

EXECUTIVE SESSION

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REVIEW OF EXISTING RULES ON IMPEACHMENT  
AND PROPOSED CHANGES

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THURSDAY, AUGUST 8, 1974

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United States Senate,  
Committee on Rules and Administration,  
Washington, D. C.

The Committee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:31 a.m. in Room 301, Russell Senate Office Building, the Honorable Howard W. Cannon, Chairman, presiding.

Present: Senators Cannon, Pell, Byrd, Allen, Cook, Scott, and Hatfield

Staff present: William M. Cochrane, Staff Director; Hugh Q. Alexander, Chief Counsel; Joseph E. O'Leary, Professional Staff Member (Minority); John P. Coder, Professional Staff Member; Jack L. Sapp, Professional Staff Member; James H. Duffy, Chief Counsel, Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections; James F. Schoener, Minority Counsel, Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections; Peggy Parrish, Assistant Chief Clerk; and John K. Swearingen, Staff Director, Subcommittee on Computer Services.

Also present: Dr. Floyd Riddick, Senate Parliamentarian; and Mr. Wilmer Ricer, Office of Legislative Counsel; Raymond Celada, Esq., American Law Division, Library of Congress.

1 The Chairman. The Committee will come to order.

2 Each of you have a working print in your folder, and if  
3 we can work through that I think I can move us along quite fast,  
4 particularly as to the items that are in controversy, and we want  
5 to have some discussion on.

6 In the first place, I see no necessity for any changes in  
7 Rule I.

8 Does anyone have any other ideas on that?

9 Is there objection then to the approval of Rule I as it  
10 now stands?

11 Without objection, that will be approved.

12 On Rule II I would raise this question, and this is on  
13 page two, line seven, I raise the question as to whether or not  
14 we could strike out after the word "Senate" down to and including  
15 the word "Senste" that starts on line 14 and ends on line 15.

16 That would just simply eliminate the old traditional  
17 announcement of remaining silent on pain of imprisonment.

18 I think it is really not necessary, and the rule would  
19 read as follows:

20 "When the managers of an impeachment shall be introduced  
21 at the bar of the Senate and shall signify that they are ready  
22 to exhibit articles of impeachment against any person, the  
23 Presiding Officer of the Senate shall inform the managers that  
24 the Senate will take proper order on the subject of the impeach-  
25 ment, of which due notice shall be given to the House of

1 Representatives."

2 Does anyone desire that we retain that traditional announce-  
3 ment there?

4 Senator Scott. I think it is archaic.

5 The Chairman. I do, too, and that is why I wondered if  
6 we should not make this elimination.

7 Is there objection to making the elimination I suggested?

8 Senator Allen. I will not object, but I really hate to  
9 see it go as part of giving up the old landmarks. I kind of  
10 have some reluctance to see it marked out. We still keep over  
11 in the Supreme Court the oh yeas, the oh yeas.

12 Senator Pell. Maybe if we knock out the phrase "and gain  
13 of imprisonment."

14 Senator Allen. Knock it all out, or keep the whole thing.

15 The Chairman. If you are going to keep it, keep the whole  
16 thing in.

17 Senator Allen. I hate to see it go.

18 The Chairman. I do not have a strong feeling about it.

19 I will accept the wishes of the body.

20 Senator Pell. I sort of sympathize with Jim here.

21 Senator Scott. I have no strong feeling. I would be  
22 content to see it go because I think it is archaic, but if the  
23 sense of tradition is relevant, that is all right with me.

24 Senator Pell. If you have tradition you cannot help  
25 having it archaic.

1 Senator Allen. That is a good point.

2 Senator Pell. It is good to show that we still have  
3 some of the traditions left.

4 The Chairman. The Chair will accept the motion.

5 Senator Allen. Let us keep it, Mr. Chairman.

6 The Chairman. The motion is that Rule II is approved as  
7 is.

8 Is there objection?

9 Without objection, Rule II will be approved as is.

10 On Rule III the suggestion has been made that we might  
11 want to change the second line of Rule III where it says  
12 (Sunday excepted) to say ("Saturdays, Sundays and legal holi-  
13 days excepted.")

14 Now, the reason for the addition, or the proposed addi-  
15 tion of Saturday was pointed out by Senator Brooke, you will  
16 recall. It was pointed out that it would be very difficult  
17 to maintain a trial on a six day week basis and to be kept  
18 up to date and be prepared at all times.

19 I do not have any strong feeling about this.

20 What are your wishes?

21 Senator Scott. Let me contribute something to that.  
22 We had a policy luncheon Tuesday week ago at which that ques-  
23 tion was raised, and a number of Senators said that a day for  
24 reflection was to them far more important than a six day week  
25 with no way to sit down quietly with their staff and legal

1 advisors to give thought to what they had done that week, and  
2 what they would do the next week, and they all argued, and there  
3 was no dissent, however not everyone spoke, but all those that  
4 did speak urged me to go to Senator Mansfield and say please  
5 do not have Saturday sessions, and Mike said to me, well, per-  
6 haps that is what we can do.

7           Senator Mansfield said if they want to do without Satur-  
8 day sessions maybe we can do it.

9           Senator Pell. When people are uncomfortable and under  
10 pressure they tend to move along a little faster, and on this  
11 whole question the country will be in sort of dead water, and  
12 if you have a five day week the trial can stretch for months  
13 and months and months.

14           Senator Scott. Well, I agree with that. Whether if  
15 were changed, would it not still be up to the Senate?

16           The Chairman. We would still leave in "unless other-  
17 wise ordered by the Senate."

18           Senator Scott. Because what I have just said runs  
19 counter to the remark I made the day before yesterday, and that  
20 is St. Claire said to some of us the trial up here could take  
21 six months. There would be another five-six interval between  
22 the House and Senate, so they have seven months and one week,  
23 and some Senators said why not consider over at the Rules Com-  
24 mittee means of expediting this.

25           The Chairman. Well, the Chair will entertain a motion.

6  
1 If we leave Rule III exactly as is the Senate would still  
2 have the authority to otherwise order, order that we have no  
3 sessions on Saturday, and that has happened in the precedents  
4 where they did not meet six days a week, is that not correct?

5 Senator Allen. To make the change would kind of look, like  
6 as Senator Scott said, a kind of loosening up of the desire to  
7 get on with this, you know, and say well, those fellows in the  
8 Senate they are trying to cut it down to a five day week, and  
9 Mr. Chairman, we may never use the Saturdays.

10 Why not just leave it in the hands of the Senate?

11 The Chairman. Business as usual?

12 Senator Scott. I do not feel it is logically politically  
13 a good thing to do.

14 Senator Pell. Even rationally. Let us look at how it  
15 will really work. We have Saturdays and Sundays off, and more  
16 people are going to go planing back to their home States.

17 If we only have Sundays off they are going to stick  
18 around, and are not expected to be back.

19 Saturday sessions will end up like in World War II where  
20 we all worked on Saturdays, not the most vigorous day of the  
21 week, but there will be more focusing on the trial, and it  
22 brings the trial, willy-nilly, to a speedy end, and that would  
23 not be the case with the five day week.

24 Senator Scott. As long as the Senate can change that.

25 Senator Allen. Leave it alone, and leave it with the

1 joint leadership, just like the sessions now.

2 The Chairman. The Chair will entertain a motion.

3 Senator Allen. I move to leave it like it is.

4 The Chairman. All in favor signify by saying "aye."

5 (Chorus of "ayes.")

6 The Chairman. Those opposed signify by saying "no."

7 (No response.)

8 The Chairman. The motion is carried. Rule III is  
9 retained as is.

10 Rule IV, the suggestion was made, and it was pointed out  
11 there is no provision here for the administering of the oath  
12 to the Chief Justice, and that perhaps we might want to con-  
13 sider on line 14 where it says, "and the said Chief Justice  
14 shall preside over the Senate," we might insert after the word,  
15 "and the said Chief Justice" the following, "shall be administered  
16 the oath by the Presiding Officer of the Senate," and then go  
17 on with the remainder of that sentence, which will say, "shall  
18 preside over the Senate during the consideration of said  
19 articles and upon the trial of the person impeached therein."

20 The only thing that does is just make it clear that the  
21 Chief Justice is to be administered an oath, and give that duty  
22 to the Presiding Officer of the Senate.

23 Senator Scott. I can say, to my own knowledge, that  
24 Senator Mansfield definitely wants that change made.

25 Senator Mansfield believes that this is a Senate process,

8  
1 and rather than have the Chief Justice select the next senior  
2 judge, the Senate propose having the President Pro Tem of the  
3 Senate.

4 I have no feelings myself one way or the other, but that  
5 is Senator Mansfield's thinking.

6 Senator Pell. May I ask a technical question?

7 What happens in an impeachment proceeding if the Chief  
8 Justice's job is either vacant, or he refuses to do it?

9 The Chairman. Well, I can answer that.

10 The Office of the Chief Justice, if he should raise a  
11 question as to whether or not it had to be filled for the trial  
12 could go ahead, or whether the Acting Chief Justice would serve,  
13 if the Chief Justice refuses to act it would be grounds for  
14 impeachment, because he is charged with that duty under the  
(2) 15 Constitution.

16 Senator Scott. If his senior assistant was the Acting  
17 Chief Justice, unless a new Chief Justice was appointed?

18 Senator Allen. There is nothing we can do about that  
19 any how. We cannot broaden or narrow that.

20 There is one thing I would like to inquire about. I  
21 believe we need to specify the form of oath.

22 I think we might say the same oath as provided herein  
23 as given to Senators.

24 The Chairman. I have that covered later on, if you  
25 will accept this amendment.

1 Senator Scott. I move acceptance of the amendment.

2 The Chairman. All in favor signify by saying "aye."

3 (Chorus of "ayes.")

4 The Chairman. Those opposed signify by saying no.

5 (No response.)

6 The Chairman. The motion is unanimously approved.

7 On Rule V, it does not appear that there is any necessity  
8 for change in Rule V.

9 Is there any objection to Rule V?

10 Without objection, Rule V is approved.

11 It does not appear that there is any necessity for a  
12 change in Rule VI.

13 Is there any suggestion for any change in Rule VI?

14 Without objection then, Rule VI will be approved.

15 All right now, we have Rule VII.

16 Hugh, did you have a suggestion?

17 Senator Scott. I am not sure yet as to how it goes in,  
18 but given the concern over the right of counsel at either table,  
19 unless some check is provided to call duplicating witnesses,  
20 repetitive testimony, redundancy of testimony, the statement of  
21 St. Claire is that this would take six months.

22 At this point I want to go off the record.

23 (Discussion off the record.)

24 Senator Scott. We can go back on the record now.

25 Now, Mr. Chairman, this appalls a lot of us, because

1 it would indicate that counsel here on one side or the other,  
2 perhaps for the respondent might call 200 witnesses, and no  
3 right exists to stop them except a vote of the Senate each time.

4 A vote of the Senate for what? This is what I think we  
5 ought to say something about, the redundancy, or the irrele-  
6 vancy.

