservationists who say the dam shouldn't be built have indicated that they would lobby to kill the appropriation but Butler said he feels that it will be approved.

Butler said he made the trip to the dam site so that he could better understand the problems and answer a considerable amount of correspondence his office is getting.

He said that he went into one of the exploratory tunnels that had been drilled into the

abutment to check the caverns.

He said he saw some of the caverns "but they certainly were not Luray."

He was referring to the huge Luray Caverns, a popular tourist attraction in the upper Shenandoah Valley.

Butler concluded that with the dam half complete, he does not believe that the question of whether the cost exceeds the benefits would be reopened.

A group of conservationists brought suit last year in U. S. District Court to halt completion of the dam but were turned down.

The Wor

Roanoke, Va., Friday, Jul

7/5/74

Butler sees progress toward bicentennial

The Daily Advance - 7/6/74 - p. 10

WASHINGTON — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler has outlined the nation's progress toward the celebration of its 200th birthday in 1976 in his latest Washington Report to his constituents in Virginia.

Butler is a member of the 11-member board of directors of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (ARBA) created by Congress last year to coordinate Bicentennial activities.

Butler pointed out that Lynchburg is one of 37 communities in Virginia to be designated as Bicentennial communities. Also given that designation are Amherst County, Botetourt County and Roanoke, all located in the Sixth congressional district.

Butler said the ARBA is now making rapid progress under the leadership of John W. Warner, a former secretary of the Navy, who is administrator, and noted that Congress has granted the ARBA adequate funding.

"We are well prepared for the task before us," Butler said.

He said the Bicentennial Administration envisions the

Bicentennial as an event that will celebrate the principles and ideals on which this nation was founded, as well as the historical facts. "We envision the Bicentennial not as a birthday party for our nation, but as a celebration which will flow from individual citizens and communities throughout the nation," Butler stated.

He said three basic categories for Bicentennial events have been established—Heritage '76, Festival USA, and Horizon '76.

The congressman said activities under the Heritage theme will concentrate on the panorama of U.S. history and will focus on a reexamination of "our origins and the roles that different racial, ethnic, age and sexual groups have played in American history. Festival USA will concentrate on the various actual celebrations that will occur.

"Horizon '76 is aimed at the future, a call to reexamine our values, priorities, and hopes, and to decide what we can do about translating these into improvements for our society."

Butler said local involvement is at the heart of the Bicentennial Administration's plan for the Bicentennial.

"We hope," he said, "to trigger thousands of individual celebrations across the nation so that each United States citizen who desires to partici-

pate will have the opportunity to do so in a meaningful way. The Administration's job will be to coordinate and encourage these activities, and not to dictate to any area what form its commemoration should take."

Butler said it is particularly important that the Bicentennial be considered not as the end of two centuries of American greatness but as the beginning of a third century of American greatness.

"Let us keep in mind, however," Butler said, "that our nation was founded as a result of a long and arduous struggle, in the face of dissension, uncertainty and oppression.

"Our forefathers were not unanimous in their view of the

best way to proceed, but as a result of debate and perfection of ideals, they blended idealism and realism into a political system which has survived 200 years. I am confident that by following their example, and by rededicating ourselves to the principles they espoused, we can solve the problems with which we are now confronted.

"I hope that the Bicentennial celebration in 1976 will help the American people recapture the spirit of progress and determination on which our nation was founded."

Butler In Staunton August 6

STAUNTON (AP)—Reps. M. Caldwell Butler and J. Kenneth Robinson, both Republicans, will sponsor a farm conference Aug. 6 at Ingleside Inn near here.

The program will include a panel of federal and state governmental representatives discussing agricultural problems and legislation currently under consideration.

The panel will take questions from the floor. The meeting is open to the public, Butler said. But the 6th District congressman said those who are planning to speak should call or write his office.

The panel will include Richard Goodling, state director of the Farmers Home Administration; Thomas O. Kay, Office of Legislative Affairs of the Department of Agriculture; W.E. Skelton, state director of the Extension Service; Coyt Wilson, director, Agricultural Experiment Station, D.N. Grimwood, state conservationist for the Soil Conservation Service; Mahlon K. Ruddy, state director of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service; S. Mason Carbaugh, commissioner of the Virginia Department of Agriculture and Commerce; and representatives of the House Committee on Agriculture, the Cost of Living Council, the Office of Oil and Gas of the U.S. Department of Interior and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Washington Virginian
17 July

Butler backs Alaskan pipeline construction

Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler has announced his support for prompt construction of the Alaskan pipeline and says that the time has come for Congress to remove the obstacles which block it.

Writing in his regular newsletter "Washington Report," the Congressman says that "the urgency of the situation" overcomes the reservations about the project and that he has joined his Republican colleague, Rep. Don Young, of Alaska, in sponsoring legislation which would remove the two obstacles blocking construction of the pipeline.

Butler said the legislation would grant the necessary rights of way for the pipeline while declaring that the environmental impact statement filed by the Secretary of Interior relative to the project is sufficient. Both the right of way and environmental issues had been used in litigation barring construction since the 1968 oil discovery. In citing the legislation Butler noted that "Only in this way can we avoid further litigation and delay."

"While I share the reservations of those who oppose the Alaskan pipeline because of concern about the risk of oil spills, the possibility of seismic activity which might adversely affect the pipeline, and the possibility of permanent damage to the Alaskan permafrost by construction of the pipeline itself, I am satisfied that the appropriate safeguards and improved techniques in the design and construction of the pipeline and tankers are available, and that the urgency of the situation overcomes these reservations."

Butler said that the exact reason for the anticipated shortage of energy is not clear but that "we should be seeking to increase the available supplies of this essential product." There are conservative estimates of 10 billion gallons of oil on the Alaskan north slope.

He said that he is told that construction of the pipeline "can begin within 90 days of passage of the legislation; and that oil can flow to the United States market within three years thereafter."

The News - 7/7/74 - C-4

Butler Cites Progress Toward Bicentennial

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quate funding.

"We are well prepared for the task before us," Butler said.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

EDITOR,
COVINGTON VIRGINIAN,
DEAR SIR,

I would like to recommend that the Covington-Clifton Forge and Alleghany County Areas make the necessary funds for the study of an area airport at Low Moor to help serve our community. I feel it would be a definite asset to the industrial development of the area as we are in great need of an airport that would serve small crafts such as twin engine planes and small jets.

Currently Covington and the surrounding area is served by three airports: Roanoke, approximately 60 miles away and an hour's drive; Ingalls Field, approximately 20 miles away and about 45 minutes drive; Lewisburg, approximately 45 miles away and about a 45 minute drive.

In this day and time industries such as Westvaco, Hercules, H. O. Canfield, Mizzy and Alleghany Apparel, to name a few of the existing industries in the area, would all benefit from a small airport close to their plants. Also, the new proposed hospital in the Low Moor area would benefit because many surgeons now have private planes, as well as transporting emergency cases to other hospitals.

With an airport in the area, attracting light industries would not be quite so difficult. The number of companies which own planes is on the increase and farsighted governing officials in other sections of Virginia have taken steps to secure funds to construct an airport with the hopes of attracting industries to their area. Covington City Council and Alleghany County Supervisors should do the same thing and not let the opportunity to secure community development slip by.

Sincerely
Nace Wiley
Route 3

7/8/74

Butler Waits To Hear What Mitchell Says

By OZZIE OSBORNE
World-News Political Writer

Rep. Caldwell Butler believes that if the testimony of the key Watergate witness is corroborated by others, the effect on President Nixon and his administration could be quite devastating.

That, obviously, is why he says "I'm anxious to see what Mitchell (former U. S. Atty. Gen. John Mitchell) and others have to say."

In his comments Butler did not attempt to contradict any of the testimony given by John Dean III, the star witness so far in the U.S. Senate's hearing on the Watergate affair.

But he did describe some of it as "fuzzy" and "just his own impressions."

Butler said that after everyone has had his say on Watergate, "then I think the President is going to have to answer in some fashion."

The congressman said the Watergate to-do is not having the paralyzing effect on relations between the White House and Congress that he had anticipated and things are going along about as usual.

Butler said that Nixon's influence may have waned a bit, but said "he is going to veto as many bills as usual" and otherwise carry on his presidential duties as in pre-Watergate days.

Butler said Watergate emphatically points up the need for more stringent campaign elections laws.

"We must discipline the handling of campaign funds drastically," he said.

Butler said he would go so far as to limit campaign contributions to individuals only.

"But I don't think the idea would get very far in Congress," he said, "even though incumbent congressmen would be hurt the least."

Butler blamed the proliferation of campaign committees on COPE — the political arm of the AFL-CIO.

"They started it and others are answering," he said.

Commenting on state politics, Butler said he is available to help campaign for the Republican gubernatorial ticket.

See BUTLER, Pg. 2, Col. 2

9 July Roanoke World News

Butler

From Page 1

et headed by former Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr.

"I'm anxious to help the Republican ticket," he said.

Butler took a dim view of Republicans gaining control of the House of Delegates this fall, saying that "as a practical matter, I think the same people will be running the General Assembly that have been running it."

The Republicans have been talking of gaining House control by forming a coalition with the independents to be elected this fall.

But Butler said he doesn't see the Republicans controlling the House "unless they elect more than 50" to the 100-member House this fall.



HOUSE MINORITY LEADER John J. Rhodes, left, chats with U.S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, center, and former Gov. Linwood Holton after a press conference at Ingleside Wednesday. The ranking Republican was here to promote Rep. Butler's candidacy for re-election to the congress from Virginia's 6th District.

Rhodes blames De. Congress for fiscal woes

By CHESTER GOOLRICK III
Leader Staff Writer

U.S. Rep. John J. Rhodes, the Arizona congressman who succeeded President Gerald Ford as House minority leader when Mr. Ford became vice president last year, told reporters at a press conference here Thursday that Democratic congresses are largely responsible for the economic crisis the U.S. is facing today.

Rep. Rhodes, who was in town with former Gov. Linwood Holton for the evening to promote M. Caldwell Butler's candidacy for re-election to the House of Representatives from Virginia's 6th District, said that those who place the blame for the falling economy on former President Nixon's fiscal policies should realize that "38 out of the last 42 years we have had Democratic congresses", and that the Republican economic policy is "one that we can be proud of".

Rep. Rhodes, whose face became familiar to the public during the weeks

prior to President Nixon's resignation and who was one of the congressmen to persuade the beleaguered president to step down, spoke to reporters before a reception at Ingleside for Rep. Butler, who is seeking a second term in the House.

In praise of Rep. Butler's performance as a freshman congressman, Rep. Rhodes said: "From the first time any of us saw him, we knew we had a real comer here. The country is in good hands with freshman leaders in Congress like Mr. Butler."

The grey-suited Congressman said that President Ford's economic meetings due to begin today, may not have any short term effect, but it will demonstrate to the American public the administration's concern with the economy. "The President is determined to cut spending in fiscal year 1975," Rep. Rhodes said. "There will be stimulus put in areas of the economy

where stimulus is needed."

Of the aftermath of Watergate, Rep. Rhodes declared that he "never believed that the people of the United States would blame the Republican party", and said that he didn't think the GOP was in trouble in upcoming elections.

Rep. Rhodes praised President Ford's performance and said: "He has made some tough decisions, but I think that they have been right decisions."

On President Ford's controversial proposal for "earned re-entry" for Vietnam war draft evaders and deserters, Rep. Rhodes said that he agrees with the President's policy, but refused to link this plan with amnesty for President Nixon and declined to comment on how he thought the Nixon case should be handled.

According to Rep. Rhodes, President Ford will not take to the campaign trail during the next two months to aid Republican candidates because "he thinks that the job he has taken on is a full-time job".

Rep. Rhodes also said that he would like to see speedy confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller as vice president and expressed the hope that the House and Senate can vote on the matter "anytime before the election".

After the press conference, the GOP minority leader told the \$20-a-person reception audience that Rep. Butler's efforts on the Judiciary Committee "marked him for future greatness", and praised the freshman congressman from Roanoke for pressuring the House to put a \$1,000 limit on the amount a person can contribute to congressional candidates in future elections.

Reception For Butler Is Tomorrow

Tickets for the M. Caldwell Butler reception to be held tomorrow night at Ingleside Hotel can be secured at the door according to Ross V. Hersey, general chairman.

Rep. John Rhodes, Minority Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, will be at the fund-raising reception.

Because of the lack of mail service over the Labor Day weekend, those persons who ordered tickets can pick them up at the reception, Mr. Hersey said today.

Mr. Butler, who represents Virginia's Sixth District in Congress, is seeking his second term.

The two Congressmen will hold a press conference prior to the reception, also at Ingleside. The reception will be held in the Victoria Ballroom at Ingleside.

Congressman Rhodes, who is serving his 11th consecutive term in Congress, took over leadership of the Republican Party in the house from President Gerald Ford when he was named Vice President in December 1973. Mr. Rhodes previously was chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee for more than five years.

Assisting on the arrangements committee for the reception are Judith Green, Sarah Nutt and William E. Bobbitt of Staunton; Margaret Lintz, Hazel Wright and Joanne Inserra of Waynesboro; Ella Millhoff of Stuarts Draft and Pete Whitlock of Rockbridge County.

Reception begins at 6:30 p.m.

As November Approaches, Butler Ponders Impeachment

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — It was 1868, and a 50-year-old fire-eating partisan from Massachusetts named Benjamin "The Beast" Butler was leading the attack in the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson.

Today, 106 years later, there is another partisan Butler equally embroiled in the impeachment inquiry of a President of the United States.

He is M. Caldwell Butler, 49, but despite a few similarities in name, age and occupation, the two are quite apart in their approaches.

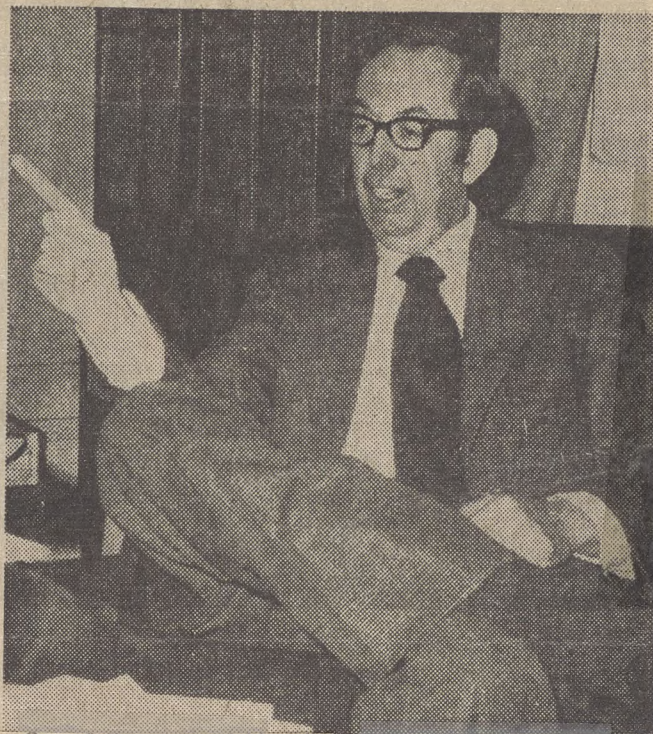
Benjamin Butler, who commanded the Union-held Fort Monroe, Va., during the War Between the States, led a bitter assault on Johnson in the wake of the war but ultimately failed in his effort to banish the chief executive.

M. Caldwell Butler, Republican of Roanoke, Va., is leading no one while trying to determine for himself whether Richard M. Nixon, 37th President of the United States, is guilty of offenses serious enough to warrant his impeachment.

It is a hot seat Butler, a descendant of an old Republican family, occupies on the House Judiciary Committee.

On one side he is beseeched by his own party loyalty and those who believe the President should remain in office no matter what evidence turns up. On the other, there are the pro-impeachment forces and his sense of decency and determination to do what is right. And there is the historically-Republican 6th District constituency to think about as Butler moves into his first bid for re-election to the House of Representatives.

Butler's vote on the impeachment committee may be crucial to democratic hopes of convincing the House to impeach the President. Judiciary Chairman Peter Rodino, D-N.J., was quoted recently as saying, although he later denied it, that it would take all the 21 Democrats and five or six Republicans voting for impeachment to persuade the House.



One of those six might well be M. Caldwell Butler, son of a Roanoke doctor who chose law and order over medicine as his profession.

Born in 1925, Butler grew up just in time to win a commission in the U.S. Navy during World War II. He graduated from the University of Richmond Phi Beta Kappa in 1948 and headed for Charlottesville, where he earned a law degree in 1950.

Returning to Roanoke, he married the former June Nolde, a petite Richmonder who bore him four sons, Manley, Henry, James and Marshall.

