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	REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
1	EXECUTIVE SESSION
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з	REPORT ON PROCEDURES CONCERNING NOMINATION OF
4	THE VICE-PRESIDENT; REVIEW OF EXISTING RULES
5	ON IMPEACHMENT AND PROPOSED CHANGES.
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7	WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1974
8	United States Senate,
g	Committee on Rules and Administration, Washington, D. C.
10	The Committee met in executive session, pursuant to
11	recess, in Room 301 of the Russell Senate Office-Building,
72	at 10:15 a.m, the Honorable Howard W. Cannon (The Chairman),
19	presiding.
14	Present: Senators Cannon, Pell, Byrd, Allen, Williams,
15	Cook, Scott, Griffin and Hatfield.
16	Staff present: William M. Cochrane, Staff Director;
17	Hugh Q. Alexander, Chief Counsel; Joseph E. O'Leary, Pro-
19	fessional Staff Member (Minority); Joseph P. Coder, Profes-
19	sional Staff Member; Jack L. Sapp, Professional Staff Member;
20	James H. Duffy, Chief Counsel, Subcommittee on Privileges
21	and Elections; James F. Schoener, Minority Counsel, Subcom-
22	mittee on Privileges and Elections; John K. Swearingen, Staff
22	Director, Subcommittee on Computer Services; Peggy Parrish,
2.3 2.3	Assistant Chief Clerk.
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The Chairman. The Committee will come to order. Gentlemen, I will give you a brief report on the procedures relative to the Vice-Presidential nomination.

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For the rest of you, I was notified yesterday by the White House that Mr. Rockefeller was being nominated and I met with him yesterday afternoon. I have also sent a letter to him requesting that he make available his complete financial information, and make available his health records, similar to the request that we made in the Ford nomination.

I have talked to and also written a letter to the Attorney-General requesting full investigation of the nominee by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and requested that it be made as expeditiously as possible. He has assured me that they had made a rough preliminary investigation, but that they would commence on the detailed investigation for us today.

I have written a letter to the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue and Taxation, requesting the Joint Committee to obtain Federal income and other tax returns on the nominee for the past six years, and to have its staff analyze, summarize and report to the Rules Committee on their findings.

I have written a letter to the Comptroller-General requesting that he assign investigators as needed to assist the Rules Committee in its investigation of the nominee.

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I have written Senator Jackson, Chairman of the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee, requesting that he assign Dick Casad

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to us in this investigation. Dick was the one that was assigned to us and worked in the last one.

I have written to Dr. Mumford, the Librarian of Congress, and Lester Jayson, Director of the Congressional Research Service, requesting the full resources of the Library be made available to provide us with all available information on the nominee.

And I have had the Staff Director discuss with the Staff Director of the House Judiciary Committee the procedures for full cooperation between the two Committees, as we did in the Ford investigation, including the complete sharing of information.

And I have instructed the Majority and Minority counsel of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, assisted by General Accounting Office investigators, to investigate the nominee's gubernatorial campaign spending reports and records.

Now, that concludes the actions that 1 have taken to date on behalf of the Committee. And I would like to have the approval of the Committee for those actions.

> Senator Allen. I would like to commend the Chairman. Senator Griffin. What took you so long, Mr. Chairman?

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[Laughter]

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Senator Scott. Well, I think that's great.

The Chairman. Without objection, those actions will be approved, then.

Senator Scott?

Senator Scott. Could I make a suggestion? I have been informed that the President made inquiry of the Special Prosecutor's office and received what amounted to clearance, so far as that could be given on short notice.

I would suggest that the Chairman communicate with Mr. Jaworski and solicit from him a letter--you may not need testimony if we decide the letter is sufficient, but in these circumstances, I think the approach to the Special Prosecutor is desirable.

The Chairman. I think that is a very good suggestion. Senator Scott. One other suggestion, and that is that I have asked the Governor to make available a liaison man to anyone on the Hill who wants to make contact directly and quickly, so that no time is lost. And he has indicated that he is considering either Mr. Bob Douglass, who used to be his secretary, and is with Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy --or Mr. John Lockwood.

So we will hear something on the liaison, to save time.

The Chairman. I asked him that same question, and he

told me that he thought Bobby Douglass would be the liaison, but he would let us know for sure. And I may say that he assured me that he would cooperate with us in every way possible, to the extent of furnishing financial records and authorizing income tax data and all of this sort of thing to be furnished to him.

I, in turn, assured him that as far as I was concerned I was not interested in going out on a fishing expedition simply to provide the press with a lot of data which they might want to write up that didn't necessarily relate to the problem involved. And that as far as the tax data that is furnished to us, that, as far as I was concerned, we would consider that confidential information. And if anything was to be released, that would be for him to release it--unless it was something that related to the qualification of the nominee.

Senator Pell. Mr. Chairman, one question. Is it our intention eventually, while the income taxes should not be disclosed, if that is the will of the nominee--I remember asking that question of Mr. Ford in the open hearing--but because a man has a large fortune or a small fortune or no fortune, I think they should be treated alike as far as the publication of the assets.

> Nould that be the intention of the Committee? The Chairman. Well, I would assume that the Committee

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REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES would follow substantially the same procedural steps that 1 we followed before. 2 Senator Pell. I think that that should be. I realize З that the press will jump on it with some zest, but never-۵ theless I think that just because his fortune is very large, 5 that does not preclude its publication. £ The Chairman. Now, the steps that remain to be taken. 7 First, we have to decide the date and the place of the 8 hearings. Q The place could be a decision between the Caucus Room 10 or 1202, where we had the hearings before. 99 The dates I think we would probably have to wait until 12 we get an estimate from the FBI as to how long they will 93 take on their investigations. 14 Then I would assume that we would probably want to fol-15 low the same format that we did in the Ford hearings, which 16 I thought worked quite well. \$7 We .I think now could make the decision that, in light 16 of the fact that we did permit pooled television broadcast-19 ing before, I would think that we would want to follow that 20 same procedure and let the networks prepare to set up for a 21 pool whenever we decided to go ahead with it. 22 And I think--did we not adopt some special rules, Bill, 23 before? And I think that we could review those and the 24 probabilities are that the special rules that we adopted 25

before would be adequate here.

And one other thing. I would like to request that each Member, each Committee Member, designate a staff representative to work as a select smaller staff than we normally have in working on this whole matter.

Senator Scott. On the time--so that we can all say roughly the same thing--that is what we will be asked right away--would it be all right if we said that we plan to begin hearings as soon after, as soon as the FBI report is received, and that we hope we can start as soon after we return as possible. They are all going to ask us, and if we give varying dates--and all that is confusing. We can't give a specific date.

The Chairman. That is the answer that I have given when I have been asked so far, that we would expect to proceed as soon as possible after the FBI reports are received. And in the case of the Ford hearing, those reports took roughly about three weeks time.

So that would give you some kind of an idea.

Senator Pell. Wouldn't we--the Chairman and I were talking of this the other day--wouldn't we hear the adverse and other witnesses first, and then have the Vice-Presidential candidate as the anchor man. You know, we heard Mr. Winterberger--and there was somebody else who was adverse, I forget who it was--before hearing the candidate.