7 The best I have on it at this time is something like the  
8 Presiding Officer may make a preliminary ruling on any disputed  
9 question as to the relevancy or redundancy of evivence, or he  
10 may immediately submit any such questions to the Court, and  
11 here I shall say Senate, for decision.

12 Any such preliminary ruling may be set aside, and the  
13 question decided pursuant to -- and here we can eliminate the  
14 (b) of the rule. Well, it would go back. Any such preliminary  
15 ruling may be set aside, and the question decided pursuant to  
16 Subdivision (b) of this rule.

17 This is the subdivision which takes away the Presiding  
18 Officer's time limit. I would eliminate "unless the members  
19 be required."

20 All right, we can exclude (b) then.

21 The rule would be the Presiding Officer of the Senate  
22 shall direct all necessary preparations in the Senate Chamber,  
23 and the Presiding Officer on the trial shall direct all the  
24 forms of proceedings while the Senate is sitting -- and inci-  
25 dentally, on general questions of evidence he may rule, and

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1 and also on incidental questions.

2 Why not consider something like line 17, "may rule on  
3 all questions of evidence and incidental questions, including  
4 questions as to the relevancy or redundancy of evidence."

5 The Chairman. Is that not covered by "all questions of  
6 evidence?" Would that not be a question of relevancy or  
7 redundancy?

8 Senator Scott. Let me see. In ruling on all questions  
9 of evidence now, is that intended to mean admissibility, or does  
10 the word "all" mean exactly what it says?

11 If it does, we are probably all right.

12 The Chairman. I would think it is all inclusive.

13 Senator Allen. Where is that now?

14 The Chairman. Line 16 on your print there.

15 Senator Scott. Page four.

16 The Chairman. Page four, line 16, which says, "the  
17 Presiding Officer on the trial may rule all questions of evidence  
18 and incidental questions, which ruling" et cetera, and it would  
19 seem to me that would give him the authority to rule on ques-  
20 tions of relevancy or redundancy of admissibility, in other  
21 words, all questions of evidence that normally arise in this  
22 trial.

23 Senator Scott. What do you think, Jim? Do you think  
24 that includes the right to rule on redundancy?

25 Senator Allen. It is more than an incidental question

12 1 there, and all questions in evidence, yes, that would seem to  
2 me to take in all questions. It is not just the relevancy and  
3 these words that appear here are restrictive in nature; rele-  
4 vancy or redundancy, but this says all.

5 Senator Scott. You do not think that the word "all"  
6 simply refers to admissibility?

7 Senator Allen. No, sir, I do not think so.

8 One thing that disturbs me, not necessarily that, but  
9 it is at a little variance with what we have been trying to  
10 do, I believe, and that is to keep the Senate status as the  
11 Senate, and I notice this amendment all the way through refers  
12 to "the Court," that the Court does this, and the Court does  
13 that.

14 Senator Scott. You mean Rule VII?

15 Senator Allen. Your amendment.

16 Senator Scott. That was hastily drafted. I have just  
17 caught it. It should be Senate throughout wherever Court  
18 appears.

19 I tried to catch it, and I did not. This amendment is  
20 designed to take the place of a full amendment to Rule VII.

21 This is really a substitute since it substitutes for  
22 the Presiding Officer and his right to direct all necessary  
23 preparations, the provision that preparations in the Chamber  
24 prior to trial, and administration during the trial shall be  
25 supervised as provided by order of the Senate which is governed

1 by the rules we discussed yesterday.

2 It says, "the Senate shall act, issue orders and decide  
3 all questions other than final questions by a majority of the  
4 members present.

5 "The Presiding Officer shall have no vote thereon unless  
6 the yeas and nays may be demanded by one-fifth of the members  
7 present, or may be called for on such other basis as the Court  
8 may by order shall provide."

9 It goes on to say that:

10 "Such votes shall be taken without debate and in the  
11 most expeditious manner possible. The Senate may not proceed  
12 in the absence of a quorum. The quorum of the Senate shall  
13 constitute a quorum of the Court."

14 That leaves all that study and diligence stuff, and goes  
15 on to add preliminary rulings as to redundancy, and he may invite  
16 counsel for the managers and others.

17 I am really not sure that we need go beyond the trial or  
18 other aspects. I suspect in our previous discussion it is not  
19 going to be favored by this Committee to lead into this business  
20 of trial order.

21 We have a phrase here, second page, promoting a just and  
22 expeditious trial. We can cover that in administrative language.

23 I can see why the supporters of the Mansfield draft would  
24 want this whole thing, but I myself feel disposed only to bring  
25 it up through Section d) and consider covering the relevancy

1 and redundancy, and striking out of lines about number of  
2 avoidable accidents, shall study dilligently -- that is too  
3 school teacherish.

4 Senator Allen. Yes, it is.

5 Senator Scott. I do not think we are going to in this  
6 Committee agree on this trial order.

7 Senator Allen. I would offer this suggestion, Mr. Chair-  
8 man. It might be well to go through all of the amendments and  
9 see if we can approve the vast majority of them without change  
10 first.

11 Senator Scott. And then to come back.

12 Senator Allen. Where the discussion is going to be.

13 Senator Scott. Why not go over them?

14 The Chairman. Let us pass Rule VII for the moment.

15 Senator Allen. That is what I suggest be considered

16 The Chairman. All right, let us go to Rule VIII.

17 In Rule VIII, consistently there, the word "accused"  
18 is used, and the question was raised by some of the staff as  
19 to whether we ought to use instead of the word "accused" the  
20 "person impeached."

21 Senator Scott. There was some sentiment expressed by  
22 the members of the Committee.

23 The Chairman. What is the feeling on that?

24 Would you feel we should keep the word "accused," or  
25 would "the person impeached" substituted for the word "accused"

-15 1 where it is used in four places in Rule VIII would be a satis-  
2 factory substitute?

3 Senator Scott. The reason for proposing the change is  
4 that this is not a criminal proceeding.

5 The Chairman. Anybody have a comment on that?

6 Senator Allen. I do not see that it is going to make a  
7 whole lot of difference.

8 The Chairman. I do not think it is going to make a lot  
9 of difference.

10 Senator Allen. This thought occurs to me, Mr. Chairman.

11 It would lead to controversy in that some might contend  
12 that changing the word would be an effort to substitute a law  
13 for measure of proof; changing the status of a person being  
14 accused to a person being impeached, and it would appear to be  
15 an effort to reduce the standard of proof required for con-  
16 viction.

17 Senator Scott. Well, in contravention of that, Jim, my  
18 attention has been called, by staff, to the fact that this is  
19 simply to bring this rule into accord.

20 As you can see, Rule X calls it the "person impeached."

21 Rule VIII says "the accused."

22 Senator Allen. Well, that is fine.

23 Senator Scott. "The person impeached shall be called  
24 to answer the articles of impeachment."

25 Senator Allen. If we could go back for a minute, it is

1 not a really substantial change, and I wonder what is to be  
2 accomplished here.

3 I think it would be a lot better to go back to the  
4 Senate and say look, we were able to prove all of these, and  
5 only changes are made in these. This does not change it a great  
6 deal.

7 Senator Pell. I think the person impeached is the  
8 respondent, and I think the word "accused" is not proper.

9 Senator Scott. The word "accused" is not, to my mind,  
10 a proper term. The term "person impeached" seems to me to be  
11 better.

12 Senator Pell. Or let us say the respondent.

13 Senator Scott. Or the respondent, because it is not  
14 a criminal trial, and I think it is simply something that the  
15 original rule drafters never addressed themselves to.

16 The Chairman. Well, I do not have a strong feeling one  
17 way or the other, personally. I will leave it up to the Com-  
18 mittee.

19 The question is, in Rule VIII the word "accused" is  
20 used in the present rule.

21 In Rule X the words "person impeached" is used, and for  
22 conformity some of the staff suggested we might want to change  
23 this term "accused" here in these four instances where it appears,  
24 to "person impeached."

25 Senator Byrd. Oh, yes, I so move.

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1 Senator Scott. Well, I would second it.

2 The Chairman. All in favor signify by saying "aye."

3 (Chorus of "ayes.")

4 The Chairman. All those opposed signify by saying "no."

5 Senator Allen. No.

6 Senator Byrd. I have not heard Senator Allen's comments.

7 Senator Allen. I thought it brought us back to the dis-

8 cussion we had here on proof required.

9 This changes the status to something bland or mild by  
10 using the words "person impeached," or the "respondent," whereas  
11 the word "accused" here might imply the higher degree of proof  
12 required, and a relaxation of that term would indicate that  
13 possibly we are looking toward reducing the standard of proof  
14 required.

15 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, may I be heard on that?

16 The Chairman. Yes, sir.

17 Senator Byrd. I can see that Senator Allen's point is  
18 considerably well taken. However, I do not believe that changing  
19 the words would have that result. I feel that in my own case  
20 this would not have any bearing upon the standard of proof that  
21 I would apply, and I am disposed to say that I do not believe  
22 it would have any bearing upon any other Senator's standard of  
23 proof that he individually would apply.

24 It not only has a better sound, but I think it has a more  
25 precise application. If it is a person impeached, he not need

8 1 be needlessly accused here in my view, and here again some  
2 Senators would differ with me; he need not be accused of  
3 statutory offense, or having committed a crime indictable in  
4 common law.

5 That is my own feeling, shared by a great number of  
6 people in the country who happen to be Constitutional scholars,  
7 while the opposite view is likewise shared by Constitutional  
8 scholars.

9 That being my view, I think a person can be impeached  
10 and convicted for offenses that are not crimes, either statu-  
11 tozy or common law crimes.

12 Therefore, I think the word "accused" which carries  
13 that connotation that he is being accused of the commission of  
14 a crime in either of those two contexts is the wrong word and  
15 should be substituted.

16 Senator Scott. The difference of being impeached for  
17 offenses against the State as opposed to the difference of  
18 being accused of a crime.

19 Senator Allen. You used the word there "convict" which  
20 would seem to go pretty well hand in hand with the word  
21 "accused."

22 I was not suggesting that it would make any Senator  
23 change his standard of proof that he would require.

24 Now, the public generally looking at our efforts here,  
25 and having had the discussion, and the witnesses on the measure

s-19 1 of proof would say well, here these fellows can change the measure  
2 of proof required, but they are eroding it, and are biting into  
3 it with little deft moves in a change in the rules.

4 Senator Scott. I think you could construe the word  
5 "convicted either way.

6 If a person can be convicted of an accusation, or he can  
7 be convicted of just this unique charge, and I do not think the  
8 word "convicted" necessarily is hitched up in all honesty with  
9 the word "accused." It could be equivalent.

10 The Chairman. We could go in presenting these rules to  
11 the Senate as we report them back, and point out that the change  
12 in language here was not intended to change the standard of  
13 proof, but conform it to language used elsewhere in the rules.