He accomplished two other things: he started working to revitalize a disintegrating Republican party in Roanoke and he joined a law firm with another young lawyer named Linwood Holton.

The formula must have been successful: both later went to Richmond, Holton as the state's first Republican governor since Reconstruction and Butler as one of a handful of Republicans in a General Assembly dominated by the Democratic machine. They're now in Washington, Butler as a congressman and Holton as an assistant secre-

tary of state for congressional liaison.

"We haven't seen each other much because we're both so busy. He's busy doing what he's doing and I'm busy doing what I'm doing," Butler said the other day.

Butler first ran for public office—the Roanoke City Council—in 1958 and lost, something he hasn't done in seven ensuing campaigns.

In 1962 he was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates and two years later became chairman of the small Republican caucus. From 1966 until he left in 1971, Butler was the sharp-tongued House minority leader.

Butler fought for abolition of the state's repressive poll tax and astounded old timers in stumping for open committee sessions—and he survived.

But serving in the General Assembly while continuing a law practice in Roanoke was becoming a burden, and Butler seized the opportunity in 1972 when Rep. Richard Poff, also a Republican, withdrew from the race. Butler got the Republican nomination and the Republican President campaigned for him, and it worked.

The 6th District gave the President nearly 73 per cent of the vote and passed enough of it—54 per cent—along to Butler.

Watergate wasn't much a part of the 1972 elections, and Butler came to Washington secure in the knowledge that the people of the 6th District supported the President's programs and policies.

Eighteen months away from the start of the 93rd Congress, eighteen months after the senate voted to form the Senate Watergate Committee, the atmosphere in Washington has changed markedly. Caldwell Butler has not, though there are a few more gray hairs than there used to be.

What appeared at first to be a dull assignment to the Judiciary Committee has provided Butler with exposure that few first-timers—indeed, many representatives with years of seniority—could hope for. He has been a successful minority floor leader for a bicentennial administration bill, he has considered and voted to confirm a vice president of the United States and

he now stands in judgement of the President.

In the past three months Butler has voted on each occasion to subpoena conversations of the President, and in April was the lone Republican to vote with the Democrats in strengthening the first House subpoena of a president.

His voting record in the second session of the 93rd Congress has remained essentially the same as in the first, if not more supportive of the President's position.

A congressional quarterly study of votes in 1973 put Butler's support of the President's announced position at 74 per cent of the roll call votes.

In the first three months of the second session, a similar study found his support of the administration to be 80 per cent, leading the Virginia delegation for the second year in a row.

His record has found distinction in another sector. The liberal Americans for Democratic Action give him a zero for his performance.

As a member of the judiciary committee, Butler takes the committee's vows of silence seriously. He refuses to answer questions on the President's involvement and how his view of the President has changed, if at all.

cont'd

"My feelings (toward the President) are what the impeachment inquiry is all about," Butler said.

"This impeachment inquiry has added a large demand on my time, and I'd like to spend more time on such things as campaign reform and sitting on the floor listening to debate.

"I'd like to spend more time at home, and I haven't been able to get out to play tennis much," he muses.

"It's just demanding, that's all. It's physically draining."

In some men, the schedule would take its toll in ruined digestion, depression and general outlook. The impeachment inquiry alone has upset the routine of many. One committee Republican recently admitted he sometimes can't sleep and rises in the dead of the night to play the piano.

Has any of this had a similar effect on Caldwell Butler? "Nope," he says and smiles. "Don't have a piano."

12 Staunton, Va., Leader, Tuesday, July 9, 1974

Representative

to be in Staunton

WASHINGTON—U.S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler will have a representative in Staunton City Hall Thursday from 9 a.m. - noon.

The representative will return to Staunton on the 4th Thursday of each month, with the next meeting set July 25 from 1-5 p.m.

The Daily Advance
Visit scheduled

7/15/74
BEDFORD—Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's representative will be at the Bedford City Hall Tuesday, July 23, from 8:45 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. to meet with residents wishing to discuss problems they are having with the federal government. Persons wishing to discuss a particular problem should bring with them all papers and correspondence dealing with the case and should know their Veterans Claim and Social Security numbers.

Ford To Visit Roanoke Valley

By MELVILLE CARICO
Times Political Writer

Vice President Gerald Ford is going to Roanoke Friday, July 19, on behalf of the re-election campaigns of two Republican congressmen—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th District and Rep. William C. Wampler of the 9th.

The three-paragraph announcement said Ford will hold a press conference and then attend an evening fund-raising reception for Butler and Wampler at Hotel Roanoke.

Details of the vice president's travel schedule, the time and place of the press conference and the price of the reception were lacking.

The announcement by J. W. Langhammer, Butler's campaign chairman, said Ford's appearance has just been confirmed by the vice president's office in Washington.

He will be in Hot Springs the following Saturday night to address the Virginia State Bar Association at The Homestead. GOP leaders in Roanoke said they do not know whether the vice president and his party will stay overnight in Roanoke or go on to Hot Springs but, "We're planning both ways," one said.

The vice president has a large entourage, including staff, Secret Service and the Washington press.

No price has been put on the tickets for the Ford reception, as far as it could be learned, but Republicans generally think in terms of \$100 for fund

raisers of this magnitude.

Since his selection by President Nixon to replace Spiro Agnew, Ford has virtually lived on the road on behalf of the GOP and, in doing so, is building strength for himself should go for the nomination for president in two years. Many think he will.

Butler, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, at this point is favored to win re-election in the 6th, a GOP stronghold since 1952, but Wampler is facing a tough fight, by his own admission, in a district targeted by Democrats as one of their best chances.

The Hotel Roanoke reception will be the vice president's second appearance on Wampler's behalf. He is listed as a guest at a \$100 a ticket cocktail party and buffet dinner being given Wednesday night in Washington for Wampler under sponsorship of other Republicans in the Virginia delegation.

James
7/10/74

Excessive Spending, Inflation Challenge For Ford, Says Butler

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler has called excessive government spending and inflation the greatest challenges to the Congress and to President Gerald R. Ford.

Butler made his comment in a newsletter sent to constituents in the Sixth District recently.

The incumbent said he felt the steps taken by President Ford since he assumed office have been "a good start." Referring to the Cost of Living Council suggested by President Ford, Butler said it could be an effective mechanism for deterring industries, labor and other groups from taking actions detrimental to the nation's economy.

"Not only does it marshal public opinion against irresponsible and inflationary action, but it also inspires a mutual confidence that we can work together," said Butler.

"Public opinion," he continued, "has far more potential for controlling inflation than arbitrary controls."

Butler said he remained convinced that excessive federal spending is the greatest single factor contributing to inflation today.

"I applaud President Ford's affirmation of this principle and his determination to send us a balanced budget for the next fiscal year."

Calling on the support of every American for the new president, Butler added this support could be carried over in the approval of his vice president.

"It is my own view that the president is entitled to select his own vice president and that Congress should confirm his choice unless its own investigation reveals matters

reflecting upon his ability to discharge the office of vice president or president," said Butler.

He continued, "The Congress cannot require the president to nominate a vice president whose views are consistent with a majority of the Congress or a particular Congressman."

Butler said he felt Nelson Rockefeller's experience as undersecretary of state with extensive involvement in foreign affairs and as the governor of New York, made him a man of broad experience and proven ability.

The Republican, who is seeking election for a second term in office this fall, said he feels the House Judiciary Committee, of which he is a member and which investigates vice presidential nominees under these circumstances, would be in a position to report by early October.

Turning his attention to resignation of Richard Nixon and the aftermath of what has become known as the Watergate affair, Butler said he feels it is time for the nation and for Congress to put the matter be-

h. ... der the principal legislative problems of the upcoming session.

He says there are tax reform, national health insurance, campaign reform, railroad retirement legislation, foreign trade and the numerous appropriations bills upon which the Congress has not finally acted.

Butler, who served on the House Judiciary Committee which voted in favor of two articles of impeachment, said he planned on preparing and distributing a detailed statement setting forth the principal reasons why he voted for the first two Articles of Impeachment.

But Butler said subsequent revelations have now satisfied all 38 members of the committee as to the necessity for the first article and the recent resignation of Nixon makes it clear that further disdiscussion would serve "no useful purpose."

Regarding Nixon Butler said, "Richard Nixon resigned in the face of an inevitable vote for removal by two-thirds of the Senate of the United States; and it is to his great

See EXCESSIVE, C-8

10 July Stanton Header

Clear way for Alaskan oil line

Congress reconvened yesterday after the 4th of July recess, and today the Senate is expected to take up an amendment aimed at removing a legal obstacle to building the oil pipeline from the Alaskan North Slope to a southern port of the state. Midwestern senators seek a delay to allow further exploration of the proposal to build the line southeastward across Canada to a Great Lakes port, which would eliminate transit by tanker from Alaska to West Coast ports.

The proposal for the Canadian route is sectionally selfish, and

would mean that U. S. oil companies and consumers would be taxed by Canada for Alaskan oil, with increases at the will of its government.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-6th Va., announced last week that he would support construction of the Alaskan line. His full statement was published in The Leader on Thursday. It was well reasoned, and his position should help clear the legal obstacle (a narrower lane than the environmental statute stipulates) so the oil of Alaska may be available to lessen our shortage in this source of energy.

The World-News

Roanoke, Va., Wednesday, July 10, 1974

25



Gerald R. Ford

Ford plans city visit July 19

Vice President Gerald Ford will be in Roanoke July 19 on behalf of the campaigns of Republican Congressmen Caldwell Butler of the 6th District and William Wampler of the 9th District.

Ford will attend a fund-raising reception at Hotel Roanoke that night following a news conference, but no specific time schedule was available.

No price had been put on tickets for the reception, but such events generally cost \$100.

Ford will be in Hot Springs July 20 to address the Virginia Bar Association meeting at The Homestead.

Local Republican leaders did not know whether Ford would spend the night of July 19 in Roanoke or Hot Springs. The vice president travels with a large entourage, including the Secret Service and the Washington news media.

Ford Plans To Boost Butler

ROANOKE (AP) — Vice President Gerald Ford will be in Roanoke on Friday to campaign for Reps. Caldwell Butler and William Wampler, who are seeking re-election.

An announcement Tuesday from Butler's campaign chairman said Ford's appearance has been confirmed.

He is scheduled to hold a news conference and attend an evening fund-raising reception at Hotel Roanoke for the Republican congressmen.

Ford will be in Hot Springs on Saturday night to address the Virginia State Bar Association.

*The News -
7/10/74 -
p. B-1*

Ford visit to Roanoke set July 19

ROANOKE (AP) — Vice President Gerald Ford will be in Roanoke on Friday, July 19 to campaign for Reps. Caldwell Butler and William Wampler, who are seeking re-election.

An announcement Tuesday from Butler's campaign chairman said Ford's appearance has been confirmed.

He is scheduled to hold a news conference and attend an evening fund-raising reception at Hotel Roanoke for the Republican congressmen.

Ford will be in Hot Springs on Saturday night, July 20 to address the Virginia State Bar Association.

The Daily Advance - 7/11/74 - p.18

Butler Survey

Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler today announced the results of his constituent questionnaire regarding impeachment, accompanied by a statement that he did not believe the results accurately reflected sentiment in the District on the issue. The questionnaires were returned along with considerable number of written comments indicating that the wording of the question was confusing to a significant number of citizens. The questionnaire was mailed in March.

Examples include:

-A citizen from Covington voted YES, but added: "It has not yet been proved that the President is guilty. I don't believe he is."

-A citizen from Lexington said: "...is confusing. On one hand it can be read as asking whether one agrees with the Constitution; on the other hand, it could be read as asking whether the current President should be impeached."

-A citizen from Roanoke said: "This question is poorly drawn up, is confusing."

-Another from Roanoke said: "Yes, for treason and bribery, not for other high crimes and misdemeanors."

-A citizen from Hardy said: "What would possess a lawmaker to raise a question about compliance with the U.S. Constitution?"

Congressman Butler said: My own view, from reading the correspondence that accompanied the responses, is that the results do not accurately reflect sentiment in the District, but I have no more recent information which would give a more accurate reading. I hope that those who review the results will be aware of my own reservations."

The following questions were answered accordingly:

1. The United States Constitution provides that the President of the United States may be impeached and removed from office "for treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

a. In your opinion should the President of the United States be impeached and removed from office in accord with the above?

YES 13,171 (63 percent);
NO 6,410 (30.6 percent), NO
OPINION 1,336 (6.4 percent).

b. In your opinion, should

a President of the United States be impeached and removed from office for the misconduct of his subordinates even if it were established that the President had no personal knowledge of their misconduct and had not consented to it?

YES 3,010 (14.4 percent);
NO 16,784 (80.2 percent) NO
OPINION 1,123 (5.4 percent).

Buena
Vista
News
7/11/74

Butler Aide Here Tuesday

6th District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler's representatives will be in the Buena Vista City Hall on Tuesday, July 16 from 9:00 a.m. until 10:30 a.m. to meet with citizens wishing to discuss problems they are having with the federal government. The meeting in Buena Vista is one of ten monthly meetings Rep. Butler holds in the district.

His representative will return to Buena Vista on the third Tuesday of each month.

These meetings are in addition to the regular Open Door Meetings which Rep. Butler holds himself from time to time on a non-scheduled basis.

The Congressman had earlier announced the meeting to compliment the three district offices as part of his plan to have the Congressman and the

constituent in close contact.

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 knowing their Veterans Claim and Social Security numbers.

The Recorder
p. 8

THURSDAY, JULY 11, 1974

Butler Aide to Visit Counties

WASHINGTON, D. C. - Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler's representative will be in the Bath County Courthouse at Warm Springs on Wednesday, July 17 from 11:30 a.m. until 1 p.m. and in the Highland County Courthouse in Monterey on Wednesday, July 17 from 2:30 p.m. until 4 p.m. The representative will meet with citizens wishing to discuss problems they are having with the Federal government.

The meeting in Bath and Highland counties are two of the ten monthly meetings Rep. Butler holds in each of his districts. His representative will return on the third Wednesday of each month.

Any persons wishing to discuss a particular problem with the representative should bring with him all papers and correspondence dealing with the case, in addition to knowing his Veterans Claim and Social Security number.

Staunton, Va., Leader, Wednesday, July 10, 1974

TO BE IN COURTHOUSE

U.S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's representative will be in the Bath County Courthouse July 17 from 11:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m. to meet with residents wishing to discuss problems they are having with the federal government.

How Judiciary Committee Members Indicate They Will Vote

Associated Press

Here is a summary of how each member of the House Judiciary Committee referred in formal opening remarks to his or her position on impeachment:

Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D-N.J.): "When I test the facts I find that the President of the United States in accordance with the tests I feel that we must confront, I find that the President must be found wanting and so tomorrow I shall urge, along with others, the option of articles of impeachment."

Edward Hutchinson (R-Mich.): "Not only do I not believe any crimes by the President have been proven beyond a reasonable doubt, they have not even approached a lesser standard of proof."

Harold D. Donohue (D-Mass.): Moved to recommend impeachment.

Robert McClory (R-Ill.): Questioned strength of Watergate cover-up evidence.

cern about Nixon's refusal to honor subpoenas.

Jack Brooks (D-Tex.): Spoke critically of unequalled corruption, but did not formally say he would vote for impeachment.

Henry P. Smith III (R-N.Y.): Said clear and convincing proof had not been presented, except perhaps concerning the secret bombing of Cambodia, a proposed article not considered likely to be approved.

Robert W. Kastenmeier (D-Wis.): "President Nixon must be impeached and removed from office."

Charles W. Sandman Jr. (R-N.J.): "Can find no direct evidence against the President."

Don Edwards (D-Calif.): "He should be impeached."

Thomas F. Railsback (R-Ill.): Detailed "two serious areas of concern," but did not commit his vote.

William L. Hungate (D-Mo.): "Should Richard M. Nixon be found guilty of ob-

struction of justice... abusing the powers of his office... contempt and defiance of the Congress and the courts? Yes."

Charles E. Wiggins (R-Calif.): Called for fairness, detailed Nixon side of some evidence, did not formally commit his vote.

John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.): Nixon should be ousted for "open and notorious defiance of the law."

David W. Dennis (R-Ind.): "We would do better to retain the President..."

Joshua Eilberg (D-Pa.): "The evidence is clear and overwhelming. Richard Nixon is guilty beyond any reasonable doubt..."

Hamilton Fish Jr. (R-N.Y.): Listed elements of an impeachable offense, said duty is clear if evidence is clear, did not commit his vote.

Jerome R. Waldie (D-Calif.): "There is a mountain of evidence showing that the

President has acted to obstruct justice."

Wiley Mayne (R-Iowa): Said direct involvement of President Nixon must be shown to impeach him, but evidence so far is "purely circumstantial."