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REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES 8 And I would think we should reach a decision as to that. 1 The Chairman. Well, I think it would depend on who we 2 have requests from to be heard. We heard Winterberger, if 3 you recall, as a result of the book. And we screened him Δ and we never did put him on. Б Senator Pell. But we had other witnesses, too, before-6 hand. 7 Senator Scott. We began with the Senators, didn't we, 8 from the home state? 9 Senator Pell. That's right. But we did not call Ford 10 until he was the anchor witness, so that we didn't have to 11 have him there and then call him back. 12 Senator Scott. That's right. I think if we did what 13 we did before and proceed out of courtesy to the two Senators 14 from New York, Congressmen from New York, if they wish to 15 appear -- pro or con-- and then go on with the adverse witnesses 16 after we have reviewed them. 17 Senator Pell. If there are any. 19 Senator Scott. If there are any. I suppose there will 19 he. A man of this prominence, the length of time in public 20 life--some people. But what I think we have to guard 21 against, as before, are the headline hunters, the people 22 who are either -- whose charges have no merit in the opinion 29 of the Committee, we decide that. 24 Because there are going to be two kinds of witnesses. 25

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES There are going to be serious witnesses, we assume, and not 1 so serious witnesses. 2 The Chairman. We commenced with the Vice-Presidential 3 nominee. 4 Senator Pell. And then we had Winterberger afterwards ... 5 The Chairman. We had Winterberger in a closed session, 6 but we had Ford in open session. 7 Mr. Cochrane. Then we had the Senators and Congressmen. 8 Senator Hatfield. We heard Winterberger here and Ford 9 out there. 10 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, I think it is appropriate 11 to have the nominee first. And he can always be called back 12 to answer any charges. But it seems to me that that would 13 be the appropriate starting point, to have the nominee. 14 Senator Scott. Yes, I change my mind on that, too, 15 Bob, because that is what we did before. 16 The Chairman. Yes, we had the nominee first in open 17 session, then we had the Senators and House Members. The 18 second day we had Mr. Winterberger, Hutsnaker [phonetic] and 19 --what's her name? 20 Senator Hatfield. We had them in here, though. 21 The Chairman. In here in executive session, but the 22 day after. 23 Senator Byrd. Mr Chairman, I just want to say one 24 thing on behalf of the leadership, not necessarily on behalf 25

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of myself personally.

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But I would hope--and in stating this I don't imply that it would be any other way--but I would hope that we would do everything we possibly could to expedite the action on this nomination, so as to have it before the Senate, if at all possible--keeping in mind the importance of this nomination in itself, in its own right, and also keeping in mind the larger importance of the nomination by virtue of the fact that the people will not have voted on this man--we will be selecting him as representative of the people under the 25th Amendment--hopefully so as to have this nomination on the floor before, well enough before October 15 so that the Senate can act on the nomination before we adjourn sine die.

Now, we are making every effort we can to close the work of the Senate, the session, by no later than October 15-and I believe we can do it. I think the House is moving in the Ways and Means Committee on a health insurance bill. We are going to have one more cloture vote on the Consumer Protection Bill. The appropriations bills are moving to the Senate Ploor rapidly and the only one we will have any trouble with is --- operate with the continuing resolution again.

But I think that the momentum is going to build here for a sine die adjournment by October 15. I think it would

be a mistake--I don't want to use that word. I think it would be unfortunate if we were not to confirm Mr. Rockefeller well in advance of the November elections. I am as partisan as anyone when the necessity arises, but I don't want the Democrats to be accused of partisanship when that is the farthest thing from our minds.

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And I want us to demonstrate again--certainly in the Rules Committee--as the Committee so clearly demonstrated before, that partisanship is not a factor, that it is going to do a thorough job and a good job, but it is going to expedite this matter and get it to the Floor, so that rather than be criticized undeservedly by some elements--I am not just saying it would be in the Republican Party, there might be some in the Democratic Party--I am not looking at that at all.

I just want to be sure that we get this nomination to the Floor and get it confirmed well in advance of the November elections. If we don't, no matter what we say, we are going to be tarred with having been political in handling this nomination.

And that is not the worst part of it really. This country needs a Vice-President. In the event that something should happen to Ford, Mr. Albert is the next in the line of succession, who is a Democrat--and I have high regard for him --but I am confident that he, as much as anyone, would not

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want anything to happen that would cause this burden to be placed on him.

So we are in a vulnerable position. And I just hope that we can act to get this to the Floor well in advance of the November elections.

Now, that is all I am going to say on that point. And in saying that, I don't for a moment think, Mr. Chairman, that there would ever be any effort in this Committee to hold you up. Already, as I hear from the press--already, there are some who are saying that there is going to be dragging of feet and we are going to stall and all that business. I know this Committee is not going to stall.

But I am just saying this by way of supporting you in your efforts to expedite it and to indicate that as far as Senator Mansfield and I are concerned, we want to do everything we can to push it along.

> Senator Scott. Bob, would you yield there? Senator Byrd. Yes.

Senator Scott. I agree. I made a brief speech this morning in which I said that I didnot believe that anybody-meaning both Houses--had any intention of delay, that we all wanted to expedite it. I felt that this was a good spirit and that we would do what we could in our Committee.

I think it is desirable for all the reasons you have cited, because no matter how proper our motives have been

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as they were in the Ford confirmation, should there arise • delays which the public can't understand, nothing under heaven will stop the Democratic and Republican partisans in the country from trying to make something of it.

And you have mentioned the charges that would occur of willful delay--there would be others, too. There would be charges that the visibility and the very visage of Rockefeller would keep one of the most attractive faces in front of the people before November.

In fact I said jokingly in my office this morning, if he stayed here till November it is better than having him.on the circuit. So you can see the temptations could be both Democratic and Republican. I am just trying to be fair and objective about it.

And this Committee has done a good job.

Senator Byrd. It has.

Senator Scott. And I would like to see us do it the way we did before, with decency and dignity and decorum, and get on with it as fast as we can.

Senator Byrd. I think the Chairman and the Members of this Committee have demonstrated in the most remarkable way the dedication of this Committee to duty. And I have no doubt it is going to do it again.

Senator Pell. There are two further thoughts, I think, here--one of a general political nature, that the House

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acquitted itself very well from the national viewpoint on television. As we all know, the esteem of Congress was about 20 percent last time around whereas the President was 30 percent.

And at this point, the public esteem, I think maybe because of the House show, there is more esteem there. And I would think there is even more of a burden on us to move it fast for the general reputation of the Senate and the country. I have heard this in comments of individuals. I mentioned that we are going to have to have the FBI check, it is going to take some weeks, etc., etc., etc. It is hard to get that across. We know it is necessary. So I just reinforce what you say.

One thought here, you have the 15th of October. You realize that is immediately following the long four-day Columbus Day weekend. I suspect you either mean the 19th or you mean the 11th.

Senator Byrd. Well, the joint leadership of both Houses has marked that day as the outer limit.

Senator Scott. Columbus Day or not--I mean, we are going to stay here.

The Chairman. I just simply want to point out, you can see, as far as the Committee is concerned, we have taken every step to this point that could possibly be taken that I could think of. And the two pacing items are these: one,

the completion of the FBI report, which we--until we have got that gone over, we are not in a position to start the hearing.

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And, secondly, the receipt of the financial data and the review of that. And you can see that we have taken every step possible there.

And so just as fast as we can get those two jobs done --and the Attorney-General told me that by noon today he 8 would hope to be able to give me some kind of an estimate, 9 a ballpark estimate, of how long it will take the FBI to 10 do their job.