14 Senator Scott. I agree with that.

15 Senator Byrd. I like that.

16 Senator Scott. I vote Senator Hatfield for that.

17 The Chairman. The proposed amendment is agreed to.

18 Now, on Rule IX?

19 Senator Allen. That is in several places here.

20 The Chairman. There are four places in the substitution  
21 of Rule IX.

22 In Rule IX I see no reason to change it, unless the  
23 Committee desires to change or fix the time to some other time  
24 other than 12:30 o'clock of the afternoon of the day appointed,  
25 and there has been historically, and perhaps in lieu of Senator

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1 Allen's statement, we should leave Rule IX as it is.

2 Senator Byrd. First, let others be heard.

3 Senator Scott. I have no objection to leaving it as is.

4 Senator Pell. I agree.

5 The Chairman. Senator Byrd. I agree.

6 The Chairman. Jim?

7 Senator Allen. It is all right.

8 The Chairman. Without objection, then Rule IX will be  
9 approved as is.

10 Now, Rule X is the rule I referred to earlier. That  
11 does use the term "a person impeached."

12 I see no other need for a change in Rule X.

13 Senator Scott. No.

14 The Chairman. Clayborne?

15 Senator Pell. No.

16 The Chairman. Bob, any proposed change?

17 Senator Byrd. No, sir.

18 The Chairman. Jim?

19 Senator Allen. No.

20 The Chairman. Without objection, Rule X will be approved  
21 as is.

22 Now, Rule XI. This is the authorizing provision for  
23 the appointment of a committee of 12 Senators to receive evi-  
24 dence and take testimony.

25 It simply gives authority for that purpose. It is

1 discretionary with the Senate.

2 I see no reason for making any change in it, even though  
3 it is obvious that the Senate would not desire to use it, cer-  
4 tainly in the case of impeachment of the President.

5 Senator Scott. I have no objection, but I would suggest  
6 that in making legislative history the Chairman of this Com-  
7 mittee be requested to say exactly what.

8 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, this rule was adopted in  
9 1935 when there was no impeachment proceedings before the  
10 Senate. It was used in the Ritter trial in 1936.

11 I would only suggest that the word "shall" on line 23  
12 be changed to read "may."

13 Senator Scott. That has occurred to me, too, Bob, and  
14 the reason I did not offer it, this was going so well I did not  
15 want to add anything.

16 Mr. Chairman, I think the word "may" is better.

17 The Chairman. Well, of course, if it is upon order of  
18 the Senate, he shall. If the Senate orders him to, he is going  
19 to have to do it.

20 Why do we want to tinker with it? We say in the trial  
21 of impeachment the Presiding Officer of the Senate, upon the  
22 order of the Senate, shall appoint a committee, so it would  
23 require the Senate to order him to do that, and I do not think  
24 it could be left to his discretion.

25 I was just thinking do we want to tinker with it? It

1 seems to me 12 Senators is quite a big body.

2 Senator Scott. What do you think of removing the 12,  
3 and just have a committee of Senators?

4 Senator Allen. A lot of reason for knocking the whole  
5 thing out, it seems to me.

6 Senator Byrd. There is.

7 The Chairman. Yes, there is.

8 Senator Allen. Actually, the Senate should never resort  
9 to a thing like that.

10 Senator Scott. This is the chicken-out rule. No ques-  
11 tion about it.

12 The Chairman. I think what this intends there, and I  
13 am just conjuring this up myself, if you can envision a case  
14 of impeachment of a Federal Court Judge that is out on the West  
15 coast, and that the Senate might decide that it would be  
16 advantageous to send a Committee of Senators out there and take  
17 some testimony from the people that were not necessarily thought  
18 necessary to bring back here, that would argue for it.

19 Senator Scott. Yes, that does argue for it.

20 It does also argue against the number of 12.

21 The Chairman. Right.

22 Senator Scott. Which has your floor leadership, and take  
23 the Federal Judge case, if they are out there a month, it is  
24 going to pose a problem for the rest of us trying to get a  
25 quorum.

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1 You need flexibility in the number, Mr. Chairman.

2 Senator Pell. I agree, Mr. Chairman.

3 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, may I go back to my previous  
4 proposal, where I said substitute the word "shall"?

5 The Chairman. Yes, but could I read a note from the  
6 Legislative Counsel first?

7 He says the rule was probably adopted for use during  
8 impeachment of judges, in which case attendance of the full  
9 Senate has been burdensome.

10 He says see the comment by Congressman Robertson on the  
11 Ritter trial, page 81 at the Congressional Record.

12 Senator Scott. He was in the Senate.

13 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, I agree that the present  
14 verbage makes the appointment of a committee contingent upon  
15 an order of the Senate.

16 I would like, however, to propose, so that the intent  
17 will be even more clear, that we strike the words, "upon the  
18 order of the Senate" and substitute therefore these words,  
19 "if the Senate so orders, shall \* \* \*."

20 Again, "if the Senate so orders, shall \* \* \*."

21 The Chairman. What you are saying is if the Senate so  
22 orders, shall appoint a committee.

23 Senator Byrd. And strike out the number 12.

24 The Chairman. So it would read that in the trial of  
25 any impeachment the Presiding Officer of the Senate, if the

24 1 Senate so orders, shall appoint a committee of Senators to re-  
2 ceive evidence and take testimony.

3 Senator Byrd. Right.

4 Senator Scott. I second that.

5 The Chairman. Is there objection to that language?

6 Without objection then, Rule XII will be amended accord-  
7 ingly.

8 Rule XII, my only questions on that were as follows:

9 First, the question of whether we want to leave the 12:30  
10 o'clock stand, and then in the next to the last line, where it  
11 says the Senate Chamber, which Chamber is prepared with accom-  
12 modations for the reception of the House of Representatives, it  
13 is quite clear that we cannot provide for the reception of  
14 the House of Representatives over there, and I was suggesting  
15 the possibility of eliminating the word "reception" and insert  
16 "a delegation of members of the House of Representatives,"  
17 because we will provide for a delegation of members.

18 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, may I be heard?

19 The Chairman. Certainly.

20 Senator Byrd. I agree with the Chairman that it is  
21 imperative that something be done here.

22 My thought was that we merely put a period after the  
23 word "chamber" and strike out the rest of the sentence.

24 The Chairman. Reading "in the Senate Chamber?"

25 Senator Byrd. Yes, sir, because it will be, I think,

1 up to the Rules Committee in consultation with the leadership  
2 to make whatever arrangements are required.

3 Senator Scott. Yes, and if we give any leeway here at  
4 all, the House is going to try to interpret as many ways as  
5 suits them, and we have problems enough under the present space  
6 conditions where it would be 68 members in the gallery and 50  
7 behind some red ropes in the Chamber.

8 The Rules Committee in consultation with the leadership  
9 or the staff as the case may be, ought to work out something  
10 like that.

11 The Chairman. Is there a motion then to strike the  
12 following part after the words "Senate Chamber?"

13 Senator Byrd. I so move.

14 The Chairman. Is there objection?

15 Without objection, the rule is so amended.

16 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, I would not want to quibble  
17 over this time of 12:30, but there could be some circumstance  
18 which would militate against that particular hour.

19 Should we not leave some flexibility for the Senate to  
20 meet at twelve, or 11:30, or 11:00 o'clock?

21 The Chairman. We could insert after the word "impeach-  
22 ment," the words "unless otherwise ordered," so it would read  
23 "at 12:30 o'clock of the afternoon of the day appointed for  
24 the trial of impeachment unless otherwise ordered the legislative  
25 and executive business of the Senate shall be suspended, \* \* \*"

-26

1 Senator Byrd. The only problem I would have with that  
2 would be that it might be interpreted to modify something in  
3 that preceding phrase "other than the time."

4 Senator Scott. Why not do it this way, "at 12:30 o'clock  
5 of the afternoon of the day appointed, unless otherwise ordered"  
6 and there you are modifying the time, "unless such time shall  
7 be otherwise fixed."

8 Senator Byrd. At 12:30 o'clock on the afternoon and then  
9 put a comma, or such other hour as the Senate may order and  
10 then another comma.

11 The Chairman. Of the day appointed for the trial of  
12 impeachment the legislative and executive business of the Senate  
13 shall be suspended.

14 I think that makes it quite clear that would relate only  
15 to the time.

16 Senator Byrd. That is right.

17 The Chairman. Is there objection to that language?

18 Senator Scott. No.

19 The Chairman. Without objection then, that language  
20 will be inserted on Rule XII.

21 On Rule XIII, two provisions there. One is on the ques-  
22 tion of whether we want to use twelve o'clock, and then immedi-  
23 ately following that there has apparently crept into the rules  
24 a mistake, and I would suggest that we strike out "for such  
25 thing."

1 Senator Scott. What line?

2 The Chairman. Line eight.

3 Senator Scott. The words "for such thing?"

4 The Chairman. Yes.

5 Senator Scott. Why not first adopt the same time amend-  
6 ment as in Rule XII, so that it would read "shall?" We do say  
7 "shall be unless otherwise ordered, twelve o'clock noon."

8 The Chairman. Let us strike out "for such thing" and it  
9 would read "when the hour shall arrive the Presiding Officer  
10 of the Senate shall announce."

11 The only change is you eliminate "for such thing."

12 Senator Pell. The Presiding Officer of the Senate shall.  
13 That means what it says, and does not mean the Chief Justice,  
14 right?

15 Senator Byrd. That is right.

16 Senator Pell. So we go back to Rule XI, where the  
17 reference there "Presiding Officer of the Senate shall appoint  
18 a committee of Senators," that does not mean the Chief Justice.

19 Senator Byrd. That is right.

20 The Chairman. All right.

21 Senator Allen. Just a moment on that. That is going  
22 to be kind of a confusing situation.

23 What it looks like they are doing at that time, they are  
24 having a two track system. I mean there is nothing new under  
25 the sun, Senator Byrd, because this looks like we are having a

1 two track system.

2 Senator Byrd. Except that the Chief Justice and Judges.

3 Senator Allen. So here we have a legislative session

4 there, and the Presiding Officer says well, it is time to go,

5 that is the Presiding Officer of the Senate says it is time to

6 go into the other business.

7 If we are on the impeachment to the exclusion of legis-  
8 lative business, is this not going to require that the Presiding  
9 Officer of the Senate rush in there, even though they started  
10 the impeachment at ten, then this requires the Presiding Officer,  
11 even though the impeachment is going on, this would require  
12 Senator Eastland to rush in at twelve o'clock and say all  
13 right, the hour of twelve has arrived and we are going into  
14 the impeachment trial.

15 The Chairman. Well, if we were in legislative business  
16 before that I think that is proper.

17 Senator Allen. What if you started the impeachment at  
18 ten o'clock?

19 The Chairman. Well, except it says unless otherwise  
20 ordered.

21 If you started at ten o'clock, that would be as otherwise  
22 ordered.

23 Senator Allen. As to the time?

24 The Chairman. As to the time.

25 Senator Allen. Then this hour rolls around, the

29 1 Presiding Officer of the Senate is supposed to announce it.

2 Senator Scott. Staff suggested instead of striking out  
3 "for such thing," they suggest "when the hour for sitting shall  
4 arrive."

5 The Chairman. Is this not covered in the last sentence,  
6 the adjournment of the Senate sitting in said trial shall not  
7 operate as an adjournment of the Senate.