Walter Flowers (D-Ala.): Said he was most bothered by violations of individual rights and misuse of federal agencies, but did not commit his vote.

Lawrence J. Hogan (R-Md.): "As much as it pains me to say it, he should be impeached and removed from office."

James R. Mann (D-S.C.): "I have expressed no judgments. I am entitled to the thoughts, the arguments of my colleagues on this committee. I am entitled to the time remaining to me to study the evidence."

M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.): "There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President."

Paul S. Sarbanes (D-Md.): "What concept of government is it if the person at the head is to walk away claiming that he knows nothing, sees nothing, hears nothing while the persons closest to him, the alter egos, proceed about their destructive business?"

Willim S. Cohen (R-Maine): Said abuse of power, Watergate cover-up and alleged abuse of the Internal Revenue Service are of greatest concern, that the President "allowed the rule of law and the constitution to slip under the boots of indifference and arrogance and abuse"

George E. Danielson (D-Calif.): There is enough direct and undisputed evidence concerning Mr. Nixon "to support a conviction of conspiracy in a criminal court."

Trent Lott (R-Miss.): Did not specifically commit his vote, but said "you cannot impeach a President for a

Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.): "I uphold my oath of office and call for the impeachment of a man who has not."

Joseph J. Maraziti (R-N.J.): "In many areas there is a lack of conclusiveness, a lack of certainty... I do not believe Mr. Dean... If I have to choose between Mr. Dean and the President as to who is telling the truth, I have no difficulty in that regard."

Barbara Jordan (D-Tex.) said Mr. Nixon is being surrounded by malefactors and trying to take care of them qualifies him for impeachment.

Delbert Latta (R-Ohio): "To impeach there must be direct presidential involvement" and he said so far there is none.

Ray Thornton (D-Ark.): "Nixon has violated his oath of office by obstruction of

half a case or the parts of several cases put together."

John F. Seiberling Jr. (D-Ohio): "We will permanently weaken not only the presidency but our entire constitutional system if we fail to impeach a President who has flagrantly violated our trust and his own oath of office."

Rep. Harold V. Froehlich (R-Wis.): "I am deeply pained and troubled by some of the things I see... My decision awaits final wording of the articles and remaining debate."

Rep. Robert F. Drinan (D-Mass.): said there was no justification to keep secret the bombing of Cambodia and said a President could be impeached for "that ultimate tyranny" of concealing a war.

Rep. Carlos J. Moorhead (R-Calif.): "I could not vote for impeachment... I be-

high crimes and misdemeanors."

Elizabeth Holtzman (D-N.Y.): "The President's impeachment and removal from office is the only remedy for the acts we have seen."

Wayne Owens (D-Utah): "I am now persuaded that the President has engaged in three types of conduct which constitute impeachable offenses under the Constitution."

Edward Mezvinsky (D-Iowa): Asked if the committee did not bring Mr. Nixon to account, "who will?"

Butler viewed as key to vote on impeachment

By HELEN DEWAR

L.A. Times-Post Service

WASHINGTON — Pictures of President Nixon line his office walls and he had one of the most consistently pro-administration records in Congress last year. But conservative freshman Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va.—a meticulously precise lawyer with a keen mind, sharp tongue and paucity of tolerance for wrongdoing—is emerging as a key swing vote on presidential impeachment in the House Judiciary Committee.

It wasn't always that way. At the start, Butler was openly wary of impeachment, saying the House had a heavy burden of proof and he would be hard to convince.

More recently he has grown impatient with the President's refusal to release records requested by the committee, suggesting at times that an adverse inference might be drawn from noncompliance.

In the committee's historic April 11 vote to subpoena presidential tapes, Butler was the only Republican to side with the Democrats and ask for more items than the White House was willing to supply, and he has voted with the Democrats on other occasions.

He also is said to have influence on the committee that is uncommon for a freshman. He's a "very thoughtful conservative" who often plays the role of a "common-sense arbiter" of disputes among his colleagues, said Rep. Thomas F. Railsback, R-Ill., another Judiciary member.

Assiduously keeping his own counsel, Butler tells both his Washington colleagues and Roanoke homefolks that he is reserving judgment until he sees all the evidence. Railsback and others say he's one of the least predictable of the six or seven pivotal members of the committee.

Butler has acknowledged that "it's hard to put aside party loyalty" and quite natural to want to be charitable to your friends but added, "I don't have any sort of com-

mitment to condone anything that is inappropriate."

His own 6th District, stretching across the lower Shenandoah Valley from the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge to the Alleghenies and encompassing some of the most Republican territory in Virginia, gave the President his biggest victory margin in the state (72.7 per cent) in 1972.

At the same time Butler won handily over two opponents to succeed Richard H. Poff, Republican, who resigned to take a seat on the Virginia Supreme Court after withdrawing from consideration for nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Butler again has two opponents in this fall's election but is favored to win re-election, regardless of how he votes on impeachment. "He's just that strong," said a local Democrat.

Butler figures his constituents want the issue resolved swiftly, that there is strong feeling on both sides, but there is no overwhelming consensus for or against impeachment. "But then I may know my district as well as Fulbright knew Arkansas," he observed with a grin, adding that there's no such thing as a safe district this fall.

Before Butler came to Congress in 1972, he spent 10 years in the Virginia General Assembly and, as minority leader of the miniscule GOP contingent in the House of Delegates, was regarded as a fiercely loyal Republican.

But as a legislator he was not above quietly voting with the Democratic majority when he agreed with its position on a particular issue.

The 49-year-old Butler—whose tall, thin profile is dominated by coal-black hair, owlish glasses and a receding chinline at the end of a long, expressive face—counts himself as "one of the aborigines" of Virginia, its southwestern mountain regions and its Republican party.

Among his ancestors are

Rep. Butler viewed as key to vote

From Page 1

John Marshall, the nation's first chief justice, and James A. Walker, a mountaineer congressman who got shot during an election campaign in the late 1880s.

A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Richmond, he studied law at the University of Virginia in the company of several other now-prominent Virginians, including U.S. District Judge Albert V. Bryan Jr. and Butler's old political sparring partner, Virginia House Majority Leader James M. Thomson.

After settling back in Roanoke, Butler joined Linwood Holton, another young attorney who wound up as his law partner and later as Virginia's first GOP governor in this century, in reorganizing Roanoke's moribund Republican party.

This, coupled with Republican growth among transplanted Yankees in the Washington suburbs, was the real beginning of the party's resurgence in Virginia, which had been solidly Democratic since the end of Reconstruction.

In 1961, after an unsuccessful city council race, Butler won election to the House of Delegates, where he found himself in the lonely company of seven Republicans, out of a total of 140 assembly members.

Getting the treatment reserved at that time for Republicans and wayward Democrats, he served for six years without appointment to a committee that never met. "One of my committees was the Currency Committee," he recalled. "If we had ever met we'd have had a stranglehold on the economy."

Butler's partisan role frequently got under the skin of Democrats, as did his rapier-style debating skill, but regard for him crossed party lines.

"Even when we had our differences," said Majority Leader Thomson recently, "I always had a very high regard for his ability and integrity . . . for his good, keen, logical mind and insight."

Thomson still thinks of Butler now and then. "I don't know anything I've chuckled about more than the pickle he's in now," said Thomson.

In Richmond, Butler was regarded as a moderate, a leader of the "mountain-valley boys" who were allied with Holton, often in opposition to the conservative forces that recently took over the Virginia GOP.

But in Congress, largely because of his fiscal views, he is regarded as a conservative, earning a flat zero rating, on a scale of zero to 100, from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action last year.

Butler laughs now about the fact that he wanted to be assigned to the Commerce Committee, rather than Judiciary, "because I wanted to be where the action is." At first, he conceded recently, he thought Judiciary was "a bunch of crazies," but he now says he has great respect for his colleagues, particularly Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J.

He is sharply critical of committee leaks of documents damaging to the President. "Till the leaks, our image was pretty good but the leaks hurt badly," he said, although he feels "we'll outlive all that."

How does it feel to come from the obscurity of the Republican corner of the Virginia House of Delegates to what may be a pivotal role in the impeachment of the President?

"It is a little frightening," he said. "I'm not waking up in the middle of the night in a cold sweat yet, but it does bother me . . . it's a hard, hard decision."

Or as he put it to Richmond Times-Dispatch columnist Charles McDowell earlier: "I don't feel they're saving a little niche over there at the Capitol for Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson or Caldwell Butler."

Representative Of Butler In Area July 16, 17

Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler's representative will be in the Covington City Hall July 17 from 8:30 a.m. until 10 a.m. to meet with citizens wishing to discuss problems they are having with the federal government. The meeting in Covington is one of ten monthly meetings Rep. Butler holds in the district.

His representative will return to Covington on the third Wednesday of each month. He will be in Clifton Forge City Hall July 16 from 2 p.m. until 4 p.m.

These meetings are in addition to the regular Open Door Meetings which Rep. Butler holds himself from time to time on a nonscheduled basis.

The Congressman had earlier announced the meeting to complement the three district offices as part of his plan to have the Congressman and the constituent in close contact.

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 knowing their Veterans Claim and Social Security numbers.

Representative To Be In Highland County

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler's representative will be in the Highland County Courthouse Wednesday, from 2:30 p.m. until 4:30 p.m. to meet with citizens wishing to discuss problems they are having with the federal government. The meeting in Highland is one of ten monthly meetings Rep. Butler holds in the district.

His representative will return to Highland on the third Wednesday of each month.

These meetings are in addition to the regular Open Door Meetings which Rep. Butler holds himself from time to time on a nonscheduled basis.

The Congressman had earlier announced the meeting to complement the three district offices as part of his plan to have the Congressman and the constituent in close contact.

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 knowing their Veterans Claim and Social Security numbers.

Butler sends representative to meet here

C.F.
Sixth District *7/12/74*
Congressman M. Caldwell Butler's representative will be in the Clifton Forge City Hall, Tuesday, July 16, 2-4: p.m. to meet with citizens wishing to discuss problems they are having with the federal government. The meeting in Clifton Forge is one of ten monthly meetings Rep. Butler holds in the district.

His representative will return to Clifton Forge on the third Tuesday of each month.

These meetings are in addition to the regular Open Door Meetings which Rep. Butler holds himself from time to time on a nonscheduled basis.

The Congressman had earlier announced the meeting to compliment the three district offices as part of his plan to have the Congressman and the constituent in close contact.

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 knowing their Veterans Claim and Social Security number.

Butler's representative will be in the Covington City Hall, Wednesday, July 17, from 8:30 a.m. until 10 a.m.

Partisanship, Doubts Gnaw Rodino Unit

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

The facade of unity within the House Judiciary Committee has crumbled under the pressures of partisanship and the growing conviction of Republican members that Mr. Nixon's accusers have failed to make a clear-cut case for impeachment.

"We've got to have a good case to sell the House," says Rep. Tom Railsback, a 42-year-old Illinois Republican who is regarded as a key swing vote on the committee. "A lot of Republicans don't feel that a very good case has been made."

"The Republicans would like to have a case where the President is caught in the bank vault in the middle of the night with a smoking gun," says Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.). "That would make it easy for them. But this is a criminal conspiracy case and conspiracy cases invariably are forged from circumstantial evidence."

To most of the 21 Democrats on the 38-member committee the nature of the circumstantial evidence, particularly as it relates to the payment of hush money to convicted Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt Jr., seems overwhelming.

But the committee Democrats are politicians as well as lawyers and they have a political appreciation of the formidable barriers a Republican congressman must cross to vote for impeachment. These barriers, in the view of two Democratic members who are sympathetic to the predicament of their Republican colleagues, are largely the

See JUDICIARY, A6, Col. 1

A 6

Sunday, July 14, 1974

THE WASHINGTON POST

Partisanship, Doubts Gnaw at Impeach ment Panel

JUDICIARY, From A1

product of personal and social relationships.

"It's tough to vote against the people you relate to—the people you drink with and who contribute to your campaigns and work your precincts," says one Democratic member. "It would be tough for me if the President were Democrat."

Republican members have been steadily exposed to this pressure from "the people you relate to" in conversations with GOP congressmen outside the committee and most of all in their conversations with local politicians on their trips back home.

"Every time a Republican has come out of that committee room and said anything even mildly critical of the President, the loyalist mail starts flowing," says one GOP committee member. "We're going to vote on the evidence, but you can't ignore the political facts of life."

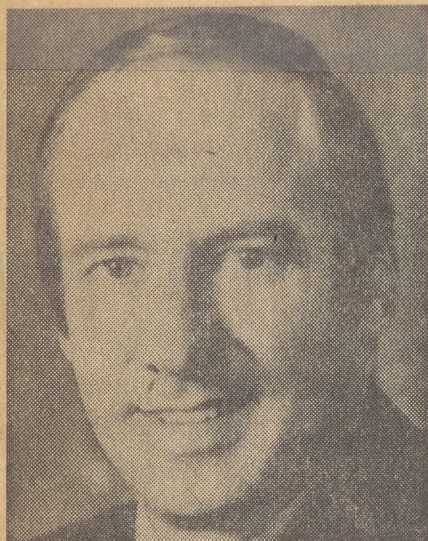
These facts, such as they are, offer little comfort to the six or seven GOP members who are considered politically vulnerable in November. On the one hand, they know that a vote for impeachment may help them with Democratic and independent voters in November. On the other hand, they also know that they have virtually assured themselves of future primary opposition and pariah-like treatment in their own party—particularly if Mr. Nixon ultimately survives the impeachment process.

Democrats are also subject to pressure from their peers—and they might find it even more risky to oppose impeachment than Republicans would to support it. A Roper Poll two months ago showed that nationally only 5 per cent of Democratic voters say they would vote against a congressman who supported impeachment, while 31 per cent said they would vote against a congressman who opposed it.

The growing partisanship within the Judiciary Committee expressed itself in the periodic morning meetings held by the Republican members of the committee in the office of Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois and in the nightly briefings for Democrats by staff members of the committee.

These meetings give members an opportunity to discuss the evidence and assess testimony within a clearly partisan framework. One Democrat says there is "an implicit assumption" at the Democratic briefings that the evidence exists to impeach Mr. Nixon; a Republican who attended one of the recent meetings in McClory's office says it is customary for GOP congressmen to remind each other that "the case has not been made."

cont'd 7



REP. TOM RAILSBACK
... "not a very clear-cut case"

All this does not mean that the members will ignore the evidence and simply vote their party labels when the time comes—probably in the last week of July. What it does mean is that the half-dozen Republicans and the three Southern Democrats who are considered swing votes on the committee must make their decisions in the full knowledge that they run the risk of being considered political outcasts.

"Hell, I know I could be a big hero within my own party just by voting against impeachment," says Railsback, who is considered the most crucial vote. Rep. William Cohen of Maine, considered the Republican most likely to vote for impeachment, recalls the "tidal wave of pressure" when he crossed party lines to support a letter from the committee informing Mr. Nixon that he had failed to comply with a subpoena for the tapes of 42 conversations.

And Rep. Charles Wiggins of California, the most articulate defender of Mr. Nixon on the committee, believes that Republicans will feel a "grass roots retaliation" if they vote for impeachment.

"The only way to have a bipartisan impeachment vote is to nail Richard Nixon with something directly wrong on his part," says Wiggins. "But the evidence isn't there so the case has become partisan and political."

Another Californian, Democrat Jerome Waldie, believes that people who placed their trust in bipartisanship may have been fooling themselves all along.

"It's always been divided on party lines," says Waldie, an early advocate of impeachment. "It's nonsense to believe that we've become neuters instead of Democrats and Republicans because we serve on the Judiciary Committee."

Waldie believes that the partisanship was concealed in the early stages of the inquiry because Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., (D-N.J.) made numerous concessions—too many, in Waldie's view—to Republicans on such important procedural items as allowing White House lawyer James D. St. Clair to cross-examine witnesses and to object to questions by members. When the concessions stopped the partisanship on both sides became apparent.

The partisan nature of the combat has been deepened by the long and wearisome ordeal of the inquiry. The committee starts early and finishes late. Congressmen spend their evenings in briefings or readings of the evidence and their weekends politicking back home. Behind the closed doors of the committee room, tempers have shortened and frustration grown over the plodding style of chief counsel John Doar.

"He travels at the pace of the slowest member, talks in a monotone and treats us all like a bunch of retarded law students," complains one Democratic member. "Some of us would prefer if he both focused and summarized a bit more."

But Doar's problems are far fewer than those faced by the chief Republican counsel Albert E. Jenner, who has never won the trust of the GOP minority on the committee.

Jenner got off to a bad start when he said after his appointment last January that "within some areas the President should be responsible for the actions of aides..." When it was disclosed subsequently that Jenner had helped raise funds for Democratic Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III of Illinois, most Republicans on the committee simply stopped regarding him as their counsel. Many of the GOP members now mutter among themselves and groan audibly when Jenner asks a question during the proceedings.