And in that connection, I already mentioned that you should each appoint a staff person to have access to the 13 information. 14

Now, in the Ford proceeding, we later modified that provision to the effect that any confidential or delicate information received by the Committee would in the first instance be made available only to the two staff, top staff, personnel --Mr. Cochrane for the Majority and Mr. O'Leary for the Minority--and released to other staff personnel as approved by the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member.

Is there objection to following that same format?

Senator Cook. May I say, Mr. Chairman--and I have no objection to that, I want to get on to the next phase of it --and that is that you and I were designated as the ones to

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read all of the raw or confidential data on the nominee at that time.

I would just purely and simply for the benefit of expediency, so that we can move this thing on, when you get to that part I have no objection to leaving it the same, as long as you and I have the authority to designate another Member of the Committee, with the approval of the Chairman, to assume that responsibility, if we can't do it. I don't want to hold this thing up one minute, in fact, if I can help it.

The Chairman. I think that is a good suggestion, because, if you recall, we even had the difficulty with that part before, because they wanted to summarize and give it to us--and then the House, after we got that authority, the House went a step further and got it for more than the two Members.

So, if there is no objection, first we will approve this stipulation, then with respect to any delicate or confidential information to be reviewed by the staff Majority and Minority representative--and that released to the remainder of the staff personnel only as approved by the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member, and that as far as the FBI reports and confidential information is concerned, the Majority and Minority Member will both have authority to designate another Member to act ---

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Senator Scott. That job might have been made simpler even than it is, in view of the fact that our first and fourth members on this side were among the semi-finalists.

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Senator Byrd. Well, as many services as he has performed under various Administrations, Democratic and Republican, it would not seem to me that it would take long for the FBI report.

Senator Scott. Well, updating-he must have had a great many FBI reports over the years.

Senator Byrd. Yes. And I daresay that his financial books are probably in such order that the whole picture can be presented far more quickly than it could in the case of many people with infinitely lesser means.

Senator Hatfield. How many rich people have you read about who die without a will? I am not so sure.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question off the record.

The Chairman. Back on the record. Gentlemen, then, without objection, we will approve that stipulation with respect to the Majority and Minority Members of the Committee being able to designate a Member to assist them in reviewing the material.

(Discussion off the record.)

And also the staff personnel, first the Majority and Minority representatives reviewing the confidential or delicate

information, and that type of information being released to the remainder of the staff only on approval of the Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member.

Now, if we may go back to our business of our meeting today.

Senator Griffin. Mr. Chairman, before you leave that---I think I know the answer to this--I think we are all asked about whether or not any consideration is being given to joint hearings with the House Judiciary Committee. I take it that that probably is impractical.

The Chairman. I think it is. We explored that to some degree in the Ford hearings and we determined then--first, the House didn't seem to be particularly interested in it, and we determined that there would be a lot of practical problems that might be difficult of solution if we were to go that route.

And as long as we have an established precedent, I think that we really ought to proceed with our established precedent.

Senator Griffin. There was a lot of cooperation, however, between the Committees and they didn't duplicate everything. It seems to me there could be quite a lot of effort in making sure that both Committees don't go over exactly the same ground.

Senator Cook. If the Chairman would yield, we covered a lot of that in that, and, believe me, it made their job a

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lot easier as a result of our work. And I assume, whoever starts this, we will do the same thing we did the last time, and that is make immediate contact with House personnel, so that ---

Senator Griffin. I think that is one of the first questions you are going to be asked.

Senator Byrd. We are going to have a vote at 11, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. All right, gentlemen, suppose we proceed now to our rules. We have four remaining rules to consider. The first one was Rule VII.

Senator Scott. I have an amendment there which I would like you to give some consideration to. And that is being circulated. It could be considered in two forms--the present form--the first form is as you have it before you, which would say "And the Presiding Officer on the trial may rule all questions..."--the word "on" is left out because "on" is left out in the original Rule VII--"...may rule all questions of relevancy, materiality and redundancy of evidence and incidental questions,..."

If it should be argued that that limits the Presiding Officer, who is now entitled to rule on all questions of evidence, then we could insert after the words "all questions" the phrase "of evidence, specifically including all questions of relevancy, materiality and redundancy..." And that covers,

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in my view, the hearsay problem as well, that he could in the first instance rule that it is not relevant for reasons including hearsay.

And his rule stands as the judgment of the Senate, unless the Senate overrules him, which they have the right to do by an immediate submission of the question.

I just feel, when we were confronted with a situation that might have gotten us somewhere between six and eight months of trial, one of the questions that arose in all cases was whether or not various witnesses could be called, and the Secate ruled o it--I think after the Chief Justice had--I am not sure. He was overruled 17 times and after that he just put the question.

So whether this occurs in the first or second half I am not sure, but they refused to take Gideon Wells. I think he should have the right to rule that an offer of proof indicates that the witness proposes to give relevant evidence, and the Senate can overrule him.

What is of more concern to me is to be sure that we eliminate that kind of hearsay which is deemed by the Chief Justice not to be relevant or that kind of redundancy which involves somebody offering 200 witnesses.

It was clear to me in the situation formerly pending-which is as nice a way as I can think of putting it--that counsel for the respondent did intend a very long and

21 REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES exhaustive defense, and that suggested to me that very time, however sympathetic I might be, it was not in the 2 interests of the Senate or the country to put ourselves in З that position if we could properly avoid it. à Whether this is the right way or some other way, I 5 don't know--I have no pride of language. But I would like 6 something that shows that the Presiding Officer can at least 7 get after this thing of redundancy, which helps to expedite 8 the proceedings. 9 The Chairman. Any further discussion? 10 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, I think this is a good 11 amendment. I am ready to vote on it and I support it. I 12 will have other little slight amendment after we have passed 13 on this one. 14 Senator Griffin. Mr. Chairman? 15 The Chairman. Yes. 16 Senator Griffin. I am a little concerned, Hugh, that 17 maybe you are making the power of the Presiding Officer to 18 rule less in scope than it was before. 19 Senator Scott. Not if you say "of evidence" where you 20 then repeat the present Rule VII--"...all questions of 21 evidence,..." adding "...specifically including all questions 22 of..." 23 I think there you have retained the original power but 24 you have spelled it out. 25

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1	Senator Griffin. In other words, it would not read as
2	it would here, is that right?
3	Senator Scott. "all questions of evidence, speci-
4	fically including questions of " those three things.
5	The Chairman. Is that different than this one, then?
6	Senator Griffin. Because there would be other ques-
7	tions of evidence other than relevancy, materiality and
8	redundancy.
9	Senator Scott. I know it, but we are trying to get
10	first by that change
11	The Chairman. Do you have a copy of that?
12	Senator Scott. "may rule all questions of evidence
13	I didn't put the "on" there because it is not in Rule
14	VII.
15	Senator Byrd. Let's put it in, Hugh.
18	Senator Scott. All right. "all questions of evi-
17	dence, specifically including " Now we have given him
18	broad general power, but we have indicated the intent of the
19	Senate that we don't want"specifically including all
20	questions of"
21	Senator Griffin. What does the word "redundancy" mean?
22	Senator Scott. "Redundancy" merely means that a witness
23	is repetitive.
24	Redundancy is the thing that I fear200 witnesses would
25	be called, of whom 100 might be character witnesses. You have

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Senator Griffin. But a second witness might be redundant but might not be ---.

Senator Scott. The Chief Justice would rule right away that if you called three witnesses to a given point, he could rule either way and immediately be overruled by the Senate. That would seem to be a reasonable attempt by defense counsel.