8 I believe that would cover it.

9 Senator Byrd. I can see one problem which Senator Allen  
10 has anticipated.

11 When we adopt a resolution in the beginning at each  
12 Congress that the Senate shall meet at the hour of twelve noon  
13 unless otherwise ordered, that means that we have to do it by  
14 unanimous consent from day to day, if say we want to meet at  
15 11 o'clock.

16 There could be a situation arising during the impeachment  
17 trial when although the desire is to meet at 11:30, and dispense  
18 with the reading of the Legislative Journal, and pick up a  
19 little morning business, and so on, there might be an objection,  
20 and we would be held to the twelve o'clock meeting.

21 That being the case, we would be required to come in at  
22 twelve o'clock, and this would require us to, if we decided that  
23 the hour of the day at which the Senate shall sit upon the  
24 trial of impeachment shall be at twelve o'clock noon on that  
25 date, then we are confronted with a dilemma wherein we have the

30 1 trial of impeachment which has to go forward, and it might be  
2 imperative that the Senate meet before that hour of twelve noon  
3 and conduct some other business, so the hour of twelve noon,  
4 this would require that the Presiding Officer of the Senate be  
5 presiding at that moment.

6 I think that is what Senator Allen has in mind.

7 Senator Allen. That is right.

8 The Chairman. May I ask, Dr. Riddick, what has been  
9 the procedure in the past?

10 Dr. Riddick. Well, we have selected Presiding Officers  
11 other than the President Pro Tem. You have your two sessions.  
12 That is definitely a two track system, and when you come in,  
13 say for example, you come in at twelve o'clock for legislative  
14 business you might meet until 12:30, and then you go into the  
15 trial.

16 Then if you go until four o'clock, and you adjourn the  
17 trial, you are still back in legislative session to transact  
18 further legislative business during that day if you wanted to.

19 That has been the practice.

20 To resolve what Senator Byrd might be thinking there,  
21 certainly to make it crystal clear, if you said unless other-  
22 wise ordered by the adoption of a motion, or words to that  
23 effect.

24 Senator Byrd. It might be difficult to adopt a motion.

25 Why could we not simply resolve it like this, Dr.?

1           You could say the Presiding Officer of the Senate, and  
2 then put a comma in the event of a legislative or executive  
3 session having preceded, and that means if you have had a  
4 legislative session and executive session to take up nominations,  
5 or something preceding that, it is possible that you would have  
6 an executive session to take up the nomination of a Vice  
7 President, for instance.

8           You might be willing to do it by unanimous consent, in  
9 which case the Presiding Officer of the Senate would have been  
10 presiding, and in that event then he would announce, shall so  
11 announce when that hour occurs.

12           If there had been no legislative or executive session  
13 preceding that, and we had come in for this, then it is clear  
14 that he is not in the Chair at that moment.

15           Senator Scott. Could I ask you to indulge me a moment?

16           We had this Party leadership meeting at 11:30. I know  
17 generally you want to sit with the members of the Minority side.

18           I would like to say that I have no objection to what you  
19 do here, or with the remaining sections with the exception of  
20 the fact that Rule XIV and Rule XXIII generally I would like to  
21 be heard, and I would like to reserve the opportunity for other  
22 Senators on this side and myself to be here to discuss the  
23 question of hearsay, the question of the division or nondivision  
24 of articles of impeachment.

25           This also involves Rule VII, Rule XXIII and Rule XXIV.

1 Senator Byrd. These two other amendments which I intend  
2 to offer, at least propose, Senator Scott, I would want you to  
3 be here.

4 Senator Scott. Could we just reserve it as to whatever  
5 you gentlemen would see to be likely controversial, those are  
6 the only ones I would like to be here on.

7 These drafting changes I have no objection to.

8 The Chairman. When would you suggest that we meet again?  
9 I would like to get into that.

10 Senator Scott. We can try for two this afternoon.

11 The Chairman. Very well, when we recess, we will recess  
12 until two this afternoon.

13 Senator Scott. I specifically say for the record, that  
14 on these suggestions by the staff of changes, with the exception  
15 of the potentially controversial ones, I have no objection.

16 The Chairman. Let me ask Dr. Riddick a question here.

17 Dr. Riddick, did any problem ever arise under Rule VIII?

18 Dr. Riddick. I do not think so, but Legislative Counsel  
19 and I sort of worked out a phrase that would certainly allevi-  
20 ate any such. It reads:

21 "The Presiding Officer of the Senate" strike out line  
22 six down through, and including the semicolon on line ten, and  
23 insert, "The Presiding Officer of the Senate in the event a  
24 legislative or executive session has preceded the beginning  
25 of a daily session of a trial of impeachment shall announce

1 the beginning of the trial at the time fixed therefore."

2 Senator Allen. Let me suggest this, Mr. Chairman, and  
3 Dr. Riddick.

4 I believe it would take care of it if you just knock out  
5 "the Presiding Officer of the Senate shall so announce" because  
6 if he is there, he is going to be there, and he does not need  
7 to make an announcement about it, and when the time comes, the  
8 Presiding Officer of the trial will make a proclamation.

9 You do not need two proclamations there. If the Pre-  
10 siding Officer of the Senate is there for legislative business  
11 good, but if you do not have any legislative business there is  
12 no need for him coming in and making an announcement.

13 Just knock him out there. He does not have any place  
14 there.

15 The Chairman. Do I correctly understand then that your  
16 suggestion would be on line eight, to eliminate the words "for  
17 such thing?"

18 Senator Allen. On line 12.

19 The Chairman. Well, on line eight you would eliminate  
20 the words "for such thing."

21 Senator Allen. Oh, yes, that has already come out.

22 The Chairman. And then?

23 Senator Allen. I have line 11 on that. I must have  
24 a different print here.

25 The Chairman. Line nine you would eliminate the

34 1 words "the Presiding Officer of the Senate shall \* \* \*?"

2 Senator Allen. I must have a different print here,  
3 because these lines are different.

4 The Chairman. Shall so announce.

5 Senator Allen. I have it now, Mr. Chairman.

6 The Chairman. We would eliminate then the words "for  
7 such thing," and then eliminate the next following, "the  
8 Presiding Officer of the Senate shall so announce and verify."

9 That would be the entire elimination.

10 Senator Byrd. No, leave in "and thereupon."

11 The Chairman. You would say "when the hour shall arrive  
12 the Presiding Officer upon such cause shall cause such proclom-  
13 ation to be made?"

14 We can read the whole thing.

15 "The hour of the day at which the Senate shall sit upon  
16 the trial of an impeachment shall be, unless otherwise ordered,  
17 twelve o'clock meridian and when the hour shall arrive the  
18 Presiding Officer upon such trial shall cause proclamation to  
19 be made and the business of the trial shall proceed.

20 "The Chairman of the Senate sitting in such trial shall  
21 not operate as an adjournment of the Senate, but upon such  
22 adjournment the Senate shall resume the consideration of its  
23 legislative and executive business."

24 Any objection to that amendment?

25 Senator Doll. Is there not some thought about the

35 1 traditional lack of the Presiding Officer turning the gavel over  
2 to the Chief Justice?

3 The Chairman. We do not have to spell that out in the  
4 rules.

5 Without objection, the amendment will be approved.

6 Rule XIV?

7 Now, I see no necessity for any change there.

8 Is there objection to any of Rule XIV?

9 Without objection, it will be approved.

10 Senator Byrd. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, and Dr. Riddick,  
11 would it serve possibly a good purpose to strike the word "shall"  
12 on line 4 and insert the word "may?"

13 It may be more convenient just to adjourn the Senat  
14 sitting at the trial until the next day until the hour it is  
15 to resume.

16 Dr. Riddick. Under the rule you would have two immediate  
17 adjournments. One, you would adjourn the trial, and immediately  
18 adjourn the session.

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1 Senator Byrd. Why not have it "may"?

2 Dr. Riddick. I see.

3 The Chairman. "but on such adjournment the Senate may  
4 resume the consideration of its legislative and executive  
5 business."

6 Is that it?

7 Senator Byrd. Yes.

8 On this rule, it is forced to go back into legislative  
9 or Executive Session.

10 Dr. Riddick. The only thing, if you went into it, it  
11 would be like unfinished business, and you would immediately  
12 make another motion to adjourn, if you did not want to trans-  
13 act any business.

14 Senator Byrd. You see some harm that would be done if  
15 we changed "shall" to "may"?

16 Dr. Riddick. Yes.

17 It takes two adjournments.

18 Senator Byrd. Under the present rules.

19 What I am saying is, why is it necessary that we not  
20 change the rules so as to allow for the Senate to adjourn  
21 sitting as a trial at 5:30 today until the hour of 12 o'clock  
22 tomorrow, sitting again as a trial?

23 Dr. Riddick. Then you might have to be compromising  
24 because it says, "The adjournment of the Senate sitting in said  
25 trial shall not operate as an adjournment of the Senate."

1 You are going to have to have two adjournments.

2 Senator Byrd. That is true, you would. That is all  
3 right. Let us leave it as it is.

4 The Chairman. As is.

5 Rule XIV will be approved.

6 Is there any objection to any part of Rule XV?

7 "Counsel for the parties shall be admitted to appear and  
8 be heard upon an impeachment."

9 Without objection?

10 Senator Byrd. Wait a minute.

11 Rule XIV, did we give consideration to that?

12 The Chairman. Yes.

13 We approved that a moment ago before you went back to  
14 XIII.

15 Senator Byrd. We did?

16 The Chairman. If you desire to reopen it, we will.

17 Do you have any question on Rule XIV?

18 Senator Byrd. If the Chair will just indulge me a moment.

19 It is talking about reading of the Journal, is it not?

20 The Chairman. No.

21 I think it is talking about the reporting of it, the same  
22 as you record and report the normal proceedings.

23 Senator Byrd. The reporting of would be the reading of  
24 the Journal the next morning, or the dispensing of the reading  
25 of the Journal.

1 That is all right.

2 The Chairman. All right.

3 Rule XV, we have approved.

4 Rule XVI?

5 Is there any objection to any part of Rule XVI?

6 Senator Byrd. I see no objection.

7 The Chairman. Without objection, Rule XVI will be  
8 approved.

9 Rule XVII?

10 Are there any suggested changes to Rule XVII?

11 Senator Allen. To what extent is this rule qualified  
12 then by other desires of Senators that Members might ask  
13 questions?

14 In other words, this just seems to contemplate a direct-  
15 cross without, for instance, questions by Members?

16 The Chairman. We do have elsewhere the provisions -- I  
17 think this would refer directly to the examination and cross-  
18 examination, but we do have provision for Senators to submit  
19 questions elsewhere.

20 Senator Allen. I see.

21 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman and Dr. Riddick, is there any  
22 reason why we should be concerned about the limitation to one  
23 person on behalf of the party producing them of the examination  
24 of the witness?