Into this apparent vacuum has stepped St. Clair, who has become for all practical purposes the Republican advocate to those GOP members openly fighting impeachment. Even the Democrats admire him for his legal style and tough cross-examination, if not for his positions.

"He is one hell of an advocate," says a GOP admirer on the committee. "Before the court he argues that impeachment is really a political matter and not the business of the court. Before the committee, he discounts the political nature of impeachment and says that Congress must use the standard of a crime. He has the best of both worlds."

But St. Clair's legal skill has not proved sufficient to turn the tide against impeachment within the committee.

Most opponents of impeachment concede privately that an impeachment recommendation is likely to be issued from the Judiciary Committee, but they are hopeful of keeping the vote close enough that impeachment can be beaten in the House.

House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes of Arizona, who recently used expletive-deleted language in turning down a White House request to take an impeachment head count of the House, believes that both the margin and composition of the committee vote will have an effect in the House as a whole.

Rhodes believes that there is "a growing feeling among Republicans that there isn't any case" and he does not concede that any GOP members on the committee necessarily will vote for impeachment.

On the committee itself, however, the independent-minded Cohen, a 33-year-old freshman, is regarded as a nearly certain vote for impeachment. Cohen, who usually has declined to comment on the evidence, describes himself as "unlikely to be influenced by any partisan considerations."

Almost as likely to vote for impeachment, some committee members believe, is Hamilton Fish Jr., the third Republican from his family to represent a New York congressional district. The other conceivable Republican votes for impeachment come from a list that includes Railsback, McClory, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, Harold V. Froehlich of Wisconsin and Henry P. Smith III of New York.

Of this group, neither McClory nor Froehlich are considered highly likely to wind up voting for impeachment. Hogan usually is a defender of Mr. Nixon but he is running for governor and has political reasons, particularly in Montgomery County, to support impeachment. Smith, 63, is retiring this year and has said that he would be interested in a United Nations appointment. Butler, a thoughtful freshman, is respected for his legal ability and considered likely to vote the evidence regardless of political consequences.

On the Democratic side three Southerners—James R. Mann of South Carolina, Ray Thornton of Arkansas and Walter Flowers of Alabama—are considered to be potential votes against impeachment. All say they could vote either way and politically survive in their districts, and Mann has been perhaps the most taciturn member of the committee in discussing the evidence.

However, Democratic colleagues of this trio believe that Mann is virtually certain to wind up supporting an impeachment resolution and that Thornton also probably will wind up on the impeachment side.

The key votes, in the estimate of



REP. WALTER FLOWERS
... "it could go either way"

many committee members are Flowers on the Democratic side and Railsback on the Republican, both of whom say they are genuinely undecided about how they will vote.

More than most Democrats, Flowers would like to wait and see if the committee is able to obtain the 64 tape recordings that Watergate special prosecutors are seeking to obtain from the White House for the Watergate cover-up conspiracy trial. The case is before the Supreme Court and would have no direct bearing on the committee's thus-far-unsuccessful efforts to obtain the same tapes, but Flowers believes it is worth seeing if the committee could also obtain them.

"I was a member of the hurry-up crowd six weeks ago," said Flowers, "but I've changed by mind. It's not sufficient to impeach on a bare minimum case. If there is more there, we ought to go out and get it."

Flowers does not share the view that the committee should be satisfied with the finding of "probable cause" that would be sufficient for a grand jury to indict a defendant.

"I'm most reluctant to say we should impeach a President on probable cause," says Flowers, a Tuscaloosa lawyer and Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Alabama. He is, in fact, reluctant to say if the President should be impeached at all.

"My honest judgment is at this point that it could go either way," says Flowers. "There are a couple of Democrats who could vote against it, and I'm one of them. I have concentrated on refusing to form decisions until I have all the material... It's a close judgmental decision."

It is also a close decision for Railsback, a 42-year-old middle-of-the-road Republican whose northwestern Illinois district embraces both rural and manu-

facturing areas. He ran unopposed in 1972 with United Autoworkers endorsement but faces a strong Democratic challenge this year.

Railsback has spent most of his spare time reviewing and re-reviewing the evidence.

"Some times I go back and forth in my mind from one side to the other," he says. "It's not a very clear-cut case."

Railsback believes that the case against the President boils down to three essential charges—the hush-money conspiracy, the alleged misuse of such agencies as the CIA and the FBI and the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office.

To help him decide the question of Mr. Nixon's alleged involvement in the hush-money conspiracy Railsback has prepared his own black-bound book of excerpts from White House transcripts on the March 21 and March 22, 1973, presidential conversations. He assigns a plus mark to each remark of Mr. Nixon's that seems exculpatory and a minus to each remark that implicates him. The book has more minuses than pluses.

Railsback has also become the acknowledged unofficial leader of the Republican undecided-vote ranks. He has organized a study group that initially will include himself, Cohen, Fish and Butler and perhaps one or two others.

These Republicans will review the evidence and undoubtedly, as the impeachment vote nears, form some idea of what their colleagues plan to do. Conceivably, their discussion could become an antidote to the partisan mentality now growing on both sides within the committee.

While each of the Republican undecideds will reach his own decision on the impeachment question, Railsback's vote is likely to be viewed as particularly important by other young, moderate Republicans since he is known to have carefully reviewed the evidence.

In doing so, he has rejected the St. Clair theory that the case against Mr. Nixon stands or falls on a narrow construction of the events of March 21. Instead, he accepts a view more popular on the Democratic side that the committee is entitled to base its decision on the President's "pattern of conduct," if one is established.

But Railsback claims another, more private yardstick. It is based on the personal feeling that any outcome will be subject to dispute and that in the last analysis a member must satisfy himself that he is making the wisest possible judgment.

"I want to cast the vote that will make me feel good inside," Railsback says.

He doesn't know, he says, what that vote will be.

Rep. Butler to hold Aug. 5 conference at McCormick Farm

U.S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler announced today plans for his third annual farm conference to be held at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern on Aug. 5.

The conference will begin at 10 a.m. and will conclude with a free barbecue luncheon beginning at noon. Rep. Butler announced that 7th District U. S. Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson will again co-sponsor. Also included on the panel will be a high level official of the Department of Agriculture and a representative from the House Committee on Agriculture.

Rep. Butler indicated that the conference will emphasize an informal give-and-take session between 6th 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, he noted.

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 SU'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.

Rep. Butler noted that although it is not essential, those planning either to speak at the conference or attend the barbecue are urged to telephone or write any of his offices and advice.

Conference On Farms Scheduled

7-17-74 Jms
Times Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke and 7th District Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson plan to hold a third annual farm conference for area farmers and other agricultural interests near Staunton Aug. 5.

Butler announced the meeting would begin at 10 a.m. and wind up with a free barbecue at noon.

He said a number of Department of Agriculture officials as well as a representative from the House Agriculture Committee would take part in a panel discussion.



HERBERT W. KALMBACH^{AP}

Judiciary witness

Balt. Sun July 17-74

Panel GOP dividing as vote nears

By STEPHEN E. NORDLINGER
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—With an impeachment vote planned for late next week, Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee showed signs yesterday of internal division as well as concern about the outcome of the vote.

The indication of unrest developed as the committee finished hearing testimony from Charles W. Colson, a former top aide to President Nixon, and summoned Herbert W. Kalmbach, a former personal attorney of Mr. Nixon, who was the last of nine witnesses in the impeachment investigation.

The committee is scheduled to receive later this week materials from the staff to document a detailed theory of the case against the President. It will be supported by evidence culled from the massive amount of information already submitted to the committee.

Representative Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (D., N.J.), the committee chairman, announced the panel planned to start debating articles of impeachment Tuesday and planned to vote on its recommendations to the House late next week.

With the voting imminent, the Republicans, reflecting the political pressure on them, disagreed publicly for the first time about how the vote was shaping up.

The dispute was precipitated when Representative Charles E. Wiggins (R., Calif.), Mr. Nixon's most articulate committee defender, predicted "we're going to win this goddamn thing" and no Republicans would vote to impeach the President "on such a flimsy, inferential case." **could**

"When the facts are in we are not going to return articles
See IMPEACH, A2, Col. 3

Republicans on panel dividing as vote nears

IMPEACH, from A1

of impeachment," Mr. Wiggins said, in comments perhaps designed to exert pressure on Republican committee members apparently undecided about impeachment.

Almost immediately the prediction drew a sharp reaction from some Republicans in this uncommitted group.

Representative Tom Railsback (R., Ill.) considered a key swing vote, went on television to say there are four Republicans "waiting to see what the legal theories are from the staff" before reaching a decision.

Later, he named them as Representatives Hamilton Fish, Jr. (N.Y.), M. Caldwell Butler (Va.), William S. Cohen (Maine) and himself.

"I have a very high regard for Chuck Wiggins but I don't know where he gets his information," Mr. Railsback said. "A lot of us don't want to prejudge the case until we have seen the theories, weighed the evidence and put it all in some kind of context."

Mr. Cohen also disagreed, saying that "Chuck Wiggins does not speak for me as to how I'm going to vote."

A survey of the 17 Republican members indicated there were six and perhaps seven uncertain about their vote.

While this controversy developed, the Republicans joined in expressing strong concern that the presentation by the staff headed by John M. Doar, the special counsel on impeachment, would be "one-sided," unfairly affecting the outcome of the voting.

In an effort to offset this approach, Republicans disclosed yesterday they had asked Samuel Garrison 3d, the deputy minority counsel of the impeachment staff, to submit evidence tomorrow designed to exonerate the President.

"We got kind of frantic," said Representative Robert McClory (R., Ill.), the second-ranking minority member who headed the plan to ask for additional evidence. Mr. Garrison is a former aide to former Vice President Spiro T. Agnew who is regarded as a conservative staff member.

Mr. McClory charged Mr. Doar had "misled" him until a couple of days ago into believing the staff would present material in two groupings, one to support an impeachment

vote, the other to back a vote against impeachment.

"A number of Republicans are unhappy and we don't want to be left with just a one-sided presentation," said Mr. McClory, who appeared, in seeking help from Mr. Garrison to be bypassing the chief minority counsel, Albert E. Jenner, Jr., whom some Republicans suspect as being biased against the President's case.

In his second day of testimony before the closed sessions of the committee, Colson shed little new light on the broad array of matters on which he has commented, members said. These range from the Watergate cover-up to the bearing of campaign contributions to an increase in milk price supports to an anti-trust settlement for the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation.

Asked to sum up the testimony, Mr. Butler said: "I think Colson just had a good time before he goes back to jail. Colson, former special counsel to Mr. Nixon, has just started to serve a one-to-three year sentence after pleading

guilty to obstructing justice growing out of a White House attempt to discredit Daniel Ellsberg, who distributed the Pentagon papers."

Mr. Fish said "Mr. Colson comes down strong for the President on everything." But many members tended to minimize his testimony because he has proclaimed his continued loyalty to the President.

Presidential seal

Colson, who wore a brown suit and a tie clasp bearing the presidential seal, told the committee after 10 hours of testimony Monday and seven hours yesterday that he was impressed with the manner of questioning. His lawyer, David Shapiro, added that in 20 years of appearances before congressional committees he had never observed a better performance.

Colson testified that he never discussed with Mr. Nixon executive clemency for E. Howard Hunt, Jr., a convicted Watergate conspirator, that a \$2 million campaign pledge from the dairy industry was unrelated to an increase in milk price supports and that he knew of no improper involvement of

the President in the ITT case.

In the only possibly damaging testimony, Colson said Mr. Nixon indicated to him in one conversation in early 1973 that he "may not have wanted to know" about the involvement of top campaign aides in the intelligence-gathering plan that led to the Watergate break-in.

Before the committee Monday, Colson also said the President called him as late as March 4 to seek information about the payment of \$75,000 to Hunt.

Mr. Nixon reportedly asked if Colson would get in touch with William G. Bittman, Hunt's former attorney, and ask if Mr. Bittman had set March 21, 1973, as the day of the payment. The President may have wanted to try to establish that the payment occurred before March 21, the date he discussed hush money payments with White House aides.

Last night Kalmbach, who has pleaded guilty to charges related to campaign fund-raising, testified about his professional relationship to the President and his role in distributing about \$500,000 to the Watergate defendants in 1972 and 1973.

Balt Sun
July 17

Sam Garrison picked to devise Nixon's defense

7/17/74
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By JACK BETTS
Washington Bureau

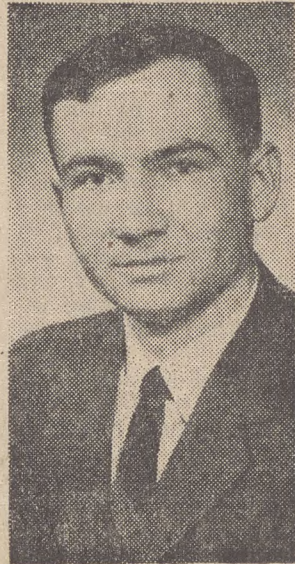
WASHINGTON — Former Roanoke Commonwealth's Attorney Sam Garrison, deputy minority counsel of the House Judiciary Committee, has been elevated past minority counsel Albert Jenner for the purpose of devising the defense of President Nixon during debate on possible articles of impeachment in the committee.

Garrison, who served as an aide to Vice President Spiro T. Agnew for about a year prior to Agnew's resignation, was chosen by sixteen of the committee's seventeen Republican members to organize the Republican viewpoint during debate on as many as six or more potential articles of impeachment.

Second ranking Republican Robert McClory of Illinois earlier this week circulated a resolution to each of the GOP members directing Garrison to use the minority staff to prepare the presentation. Rep. Del Latta of Ohio was the only Republican who did not sign the letter.

Jenner has been under fire from Republican members virtually since the impeachment inquiry got rolling earlier this year. He was hired as minority counsel but several members said that Jenner has not been partisan enough in his views toward the president.

Ironically, the committee chief counsel, John Doar, is also a Republican as are Jenner and Garrison but Garrison apparently is the only committee lawyer partisan enough to satisfy the needs of the Republican members.



Sam Garrison

At one point, there was a move within the committee to oust Jenner after it had been learned that Jenner had co-hosted a breakfast for Illinois Democratic Sen. Adlai Stevenson III.

Roanoke Congressman M. Caldwell Butler said, "Sam's going to do what the minority counsel would do in any proceeding. His job is to make sure that the view presented by the majority counsel has a proper response."

Butler, who signed the resolution that in effect made Garrison the Republican's chief counsel, said Garrison had been hired before Jenner for the committee's investigation and said "Sam has a closer relationship with the Republican members. He has their respect and they are looking to him."

Butler Farm Meet Set In Rockbridge

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler announced today plans for his third annual farm conference to be held at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern on Aug. 5.

The conference will begin at 10 a.m. and will conclude with a free barbecue luncheon beginning at noon. Butler announced that 7th District Congressman J. Kenneth Robinson will again co-sponsor the event with him. Also included on the panel will be a high level official of the Department of Agriculture and a representative from the House Committee on Agriculture.

Butler indicated that the conference will emphasize an informal give and take session between the 6th 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 Virginia Tech'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.

Butler noted 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.

Banker heads GOP function

A Roanoke banker will serve as General Chairman for the first appearance of Vice Pres. Gerald Ford to Southwest Virginia.

Warner N. Dalhouse, executive vice president, of First National Exchange Bank of Roanoke, is in charge of arrangements for Ford's July 19 visit to Roanoke. 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. Other honored guests will be Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler and Ninth District Congressman William C. Wampler.

Ford expected Friday for fund raising affair

Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton and other top Virginia Republicans will be here Friday when Vice President Gerald Ford visits Roanoke to help raise funds for two Southwest Virginia congressmen.

The vice president and his party, plus a dozen members of the national media, will arrive at Woodrum Airport at 4:55 p.m., where a brief ceremony will be held.

Ford will then go to Hotel Roanoke, where he will hold a press conference at 5:30.

This will be followed by "An Evening With Vice President Gerald Ford," which will include a reception and light buffet. It will cost \$100 a couple.

Warner N. Dalhouse, executive vice president of the First National Exchange Bank of

Roanoke, is general chairman for the vice president's visit.

Special guests for the Ford visit will be Reps. Caldwell Butler of the 6th Congressional District and William C. Wampler of the 9th. Money raised will go for their re-election campaigns.

Ford apparently is planning no formal talk at the Roanoke affair.

He plans one the following day for the Virginia Bar Association at The Homestead, where he will be introduced by Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. Godwin is not expected to attend the Roanoke event, a spokesman at the governor's office said today.

It is not known whether Ford and his party will spend Friday night in Roanoke or go on to

Hot Springs. Rooms have been set aside for him at Hotel Roanoke in case he plans to spend the night there.