But if he offered 200 witnesses or 100 witnesses, including many character witnesses, then the Chief Justice would rule that that was clearly redundant, and the Senate can again overrule him.

Senator Griffin. Your change takes care of ---Senator Scott. My change is designed to take care of that, because it gives him a broad power, and then we spell out some of the things we have in mind, not excluding anything else.

Senator Williams. Why do we need that word "specifically" in there? Is that necessary?

Senator Griffin. Including but not limited to.

The Chairman. Yes. I have a suggestion here. "And the Presiding Officer on the trial may rule on all questions of evidence, including but not limited to questions of relevancy, materiality and redundancy of evidence and incidental questions,..."

Senator Scott. That is satisfactory to me.

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24 REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES The Chairman. Yes, I think that is better. All right, 1 is there objection to that amendment? 2 Without objection, then, that amendment will be approved 3 and that replaces the second sentence of Rule VII. 4 All right, Senator Byrd? 5 Senator Byrd. Yes, Mr. Chairman. After the word "deci-6 sion" in line 11 of the present rule, I would like to--I 7 would move to insert the words "without debate" before the 8 semicolon. 9 The Chairman. Can you use this mark-up, this print, in 10 your folder? Use that, page 4. 11 Senator Byrd. On line 21 after the word "decision" and 12 before the semicolon, insert the words "without debate". 13 The Chairman. You wouldn't want to have the opportunity 14 for debate? 15 Senator Byrd. Not among Senators, not unless you want 16 to go into closed session. 17 Senator Scott. This is merely applicable to open ses-18 sions, isn't it, Bob? 19 Senator Byrd. Yes. 20 Senator Scott. Well, if it is applicable only to open 21 sessions I certainly would have no objection to it. 22 Senator Griffin. Is it necessary to say "without debate 23 by Senators"? 24 Senator Byrd. I don't believe so. 25

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Senator Griffin. It would be clear that the counsel could argue the question.

Senator Byrd. Yes, counsel could.

Senator Scott. I suggest that we include some reference in the report to what we mean.

I think in the discussion we just might make it clear to have some legislative history.

The Chairman. Yes, I think before he makes that ruling, counsel will have made their argument to him. Then if he submits it for a ruling to the Senate without debate.

Is there objection, then? Without objection, that will be approved.

Senator Griffin. Mr. Chairman, could I, before you go on--let me focus attention on page 3 and 4, lines 14 and 15. "...and the said Chief Justice..." And line 12 talks about the Presiding Officer of the Senate. And line 14 says "...the said Chief Justice shall be administered the oath by the Presiding Officer of the Senate and shall preside over the Senate during the consideration of said articles" and so forth.

I take it that from thereon when you talk about the Presiding Officer of the Senate, you are talking about the Chief Justice? Linell, page 4, "The Presiding Officer of the Senate..."

Senator Byrd. No, sir, that is not talking about the

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Chief Justice.

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Senator Griffin. It is not?

Senator Pell. When they talk about Presiding Officer they mean Chief Justice, but Presiding Officer of the Senate remains Presiding Officer of the Senate.

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Senator Griffin. I see.

The Chairman. That was to clear up the question of who administers the oath, and we determined then that the Presiding Officer of the Senate would administer the oath to the Chief Justice, then the Chief Justice becomes the Presiding Officer.

Senator Griffin. In other words, at that point, you have Presiding Officer on the trial and Presiding Officer of the Senate.

The Chairman. That is correct.

Senator Griffin. I guess that is clear enough. 16 Senator Byrd. Do you think that there should be some 17 question arise in the event that the -- the Vice-President is 18 the Presiding Officer of the Senate, of course in his absence 19 the President Pro Tem--can there possibly be any question 20 arise in the future by way of quibbling over the definition 21 of the word "Presiding Officer of the Senate"? 22 The Chairman. I don't think so. 29 Senator Byrd. You don't think so? 24 The Chairman. I don't think so. Rule VII starts off

with that and relates the Presiding Officer of the Senate-and in the same sentence the Presiding Officer on the trial, to show that they are two separate people. I don't think that we would have any problem in that.

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All right, are there other amendments to Rule VII?

We discussed the other day the question about that last sentence of Rule VII. "Upon all such questions the vote shall be without a division, unless the yeas and mays be demanded..."

The question was whether it should be by division, "unless the yeas and mays be demanded by one-fifth of the Members present, when the same shall be taken."

In other words, that is indicating that it would be a voice vote or a yea and nay vote, the way it stands now.

This is the last sentence on line 23, page 4.

In other words, "Upon all such questions the vote shall be without a division, unless the yeas and nays be demanded by one-fifth of the members present, when the same shall be taken."

Now, in other words, that implies that it is going to be a voice vote or it is going to be a yea-and-nay vote. And in our discussion earlier there was some indication that perhaps we should make it so that it be "by a division, unless the yeas and nays be demanded by one-fifth of the members present, when the same shall be taken."

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Senator Byrd. Why don't we just strike out the sentence, Mr. Chairman? It is of no use, except what you are pointing out--it now rules out a division.

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If you strike the sentence, we will be operating under Senate Rules. It can be by voice vote, by division or in the constitution of a fifth of the members present requesting yeas and nays.

Senator Scott. Or, if you want to, you can say "Upon all such questions the vote shall be in accordance with the Standing Rules of the Senate."

The Chairman. "Upon all such questions the vote shall be in accordance with ... " ... shall be taken in accordance with the Standing Rules of the Senate."

That, I think, is clear, because the Standing Rules comply with the Constitutional provision, don't they, dcctor?

Senator Pell. But in the Standing Rules, can't the Presiding Officer vote? 18 The Chairman. No. 18 Senator Byrd. To break a tie. 20 The Chairman. To break a tie. 13 Senator Pell. But we do not mean him to vote here, do 22 we? 29

Senator Byrd. That opens up a question, that opens up a question. It is not the Standing Rules of the Senate that

	REPRODUCED'AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES 29
1	gives him that vote on a tie, it is the Constitution.
2	The Chairman. Is that agreeable, then? The last line
з	on page 4 would read, then, "Upon all such questions the
4	vote shall be taken in accordance with the Standing Rules
5	of the Senate."
6	Do you see any objection to that, doctor?
7	Mr. Riddick. No, sir.
8	Senator Pell. Does this mean that the Presiding Officer,
9	i.e., the Chief Justice, can vote to break a tie?
10	The Chairman. The Presiding Officer is not given the
11	right to break the tie under the Rules of the Senate, is he,
12	doctor?
13	Mr. Riddick. He is given it under the Constitution.
14	The Chairman. That is under the Constitution. So this
15	creates no added problems that are not already there.
16	Senator Griffin. If there is any question about that
17	we are not creating rules for any particular defendant now,
18	we couldn't be accused of anythingif there is any question
19	about that, it would be well to resolve it. If the Senate
20	does not agree with what we decide, at least we would have
21	it one way or the other. Either he should be clearly able
22	to break a tie or not.
23	Senator Pell. This leaves it a little bit in a gray
24	area.
25	Senator Byrd. I thought I had an amendment entered.