25 Dr. Riddick. The only thing was time saving, I think.

1 I think we adopted orders, as I recall, to the contrary  
2 that we have allowed more than one.

3 Senator Allen. That is custom in court.

4 The Chairman. Customary.

5 Senator Pell. After being cross-examined, what if the  
6 other side wants to go back and forth?

7 The Chairman. They can do that.

8 Senator Pell. They have that right?

9 The Chairman. Without objection, that rule will be  
10 approved then, Rule XVII.

11 Rule XVIII, any objection to Rule XVIII?

12 Senator Allen. I think it is interesting to note, having  
13 read some of the proceedings in some of these other impeach-  
14 ment proceedings that this rule means just what it says.

15 The witnesses apparently do stand rather than sit at the  
16 witness stand.

17 I noticed that in one of the impeachment proceedings, if  
18 this is to be taken literally, the witness stand.

19 Is that correct, Dr. Riddick?

20 Did you notice that?

21 Dr. Riddick. Yes.

22 Senator Byrd. The present rules require the Senator to  
23 stand when he addresses the Chair.

24 I have noticed a few times that Senators will object  
25 while sitting. Often an objection will not stand.

1 I think we ought to all stand when we address the Chair.  
2 Dr. Riddick. It is contrary to the rules.

3 We had one experience when Senator Langer got permission  
4 to sit in his seat and talk for hours. And when the Majority  
5 Leader came back in, he nearly blew his top.

6 Senator Byrd. By the way, Mr. Chairman, as an aside here,  
7 I think it would be conducive to the better decorum and order  
8 in the Senate -- we need not do this now -- to require that  
9 when a Senator votes, he votes standing in his place.

10 I think we would have less of that New York Exchange  
11 atmosphere with all Senators in the well, and get to their  
12 seats and stay there.

13 The Chairman. Without objection, Rule XVIII will be  
14 approved.

15 Rule XIX?

16 I would like to make this suggestion.

17 "If a Senator wishes a question to be put to a witness"  
18 -- the suggestion has been made that we then insert "or to a  
19 manager or counsel of the person impeached," and then go on,  
20 "or to offer a motion or order (except a motion to adjourn),  
21 it shall be reduce to writing, and put by the Presiding  
22 Officer."

23 Senator Allen. There is possibly one omission. It does  
24 not cover the counsel for the managers.

25 The Chairman. I suppose not. I would presume that the

1 manager could speak to his counsel.

2 We could say manager or his counsel or counsel of the  
3 person impeached -- does that cover it, Jim?

4 Senator Allen. Yes.

5 The Chairman. Is there any objection to that?

6 Dr. Riddick. The only trouble is that the managers speak  
7 for the House completely.

8 The counsel generally assists the managers without par-  
9 ticipating like the counsel for the respondent who takes the  
10 whole burden and addresses the Chair and everything else.

11 The Chairman. Yes.

12 It really is the managers that speak on the part of the  
13 House rather than the counsel for the managers.

14 Senator Allen. Where you would not feel that the counsel  
15 for the managers would be asking questions and so forth?

16 The Chairman. From the precedence, the managers them-  
17 selves have been the active managers.

18 Senator Allen. He is just sitting there, carrying books?

19 The Chairman. I think he is there to confer.

20 Senator Allen. I do not make any point of it. I thought  
21 it would be well to complete it.

22 The Chairman. Is there any objection to that amendment,  
23 to the insertion after the word "witness" -- "or to a manager  
24 or to a counsel of the person impeached"?

25 Without objection then, the amendment will be approved.

1 Rule XIX.

2 Senator Byrd. Before you go to Rule XX, Senator Javits  
3 raised a matter in his testimony that by the time a Senator  
4 could reduce a question to writing, the train may have passed  
5 him by.

6 He preferred that a Senator be allowed to stand and  
7 address the Chair and say, "Mr. President, I have a question  
8 of the witness."

9 Then he would sit down and propose it in writing, but he  
10 would have announced that, and things would abate until he had  
11 had time to write it.

12 The Chairman. Is that not implicit?

13 If you send a written question in, would you not address  
14 the Chair?

15 You have got to get the Chair's attention.

16 Would you not say, "Mr. President, I have a question I  
17 wish to submit to the witness"?

18 Senator Byrd. I think it is implicit, but I think Senator  
19 Javits did raise that.

20 The Chairman. Otherwise, you cannot get the Chair's  
21 attention.

22 If you have a question, you cannot just wave it up in the  
23 air.

24 Senator Byrd. Do you agree, Doctor, that that really  
25 raises no problem?

1 Dr. Riddick. It depends on what the policy of the Com-  
2 mittee would be in that regard.

3 It would seem to me that just reading the past cases,  
4 Members of the Senate have written out questions and sent them  
5 to the desk, and maybe they were not answered then.

6 The concept I got from Senator Javits was that he was  
7 calling attention to the Chair that he wants to put this ques-  
8 tion right now and not let the Chair hold it up for a few  
9 minutes later while some others might be pursuing a question  
10 or thought that they were interested in.

11 The Chairman. But he still proposed to send it forward  
12 in writing, you see.

13 Dr. Riddick. That is right.

14 The Chairman. I think that is the only way a person could  
15 get the attention of the Chair, that he has a question.

16 Senator Allen. During the testimony, there may be an  
17 interruption on a different point, even on that point, and it  
18 might confuse the counsel in the line of questioning he was  
19 engaged in. That was one of the provisions of the proposed  
20 rules that I liked rather well, where they provided that the  
21 Chief Judges should receive these questions from the Members  
22 and put them after the direct and cross.

23 What Senator Javits has in mind is something might occur  
24 to a Senator that is not being covered, and he should have a  
25 right to put it in. But it does present problems.

1 I do not have any suggestions on it, but it sure could  
2 upset counsel, if he is asking a series of questions and a  
3 Senator butts in and says I have got a question to ask, and says  
4 wait a minute while I write it down, and goes up there. And  
5 they look at it and ask it. By that time, the witness may have  
6 recovered his cool and decided his answer to this series of  
7 questions.

8 Dr. Riddick. You could put it in but it might be redundant.  
9 But you could add a new sentence, "A Senator may stand and,  
10 upon obtaining recognition, inform the Presiding Officer of his  
11 intention to submit a question."

12 The Chairman. I think we had better hold that question  
13 for further discussion.

14 Senator Allen. I think so.

15 The Chairman. If we are going to make it so that the  
16 Senators can be popping up all over the floor and addressing  
17 the Chair, again we are going to run into some problems, I  
18 think.

19 Senator Byrd. No. XIX is over?

20 The Chairman. It will be subject to reconsideration if we  
21 discuss that issue further when we have the minority represent-  
22 ative.

23 Now, with respect to Rule XX, I would suggest that we add  
24 Rule XX to those to be held for further consideration with the  
25 minority because, in this one, I think we have several questions

1 to be resolved.

2 One, we have the question to resolve whether we are going  
3 to go into closed session while deliberating upon our decisions.  
4 And a suggestion has been made that that be open as well, as  
5 the rest of the proceedings.

6 Then the additional question will arise as to whether we  
7 are going to provide that we shall go into closed session in  
8 the event that matters of national security are to be discussed.

9 The third question relating to this would be to determine  
10 if we are going to have a provision for closed session to make  
11 the decision as to what it requires to go into closed session.

12 I think that subject matter should be discussed with our  
13 colleagues.

14 Rule XXI, I would suggest that at the bottom of Rule XXI,  
15 we strike the words "by order, extend the time," and insert in  
16 lieu thereof "otherwise ordered."

17 I say that for this reason. We say "and all motions,  
18 shall be argued for not exceeding one hour on each side, unless  
19 the Senate shall, by order, extend the time."

20 In other words, we have no provision for shortening the  
21 time.

22 I can well envision the fact that we might want to adopt  
23 a rule saying you shall have 15 minutes to discuss this matter.  
24 This would give us that prerogative.

25 Senator Allen. It says "not exceeding one hour" though.

1 The Chairman. Yes.

2 But it says "unless the Senate shall, by order, extend  
3 the time."

4 It does not say that the Senate can shorten the time less  
5 than one hour.

6 So if we insert the word "otherwise ordered," that would  
7 give the Senate the right to extend as well as to shorten.

8 Senator Byrd. That is a good suggestion -- well, what  
9 were the words you were inserting?

10 The Chairman. "otherwise ordered."

11 Senator Byrd. That we put those words immediately after  
12 "one hour"?

13 The Chairman. That would be fine -- for not exceeding one  
14 hour -- wait a minute.

15 You still have got "on each side."

16 Senator Byrd. I would not want these words to be  
17 interpreted as modifying anything else in that rule other than  
18 the one hour.

19 The Chairman. Well, it follows "shall be argued for not  
20 exceeding one hour on each side, unless the Senate shall other-  
21 wise order."

22 Senator Byrd. For not exceeding one hour unless the  
23 Senate shall otherwise order on each side.

24 It can be set out in commas.

25 Otherwise, it could be argued that your modification --

1 well, it could be argued that the Senate could order that one  
2 side not have an opportunity to argue.

3 The Chairman. All right.

4 Shall be argued for not exceeding one hour unless the  
5 Senate shall otherwise order -- out of brackets -- on each  
6 side.

7 Is there objection?

8 Without objection, approved.

9 Rule XXII?

10 Is there anyone that has any desire to make any change in  
11 Rule XXII?

12 Senator Allen. Well, I have an inquiry.

13 At what stage would the Members of the Senate have an  
14 opportunity to speak?

15 The Chairman. That is the issue we have remaining under  
16 one of the other rules.

17 Senator Allen. Would not the Senators have an opportunity  
18 to have their input at this time?

19 Senator Byrd. I would not think so.

20 The Chairman. Not at this time.

21 This is the argument to the Senate. The Senate will have  
22 the opportunity to debate during their deliberations.

23 Senator Allen. Would this come before or after the arguments  
24 by the Senators then?

25 Senator Byrd. Before.

1 The Chairman. This would come before?

2 Senator Allen. And at what stage do the Senators come in?

3 Senator Byrd. When all the arguments are closed.

4 Senator Allen. After this, though, there would be an  
5 opportunity for the Senators to be heard?

6 The Chairman. Well, among themselves or openly if we  
7 decide to have it open, that is the issue that is covered in  
8 Rule XXIV which is to be reserved when our colleagues are with  
9 us.

10 Senator Allen. I see.

11 The Chairman. As a matter of fact, Rule XXIII and XXIV  
12 both -- and Rule XXIII gets to the question of whether we are  
13 going to have a division of the charges under an article, and  
14 whether or not we have a division if a conviction on any one  
15 of those divided portions is adequate.

16 There are a lot of questions there to be resolved with  
17 that one, so XXIII and XXIV will be held over for consideration  
18 with our colleagues.

19 Senator Byrd. Did we approve Rule XXII?

20 The Chairman. Yes, we did approve Rule XXII.

21 Senator Allen. There is no limit placed on the length of  
22 the argument here?

23 Senator Byrd. Right.

24 Senator Allen. Should that be limited?

25 Senator Byrd. I do not believe so.

1 Now, the Senata may, depending upon the circumstances at  
2 the time, decide to work out with the parties a stipulation  
3 and then enter an order to that effect.