Advance men for the vice president were in Roanoke yesterday to make the usual security checks at the hotel and at the airport.

Ford's visit here is one of dozens he has been making throughout the country on behalf of Republican congressional candidates running in the Nov. 5 elections.

Although Ford has not had close ties with Virginia Republicans, it is believed that with former Vice President Spiro Agnew out of the picture Ford is the favorite among the state's Republicans for his party's presidential nomination in 1976.

front pg. 7-17-74

WN

Debate Readied On Impeachment

News - 7/17/74

P. 1

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WASHINGTON (AP) — Partisan maneuvering within the House Judiciary Committee increased Tuesday as the panel moved closer to beginning debate on proposed articles of impeachment.

Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., announced that the impeachment inquiry staff will present proposed articles of impeachment to the committee at closed briefings on Thursday and Friday.

Rodino said he hopes the committee will complete the debate and vote on articles of impeachment by the end of next week. Open sessions for the debate are scheduled to start on Monday.

The Democrats, who hold a 21 to 17 majority on the committee, hope to attract up to five Republican votes for impeachment.

Defense Prediction

Rep. Charles E. Wiggins, R-Calif., who has emerged as the leader of the Nixon defense forces on the committee, predicted that all 17 Republicans on the committee would vote against impeachment.

Later, however, Reps. Tom Railsback, R-Ill., and William S. Cohen, R-Maine, said Wiggins was not speaking for them and that they had not made up their minds.

Railsback said he thought there were at least four Republicans "who are waiting to see what the legal theories are." He said the four are Cohen, Reps. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., Hamilton Fish, R-N.Y., and himself.

Cohen said he would base his decision

on two things, the evidence before the committee and his interpretation of the Constitution.

Quick Protests

Rodino's announcement on the proposed articles of impeachment brought immediate protests from the Republican minority that the staff plans to offer only arguments supporting the impeachment of President Nixon rather than any of the case against impeachment.

The committee scheduled its second night session in as many days Tuesday in an effort to complete taking testimony, the last step in the evidentiary phase of its inquiry.

Charles W. Colson, former White House special counsel, spent 10 hours testifying in closed session on Monday and several more hours on Tuesday.

The final witness was Herbert W. Kalmbach, former personal attorney and campaign fund raiser for the President.

The final step before consideration of articles of impeachment begins is the presentation of an oral summation and legal brief by James D. St. Clair, the President's impeachment defense lawyer.

Contents Of Articles

It was clear from interviews with committee members and staff sources that the proposed articles of the impeachment would reject the White House argument that the Constitution requires criminal conduct as the grounds for removal of a president from office.

The proposed articles the staff plans to offer on Thursday are expected to be broad-based allegations focusing on the Watergate cover-up, attempted misuse of government agencies, violations of political contribution laws, domestic surveillance activities and the President's income tax problems.

In each case it would be alleged that the President was a willing and knowledgeable participant in the activities, if not from their inception, at least from the time he learned of them from his staff.

St. Clair has based his defense on the lack of evidence directly linking Nixon to a criminal act such as ordering payment of hush money to the original Watergate defendants.

St. Clair maintains that the Watergate cover-up activities were carried on without Nixon's knowledge.

House probers preparing to take last

impeachment testimony

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee is preparing to take the last testimony in its impeachment inquiry and then turn to drawing up proposed articles of impeachment.

At least six articles, the chief one charging obstruction of Justice in connection with the Watergate cover-up, are reported to be drafted and ready for presentation to the committee in secret briefing sessions Thursday and Friday.

The questioning today of Herbert W. Kalmbach, President Nixon's former personal lawyer, completes a 10-week examination by the committee into a wide range of actions by the President and his close associates.

Following Kalmbach's testimony White House Counsel James D. St. Clair will be given an opportunity to sum up the case against impeachment and the stage will then be set for the final act in the committee's historic proceedings.

In a related development, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Robert S. Strauss, said in an interview he would be "terribly surprised and shocked" if the committee and full House did not vote to impeach Nixon. He said he had reached this decision over the weekend after studying the transcripts and other evidence released by the committee.

Strauss said he has not discussed impeachment with the House leadership.

In an interview with Rabbi Baruch Korff, a Nixon supporter from Providence, R. I., Nixon described Watergate as the "thinnest scandal in American history" and said that if the charges against him were true "I wouldn't serve for one minute."

Korff is chairman of the National Citizens' Committee for Fairness to the Presidency, Inc. The interview was published today in a paperback book called "The Personal Nixon: Staying on the Summit."

Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., said Tuesday he hopes the committee can reach a final vote by July 26 on whether to recommend impeachment of Nixon.

With the Democrats holding a 21-17 edge in the committee the key question on any impeachment vote will be how many Republicans support it.

Rep. Charles E. Wiggins, Calif., a leading Nixon loyalist on the committee, pre-

dicted Tuesday that no Republicans would vote for impeachment and that enough Democrats would switch over to kill it in committee.

"We're going to win this goddam thing," he told newsmen. "I think the committee will act as lawyers when the chips are down. The evidence just is not there."

Wiggins' comment prompted other Republicans to say they didn't know how they were going to vote and that it was possible they could vote for impeachment.

"There are at least four Republicans waiting to see what the legal theories (for impeachment) are," said Rep. Thomas F. Railsback, R-Ill. He identified the four as himself and William S. Cohen of Maine, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia and Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York.

Cohen agreed with Railsback's estimate and said there could be more than four Republicans voting for impeachment after examining the proposed articles, or theories, as the staff has been instructed to call them, and the facts that relate to them.

Wiggins' prediction that impeachment would fail in the Judiciary Committee led Rep. Don Edwards, D-Calif., to say "I'm at a loss to understand how anyone could come to that conclusion and be a lawyer and a literate person."

"After being immersed in the evidence I would be very much concerned about the stability of the government if that took place. And I don't know how any member of Congress could explain that result to the American public."

Special Counsel John Doar and minority counsel Albert Jenner are to present a number of proposed articles of impeachment to the committee Thursday, each one supported by facts culled from the mass of evidence the staff has compiled.

The failure of the staff to include facts that would speak against each proposed article has led to protests by the Republicans, and they have assigned Deputy Minority Counsel Sam Garrison to provide them.

Besides an obstruction of justice article, which would cover the White House role in Watergate from the June 17, 1972, break-in at Democratic headquarters up to the present, the staff is expected to propose articles based on:

—Alleged use of government agencies for political purposes, including use of the Internal Revenue Service to harass those designated as enemies of the administration.

—Contempt of Congress for failing to comply with eight

committee subpoenas calling for 147 taped conversations.

—Nixon's personal finances, including underpayment of income taxes in the years 1968-72 and allegations that federal funds were turned to his personal use.

—The use of wiretaps and

the special investigating unit known as the plumbers for domestic surveillance.

—A broad article charging Nixon with abuse of his presidential powers and with failure to meet the Constitutional requirement that he "take care that the laws be faithfully ex-

ecuted."

Meanwhile, the perjury trial of California Lt. Gov. Ed Reinecke continued in U. S. District Court. Reinecke is charged with lying to a Senate committee when he testified that he did not discuss the 1972 Republican National Conven-

tion with former Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell until after a antitrust case against International Telephone & Telegraph was settled out of court.

The issue revolves around a pledge of \$400,000 to the 1972 convention from a subsidiary of ITT.

Farm Conference Slated For August 5

WASHINGTON — Sixth District Representative M. Caldwell Butler announced today plans for his third annual farm conference to be held at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern on August 5.

The conference will begin at 10 A.M. and will conclude with a free barbecue luncheon beginning at noon. Butler announced that Seventh District Congressman J. Kenneth Robinson will again co-sponsor the event with him. Also included on the panel will be a high level official of the Department of Agriculture and a representative from the House Committee on Agriculture.

Rep. Butler indicated that the conference will emphasize an informal give and take session between the 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.

Rep. Butler noted 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.

*Amherst New Era - Progress -
7/18/74 - p. 1*

Former Roanoke Man To Defend President

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Republicans of the House Judiciary Committee, angered with the performance of minority counsel Albert Jenner, have tabbed former Roanoke Commonwealth's Atty. Samuel A. Garrison III to organize the anti-impeachment view in the coming committee debate on articles of impeachment.

Garrison, who served as an assistant to former Vice President Spiro T. Agnew before his resignation in a Maryland kick-back scandal, is deputy minority counsel of the House Impeachment Committee and has reflected many of the members' strong support of the President during the committee's deliberations.

Rep. Edward Hutchinson, R-Michigan, the committee's ranking Republican, instructed Garrison to begin devising the GOP point of view for the debate but Illinois Republican Rep. Robert McClory, the second ranking minority member, circulated a resolution, ultimately signed by all but one of the 17 Republicans, directing Garrison to proceed.

Rep. Del Latta, R-Ohio, was the lone Republican not to sign the document.

Meanwhile, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke, also a Republican and Virginia's lone representative on the commit-

tee, reasserted to reporters that he is undecided as to how he will vote on the impeachment question.

Butler, chatting with a group of reporters off the House floor Wednesday, said he had not yet decided what offenses might constitute an impeachable offense, but said he would "have to have something more than 'probable cause'"—but not necessarily beyond a reasonable doubt—to vote for an impeachment resolution.

And, Butler said, he is not helping draft impeachment articles nor assisting Garrison in the anti-impeachment move.

Minority Counsel Jenner has been under fire from Republican partisans almost from the moment he was hired by the committee last January, when it was disclosed that Jenner had cohosted a breakfast for Illinois Democrat Sen. Adlai Stevenson III. That particularly angered McClory, an Illinois Republican, and led to an earlier but abortive attempt to fire Jenner.

Ironically, Committee Chief Counsel John Doar is a Republican, but the GOP members have found no solace in either Doar's or Jenner's actions. Both, they complain, have been overly objective in their investigation.

While Jenner remains employed by the committee, the resolution has the effect of

making Garrison the Republicans' No. 1 counsel.

His position ostensibly is to prepare arguments both for and against impeachment, but ranking Republicans believe he will concentrate on the anti-impeachment arguments while the Democratic staff is drafting from four to six articles of impeachment.

Butler, who signed the resolution directing Garrison to present the GOP view, said, "Sam's going to do what the minority counsel would do in any proceeding—to make sure the view presented by the counsel for the a majority has a proper response."

Butler noted that Garrison has been employed by the committee longer than Jenner, and that he has a closer relationship with the Republicans on the committee.

"He has their respect, and they are looking to him to make sure the minority view has the benefit of the expertise of the staff," Butler said.

Turning to a possible vote for impeachment, Butler said that would depend in large part on the "style and judgment of the articles and I'll just have to wait and see what is drafted."

Democratic staff members are preparing the proposed articles in several different

See Page 32, Col. 3

Nixon Defender Picked

From Page 27

forms to offer Republicans and conservative Democrats a choice.

On the subject of impeachment itself, Butler said again that he has not reached any decision. He also said he was not aware of any "excessive pressure" to support the President or the Republican view during the debate. "I've noticed no pressure, but maybe I'm too stupid to realize it. The only sources of pressure at the moment are first, the press, second, my stomach, and third, my kids," Butler said.

(The New York Times reported Wednesday that Butler said he had not been subjected to undue pressure from constituents in his stanchly Republican district and was, accordingly, still open-minded on impeachment.)

The Times story went on to say, "But Butler's wife, June, has sought to influence his vote—reportedly in favor of impeachment—by reading to the congressman at bedtime from 'All the President's Men,' the book in which two Washington Post reporters described their efforts to plumb the Watergate depths.")

Butler Plans Farm Conference

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Salmon

Sixth District Representative M. Caldwell Butler has announced plans for his third annual farm conference to be held at the McCormick Farm near Steels Tavern on August 5.

The conference will begin at 10 a.m. and will conclude with a free barbecue luncheon beginning at 12 noon. Butler announced that Seventh District Congressman J. Kenneth Robinson will again co-sponsor the event with him. Also included on the panel will be a high level official of the Department of Agriculture and a representative from the House Committee on Agriculture.

Rep. Butler indicated that the conference will emphasize an informal give and take session between the sixth district farmers and agricultural interests present and the panel. An opportunity for more formal presenta-

tions by those who desire this opportunity will also be provided.

THE NEWS-VIRGINIAN, Waynesboro, Va. Wednesday

Butler Plans Farm Meeting In August

STEELES TAVERN (Special)
— Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler announced today plans for his third annual farm conference to be held at the McCormick Farm here on Monday, Aug. 5.

The conference will begin at 10 a.m. and will conclude with a free barbecue luncheon beginning at 12 noon. Mr. Butler announced that Seventh District Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson will again co-sponsor the event with him. Also included on the panel will be a high-level official of the Department of Agriculture and a representative from the House Committee on Agriculture.

Rep. Butler indicated that the conference will emphasize "an informal give and take session" between the farmers and agricultural interests and the panel. An opportunity for more formal presentations by those who desire this opportunity will also be provided, he said.

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 answer questions and provide personal assistance.

Rep. 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.

Butler Plans Farm Meet

Sixth District Representative M. Caldwell Butler announced Wednesday plans for his third annual farm conference to be held at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern on August 5.

The conference will begin at 10:00 a.m. and will conclude with a free barbecue luncheon beginning at 12:00 noon. Butler announced that Seventh District Congressman J. Kenneth Robinson will again co-sponsor the event with him. Also included on the panel will be a high level official of the Department of Agriculture and a representative from the house Committee on Agriculture.

Rep. Butler indicated that the conference will emphasize an informal give and take session between the 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.

Cong. Butler noted 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.

Welcome Set For Ford

Vice President Gerald Ford is scheduled to arrive in Roanoke shortly before 5 p.m. Friday for what Republicans have termed "An Evening with Vice President Gerald Ford."

Ford, who will attend a \$100-a-couple reception and light buffet at Hotel Roanoke at 6:30 p.m., will participate in a

brief ceremony at Woodrum Airport before going to Hotel Roanoke for a news conference at 5:30 p.m.

Special guests of the reception will be Reps. M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th District and William C. Wampler of the 9th District. Money raised at the reception will go for their re-election campaigns.

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Vice President Plans To Visit Roanoke Friday

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

Warner N. Dalhouse, executive vice president of First National Exchange Bank of Roanoke, is in charge of arrangements for Ford's visit to Roanoke. 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 on the Board of Trustees of Virginia Western Community College.

The event will be a \$100-a-couple gala beginning at 6:30 p.m. at Hotel Roanoke. Other honored guests will be Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler and Ninth District Congressman William C. Wampler.

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VP Gerald Ford To Visit 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 July 19 visit to Roanoke.

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. Other honored guests will be Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler and Ninth District Congressman William C. Wampler.

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.

Butler Sets Conference On Farming

WASHINGTON—Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler has announced plans for his third annual farm conference to be held at the McCormick Farm near Steeles Tavern on Aug. 5.

The conference will begin at 10 a.m. and will conclude with a free barbecue luncheon beginning at noon. Butler also announced that Seventh District Congressman J. Kenneth Robinson will again co-sponsor the event.

Included on the panel with Butler and Robinson will be a high level official of the Department of Agriculture and a representative from the House Committee on Agriculture.

Congressman Butler indicated that the conference will emphasize an informal give and take session between the sixth district farmers and agricultural interests present and the panel.

Rep. Butler noted 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.

*The Daily
Advance - C*
7/18/74

Butler agent to visit Amherst

AMHERST — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler will have a representative at the Amherst Courthouse next Tuesday to meet with residents wishing to discuss problems they are having with the federal government.

Butler's representative will be at the courthouse from 1 to 5 p.m. Persons wishing to discuss a particular problem should bring with them all papers and correspondence dealing with the case and should know their Veterans Claim and Social Security numbers.

Butler Representative To Visit Courthouse

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's representative will be at the Amherst Courthouse Tuesday, July 23, from 1 to 5 P.M. to meet with residents wishing to discuss problems they are having with the federal government.

Persons wishing to discuss a particular problem should bring with them all papers and correspondence dealing with the case and should know their Veterans Claim and Social Security numbers.

Amherst New Era - Rogers
7/18/74 - p. 3

Bedford Bulletin - Democrat
7/18/74

Representing Mr. Butler

A representative of Congressman M. Caldwell Butler will make the usual monthly visit to Bedford next Tuesday, July 23. He will be in Bedford Municipal Building from 8:45 to 10:30 to meet citizens who may have problems with the federal government.

The Daily Advance - 7/18/74

Congress criticized over 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 Idemnification 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 talk at hotel to be brief

Vice President Gerald Ford will make only brief informal remarks when he appears at a fund-raising reception at Hotel Roanoke tomorrow.

The vice president will mostly mingle and chat with those attending the \$100-a-couple affair.