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Senator Scott. We are going to face that somewhere ١ else, aren't we? 2. Senator Griffin. I personally think he should be ables 3 to, but I don't really care, as long as it is settled. 4 Senator Byrd. I don't think he should be able to on 5 the question of judgment, final judgment, as to whether or G not the person impeached can be disqualified from forever 7 holding office. That is determined by majority vote and I ß don't think he should be able to break a tie there. 0 Senator Scott. I would go with you. I would let him 10 break ties on procedural matters, because otherwise the 11 country watching it isn't going to understand why with a 12 tie one side won and the other wide lost. 13 But on that key thing he should not have a tie vote. 14 Senator Pell. Since we more or less agree to that 35 shouldn't we put it in? 16 Senator Byrd. If it is agreeable, let's do. 17 The Chairman. It is not agreeable with me. I don't 10 think he ought to have the right to break a tie under any 19 circumstances, because he is not a Member of the Senate and 20 they are the people that are entitled to vote. 21 So if we can finalize Rule VII here let's do it now and 22 handle that some place else, because we still have that issue 23 to be decided. 24 Is there objection, then, to this last sentence reading 25

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"Upon all such questions the vote shall be taken in accordance with the Standing Rules of the Senate."

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Without objection, then, that will be approved. All right, we made the changes in Rule VIII that you see in italics there. Rules IX and X we had no changes. Rule XI--we made the changes in italics in Rule XI, to remove the word "twelve" and also to make it "if the Senate so orders."

Rule--page 8, we had also at "12:30 o'clock afternoon, or at such other hour as the Senate may order,..." On the top of page 8, on that second line, strike the word "otherwise"--that is redundant. "At 12:30 o'clock afternoon, or at such other hour as the Senate may order,..."

Without objection, "otherwise" will be stricken.

And we made a technical correction in Rule XIII, to strike out "for such thing", "the Presiding Officer of the Senate shall so announce; and thereupon" to make it conform to present practices.

Rule XIV we made no change, XV no change, XVI no change, XVII no change, XVIII no change. XIX we amended it to read "or to a manager, or counsel of the person impeached," to make it clear that the questions could be put to other persons than the witness.

XX we made no change. XXI we made the change in italics. XXII we made no change. XXIII we made no change. Oh, XXIII

was one that we had open for further discussion. The question there--Senator Byrd had a proposed amendment, wasn't it to XXIII, Bob?

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Senator Byrd. I beg your pardon? Which rule? The Chairman. The XXIII, you had a proposed amendment to make it so that the articles--the different charges in an article could not be divided?

Senator Byrd. Yes. I think we had better ---The Chairman. We have got a vote on.

Senator Griffin. I might just mention right there-because I think that is a place it might be considered--I would like to see the Senate consider adopting a rule concerning burden of proof. I think the burden of proof should be "beyond a reasonable doubt."

Whether or not we will end up doing it or not, I don't know, but I just want to indicate that I would like to have it considered. It seems like there is manother unresolved question--which I was against resolving for a particular defendant in a particular case.

But we don't have that situation. It would be good if we could argue it out and set a standard of proof, as you have in any other trial.

Senator Scott. If I am not here, I would like to be recorded in favor of that.

Senator Griffin. Surely we won't vote on that today.

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	REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
1	The Chairman. If we try to set that, we are going to
2	run into a lot of problems on the Senate Floor, because
3	everybody has got their own ideas as to whether it ought to
A	be by a preponderance of the evidence, beyond a reasonable
5	doubt or whatand it may create some problems.
6	Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, could we meet over at the
7	The Chairman. Are we going to have other votes after
8	this one now?
9	Senator Byrd. We could very well. It is on that
10	defense appropriation bill.
11	The Chairman. It's kind of hard to move over there.
12	If we don't have a vote immediately to follow, we might be
13	able to wind this up in another hour.
14	Shall we just leave it here and try and come right back
15	and see what we can do?
16	Senator Byrd. All right.
17	The Chairman. All right, stand in recess.
18	(The Committee recessed at 11:07 a.m. and reconvened
19	at 11:52 a.m.)
20	The Chairman. On the record. There was a proposal
21	we skipped over XX a few moments ago, however it has been
22	pointed out that there might be a good amendment there.
29	XX provides that "At all times while the Senate is
24	sitting upon the trial of an impeachment the doors of the
25	Senate shall be kept open, unless the Senate shall direct

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the doors to be closed while deliberating upon its decisions."

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And this suggestion was made, that after the word "decisions," this sentence follow: "A motion to close the doors shall be voted on without debate and shall be made and had by yeas and mays which shall be entered on the record."

In other words, that would get away from--in the current rules, where a person who makes the motion to go into closed session and has it seconded, it is a closed session.

Is that correct, doctor?

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this.

Mr. Riddick. Well, Senator, I think that is true under our legislative rules, but I think under precedents this is what we followed before.

The Chairman. This is just restating what they did in the precedent, is that correct?

Mr. Riddick. That is correct, because the Chief Justice --that is the first time he voted, was to go into closed session.

Senator Byrd. Also, it provides for that taking place without debate, which is good.

The Chairman. Do you see any reason why this amendment should not be put in?

Mr. Riddick. No, sir, I do not. The only question I would raise if whether you want a yea and nay vote.

The Chairman. I think you ought to in a situation like

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1	REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES Senator Byrd. I think you ought to have a yea-and-nay
2	vote going into closed session.
3	Mr. Riddick. That would be the only question.
4	The Chairman. Without objection, then, that amendment
5	will be added to Rule XX.
6	Senator Byrd. Howard, if there is unanimous consent to
7	go into closed session, that would save the time of a roll
8	call. You could say by yeas and nays unless otherwise
9	orderad.
10	Mr. Riddick. That is what I was thinkingwithout
11	objection or by yeas and nays.
12	Senator Hatfield. You would have to be without objec-
13	tion first, preceding yeas and nays, to be followed by yeas
14	and nays as an alternative.
15	Mr. Ridaick. Correct. Without objection or by yeas
16	and nays.
17	The Chairman. Take a look there, doctor, and see if
18	you have suggestions for the language there.
19	Mr. Riddick. I don't have that copy. The only thing
20	that I was going to suggestshall be acted on without debate
21	and shall be made without objection or by yeas and nays,
22	which shall be entered on the record.
23	Senator Hatfield. Shall be acted upon and/or made
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25	Senator Byrd. Why not say shall be determined, instead

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The Chairman. Then the language now proposed is "A motion to close the doors shall be acted upon without objection or, if objection is heard, shall be voted on without debate and shall be made and had by yeas and mays, which shall be entered on the record."

Is there objection to that language, then? Without objection, that will be approved.

That covers XX. Now, Senator Byrd had a proposed amendment on Rule XXIII.

Senator Byrd. Shall I read it now, Mr. Chairman? The Chairman. Yes, why don't you read it.

Senator Byrd. Rule XXIII is amended, one, by inserting at the beginning of the text--wait a minute.

Rule XXIII is amended as follows: 1. "An article of impeachment shall not be divisible for the purpose of voting thereon at any time during the trial."

Shall be proceed further or act on that first?

The Chairman. I think they would all have to go together.

Senator Byrd. All right. 2. By inserting at the beginning of the text the following: "Once voting has commenced on an article of impeachment, voting shall be continued until voting has been completed on all articles of impeachment, unless the Senate adjourns for a period not

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to exceed one day or adjourns sine die."

And, 3, by striking out all after the last semicolon and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "But if the person accused shall be convicted upon any such article by the votes of two-thirds of the Members present, the Senate may proceed to the consideration of such other matters as may be determined to be appropriate prior to pronouncing judgment. Upon pronouncing judgment, a certified copy of such judgment shall be deposited in the Office of the Secretary of State."