4 Is that not right, Doctor?

5 Dr. Riddick. That is correct.

6 The Chairman. The Senate could enter orders to that  
7 effect.

8 Now, XXIII and XXIV will be held for further consideration  
9 by our colleagues.

10 On XXV, I assume there is no reason for modification of  
11 Rule XXV, although in the forms that are set out in connection  
12 there, I would like to suggest that when you come to the  
13 "Form of oath to be administered to the members of the Senate,"  
14 that there be inserted immediately after the word "Senate,"  
15 the words "and the Chief Justice," so it would read, "Form of  
16 oath to be administered to the members of the Senate and the  
17 Chief Justice sitting in the trial of impeachments."

18 So that means that the Chief Justice would take the same  
19 oath that the Senators would take.

20 Is there any objection to that?

21 Senator Allen. There has been the possibility raised of  
22 the Chief Justice being ill, and so could you not word the  
23 "Presiding Officer of the trial" to take care of that con-  
24 tingency?

25 It is not important.

5 1 The Chairman. Well, the Constitution says the Chief  
2 Justice shall be the Presiding Officer.

3 Senator Allen. I was thinking though of someone else  
4 might be filling that role as was suggested, the Senior Judge  
5 might take over in the event of his ability --

6 The Chairman. I do not think it is too important.

7 Senator Byrd. Then the person impeached may be a judge  
8 and it would not be the Chief Justice presiding.

9 Senator Allen. That is what I say.

10 The Chairman. You are suggesting what?

11 Senator Allen. "and Presiding Officer of the trial."

12 The Chairman. "and the Presiding Officer of the trial" --  
13 "at the trial."

14 Senator Allen. That would be superfluous there, I think.  
15 No, that is all right.

16 "Presiding Officer sitting in the trial of impeachments."

17 The Chairman. Just say "and the Presiding Officer sitting  
18 in the trial of impeachment."

19 Without objection, then, that will be so amended.

20 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, while we are at that point,  
21 unless I forget this thought later, would the Chair feel that  
22 it would at least be worthy of consideration to this Committee  
23 to recommend to the Judiciary Committee that a constitutional  
24 amendment be considered to provide for an emergency in the  
25 event the Chief Justice of the United States was not available

1 to preside over the trial of impeachment of the President?

2 He might die, and that would put us in one tremendous bind  
3 because the Constitution says that the Chief Justice shall  
4 preside.

5 The Chairman. It would certainly be worthy of suggestion  
6 that they give it some consideration.

7 Senator Byrd. I wonder if the Chairman and the Committee  
8 might not want to address a letter at some future time to the  
9 Chairman of the Judiciary Committee calling attention to it?

10 I do not think it would be presumptuous because we have  
11 been involved in these rules, and it is a matter of concern for  
12 me, at least.

13 Senator Allen. I agree.

14 Another thing occurs to me, as the Rules Committee might  
15 possibly recommend a constitutional amendment providing for  
16 alternate methods of impeaching Federal Judges, or an exclusive  
17 method. They ought to be tried in District Courts, it seems to  
18 me, or some other way rather than making the House impeach and  
19 the Senate try.

20 There are so many of them.

21 The Chairman. There are certainly a lot of them.

22 Senator Allen. Four hundred or more.

23 The Chairman. We hope they would not all be impeached at  
24 the same time.

25 Senator Byrd. Would you have the Clerk make a note of

1 that?

2 The Chairman. Yes, sir.

3 The remaining one is Rule XXVI, and I have no proposal to  
4 make there.

5 Dr. Riddick. There is one other point under XXV. It is  
6 the last word.

7 The Chairman. Yes, the last word of the form on Rule XXV,  
8 "unless otherwise ordered by the court" -- strike the word  
9 "court" and insert the word "Senate."

10 It would read "unless otherwise ordered by the Senate."

11 We have tried to conform.

12 Senator Byrd. Where is that?

13 The Chairman. That is just before the start of Rule XXVI,  
14 "unless otherwise ordered by the Senate."

15 We have gotten away from the use of the word "court."

16 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, may I interject this reminder  
17 that Chief Justice Chase took strong exception to certain  
18 actions that had been taken by the Senate at a time when it was  
19 not sitting as a court.

20 There may be a time during the conduct of the trial -- I  
21 think I am nitpicking -- there may be a time during the conduct  
22 of the trial when it certainly would be -- when the Sergeant at  
23 Arms would be called upon to serve a writ of some kind. And  
24 while perhaps it is a fiction, this order would not be by the  
25 Senate sitting as the Senate, unless it would be ordered by the

18 1 Senate sitting as a court -- do you see any problem there?

2 I do not see a great problem.

3 Dr. Riddick. They eliminated the word "court" in all other  
4 places in the rules for the Johnson trial except here.

5 The Chairman. You see, even the form -- the direction for  
6 the service of the subpoenaing says, "The Senate of the United  
7 States to \_\_\_\_\_, greeting:"

8 Senator Byrd. What was your proposal?

9 The Chairman. Was just to eliminate the word "court" and  
10 insert "Senate" -- "unless otherwise ordered by the Senate."

11 Senator Byrd. Okay.

12 The Chairman. Without objection, that will be approved.

13 Is there any objection to Article XXVI?

14 Without objection, then, Article XXVI will be approved.

15 Now, that takes us through the articles. It leaves four  
16 of them for further discussion with the remaining members.

17 I would invite the members to consider whether they want  
18 to add any additional articles covering items that will not  
19 be covered in these four that will be taken for further con-  
20 sideration.

21 Senator Byrd. I have thought of at least two other  
22 amendments, and they might better be presented in the form of  
23 additional articles. I will not do it at this point.

24 The Chairman. I was not suggesting that you be required  
25 to present these now. These are matters that are held open for

9  
1 further discussion.

2 We will resume at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

3 I would like to raise one question, though.

4 Does the Committee wish to print its Executive Hearings  
5 of August 5 and 6?

6 That was the testimony of other Senators in order that  
7 they could be released to the public?

8 Senator Byrd. I so move.

9 Senator Allen. Yes.

10 The Chairman. Without objection, then that is approved.

11 Senator Allen. At the conference, several Senators said  
12 that they hoped that we would not take final action until they  
13 had an opportunity to present statements. I am not sure whether  
14 they meant orally or submit written statements.

15 But Senator McClellan wanted the opportunity, and I believe  
16 at least one other Senator expressed the same view.

17 The Chairman. We did announce that the record would be  
18 held open until August 9 for the submission of statements by  
19 additional Senators, and I think they have all been notified to  
20 that effect.

21 Senator Allen. Good.

22 The Chairman. Senator McClellan's people are working with  
23 the staff.

24 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, Rules I through VII were  
25 discussed before I was able to get here.

1           May I have the approval of the Committee to examine these  
2 rules and perchance offer some minor amendments in the next  
3 meeting?

4           The Chairman. Certainly.

5           I can go through those very briefly.

6           The first three were approved as is.

7           On Rule IV, after the words "said Chief Justice," it was  
8 amended to insert "shall be administered the oath by the Pre-  
9 siding Officer of the Senate and."

10          That simply provided for administering of the oath.

11          Rule V was approved as is.

12          Rule VI was approved as is.

13          And for Rule VII, we have held that over for further con-  
14 sideration.

15          Senator Byrd. Fine.

16          The Chairman. We will reopen any of those that you desire  
17 to consider.

18          Senator Byrd. Very well. Thanks.

19          The Chairman. The Committee will stand in recess until  
20 2 o'clock this afternoon.

21          Thank you very much.

22          (Whereupon, at 12:02 p.m., the Committee recessed, to  
23 reconvene at 2:00 p.m., the same day.)

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AFTERNOON SESSION

(2:45 p.m.)

The Chairman. On the record.

Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, to-wit: Rule XXIII is amended by inserting at the beginning of the text the following new sentence:

"An article of impeachment shall not be divisible for the purpose of voting thereon at any time during the trial."

May I just say at the moment, so that Senators and staff will be thinking about it, my reasons for offering this amendment are as follows:

We have, for example, in the first article of impeachment, as reported to the House of Representatives by the House Judiciary Committee, nine specific charges.

Under our present standing rules, which would be followed inasmuch as the impeachment rules are silent thereon, the question would be divisible.

Consequently, Article I, as submitted by the House Judiciary Committee, would be subject to division and voting in nine separate instances. In other words, nine votes could be requested on those nine charges contained in Article I.

Also, a vote for conviction on any one of those nine separate provisions would fulfill the constitutional requirements for conviction, and the respondent would be automatically removed from office, without further votes on the other

1 provisions of the article and also, of course, upon other  
2 articles.

3 I feel that it would not only be time consuming and con-  
4 fusing, and a matter which could create great chaos and division,  
5 bitterness, and ill will if the President in this instance  
6 should be convicted on one only of those nine separate charges.  
7 The country would remain divided, and many people would feel  
8 he had been railroaded out of office; that the Senate had taken  
9 undue advantage of him, and that the Senate had been unfair.

10 I therefore do not believe that the charges should be  
11 divisible within an article and notwithstanding that rule among  
12 the Standing Rules of the Senate which permits a division, I  
13 move at such appropriate time, will move at such appropriate  
14 time for the adoption of my amendment, as amended, if amended  
15 at that time.

16 I am not saying that it shall not be divided at any time  
17 during the trial because the House of Representatives -- we  
18 really have no control over that. If the House of Representa-  
19 tives wants to amend its own articles after they have been  
20 submitted to the Senate, it could do so and could not only  
21 divide them, it could strike them out or change them. So I  
22 would rather insert the written words for the purpose of voting  
23 thereon at any time during the time of trial.

24 The Chairman. Any discussion?

25 Senator Hatfield?

1 Senator Hatfield. I do not have any questions.

2 I wonder if maybe the Parliamentarian might comment on  
3 that.

4 Oh, I see. I do not have the updated document.

5 Has there been a change?

6 Senator Byrd. I had better let all the members know that  
7 I have written in these words following the word "divisible" --  
8 "for the purpose of voting thereon."

9 Senator Hatfield. I am impressed by the argument that  
10 has been presented by Senator Byrd. I do not quite follow what  
11 the procedure is, Mr. Chairman, when Senator Byrd says he will  
12 make that as a motion at the proper time.

13 Are we thinking in terms of a quorum?

14 Do we have a quorum?

15 The Chairman. We have a quorum.

16 Senator Byrd has offered it as an amendment. I do not  
17 know whether we will vote on it unless we have --

18 Senator Hatfield. I would be very reluctant to cast other  
19 than my own vote, even if I had the proxies of other colleagues,  
20 because I really do not know on a matter of this kind.

21 Senator Byrd. I would prefer to have the others here at  
22 such time as we vote, Mr. Chairman.

23 Senator Pell. I would support it.

24 I have thought about it before, and I think it makes  
25 sense.

1 The question that we ought to always bear in mind on these  
2 rules, as we are changing them, is that it would more than  
3 likely apply to some lesser official than the President.