Ford and his party will land at Woodrum Airport at 4:55 p.m., where he will be met by Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton and be given a key to the city.

The key presentation, traditional for bigwigs visiting the Star City, will be made by Mayor Roy L. Webber.

After the brief ceremony, Ford and his party will go to Hotel Roanoke, where he will have a press conference at 5:30 which will be broadcast live by WTOY-Radio.

The vice president will be accompanied to Roanoke by Mrs. Ford, sponsors of the affair said today.

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The Virginian-Pilot

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Saturday, July 20, 1974

Mr. Butler on the Spot

As the House Judiciary Committee comes closer to its moment of truth, there is much speculation upon which way the 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans will vote on a bill of impeachment.

Almost all the Democrats are going to vote for the impeachment of Mr. Nixon, it is predicted. The critical question is how the Republicans will vote. If most of the Republicans side with the White House, then the Judiciary Committee's verdict will be a near thing. And if the impeachment is narrowly voted, it is likely that the full House of Representatives will vote more or less along party lines too.

But if the 17 Judiciary Committee Republicans split, say 10 to 7, then the division will foreshadow a similar split among the body of House Republicans. And if the full House of Representatives votes by a convincing majority to recommend the impeachment of Mr. Nixon, that will influence the President's and the Senate's thinking. It

would be easier for two-thirds of the Senate to convict Mr. Nixon, and the President would be more tempted to resign to escape their vote.

Hence speculation tends to focus upon a handful of Republicans who are considered "swing votes." They could go either way and their colleagues will be watching how they vote. One of them is the Judiciary Committee's only Virginian, Representative M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke.

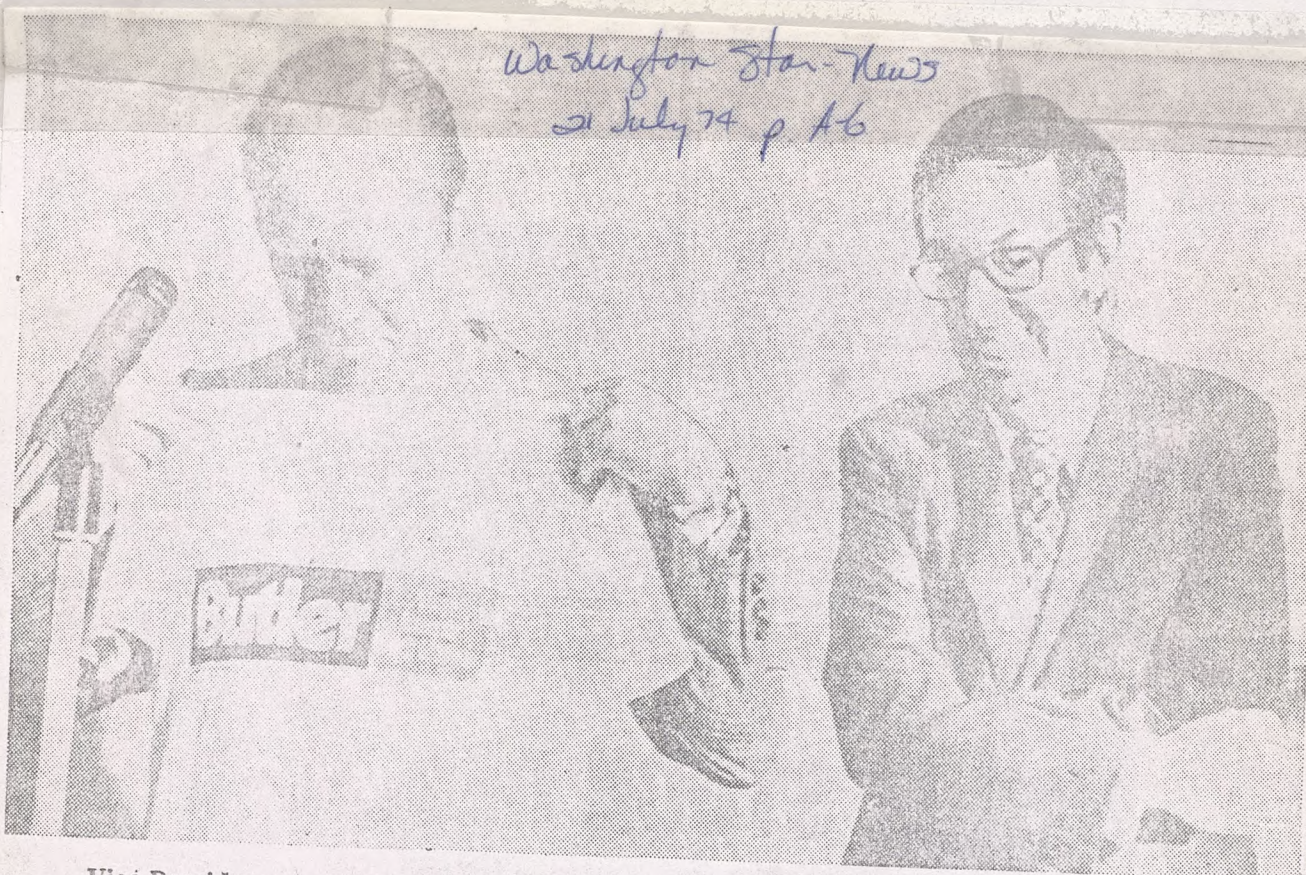
How Mr. Butler votes is certain to influence nine other Virginians — the three Democrats in the House as well as the six Republicans. While it is an accident of politics that Mr. Butler should be the man on the spot, the choice is serendipitous. For he is perhaps the brightest and most conscientious member of the Virginia delegation, which is not an inspiring lot as a whole.

Mr. Butler inherited his seat from Representative Richard H. Poff, who

held it for 20 years until he retired and accepted appointment to the State Supreme Court. Although a freshman in the House, he is no newcomer to politics. He represents the same sort of moderate, mountain Republicanism as former Governor Linwood Holton, his onetime law partner, and he earned the respect of the Democratic majority as floor leader of the Republicans in the House of Delegates. Mr. Butler is enough of a politician to weigh the consequences of his vote. But he is also a lawyer who can be expected to consider the evidence for impeachment in more than political terms.

However he votes he is certain to offend some of his supporters. (But he probably will be re-elected whichever way he votes; Mr. Butler is popular and the Sixth District is Republican.) He'll be told to vote his conscience and to vote his party and to vote with an eye to history. That may be more than he bargained for when he went to Washington.

Washington Star-News
21 July 74 p. A6



Vice President Gerald Ford holds a shirt with a campaign slogan for Rep. Caldwell

Butler (right), at a fundraiser Friday night in Roanoke for Butler.

Associated Press

Ford Says None Above the Law

By Fred Barnes
Star-News Staff Writer

HOT SPRINGS, Va. — Vice President Gerald R. Ford asserted last night that "no American is above the requirements of the law."

Ford made no mention of President Nixon, but critics of the President have charged that Nixon is acting above the law in his refusal to yield White House tapes to special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski and the House Judiciary Committee.

NIXON'S CHIEF lawyer, James B. St. Clair, has argued that the law applies differently to a president. Nixon can only be impeached for wrongdoing, the attorney has contended, not subjected to the ordinary criminal law process.

Ford, in remarks prepared for delivery before the Virginia Bar Association's convention in this mountain resort town, seemed to be somewhat at odds, if only in tone, with St. Clair's view.

"The majesty of the law lies in the force it exerts beyond the will of

any single person group of persons," the vice president said.

"Freedom survives because no one is beneath the protection of the law, no matter how low or high his station in life," Ford said. "And the law retains its dynamic essence because no American is above the requirements of the law."

IN HIS SPEECH, the vice president focused on the legal profession and its current troubles stemming from the Watergate scandal. Many of those convicted of criminal misconduct in the Watergate affair are lawyers.

"It is bad enough when anyone in government violates this nation's criminal laws," Ford said. "It is even worse when the offender has been educated in the law."

Even though he no longer practices law, Ford said he "was troubled when a national magazine headlined a report on America's lawyers with: 'A Sick Profession.'"

But the vice president said that he was "not about to apologize for having so many lawyers in government service. Nor do I believe that gov-

ernment would be better off without lawyers in positions of public trust and responsibility."

HE DECLARED that the legal profession "demands high standards of conduct from its practitioners," and he said that "a worthy feature of our profession is that it maintains systems for disciplining its members."

"Not only are lawbreakers punished by a criminal court, but law-breaking lawyers are — and should be — made to forfeit their professional rights," Ford stated.

The vice president came to The Homestead, the resort hotel here, on Friday after a campaign appearance in Roanoke, Va., for Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, a Republican and a member of the House Judiciary Committee who has declared that Nixon should comply with the committee's subpoenas of tape recordings.

Ford, an avid golfer, played one round yesterday and was to play another 18 holes today before returning to Washington by Air Force II.

Ford's GOP Debtors

By Fred Barnes

Star-News Staff Writer

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

Perhaps Ford would stop off in nearby Roanoke and address a Butler fund-raising rally, thought the congressman, who has gained prominence recently as one

Republican on the House Judiciary Committee who is undecided on whether to vote for the impeachment of President Nixon.

Butler wrote a short letter to the vice president, and Ford readily agreed to campaign for him, appearing in Roanoke on Friday.

ON THE SURFACE, Ford's appearance was routine, just another campaign foray on top of the scores he has made since becoming vice president in December. But because the commit-

tee was expected to vote on the impeachment issue in a week or so, the Ford visit took on considerable importance.

Like nearly every other GOP member of the committee, Butler became politically indebted to Ford, the party's most sought-after campaign speaker, for an appearance on his behalf.

As a result of these political debts, the vice president looms as the administration

See FORD, A-14

Continued from Page A-1

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, declaring repeatedly that there is not enough evidence against Nixon to warrant his impeachment.

IN PARTICULAR, the campaign activities of Ford may affect the votes of the eight Republicans on the committee who are known to be considering voting in favor of impeaching Nixon. The other nine GOP members are viewed as certain to vote against impeachment.

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

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

The most he will do, Ford said, is express his view on impeachment if any committee member is not sure where he stands on the issue.

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

FORD HAS made it clear that he is bestowing a special favor on any GOP candidate when he agrees to campaign for him.

The vice president asserted that he intends to be "highly selective" in scheduling campaign appearances and may even stay out of some districts where the Democratic candidate is a good one.

This statement, which Ford made on Thursday and reiterated the next day, was viewed as astonishing, considering that in the past Ford has been willing to campaign for almost any

GOP candidate, liberal or conservative, and has never supported a Democrat.

Besides Butler, another key Republican on the Judiciary Committee whom Ford has agreed to aid, is Rep. Robert McClory, the second-ranking GOP member and one who has strongly suggested that he might vote against Nixon on the impeachment issue.

The vice president will be the chief speaker on Sept. 28 at a GOP rally in St. Charles, Ill., in McClory's district. McClory, a longtime friend of Ford, is in a tougher-than-usual re-election fight.

THAT APPEARANCE will come well after the committee votes on impeachment. Committee Chairman Peter Rodino has said that a vote may come in a week.

Nevertheless, McClory has already incurred the political debt since Ford has committed himself to campaign on his behalf.

Rep. Harold Froehlich of Wisconsin is another wavering Republican in whose behalf Ford has agreed to appear. Ford will address a Froehlich rally in Green Bay in September, an aide to the congressman said.

"Froehlich and Mr. Ford seem to get along very well," said the aide, "and Mr. Froehlich has been after him for a long time to make a campaign appearance." But Ford did not agree to appear until near the time of the committee's impeachment vote.

The committee Republican considered most likely to abandon Nixon on the impeachment issue is Rep. William Cohen of Maine, and Ford will address a Maine GOP rally in September.

COHEN DID NOT seek Ford's appearance and he is not the only Republican candidate in whose behalf the rally is being held. Instead, the Maine GOP committee set up the affair and invited Ford.

In January, Ford appeared in Washington at a banquet honoring Cohen, but that was well before the impeachment issue had heated up in the committee.

Three other Republicans

(cont'd)

Washington
Star News

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1974

— Lawrence Hogan of Maryland and Hamilton Fish Jr. and Henry Smith of New York, potential defectors from Nixon's side when the committee votes — have had the benefit of Ford appearances in recent months.

In March, the vice president addressed a testimonial dinner for Hogan, who was then expected to run for re-election. Since then, Hogan has decided to seek the GOP nomination for governor of Maryland.

Ford also appeared last spring with Smith in the congressman's upstate New York district. Smith, however, is not running for re-election.

LAST MONTH, the vice president made a campaign trek into the Hudson River Valley of New York, and it included an appearance at a campaign dinner in Yorktown Heights for Fish.

The other wavering Republican on the committee — Tom Railsback of Illinois — has not sought any appearance by Ford, according to a Railsback aide.

Though Ford has renounced any intention to lobby on the impeachment issue, his influence is almost certain to be felt.

His appearances on behalf of those wavering on the issue may heighten their discomfort about voting in favor of Nixon's impeachment.

Ford has not neglected the committee Republicans who are considered solidly in Nixon's camp. Next Friday, he will speak at a rally in Muncie, Ind., for Rep. David Dennis, one of Nixon's strongest backers on the committee.

TEN DAYS AGO he appeared in California at a rally boosting Rep. Charles Wiggins and another GOP candidate. Wiggins, the leader of the pro-Nixon Republicans on the committee, was unable to attend the rally.

Another staunch Nixon backer is Rep. Charles Sandman of New Jersey. On Wednesday, Ford was the main celebrity at a Sandman-arranged gathering of New Jersey Republican leaders on Capitol Hill. Several months ago, the

vice president spoke at a rally to raise funds to eliminate Sandman's debts from an unsuccessful try for the New Jersey governorship.

On Aug. 3, Ford will travel to Mississippi to address a rally for Rep. Trent Lott, who is considered one of the committee's strongest Nixon supporters.

And on Aug. 12, he will return to California for a campaign appearance for Rep. Carlos Moorhead, another Nixon backer on the committee.

The vice president has by no means limited himself to appearances for committee members, though there seems to be emphasis on aiding them recently.

In the seven months since he succeeded Spiro T. Agnew as vice president, Ford has traveled more than 100,000 miles and spoken on behalf of dozens of House Republicans.

When the impeachment issue comes to a vote on the House floor, many of the GOP members who are not on the committee will also be in Ford's debt as a result.

Whether the Ford factor will sway any votes, however, remains to be seen.

2 Congressmen Face Impeachment Dilemma

Conflicting Forces Could Influence Votes of Hogan, Butler

By Charles A. Krause
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan (R-Md.) is a member of the House Judiciary Committee, a loyal Republican, a candidate for governor of Maryland and a man who has vowed to vote his conscience on the question of the President's impeachment.

He is therefore, a politician torn by many forces in many different directions as the Judiciary Committee prepares to vote late this week or early next week on President Nixon's fate.

"This is undoubtedly the most difficult vote I'll ever have to make," the congressman has said.

Hogan is still undecided on how he will vote or, at least, he is not yet ready to

See HOGAN, C7, Col. 6



REP. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN



REP. M. CALDWELL BUTLER

... two Judiciary Committee members are torn by conflicting forces

By Helen Dewar

Washington Post Staff Writer

ROANOKE, Va. — Ordinarily it would have been the kind of weekend to answer the dream of a freshman congressman in a re-election year: a three-day visit by the Vice President to the congressman's own district, including a relaxing sojourn with the state bar association at one of the area's poshest resorts.

Instead, just as Vice President Ford was scheduled to tee off the first hole of the Homestead golf course at Hot Springs, Va., Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) was en route back to Washington for a meeting of the House Judiciary Committee—an association that at first glance, seems not likely to help him with the homefolks.

See BUTLER, C7, Col. 1

Butler Impressed By Mass of Data On Watergate

By GEORGE KEGLEY
Times Business Editor

Information collected for the House Judiciary Committee in the Watergate investigation is "the most complete pretrial presentation ever made—and that doesn't necessarily mean there will be a trial," said Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler Monday night.

It is "far better" to have the tapes of the presidential conversations than the transcripts because of the tone of the voices and the volume, said Butler, one of the 38 members of the Judiciary Committee.

Editorial changes and other "substantial differences" exist between the tapes and the transcripts, he told a quarterly meeting of the Virginia Bakers Council at Hotel Roanoke. The transcript is in chronological order "but conversations don't develop that way," he said.

Some of the language is "pretty earthy," said Butler, "but it's no worse than at a meeting of the board of directors of a bakery that is losing money."

"The guy who is running the show doesn't have to raise his voice," he said after hearing "nine or 10" hours of the tapes.

President Nixon, he said, made a mistake in not releasing all of the tapes.

"When he declines, we can infer that what he's withholding is adverse ... But in my judgment, that doesn't mean he can be impeached for withholding information."