And, 4, "A motion to reconsider the vote by which any article of impeachment is sustained or rejected shall not be in order."

> I thought we had already adopted that part. Senator Hatfield. We did.

Mr. Riddick. There was some question as to what ---Senator Byrd. I see now. We had adopted the first item, "An article of impeachment shall not be divisible for the purpose of voting thereon at any point during the trial." We adopted that.

And we adopted the last part, "A motion to reconsider the vote by which any article of impeachment is sustained or rjected shall not be in order."

We adopted those, am I correct?

Mr. Cochrane. It wasn't completely clear, sir, from

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES 38 the transcript. It looked as though it had been just dropped 1 and proceeded from that point. 2 Senator Byrd. Well, I thought we adopted those. 3 Mr. Riddick. I thought so, too, Senator. 4 Senator Byrd. There was no opposition to either of 5 an anna an Anna S ۰. them. 6 The Chairman. I am advised that it is somewhat ambi-7 guous in the transcript and the Chairman suggested that 8 Senator Byrd pull all of these amendments together and we 8 would consider them as one amendment to XXIII. 10 Senator Byrd. Very well. 11 The Chairman. Now, what comes out of XXIII--what re-12 mains or what comes out here now? 13 Senator Byrd. Nothing needs to come out. We just need 14 to clean up this amendment a little bit. 15 Senator Natfield. Especially leave in the two-thirds 18 C. Parts . required for conviction. 17 • • Senator Byrd. We just need to clean up my "amendment a 18 little bit. 19 Mr. Ticer. Senator, may I help on that? 20 -----Senator Byrd. Yes. 21 5.9 . . Mr. Ticer. Under this amendment, the way it would work, 22 the initial sentence, on the question of whether the article 23 is divisible, would go into the beginning of Rule XXIII. It 24 ... would be followed by the language concerning "Once voting 25 ×. .

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39 REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES has commenced on an article of impeachment, voting shall be 1 continued until voting has been completed on all articles of 2 impeachment, unless the Senate adjourns for a period, etc." 3 Senator Byrd. Yes. 4 Mr. Ticer. Then it would continue with the existent 5 language down to the semicolon on page 10, line 12. Then 6 you strike all that follows the semicolon and put in the 7 matter that appears on the amendment as item 2. 8 Senator Byrd. Yes. 9 Mr. Ticer. And at the end of that you pick up the last 10 sentence, which is also on that line. 11 Senator Byrd. Yes. 12 The Chairman. So that you would have Senator Byrd's 13 proposed subdivision 1, proposed subdivision 2, the beginning 14 of Rule XXIII, then the present portion of Rule XXIII would 15 follow his subdivision 2 down to and including the word 16 "entered" on line 12, the balance of present XXIII would be 17 stricken and Senator Byrd's amendment designated 3 and 4 18 would follow, is that correct? 19 Mr. Ticer. Yes, sir. 20 The Chairman. Any further discussion? We want to make 21 it clear that we understand what this does, now. This means 22 that, for example, if we had articles of impeachment over 23 here, such as in the matter that the House was considering, 24 the various charges in the first article of impeachment that

was voted out by the House Judiciary Committee could not be divided for the purpose of separate votes, so that if an impeachment bill came over containing six or more subdivisions-or any more than one--it would require a finding on that entire grouping to find a charge of guilty for impeachment.

Senator Hatfield. Mr. Chairman, could I restate it by asking a question? If we had six charges under Article One Or under a single article, what would be in the mind of the individual Senator if he found the person guilty on one of the six? That would be sufficient for him to vote for the article of impeachment, or would he have to find in his mind the person guilty on all six of the charges?

The Chairman. I would call on the author of the amendment.

Senator Byrd. Well, I think that would be a matter for each individual Senator's judgment, Mark. If there was one charge among the six that I felt he ought to be impeached on, I would vote him guilty on that. And then I would explain in my opinion or my statement that I didn't find the other five charges sufficient--but on that one I thought in my own mind that the evidence was beyond any reasonable doubt, and it was an impeachable offense, therefore I voted him guilty. Senator Natfield. But it would be just as logical, say, if I found him guilty on two and not guilty on four--or let's say there were five of them--I found him not guilty on three,

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REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES but on two, that I would vote for acquittal on that article, because the balance was in favor of the not guilty.

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Senator Byrd. It would be in your own individual judgment and you would state in your speech which you would mail out to your constituents explaining your vote.

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Senator Hatfield. I support the amendment just on the practicality of not having to find him guilty on all five or six of the charges, but I don't think we can impose any kind of a standard upon individual Senators any more than we can on the rules of evidence.

The Chairman. All right, is there objection, then, to that? Without objection, then, Rule XXIII will be so amended.

Now, we had a question on Rule XXIV. Was that one of yours, Senator Byrd?

> Senator Hatfield. May I ask Senator Byrd a question? Senator Byrd. Yes, sir.

Senator Hatfield. Do the indictments in a court of law have subdivisions?

Senator Byrd. Separate charges--what do they call them? Counts, separate counts. In other words, you wouldn't have one count with subdivisions in a court of law. You would have each individual count.

Senator Hatfield. And guilty on one as if guilty on all? 28

Senator Byrd. Right. As far as the person is concerned,

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Senator Hatfield. Does the sentence--does the imposition of a sentence of a man take into consideration that the man was found not guilty on ten counts and guilty on one? Senator Byrd. That would be up to the judge.

he is found guilty, if he is found not guilty on the others.

Senator Hatfield. Or do they stop the trial after guilt is found on the first count and not even try him on the others.

The Chairman. They try on all of the charges and he may be found not guilty on--say there are ten charges--found not guilty of nine of the charges but guilty of the one, and then that is the determination for the sentence.

Senator Hatfield. And does the determination of a sentence take that into consideration?

The Chairman. Absolutely.

Schator Hatfield. All right, then, let me ask you this. If they found him guilty on the first count or the first charge, do they have to go ahead and try in on the others?

The Chairman. The trial is already concluded on all of them. The trial is concluded on all of the charges, and then the jury may find him guilty on count No. 1 and count No. 3 and not guilty on Count No. 2, 4 and 5.

Senator Hatfield. And the degree of punishment, then, is related to the ---

The Chairman. That is correct.

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Now, the question in Rule XXIV was the question of the limitation of time for the Members to speak on a question-interlocutory question and final question. We had some discussion on that.

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I don't have any proposed language, but I think that is something we need to discuss.

Now, this is quite limited here. You will recall, I think Senator Javits raised the question that this was not adequate. And other people raised the question. Although we do have the escape clause there, "...unless by consent of the Senate."

And it may be that you prefer to leave the rule as it is and then require consent if any changes are to be made.

Senator Byrd. I would just as soon leave it like it is, with the exception of providing for orders and decisions to be made without objection up there. Orders and decisions could be made, doctor, by unanimous consent or by yea and nay vote.

Mr. Riddick. Yes.

Senator Byrd. How's that? "All the orders and decisions shall be made..."?

The Chairman. Well, aren't you going a little broad if you make "All the orders and decisions shall be made without objection or by yea and nay vote"?

There are certainly some orders and decisions of the

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Senate as a body that you wouldn't want to run the risk of just, say, without objection.

Senator Byrd. Well, any S nator could object. It seems to me that there could be some minor orders and decisions that --certainly decisions, minor decisions you wouldn't need a yea or nay vote on.