4 The Chairman. Senator Allen, I think, had something to  
5 say.

6 Senator Allen. I certainly agree with this amendment.

7 As a matter of fact, it came up for discussion at one of  
8 our earlier meetings, and I expressed my support of it at that  
9 time.

10 I recall that Senator Scott was of the same opinion, and  
11 I heard him say earlier today that he was going to draw up or  
12 offer an amendment of this sort.

13 I think it is eminently fair because Senator Byrd said  
14 it could conceivably allow conviction on a minor specification,  
15 and that conviction would, without further ado -- well, it  
16 would, without further ado, result in taking the official out  
17 of office.

18 I might say that the way these articles are worded, as I  
19 recall, it would, in effect, give a member of the Senate a  
20 division of the question in his own mind because it says that  
21 they support these articles by saying that the official has  
22 been guilty of one or more of these specifications.

23 So, really, he has a division in his own mind. To vote  
24 for it, all he has to find in his own mind is that he is  
25 guilty of one of those.

5 1 Even though I understand that the precedent is that these  
2 specifications have been split, it seems to me they are  
3 improperly split because this is, as I see it, final action on  
4 a proposal, just like the bill up for final passage.

5 Well, you cannot give a division at that time when you  
6 have the bill up for consideration.

7 You might have ten or fifteen divisible subjects, and  
8 the same is true here.

9 The way the rule reads is that the yeas and nays shall be  
10 taken on each article of impeachment separately, which would  
11 seem to indicate that it should not be split any further than  
12 that, that the bill of impeachment should be split as to  
13 articles -- would have to have separate votes on those.

14 It does not seem, really, that it contemplates a division,  
15 although I understand a precedent has been permitted.

16 I think it is something we very definitely need to write  
17 into the rules, and I see the distinguished Republican leader  
18 here, and I know that he is of the same opinion and plans to  
19 offer an amendment on the non-divisibility of the article,  
20 Senator Scott, that is under discussion for amendment by  
21 Senator Byrd to that effect.

Rules 22

fls. 23

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1 Senator Scott. We do not have that completed.

2 The Chairman. We can insert after the word "indivisible,"  
3 for the purpose of voting thereon.

4 Senator Scott. I think that does it.

5 Senator Allen. Yes, I think so, too.

6 Senator Scott. That is all right with me.

7 We are writing for the future now.

8 The Chairman. Is there a second to that?

9 Senator Scott. I second.

10 The Chairman. All in favor signify by saying "aye."

11 (Chorus of "ayes.")

12 The Chairman. Those opposed signify by saying no.

13 (No response.)

14 The Chairman. The "ayes" have it and the amendment is  
15 adopted.

16 Are there other amendments to Rule XXIII?

17 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, I have another amendment.

18 I will not speak ahead of anyone else if one has something  
19 to offer to that paragraph.

20 I have one which reads as follows:

21 Rule XXIII is amended by inserting immediately after the  
22 end of the text the following, "A motion to reconsider the vote  
23 by which any article of impeachment is sustained shall not be  
24 in order."

25 Senator Pell. Say that again.

1 Senator Byrd. It reads:

2 "A motion to reconsider the vote by which any article of  
3 impeachment is sustained shall not be in order."

4 The critical thing arises in my mind in this way.

5 Senator Allen. Final action.

6 Senator Byrd. Right.

7 It becomes irrevocable according to the Constitution. I  
8 believe, by most authorities, and I believe the President is  
9 out as of that second.

10 And if a motion to reconsider is in order, the Senator  
11 might be coming in the door, and the Senate is ready to vote,  
12 and the Senator might be coming in the door and, if sustained,  
13 if he were allowed to vote, we would have one of the gravest  
14 of all constitutional questions here, because the President is  
15 out.

16 Then he comes in. He is allowed to vote. And he casts  
17 his vote. And it could possibly put the President back in.

18 Well, the President is out. The Vice President is in.  
19 And here we have two claimants to the office.

20 Senator Scott. Is that not true with a judge also?

21 Are we not also making the rules for the future?

22 Senator Hatfield. There is no succession.

23 Senator Byrd. That is right.

24 What I am so fearful of, the country would really be  
25 upset with us.

1 Dr. Riddick. They have two days for that reconsideration,  
2 right?

3 Senator Byrd. That is right.

4 They have two days for the reconsideration.

5 Senator Scott. It could be an enormous thing because of  
6 the various television coverage and, all of a sudden, the  
7 announcement, Article I is sustained, the President is removed.  
8 And then someone comes on and says, "Wait a minute, ladies and  
9 gentlemen. Here comes another Senator."

10 The Chairman. Counsel, do you want to comment?

11 Mr. Celada. Just an observation.

12 If we get into a comparison with criminal proceedings by  
13 the proposal, it would not be possible to reconsider a vote  
14 of two-thirds, but presumably, by implication, a vote of less  
15 than two-thirds might be reconsidered.

16 And I wonder if this does not have some kind of implica-  
17 tion on this, although it does not literally apply to impeach-  
18 ment, of placing an individual in the position of being recon-  
19 sidered twice in jeopardy for the same accusation.

20 The Chairman. It says it cannot be reconsidered. That  
21 would remove him twice from any Federal accusation.

22 Senator Allen. He is talking if he falls short of the  
23 two-thirds, they might reconsider, and then have another vote  
24 on the claimant to reconsider it with the majority vote.

25 Senator Byrd. I do not see that in that situation, the

1 grave constitutional crisis arising.

2 I do not see any state being denied of its equal represen-  
3 tation in the Senate without its consent.

4 I just do not see the double jeopardy.

5 The Chairman. Why can we not add they sustained or  
6 rejected, and that would eliminate any reconsideration because  
7 you really do not want a reconsideration.

8 Senator Hatfield. He was rejected.

9 Senator Byrd. I have no strong feeling in that direction.

10 I do have a very strong feeling on this.

11 Dr. Riddick, would you see any reason why we could not make  
12 it in the alternative?

13 Dr. Riddick. I do not think we are at a criminal trial  
14 here. You are just getting him out of office.

15 Senator Cook. Why not say the article of impeachment  
16 voted on is not in order?

17 That could be voted up or down.

18 Senator Hatfield. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me in the  
19 same case that Senator Byrd made awhile ago on that, whether it  
20 is the Senate coming in late, or whether once we made a deci-  
21 sion one way that we switched around the other way, I think you  
22 could say that the President is still President after this  
23 vote.

24 Senator Byrd. Now, wait a minute.

25 Senator Hatfield. There is a motion to reconsider.

1 Senator Byrd. All right.

2 If that is the rule of the Committee.

3 The Chairman. Any article of impeachment sustained or  
4 rejected.

5 Senator Hatfield. Or we could be conservative with our  
6 words, as with Senator Cook's proposal.

7 The Chairman. Are you ready for the question?

8 All in favor signify by saying "aye."

9 (Chorus of "ayes.")

10 The Chairman. Those opposed signify by saying no.

11 (No response.)

12 The Chairman. The "ayes" have it.

13 Senator Byrd. It is sustained or rejected?

14 The Chairman. Yes, "shall" is not in order.

15 Senator Hatfield. Did we vote on the other one?

16 The Chairman. Yes.

17 Senator Hatfield. Can I be reported as voting "aye" on  
18 it?

19 The Chairman. The vote was unanimous.

20 Senator Hatfield. I had to step out.

21 The Chairman. Are there further amendments to Rule XXIII?

22 Senator Byrd. There is one further amendment I would have,  
23 but I am not sure as to the final wording of it, Mr. Chairman.

24 I would just as soon wait until such time as I have had an  
25 opportunity to study the matter more carefully.

1           It simply deals with the situation in which the Senate  
2 votes to convict the person impeached.

3           I feel that the Senate ought to have the determination  
4 right then and there whether or not as to whether it is going  
5 to vote on the remaining articles after Article I has convicted  
6 him.

7           Senator Pell. Once if you convict on Article I, then you  
8 determine whether it goes to Article II or III?

9           Senator Byrd. Yes.

10          I do not think it should adjourn for one or two days and  
11 come back.

12          If it votes on them, it ought to vote on them in succes-  
13 sion.

14          Senator Scott. The question is the overkill.

15          Senator Pell. I would disagree with you a little bit  
16 because I would visualize what I would want to do in an impeach-  
17 ment trial.

18          I might want to vote against Article I and vote for Arti-  
19 cle II. So I would be very upset, having that view in mind, if  
20 no more votes were taken after Article I.

21          Senator Byrd. This would not do that.

22          Senator Pell. As I understand, you say it would.

23          Senator Byrd. No.

24          It would force the Senate to proceed right then and there  
25 with Article II, or to make a determination as to what further

1 proceedings with respect to such trial are essential and neces-  
2 sary.

3 Senator Pell. I think it would be very important that  
4 maybe the rule should be changed to provide for this.

5 Once you start voting on the articles, there may be no  
6 possibility of the Senate sidestepping the voting on all of the  
7 articles.

8 Senator Scott. Would you yield?

9 Senator Pell. Yes.

10 Senator Scott. What occurs to me is that you might be  
11 moving against the intent of the Senate in the sense that the  
12 Senate having normally enacted the removal, they do not wish  
13 to go any further.

14 There should be something in the rules, like you say, pro-  
15 viding the Senate to immediately determine what it will do on  
16 subsequent articles. And we do not have to vote on them in  
17 order.

18 At that point, Claiborne could be heard to say I wish to  
19 vote on Article II.

20 Senator Byrd. Yes.

21 Senator Scott. And the Senate will make a decision and  
22 they will decide to let you vote on it or not. And that gives  
23 you your chance to say I want to vote on it, but the majority  
24 of the Senate has still overruled you.

25 Senator Pell. I do not think that is fair.

1 Senator Scott. That is the way it will work.

2 Senator Pell. When you start voting on it, it ought to  
3 be looked on as an exercise that each of these votes will be  
4 cast, so you make up your mind then and there.

5 Senator Cook. When you try a man in a court of law, if he  
6 has five offenses that he has been charged with, the jury goes  
7 back and finds for the first one, and they forget about the  
8 others.

9 Senator Pell. They have to say acquitted on charges 2, 3,  
10 4 and 5. And this is not a court of law.

11 Senator Cook. I know it is not. But what you are saying,  
12 once the President, the Senate already having convicted under  
13 a particular article, No. 1, what you want to do is let the  
14 public know that somewhere along the line there is an article  
15 you want to vote on. But, in the meantime, the President  
16 basically has already been found guilty of an offense, removable  
17 from office, and we have to find him removable on three or four  
18 of them rather than on just one.

19 Senator Scott. Then you say you want to remove him twice,  
20 and Bob's amendment gives you a chance to say that?

21 Senator Byrd. Do you have it in front of you?

22 Senator Cook. But if a person shall be convicted upon any  
23 such article by the votes of two-thirds of the members present,  
24 the Senate shall determine what further proceedings with  
25 respect to such trial are essential or necessary.