But the burden on the House and the Judiciary Committee, he went on, is "not to determine the facts but to make a recommendation" to the Senate.

After the committee hears all of the material, it will decide which areas are cloudy "but if we have to go through

the whole charade again, it would be endless."

The committee probably will agree to limit its review to inquiry of certain points and questions will be submitted in writing and "not let those 38 Clarence Darrows" question witnesses. All committee members are lawyers.

Committee Chairman Peter Rodino has "grown with the job," Butler said. He's "eminently fair."

Rodino once paid undue attention to "the screwballs in the Democratic caucus ... the 'crazies,'" he said, but now he and the committee "share a concern for expeditiously handling" the investigation.

Progress of the committee, Butler said, depends on the physical stamina of the staff.

He said he can't think of "anything I've ever been involved in that was more significant and also more distasteful" than the Watergate case.

And he recalled that his predecessor, Richard Poff, told him a seat on the Judiciary Committee would be "safe ... Nothing ever happens there."

Butler, noting that he was comfortable with bakers because his wife's family has a bakery in Richmond, also talked about the grain supply and said the "official line of the Department of Agriculture is that there will not be a wheat shortage this year..."

Bakers earlier protested that continuing high exports of what would cause shortages in this country this year.

But the Roanoke congressman said it now appears that a great deal of the wheat once listed as contracted for export was so reported in anticipation of government restrictions on export.

The Agriculture Department anticipates the new wheat harvest at 2.2 billion bushels, up from 1.7 billion last year, and export contracts now are listed at 1.2 billion, rather than 1.3 billion as listed in February.

The situation for the coming year appears to be "bright," Butler said.

But he expressed his belief that foreign agricultural sales represent "our major means of offsetting the payments we must make for imported oil."

MAY 24 TIMES 'A'

Butler Says He Sways On Weight of Evidence

By JACK BETTS
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler Thursday admitted that listening to presidential tape recordings in the Judiciary Committee's closed hearings leaves him with ambivalent views on the President's culpability in the Watergate coverup.

But Butler, in an interview with The Roanoke Times, declined to say whether the weight of the evidence presented so far was either in the President's favor or to his detriment.

The 6th District Republican, Virginia's only representative on the impeachment panel, was asked whether the recordings the committee has listened to

tended to exonerate or incriminate President Nixon.

Said Butler, "Well, the view changes from time to time."

Asked if those changes occurred daily, Butler said, "I just don't think I'd better comment on the substantive nature of the proceedings."

He said the committee would meet again next Wednesday in closed session to hear more evidence and on Thursday in open session to consider such items as a response to the President's failure to comply with a committee subpoena for 11 tapes.

"The staff is preparing an analysis of what the transcripts show and what the few tapes we have show. We're going to see what the counsel recom-

mends we do in this case. That's what we hired one for," Butler said.

Butler said that analysis should show, among other things, whether the committee needs more actual tape recordings in addition to the transcripts it has, adding that the staff analysis would delve into "the accuracy of the transcripts and the relevancy of the deletions."

In the meantime, he said, "we've got to go forward with what we have ... that's what the hearings are all about."

Butler, who has voted for all subpoenas issued by the committee, declined to speculate how the committee might vote on any response to the President's failure to supply the subpoenaed tapes.

Butler Joins in Bid For Conversations

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., Monday voted with overwhelming majorities in approving four House Judiciary Committee subpoenas for 49 presidential conversations and sided with most of his GOP colleagues in a losing effort to extend another subpoena to U.S. District Court Chief Judge John Sirica.

The latter, offered by Wisconsin Republican Harold Froelich, was identical to one of the subpoenas directed to President Nixon and dealt with possible abuse of the Internal Revenue Service. The two conversations involved are between the President, former White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman and the President's former counsel, John Dean.

Copies of both those conversations are now in the hands of Sirica.

Butler voted with a 34-4 majority on two of the subpoenas dealing with the ITT and milk contribution pledges and later voted for the IRS abuse subpoena and another on domestic surveillance activities on voice votes.

During consideration of the ITT subpoena, Butler objected to one section that called for the President's copies of daily news summaries prepared by his staff during the confirmation hearings of former Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst from February 22, 1972, through June 9, 1972.

Committee minority counsel Albert Jenner told the impeachment panel that the summaries might indicate to the committee whether the President had knowledge that Kleindienst had not fully testified to the Senate Judiciary Committee on White House involvement in the settlement of antitrust charges against ITT.

Kleindienst later was given a one-month suspended sentence and a suspended \$100 fine for not giving full testimony.

Jenner told the committee that since the President occasionally made notes in the margins of the news summaries the

committee would be able to tell whether he knew Kleindienst's testimony was incomplete, which he said might constitute an obstruction of justice.

Butler asked whether the committee lawyer was suggesting that since the President has vowed not to turn over any subpoenaed material, the Judiciary Committee should either assume the President knew of Kleindienst's statements, or that the President had something to hide.

"They (the summaries) have no probative value at all," Butler said.

Jenner said it would be reasonable to make such assumptions adding that "it's all part of the same ball of wax" the committee is considering.

After his motion failed, Froelich said he had "absolutely no doubt" that "a majority of the members" were trying to lay a case for impeachment of the President's refusal to comply with subpoenas.

Butler, admitting that "some may say so," declined to comment on that theory but said, "we've taken the position of telling the President what we want, and why we need it."

The Roanoke Republican also said he was "disturbed" that committee chairman Peter Rodino will make rulings from the chair on material that presidential lawyer James St. Clair may present to the committee in rebuttal to evidence presented the committee over the last six weeks.

Butler indicated that he was prepared to support a motion by Rep. Wayne Owens, D-Utah, that would have prevented St. Clair from presenting material contained in tapes not in the committee's possession unless the President agreed to turn such tapes over to the committee first, but Owens said he had received Rodino's assurance it was unnecessary.

"He (St. Clair) hasn't got any business coming in here and telling us about something we don't have," Butler said. "My own view of it is that he should tell us that our counsel has or hasn't given the right information."

Nixon's Fate May Hinge On Nine Key Republicans

Doar's Moves in Final Stages of Inquiry and Votes of Eight Members on Panel Could Sway House on Impeachment

JAMES M. NAUGHTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 22—President Nixon's fate in the House regarding impeachment may be decided by nine Republicans—eight members of the House Judiciary Committee and the committee's special counsel.

At 5:45 P.M. yesterday, 733 days after the Watergate burglary, the House Judiciary Committee completed six weeks of closed hearings on impeachment evidence assembled by the inquiry staff.

In the next four weeks, the 38 members of the committee will decide whether the evidence warrants a recommendation that the President stand trial in the Senate for alleged constitutional crimes.

Members of the House and officials of the impeachment inquiry whose views have been sought in the last few days believe that a majority of the Judiciary Committee will vote in favor of impeaching Mr. Nixon.

Mostly Democrats

But the majority will be composed mostly of Democrats. And the outcome on the House floor, where 397 other members will decide whether to accept the findings of their 38 colleagues on the committee, may be determined by the extent to which the impeachment recommendation has Republican support.

No one seems certain how much bipartisan breadth would be persuasive. There are 17 Republicans on the committee. How many of their votes are needed? One of them, Representative Tom Railsback of Illinois, said that two or three Republican votes might be sufficient.

Five, according to a respected Democratic official, would be "substantial."

Representative John B. Anderson, chairman of the House Republican Conference, estimated that "more than two or three" would be the deciding factor.

Accordingly, in the view of those who have closely watched the conduct of the inquiry for clues to its likely outcome, Mr. Nixon's impeachment or exoneration could hinge on the following:

A series of crucial procedural decisions that the committee will make next week. The issues, over which the committee is split along partisan lines, include the form and scope of a rebuttal presentation to be made by White House lawyers, and the number and identity of witnesses who will be summoned to testify at impeachment hearings.

The votes on proposed articles of impeachment that will be cast by eight committee Republicans who are widely regarded more or less as uncommitted. They are Robert McClory and Mr. Railsback of Illinois, Henry P. Smith 3d and Hamilton Fish Jr. of Upstate New York, Wiley Mayne of Iowa, Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia and William S. Cohen of Maine.

The role that John M. Doar, the committee's special counsel on impeachment, will play in the final stages of the inquiry. He, too, is a Republican.

'Most Important Person'

"John Doar is the most important person in the whole proceeding," an associate said in an interview this week.

In the 18 days of hearings that ended yesterday, Mr. Doar and his staff presented to the committee 36 volumes of evidence, consisting of 650 findings of fact and 7,200 pages of supporting documentation, and played a total of 12 hours of the President's tape-recorded White House conversations.

If the evidence was massive in scope, it apparently was not conclusive in content—or, at least, in form. It was said to contain substantial indications that the President had violated criminal laws and disregarded constitutional obligations, but no indisputable proof that he had.

"I'd prefer to be the defense counsel," said Representative Charles E. Wiggins of California, who has emerged, to the delight of most of his Republican colleagues, as the leading defender of Mr. Nixon inside the committee.

"Looking to what is generally regarded as the most important question—Watergate

[concludes] the President has failed to execute the laws faithfully, has abused his power and, in specific instances, has violated the right of individuals?"

How the committee answers such questions may well be influenced by Mr. Doar's actions.

Until now, he has been rigidly impartial. Democrats, Republicans and even the President's chief defense counsel, James D. St. Clair, have stated that Mr. Doar presented the evidence without characterizing or coloring it. As one associate said:

"Doar's feeling is that his ideal role should be that the day he leaves here nobody remembers he was here."

Many committee members, however, say that they have been so inundated by evidence that they cannot determine, without some guidance, or at least consultation, where to locate the high water mark of proper grounds for impeachment.

Getting Fidgety

The closer they get to a vote assessing Mr. Nixon's conduct, the more fidgety committee members, especially Southern Democrats and neutral Republicans, have become. For many, a vote on impeachment could decide their political futures.

Representative Walter Flowers, Democrat of Alabama, said that the committee had come to a "turning point," a juncture at which he was undecided which road he would take.

"I think it's a coin flip right now" whether Mr. Nixon will be impeached, he said.

Both advocates and opponents of impeachment in the various Congressional districts send committee members mail containing veiled, and sometimes explicit, threats that a vote either way will end their careers.

Some members have privately expressed regret that the staff presentation did not contain some damning, irrefutable pieces of evidence—"the murder weapon," they call it—that would decide the question to the satisfaction of their constituents.

Without, apparently, such evidence, the committee is faced with a decision based on an accumulation of bits and pieces of a potential case against the President and on the theory that Mr. Nixon's defiance of committee subpoenas and requests for 153 more tape recordings supports the "adverse inference" that the tapes would be incriminating.

Comparing Notes

Thus, as Mr. Railsback said in an interview: "I expect some of us will be trying to compare notes and compare thoughts. I look forward to visiting Doar and Jenner to get their thoughts."

Mr. Doar has said that he would be prepared, should the committee ask him, to suggest ways in which the members might analyze the evidence.

Well-placed officials said, however, that Mr. Doar was determined to be indirect and unargumentative.

For one thing, Democrats and Republicans have made clear that they considered it their prerogative, and not Mr. Doar's, to make all impeachment decisions. Even the findings of fact submitted by Mr. Doar were called, out of deference to the committee members, "statements of information."

Mr. Doar's associates said that he would try to offer guidance in subtle ways. One would be to give to any members who asked for it various information that would support arguments they intended to make in the debate preceding the committee's impeachment vote.

Another would be to provide the committee as a whole, if asked, with a set of possible articles of impeachment, none of which Mr. Doar would advocate himself.

Mr. Doar's staff was said to be preparing at least three dozen such articles, encompassing every conceivable formula a committee member might advance to support a finding of grounds for impeachment.

The proposed articles reportedly range from specific charges of criminal violations to broad allegations of misuse of Presidential authority.

A Narrow Article

For example, one narrow article might contend that Mr. Nixon had obstructed justice by allegedly joining in a plan to provide hush money to E. Howard Hunt Jr., one of the convicted Watergate burglars.

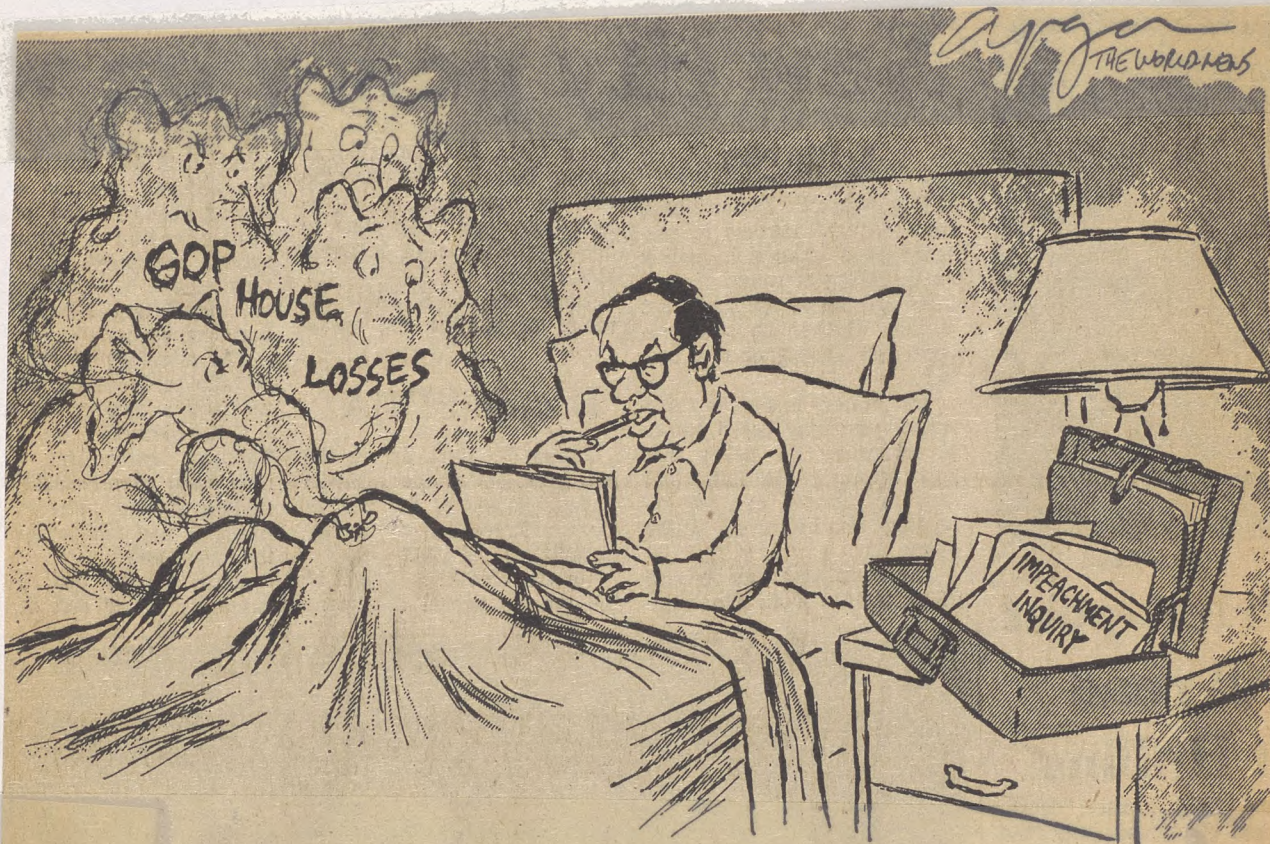
The Watergate grand jury, which named Mr. Nixon last March 1 as an unindicted co-conspirator to obstruction of justice, alleged that the secret payment of \$75,000 to Mr. Hunt had followed the discussion by Mr. Nixon of such a payment on March 21, 1973.

One committee official said that such a specific allegation would presumably be most persuasive among Republicans who have argued, as has the White House, that Mr. Nixon can be impeached only for committing a serious criminal offense.

A broader proposed article of impeachment might allege that, in a number of matters, Mr. Nixon had failed to carry out his sworn constitutional oath to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

The broader allegation would be based on such matters as these:

The clandestine wiretapping of 17 Government officials and newsmen in 1969.



'Just go along as though we're not here, Caldwell'

Butler Ponders Impeachment

BUTLER, From C1

Butler's Sixth Congressional District—spanning the staunchly Republican southern end of the Shenandoah Valley—gave President Nixon 72.7 per cent of its vote in 1972, his biggest margin in Virginia and one of his best in the country.

According to local Republicans, the district is largely pro-Nixon, although they add, paradoxically, that Butler is not likely to be hurt seriously in his re-election bid against a Democrat and two independents if he votes next week for impeachment.

"There may be some people who are tempered to vote against him," said State Del. Marshall Coleman (R-Staunton), but by November they'll be asking what the alternative is.

"It's a trade-off," said Del. Ray L. Garland (R-Roanoke). Butler's former GOP colleague in the Virginia House of Delegates. He'll lose some staunch Nixon supporters but he'll pick up enough others to win a majority in a four-way race."

People out here don't think too much of the whole impeachment thing," said another Republican, an active poll worker in Roanoke. "But Caldwell's got a real independent reputation; he'll survive."

Butler, anxious a month earlier about how his district might react to an impeachment vote, now feels a little more secure, although he insists he still hasn't made up his mind and is generally counted among the swing votes on the committee.

"People seem resigned to my doing whatever I'll do,"

said Butler, as he mulled over Judiciary Committee records and chatted with a reporter on an early Saturday morning flight from Roanoke to Washington.

Butler seemed confronted on several counts.

To begin with, there was the five-column headline on page one of the morning *Roanoke Times* saying: "Ford to Support Butler, Whatever His Impeach Vote."

Ford, in a brief appearance at a \$100-a-couple reception for Butler and Ninth District Rep. William C. Wampler (R-Va.) the night before, had said he would be glad to return to Roanoke to campaign for Butler regardless of how he votes on impeachment.

"Even the hardliners would have a tough time fighting that," said Butler with a chuckle that was obviously intended to indicate that the comment didn't necessarily mean that his vote would displease them.

Ford had gotten a warm, although somewhat subdued, reception from the 200 party guests and roughly 50 people who turned out to greet him at the airport. He got a good laugh from the party crowd when Butler introduced him as a man who was "as pure as the driven snow on a convent roof" and some guests conceded they wanted to see him as President, even sooner than 1976.

On the Roanoke-to-Washington plane, as Butler was telling a reporter he felt free to vote his conscience on impeachment, several fellow passengers strolled by to urge him to do just that.

"Just wanted you to know I'll vote for you regardless

of how you vote," said a stocky, silver-haired man from Vinton, near Roanoke. But he said he wanted to impress upon Butler that he liked President Nixon's appointments to the Supreme Court. "They might just be the ones to do him in," quipped Butler. The man laughed, apparently agreeing.

Another man from west of Salem, on the other side of Roanoke, stopped by to greet Butler and urge him to vote for measures supporting "competitive free enterprise" in Congress. Later, as Butler disembarked at National Airport, the man's wife told him she would support him regardless of how he voted on impeachment.

Butler says he has received no pressure from state party leaders or other Virginia congressmen on impeachment and that his mail on the issue has dropped off considerably in recent weeks.

"I guess everybody who's interested has already written, at least once," he said.

"I've let it be known I'm trying to sweat this thing out on my own and people are considerate, they're not trying to push me," added Butler.

Pro-Impeachment View Wins Respect

By Ken Ringle

Washington Post Staff Writer

The people of Virginia spoke of Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.), their man on the House Judiciary Committee yesterday, with a mixture of pride and dismay after his dramatic declaration of intent to support the impeachment of President Nixon.

"It was a very eloquent expression of the Republican anguish over Watergate . . . said Republican state chairman Richard Obenshain of Butler's televised statement Thursday before the committee.

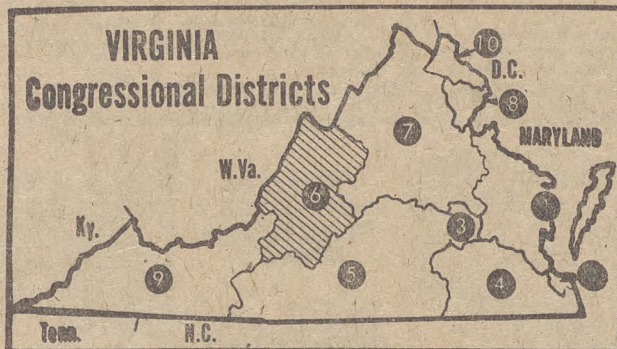
"But, I think personally there has to be some distinction between that anguish and the constitutional requirement for proof of high crimes and misdemeanors."

To Obenshain and to many others in the state, Virginia remains Nixon country: a state the President has never lost in an election and a state that has fielded a congressional delegation more consistently loyal to the President's legislative objectives than any other in the land.

Virginia is also Caldwell Butler country, a state that has given increasing respect to the bespectacled Roanoke lawyer with the receding chin who was an eloquent voice for Virginia Republicanism when there weren't many others around.

In Washington Butler has been labeled a conservative because of his legislative record: he has supported the President 75 per cent of the time.

In Virginia he is also remembered as a political foe of the old conservative Byrd Democratic organization and a champion of such hard-fought progressive causes as an end to the state



Shaded area shows M. Caldwell Butler's district.

poll tax.

Those who remembered that of Caldwell Butler were not surprised by his stand.

"He is a person with a considerable sense of honor and the fitness of things," said Del. Ray Garland, a Republican state legislator from Butler's home town of Roanoke.

"I think he was personally offended by the seaminess (of Watergate). He is seldom ambiguous in his opinion of men and events. He has never been a man to suffer fools gladly."

There were, of course, some who were surprised, but they are usually those who don't know Butler.

"I think it's going to hurt him," said one generally conservative political leader in Lynchburg, another city in Butler's strongly pro-Nixon Sixth District. "People around here are still strong for the President and I was surprised Butler spoke as he did," said the conservative who requested anonymity.

But he, like most others reached around the state yesterday, was willing to give Butler the benefit of the doubt.

"He's a lawyer and he's

gone into it," the political leader said. "He's listened to the tapes and most people haven't."

Much the same sentiment was voiced by Republican Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., who told newsmen in Richmond Butler had made "a fine statement, but not necessarily one I agree with."

In response to reporters' questions, Godwin said Butler's statement would have an impact on the Virginia GOP, "but I could not judge at this time what it would be."

Butler, he said, was speaking "from personal conviction" after having access to much evidence that the rest of Americans have not yet seen.

Butler faces three opponents in November: Democrat Paul Puckett, the present sheriff of Roanoke, and two independents, Timothy A. McGay of Goshen and Warren D. Saunders of Goodview, none of whom could be reached for comment yesterday.

Virtually everyone questioned thought Butler would win re-election with ease.

"Republicans around here will back any Republican unless he's caught in bed

with a live man or a dead woman," said one Roanoke Democratic leader, who asked not to be named.

"His vote hasn't helped the economy a bit—and that's a big issue around here—but I can't fault him for his stand. He wants his party to help clean up their own house."

Garland, who has represented Roanoke in the General Assembly since 1968, said Butler could expect some immediate slippage of support from the older, wealthier Republicans who traditionally bankroll GOP campaigns in the lower Shenandoah Valley.

"But I think they'll come back," he said. "Conservatives really have no place else to go."

Puckett, Garland said, is a "low voltage candidate," and what erosion of Republican support Butler experiences due to his impeachment stand "will be more than offset by his gains among Democrats and independents."

Peter White, a GOP city councilman in Lynchburg, said "we put him up there to do a job for us. Not always what we want, but what he thinks is right. And I think he's doing that. But I sure wish there was some way we could settle this thing without impeaching the President."

Said the Roanoke Times newspaper yesterday morning:

"We might have different opinions as to which articles of impeachment deserve to go to the House . . . but we respect the way Mr. Butler has gone about his job . . . We respect his decision and believe most of his constituents will also—even those who wish the evidence could have persuaded Mr. Butler differently."

The Washington Post

Pressure Builds on GOP In House

STRATEGY, From A1

Last week, for instance, Rep. Lawrence Coughlin (R-Pa.) told how he had received a tip on a "newsworthy item relating to Pennsylvania" from an administration source, the first time that had happened to him during six years in Congress.

Subsequently, he received a telephone call from the White House congressional liaison office inviting him to sit in the President's box at the Kennedy Center during a concert. He turned down the invitation and received another the next day, which he also rejected.

Soon thereafter, Coughlin received his first invitation to sail aboard the Sequoia.

House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes of Arizona called Coughlin's statement "a cheap shot" because he said that it is not unusual for Republican congressmen to be invited to sit in the President's box.

The Sequoia invitation however, is unusual and one GOP congressman said with a smile last week that the

White House would have to put on an extra yacht or two before the impeachment inquiry was finished.

Within the Judiciary Committee, the White House has appeared careful to refrain from invitations that might be construed as overt attempts to influence congressmen who will be the first to vote on impeachment. Some of the congressmen themselves have followed the example of McClory, who said early in the inquiry that he would not accept White House social invitations while the impeachment proceedings were in progress.

The real pressures within the Judiciary Committee have come from anti-impeachment letters that, in Rallsback's words, "arrive in waves" if a Republican member is quoted as making even a mild criticism of Mr. Nixon. Last week, members of the Citizens Congress for Fairness to the President took to buttonholing some members after the Judiciary Committee sessions and urging them to vote against impeachment.

Usually, the members avoid prolonged discussion with such advocates with polite answers that they intend to vote the evidence. But when three presidential supporters cornered Rep. John F. Sieberling (D-Ohio) last Saturday and repeatedly urged "fairness to the presidency," Sieberling snapped back:

"The best way that we can be fair to the presidency and to the President is to do our job and let the chips fall where they may."

Several Republicans believe that the attack last week by White House press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler on the committee, which he described as a "kangaroo court," was a conscious effort by the White House to arouse Nixon loyalists against GOP congressmen who are prepared to vote for impeachment.

One Republican congressman said the Ziegler statement was "just one more illustration of the contempt which the President has for Congress—and it's going to backfire."

Many House Republicans,

including Rhodes, have praised the performance of the Judiciary Committee under Chairman Peter W. Rodino (D-N.J.) and see little political benefit in attacking it. There is also lingering resentment among Republicans of varying persuasions at Mr. Nixon's defiance of the committee's subpoenas for additional tape recordings and documents.

From the beginning of the impeachment inquiry, the White House has steadily put forward the notion that the Judiciary Committee was Mr. Nixon's most hostile forum and that he would do better in the House as a whole and still better in the Senate, where a two-thirds vote for conviction and removal is needed.

In fact, some Republicans expect a larger margin for impeachment in the House as a whole than in the Judiciary Committee. Their reasoning is that it is far easier to pressure three or four vulnerable members in committee than several score Republicans on the floor.

The pressure building on

the half-dozen swing GOP votes within the committee was implicitly recognized recently when one Republican gave a Rallsback staff member the kind of advice which used to be common at police stations: "Strip him to the waist and take pictures both before and after the GOP caucus."

Despite the pressure, the letters and the invitations, however, there appears to be a growing conviction within the committee among undecided Republicans that the best politics in the long run may lie in voting their convictions.

Some Republican members have concluded that there is no political benefit to them in impeachment, no matter which way they vote. Others no longer seem to care about the politics of impeachment.

When Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) was asked last week the familiar question of whether he could survive politically no matter which way he voted, he replied, "I think so." Then he paused and added:

"And if I didn't, the job isn't all that great."

PAGE A-1 W.P.

Pressure Builds on White House Invitations

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

When Rep. William S. Cohen of Maine was invited for a cruise aboard the presidential yacht Sequoia that subsequently was canceled, fellow Republican Tom Railsback of Illinois said it was just as well.

"It probably would have been the first time," cracked Railsback, "that they would have taken the Sequoia into shark-infested waters."

Railsback's quip reflects the growing recognition among Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee of the mounting political pressure faced by GOP congressmen who are contemplating voting for the impeachment of President Nixon.

"The White House has taken a count and they know they've lost the committee," said one Republican member last week. "Their only hope is to keep the vote down and try to pull it out in the House."

Few Republicans now appear to believe that Mr. Nixon can avoid an impeachment trial in the Senate.

Second-ranking committee Republican Robert McClory of Illinois was merely saying

out loud what his fellow colleagues have been saying privately when he predicted last week that impeachment articles would attract four or five Republican votes on the committee. If the Democrats stick together, this would mean a nearly 2-to-1 vote for impeachment.

McClory went on to say that he believed the House would in all likelihood accept the committee's recommendation.

As the impeachment issue moves closer to the House floor, some Republicans are finding that it is easier than ever to obtain cooperation from the White House on announcement of projects within their districts.

Wampler will join Butler's conference

WASHINGTON, D.C. — 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. M. Caldwell 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". Before assuming the position of ranking Republican on the committee, Rep. Wampler held the top minority on the Committee's Dairy and Poultry Subcommittee.

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.

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.

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Panelists Redraft the Articles of Impeachment

Bipartisan Push for Approval

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

A bipartisan group of House Judiciary Committee members, meeting in a series of delicate behind-the-scenes negotiations, yesterday drafted revised impeachment articles that they believe will win committee approval with at least 25 votes.

"Substitute articles will be presented that we believe will have the backing of at least four Republican members," said one of the participants.

He identified the four as Reps. William S. Cohen of Maine, Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York, Tom Railsback of Illinois and M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia.

The negotiations occurred before Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan (R-Md.) announced, independently of the bipartisan discussions, that he planned to vote for impeachment. Hogan's vote would give the pro-impeachment forces on the committee 26 out of 38 votes.

The four Republicans who are expected to vote for the revised articles declined to say flatly whether they would support impeachment. But they gave a general impression of favoring articles that would declare in specific and dispassionate terms that Mr. Nixon had abused power by mis-

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REP. TOM RAILSBACK
... stresses two issues

Impeachment Inquiry Goes Before Cameras Tonight

By Walter Taylor
Star-News Staff Writer

Broadcast Coverage, D-7

The House Judiciary Committee, in a nationally televised conclusion to its historic inquiry, tonight begins final debate on impeachment articles against President Nixon. A report recommending a congressional indictment seemed certain.

A vote on the first impeachment article could come as early as Friday.

Democratic members, with the aid of impeachment lawyers, worked through last night honing the language of articles charging the President with conspiracy to obstruct justice in the Watergate cover-up, abuse of power and failure to comply with subpoenas of the committee.

WORDING of the draft proposals was carefully tailored to attract votes from three Southern Democrats and a handful of moderate Republicans on the panel, thereby assuring a bipartisan vote on the impeachment question.

All 21 Democrats and at

least 5 Republicans, possible as many as 10, were expected to approve at least one of two general articles that were being prepared by the drafting groups. Strong bipartisan support of the charges would increase the chances for an impeachment vote by the full House.

Live television and radio broadcasts of the impeachment debate was to begin at 7:30 p.m. Under a rotating coverage plan worked out by the three commercial television networks, ABC will telecast tonight's opening session.

THE TELEVISED proceedings are scheduled to continue during daytime and evening hours tomorrow, Friday and possibly through the weekend, leading to a final vote late Saturday or during the day on Sunday.

In addition to the commercial networks, Public Broadcasting System stations will provide live television coverage tonight and,

videotape broadcasts on subsequent evenings. Various radio networks have scheduled gavel-to-gavel coverage of the debate.

Under procedures adopted by the committee yesterday, the proceedings will begin with general debate on whether the President should be impeached for constitutional "high crimes or misdemeanors," with each panel member, in order of seniority, receiving 15 minutes to state his views.

The general debate is scheduled to continue until tomorrow evening, when the panel will take up the first of the proposed impeachment articles.

FINAL DRAFTING of the charges began early last night after four committee Republicans thought to be leaning toward votes for impeachment met informally to discuss the form of articles they might be willing to support.

The four GOP members are Reps. Tom Railsback of Illinois, M. Caldwell Butler

of Virginia, William S. Cohen of Maine and Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York.

"If the final articles are drafted according to specifications," all four of the Republicans could vote for impeachment, said one source close to the private deliberations.

The source said two other Republicans, whom he declined to name for publication, also are likely to support at least one of the proposed impeachment charges.

ONLY ONE Republican on the panel, Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, has publicly announced a decision to vote for impeachment. Hogan, in a press conference yesterday, said evidence in the probe has convinced him "beyond a reasonable doubt" that Nixon participated in the Watergate cover-up.

The cover-up charge is expected to be the strongest impeachment article before the committee, alleging criminal wrong doing on the part of the President. Many Republicans on the panel have said that they could support impeachment only on a showing that Nixon was party to an indictable offense.

The proposed abuse of power charge was described by committee sources as a more general article, with specifications alleging improper presidential use of government agencies and authorization of possibly illegal domestic intelligence activities.

THE SOURCES said last night that drafters of the impeachment bill also were attempting to incorporate in that article allegations concerning Nixon's refusal to comply with committee subpoenas for tapes and documents as evidence in the probe.

Refusal to surrender the evidence could be listed as a separate article, however, the sources said.

Under rules for the debate, individual members of the panel will be permitted to introduce additional impeachment articles, and charges relating to the President's personal finances, secret bombing in Cambodia and impoundment could be considered along with those proposed by the drafting group.

Each proposed article will be debated after completion of general debate. If any one article is approved by a majority of the committee, the committee will recommend impeachment to the full House.