1 Senator Pell. What do the present rules provide?

2 Do you have to vote on all three?

3 Senator Scott. The rule is silent on that.

4 Senator Hatfield. On the Johnson case, as I recall, they  
5 did not take Article I on the first vote.

6 Senator Byrd. They took Article XI.

7 Senator Hatfield. They took Article XI and had a vote.

8 Senator Byrd. They then adjourned for ten days.

9 Senator Hatfield. And they left off Article I.

10 Senator Byrd. Right.

11 Senator Hatfield. But they voted on how many, ten of the  
12 eleven?

13 Senator Byrd. Three of the eleven.

14 Senator Scott. Then someone said I move the Senate  
15 adjourn sine die.

16 Senator Cook. Basically, what you are saying here is that  
17 you convict on the first one, why go through the agonizing  
18 situation of going through all the rest of it.

19 Senator Byrd. They gave up even on acquittal, you see.

20 Senator Hatfield. The radical Republicans knew after that  
21 second one, they came back because they thought they could get  
22 a conviction on the second article.

23 They failed on that. They failed on the third vote and  
24 then threw in the towel.

25 The Chairman. Well, we are going to have to go vote.

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Let us recess temporarily and vote and get back.

(Short recess.)

1 The Chairman. The Committee will come to order.

ms 2 Senator Pell. I think when the whole thing is being con-  
3 sidered as a package for two months or a year, that then the  
4 body as a whole should have the opportunity to express its  
5 opinion on each of the counts.

6 Senator Byrd. This may be a protection for the respond-  
7 ent, because if Senators get the idea that they can only vote  
8 on that first article perhaps you would be disposed to vote  
9 against it, but if you were going to vote on an article, if  
10 you felt a vote of conviction on Article 1 was going to shut  
11 you out of a chance to vote on Article 2, you might vote for  
12 Article 1 just to get on the record as voting to convict.

13 Senator Pell. So that makes it harder in a sense.

14 Senator Byrd. All this provides is they will determine  
15 that day, and not go home overnight, or wait two or three days  
16 to come back and determine whether to disqualify him from  
17 holding further office.

18 Senator Pell. Is there any way you can see that you can  
19 assure once the voting process has started it can be impeded?

20 Dr. Riddick. You can take away the rights to determine  
21 sine die, just move to adjourn sine die without ever voting,  
22 but if you do this you tie into it and force them to vote, and  
23 it might be in case of a President if you found him guilty you  
24 do not want to waste any time to go any further.

25 This would apply to both Presidents and judges, too.

1 Senator Byrd. Do we have copies of the amendment?

2 Mr. Ticer. No, we do not.

3 The Chairman. Bob, do you like this language any better  
4 as to the last part of that sentence, the Senate shall determine  
5 forthwith whether further proceedings with respect to such  
6 trial shall be continued?

7 Senator Byrd. Whether what?

8 The Chairman. Whether further proceedings with respect  
9 to such trial shall be continued.

10 Senator Byrd. I do not think that we have any alterna-  
11 tive, Howard.

12 There is at least one other proceeding that has to be  
13 done, and that is pronouncement of judgment. You have to get  
14 that certified copy done so we are not left to choose.

15 Senator Allen. I question whether it takes any Senate  
16 action to pronounce judgment.

17 The judgment is pronounced when the vote is taken, so  
18 really no action is required to pronounce judgment.

19 Senator Hatfield. We do not have an option.

20 Senator Allen. It is an administrative act.

21 Dr. Riddick. I think that is in previous cases, but I  
22 think Senator Byrd's point is it might go on further, and say  
23 he shall never hold office again.

24 The Chairman. Or you might want to go on and have a  
25 vote on the remaining articles.

3 1 Is that not what Cavanaugh's point was?

2 Senator Byrd. Right.

3 Let me offer a substitute amendment that would take care  
4 of Senator Pell's situation, and if someone wants to strike  
5 part or all, they may do so.

6 May I have copies made of this?

7 This will take care of Senator Pell's point.

8 Dr. Riddick, is it stated in any other place that a  
9 certified copy of such judgment shall be deposited in the office  
10 of the Secretary of State?

11 Dr. Riddick. It is in the existing rule.

12 Senator Byrd. I mean is it stated in any other place?

13 Dr. Riddick. No, I think this is the only place.

14 Senator Byrd. No other place?

15 Then you need that to be retained in the rule somewhere.

16 Why the words "upon pronouncing judgment?"

17 Is that just to preclude any inordinate delay of a month  
18 or two, that certified copy being prepared and sent down to the  
19 Secretary of State?

20 I suppose that is the purpose of that.

21 Dr. Riddick. I think so. Of course, the Senate has, on  
22 its own, and in its own wisdom, on different occasions adopted  
23 orders to notify the President, and somebody else, I forget  
24 which it was, in addition to this rule.

25 Senator Allen. Ordinarily on articles I would think they

1 would be submitted in order, but who determines the order in  
2 which the articles are submitted?

3 Senator Byrd. The Senate would determine, if any, I  
4 suppose, it would be like in other matters, any other bill you  
5 would start at the beginning of it.

6 Senator Allen. As you pointed out in the Johnson trial.

7 Senator Byrd. That was by order. They adopted an  
8 order that we would vote on Article 11 first.

9 Dr. Riddick. That is right, and take the rest of them  
10 in series, and then they came back and reversed that order.

11 Senator Byrd. Came back and changed that.

12 Senator Allen. Well, without an order they would start  
13 with number one.

14 Senator Byrd. Yes.

15 Senator Allen. Here on this language, Senator Byrd,  
16 with respect to "shall determine what further proceedings with  
17 respect to such trial are essential or necessary," actually  
18 nothing would be essential or necessary.

19 I mean if they voted on one article, nothing else is  
20 essential or necessary to vacate the office.

21 Senator Byrd. That is true.

22 Senator Allen. Do you not think we ought to have another  
23 word in there in addition to that, or strike one of them, and  
24 substitute another word, or words to the effect that "no  
25 further proceedings shall be taken?"

1 That would control whether to vote on any more articles  
2 or not, but nothing else is essential after it.

3 Senator Byrd. Yes, I would accept that.

4 You might want to apply that to this new amendment I have  
5 here.

6 For the purpose of the record, the substitute amendment  
7 that I offer, and I withdraw the first one, and offer a second  
8 amendment which has in part the same wording in essence as the  
9 first one, and it reads:

10 "Rule XXIII is amended --

11 "(1) by inserting at the beginning of the text the  
12 following: 'One voting has commenced on a first article of  
13 impeachment, no recess or adjournment shall be taken after such  
14 commencement until voting on all articles of impeachment has  
15 been completed except as provided herein.'; and

16 "(2) by striking out all after the last semicolon and  
17 inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'but if the person  
18 accused shall be convicted upon any such article by the votes  
19 of two-thirds of the members present, the Senate may proceed  
20 to the consideration of such other matters as may be determined  
21 to be appropriate prior to pronouncing judgment. Upon pronounc-  
22 ing judgment, a certified copy of such judgment shall be deposited  
23 in the office of the Secretary of State.'."

24 Now, that is it. I like this one, because it does  
25 provide for a quick decision.

15-6 1 In the case of the Johnson trial the Senate voted under  
2 the 11th article on the 16th day of May, and adjourned for ten  
3 days.

4 Well, the country was held in suspense. You can see  
5 what can happen today if the Senate were to adjourn for two  
6 days, or three days, or six days, or ten days before proceeding.

7 Mr. Chairman, I think the country wants a judgment one  
8 way or the other, in order to get the matter behind us. This  
9 would accomplish that.

10 We also achieve the wish of Senator Pell.

11 The Chairman. Well, are you not getting into a problem  
12 there?

13 I do not know what time limits we will eventually fix,  
14 but suppose you fix a time limit for debate on one article,  
15 and debate that one, and then take a vote?

16 I do not imagine you would debate all of them before  
17 you started to vote on any of them.

18 Senator Byrd. I am very glad you mentioned that, Mr.  
19 Chairman.

20 I intended to write in this. I am so glad you mentioned  
21 that.

22 I had another paragraph that the voting would be in  
23 rapid consecution.

24 Where is that now?

25 Mr. Chairman, I have another amendment. I do not readily

1 find it at this point, but it was to the effect that once the  
2 voting starts on the article the vote on each article follows  
3 an immediate consecution so that there is no time between  
4 articles.

5 Senators could debate articles for whatever length of  
6 time the Senate decides in its rules it wants to give them.

7 In other words, it might give each Senator one hour for  
8 the discussion of all of the articles before voting the article,  
9 any or all, but once the vote on those articles is given we  
10 have them back to back, one, two, three.

11 Now, I had another amendment, and I think I wrote it in  
12 another book like this.

13 The Chairman. If I might suggest, we are not going to  
14 get through all of this today. Why not pull your entire amend-  
15 ment to Article 23 together, including the two provisions we  
16 have adopted, so that you could offer a complete new, as amended,  
17 Rule XXIII?

18 Senator Eyrd. Very well.

19 The Chairman. Then we could see the whole thing, and  
20 have it in front of us, and if we adopt that, then we know what  
21 shape we are in.

22 Senator Allen. I wonder on the first line once voting  
23 has commenced on a first article of impeachment, would it not  
24 be a little bit more definite to say on an article of impeach-  
25 ment, because we may never vote on the first one, you know.

3 1 We might start with the second one, and we should say commence  
2 on an aritcle, or any article would be better.

3 Senator Pell. Yes.

4 The Chairman. Let us say, "any" or "an."

5 Senator Byrd. That is good.

6 Senator Hatfield. Mr. Chairman, is there something you  
7 need a quorum on? I have to go to a conference.

8 The Chairman. I think it is getting along in the day.

9 In light of the fact that we do not have time here on  
10 some very important matters on these remaining issues, I would  
11 like to suggest that we adjourn to a time certain, and try to  
12 consider these matters, and tomorrow may not be a good day.

13 I would like to have suggestions as to what day next  
14 week you would like to get started.

15 Senator Byrd. May I respond to that?

16 The Chairman. Certainly.

17 Senator Byrd. My suggestion is that we await the call  
18 of the Chair.

19 In view of the circumstances I hesitate for us to set  
20 an hour and date at this point.

21 The Chairman. Very well. That would be all right, but  
22 let me ask, tentatively, would perhaps Wednesday of next week,  
23 which would be a normal meeting day for us, would that be a  
24 good day?

25 Senator Byrd. Certainly agreeable with me.

1           The Chairman. This could be changed by events, but we  
2 will try to pick out a suitable day.

3           Senator Byrd. Personally, I would prefer if other events  
4 do not intervene that we proceed earlier than we usually do.

5           The Chairman. Monday or Tuesday?

6           Senator Pell. Yes, I like Wednesday, but Monday or  
7 Tuesday is all right with me.

8           The Chairman. I would like to ask that all of us who  
9 have proposed amendments, if we could have them drafted and  
10 ready to pass out at that time on these four remaining rules,  
11 it would help us very much.

12          Senator Byrd. Very well.

13          The Chairman. If there is no objection then, we will  
14 recess subject to the call of the Chair.)

15                   (Whereupon, at 3:55 p.m., the Committee recessed,  
16 subject to the call of the Chair.)

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