Doctor, what do you think?

Mr. Riddick. I think you are right. The same problem that was presented before, because if something is noncontroversial why have a yea and may vote on it.

The Chairman. Then we could use the same language that we put into Rule XX and say "All orders and decisions shall be acted upon without objection or, if objection is heard, shall be made and had by the yeas and nays, which shall be entered on the record."

Senator Byrd. Do you see any problem with that? Mr. Riddick. Mo, sir.

The Chairman. Do you see any difficultythere?

Mr. Riddick. Using "without objection," I think you could say without objection, will not have yeas and nays and get a division vote.

Senator Byrd. Except, doctor, can a Senator reserve the right to object and get some debate in?

Mr. Riddick. No, because wherever there is a unanimous consent proposal, while we do tolerate "Mr. President, I

ODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES reserve the right to object," the Chair can say, as we have ĩ done, "This is not debatable. Is there objection?" But 2 they normally let it run along, so they might resolve the 3 solution quicker. The Chairman. All right, then, if there is no objection, 5 we shall insert after the word "decisions," "shall be acted 6 upon without objection or, if objection is heard, ... " 7 Now, are there other amendments to Rule XXIV? 8 Senator Byrd. I had some other amendments I offered 9 here the last time. Do you have them? 10 The Chairman. All right, without objection, then, Rule 31 XXIV will be approved as amended. 12 Are there any other amendments then? 13 We approved that change on XXV before. 14 Senator Dyrd. I would like to take a look at Rule XVI. 19 I would like to strike "all motions made by the parties or រន their counsel shall be addressed to the Presiding Officer," 17 and insert in lieu thereof: "All motions, objections, re-18 quests, or applications whether relating to the procedure 12 of the Senate or relating immediately to the trial (including 20 questions with respect to admission of evidence or other 21 questions arising during the trial) made by the parties or 22 their counsel shall be addressed to the Presiding Officer 23 only." 24 The Chairman. And then would you leave in "...and if he 25

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1	or any Senator, shall require it, they shall be committed					
2	to writing, and read at the Secretary's table"?					
э	Senator Byrd. Yes.					
A	The Chairman. I think that clarifies it a little. Is					
5	there objection to that?					
С	Doc, do you see any problem there?					
7	Mr. Riddick. No, sir.					
8	The Chairman. Without objection, then, that amendment					
S	will be approved.					
10	Senator Byrd. I would suggest with regard to Rule XIX					
5 8	that it is amended by adding at the end of the rule, the					
12	present rule, the following: "The parties or their counsel					
13	may interpose objections to witnesses answering questions					
12	propounded at the request of any Senator and the merits of					
15 15	any such objection may be argued by the parties or their					
14 14	counsel. Ruling on any such objection shall be made as pro-					
17	vided in Rule VII. It shall not be in order for any Senator					
13	to engage in colloquy or to address questions to parties or					
	their counsel. The remarks of each Senator shall be addressed					
20	to the Presiding Officer only."					
21	Senator Natfield. May I ask a question?					
55	Senator Byrd. Xes.					
23	Senator Hatfield. When you say the remarks of each					
24	Senator shall be addressed to the Presiding Officer only, is					
25	that in writing or could a Senator engage in colloguy with					

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the presumption that he is only addressing himself in his remarks to the Presiding Officer?

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Senator Byrd. Well, a Senator could not address counsel for the defense or could not address a manager on the part of the House. He would address the Bresiding Officer.

Senator Hatfield. What about reduced to writing? Senator Byrd. Well, he would say "Mr. President, I have a question which I shall reduce to writing." He would then sit down and write it out. That is all I have in mind.

Senator Hatfield. So this is an add-on to that Rule XIX. It is not to replace it.

Senator Byrd. No, sir, it is not to replace it.

Senator Hatfield. So you are still reduced to writing, and remarks of each Senator shall be addressed to the Presiding Officer only in writing?

The Chairman. We are actually being repetitious there. We have already got--if a Senator wishes a question to be put to a witness or to a manager or counsel of the person impeached or to offer a motion or order, except a motion to adjourn, it shall be reduced to writing and put by the Presiding Officer."

Those last two sentences are sort of duplicative. I think then you could go on and say "The parties or their counsel may interpose objections to witnesses answering

REPRODUCED ANTHENATIONAL ARCHIVES 48 questions propounded at the request of any Senator and the merits of any such objection may be argued by the parties or their counsel. Ruling on any such objection shall be made as provided in Rule VII." Senator Hatfield. Why not strike those last two sentences? When you use the words "remarks of each Senator," you mean any possible verbal statement.

Senator Byrd. You are right, I think that sentence
should be stricken.

There is some question in the minds of Senators as to whether or not Senators can engage in colloquy in open session. I would personally like to make it clear that that can't be done.

Senator Natfield. Say between two Senators? Senator Byrd. Yes.

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Senator Hatfield. What would the Senator have the floor for to make oral statement anyway, under what circum-stance?

Senator Byrd. He shouldn't have, in my judgement, in open session.

Senator Matfield. That is right. But then the colloquy can't occur. One Senator has been recognized and is permitted to engage in some verbal statement, that has to occur before a colloquy can ensue.

Senator Byrd. He is not supposed to be recognized for a

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Senator Hatfield. That's right, so a colloquy isn't possible, is it?

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Senator Byrd. It is not supposed to be, yes. I am wondering if that is clear in the present rule.

Senator Hatfield. Isn't a colloquy a verbal visit? The Chairman. Why don't we do this--why don't we strike the last sentence, leave the next-t0-the-last sentence but make this change: "It shall not be in order for any Senator to engage in colloquy or to address questions directly to parties or their counsel."

Now, we have already provided for how they can direct questions to the Presiding Officer. And this would make a prohibition on any colloquy and make it that they couldn't address questions directly to parties or their counsel.

Senator Byrd. XIX takes care of that, if you put a period after "colloquy." That would do it, Howard.

Senator Hatfield. Yes, because there you are raising the question, Mr. Chairman, or already say in the first sentence of Rule XIX, if a sSenator wishes a question to be put to witness or manager or counsel, then you say here "address questions"--well, you can address them in writing.

I think if you put a period after "colloquy" ---

The Chairman. All right, just after "colloquy." "It shall not be in order for any Senator to engage in colloquy."

	REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES 50
٢	Senator Byrd. Okayl
2	The Chairman. Is there objection to that amendment?
3	Senator Byrd. Well, wait just a minute. Shouldn't we
4	say "in open session"? Colloquy "in open session"?
5	The Chairman. You have already got a provision in
6	closed session for debate. So that would be clear.
7	Senator Byrd. All right.
8	The Chairman. Without objection, then, Rule XIX will
9	be so amended.
iù	Senator Byrd. Did I have any others, Bill?
91	Mr. Cochrane. Not to my knowledge. You might ask the
12	doctor or Bill Ticer, Senator.
93	The Chairman. Do you know of any other amendments that
14	any of the Committee Members had.
16	Mr. Riddick. Only one thing, Senator. Let me see if I
13	can find it here. That form.
17	The Chairman. The form of a subpoena?
16	Mr. Riddick. The form of putting a question.
19	Senator Byrd. In some of the impeachment trials, the
20	Presiding Officer has addressed each Senator and repeated
5 81	the guestion to each Senator, as he did in the case of the
22	impeachment of Mr. Johnson.
23	Senator Hatfield. For his vote on conviction or acquit-
24	tal.
25	Senator Byrd. Right. What we are suggesting is that we

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1	have a rule which simply provides that the Presiding Officer				
2	state the question, whatever it is; when each Senator's name				
3	is called, he will answer guilty or not guilty.				
4	Senator Hatfield. Like a roll call.				
5	Senator Byrd. Yes, that rather than addressing the				
6	question each time. It is a minor thing, I think.				
7	Senator Hatfield. It would be through the clerk calling				
8	the roll rather than the Chief Justice addressing each Senator				
9	personally?				
10	Senator Byrd. Yes. The Chief Justice states the ques-				
11	tion, the clerk calls the roll and each Senator responds				
12	guilty or not guilty.				
13	The Chairman. Well, is there a rule in here on that?				
14	Senator Byrd. Not as to the form.				
15	Senator Natfield. It is the precedent of the Johnson				
16	case that you are referring to rather than any stated proce-				
17	dure, isn't it?				
18	Senator Byrd. Yes.				
19	Senator Hatfield. Are we bound by that precedent?				
20	Senator Byrd. No, that has varied in various trials.				
21	Senator Hatfield. Do we need to codify it?				
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25	you, is that they did fight it out in the case of the Chief				

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Justice, in the President's trial. They adopted orders in the Ritter trial to do this. He would state the question, the roll is called and he merely answers guilty or not guilty. And this would obviate adopting an order each time.

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Senator Byrd. How did that order read in the Ritter trial, doctor?

Mr. Riddick. This is the exact language.

The Chairman. But the way this is stated would require him to state it to each Senator.

Mr. Riddick. I think that should be modified a little bit. Mr. Ticer and I were talking about it this morning. I think you could have it that the Chair would just merely state this and the Senator should answer guilty or not guilty.

The Chairman. You could save the form of putting your question on each article of impeachment, "The Presiding Officer shall state the question and each Senator, as his name is called, shall rise in his place and state guilty or not guilty."

Do you want to cover that by rule?

Senator Byrd. I think it would be all right.

The Chairman. If so, we could add that in on Rule XXIII --it logically comes there. I will restate it again, then, and if there is no objection we will adopt that as an add-on to Rule XXIII.

"Form of Putting the Question on Each Article of

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	REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES 53				
1	Impeachment. The Presiding Officer shall first state the				
2	question. Thereafter, each Senator, as his name is called,				
3	shall rise in his place and state guiltyand answer guilty				
4	or not guilty."				
5	Senator Byrd. Yes. Put guilty in quotes and not guilty				
6	in quotes.				
7	And shouldn't you have after the word "shall," "if not				
8	excused from voting, rise in his place and answer"?				
9	Mr. Riddick. That would certainly acknowledge that you				
10	are going to excuse him, but previouslyI don't know about				
31	every timethe Senator requested, because he had been absent				
12	so much, just before he started voting, to be excused. So				
13	the chances were he was not even in the Senate.				
14	Senator Byrd. Well, he might decide at the last minute,				
15	for reasons that he had not foreseen.				
16	Mr. Riddick. I think this would make it clearer.				
17	Senator Byrd. Yes.				
18	Senator Hatfield. Let's say he wants to reneg on his				
19	excuse or he wants to invalidate his excuse that he had been				
20	given prior.				
21	Can he do that?				
22	Senator Byrd. Yes.				
23	Senator Hatfield. Why don't we handle excuses under an				
24	excuse clause and leave it clear here.				
25	The Chairman. Let's not complicate the problem here.				
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EPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES Senator Byrd. The only thing here is, this is making it 1 mandatory that he will have to vote--guilty or not guilty. 2 Senator Hatfield. Well, then, he should then foresee 3 that and absent himself from the Floor. That is not a a requirement. It is up to each Senator to implement his Fi excuse as he sees fit or to invalidate it at the last minute. £ Senator Byrd. It is up to the Senate whether to excuse 7 him. B Senator Hatfield. But once it has been granted, does 9 he have to come back and get Senate action to change his 10 mind and decide he wants to vote? 21 Senator Byrd. I am sure he could just announce ---12 Senator Hatfield. That he has been granted an excuse 13 that he is not going to exercise. 14 Senator Byrd. Granted an excuse, but he feels honor-15 bound to cast a vote one way or the other. 16 Senator Hatfield. I don't know, I would just prefer 17 to see this put in, as previously stated by the Chair-let 10 the question of excuse be handled separately. 19 The Chairman. Without objection, then, that will be 20 so amended. 21 Now, the two remaining questions that I recall--and 22 one, we haven't acted one way or the other on whether or not 23 the Presiding Officer shall have the right to vote to break 24 a tie. And the other question was Senator Griffin's question 25

of evidence, of the burden of proof.

Senator Byrd. Here is Bob. I would not want to see us write in any standard of proof, because I think this is a matter for each Senator to determine within his own conscience.

The Chairman. Bob?

Senator Griffin. Well, I don't think it is going to be the end of the world one way or the other whether we actually adopt this, but I--it seems to me that at a time when there is no, we don't have are particular defendant involved--it is one of those justicular think every Senator has to wrestle with.

Maybe we ought to deballs it or try to reach a standard. I personally feel--I know that Sam Ervin feels and others-that this is enough akin to a criminal procedure, recognizing that it is not a criminal procedure in all respects, that you ought to expect proof beyond a reasonable doubt to convict.

Now, of course, each Senator is still free in his own mind to determine, obviously, whether or not he thinks proof is beyond reasonable doubt.

But I guess I just think that all these unresolved questions that are floating around--it would be good if we could resolve them and have some guidelines, as long as we are looking at the rules. That is my general thesis.

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If I happen to be in the minority, all right, fine.

The Chairman. Well, Bob, I agree with you as to what the burden of proof ought to be, but I can recognize immediately that a lot of people on the Senate Floor would disagree with me as to the burden of proof.

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Senator Griffin. Well, right now they have no guidance and they are perfectly free, I suppose, to convict on a scintilla of evidence, if they want to. It seems to me that there ought to be a little more guidance in that.

The Chairman. But even if you write in that it should be by a preponderance of the evidence, the Senator--if he finds a scintilla he is going to find in his own mind that that is a preponderance of the evidence as far as that case is concerned, because he doesn't have a judge there defining what burden of proof is and giving him instructions and say unless you find beyond reasonable doubt that all of these charges have been met, that you will then acquit.

Senator Hatfield. Mr. Chairman, whatever we do in this Committee, I am sure it is not going to be accepted by all Senators and that question, it stems to me, will be obviously one that will be discussed on the Floor. I mean, if we put in one criterion, no criteria--I think from just the Senators that appeared before us, there is great variance in opinion.

I would personally like to see us go to the Floor without a definition and let that be debated on the Floor--it will ultimately anyway--and try to take as clean a bill or as clean

a set of rules as possible.

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Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman.

Senator Griffin. I don't have any objection to that. I just thought I would raise it and reserve my right to possibly do it on the Floor.

Senator Byrd. My objections would be numerous, one being that it would be unenforceable. Two, being that in the case of judges who are to hold their office on good behavior--my personal standards of proof might be different in the case of a judge than in the case of a President of the United States.

Thirdly, I would think we would open up what to me is a dreadful Pandora's box in that this might give the lawyers on the part of the defense an opening at least to try to get a Supreme Court ruling on the decision.

Now, I highly respect Senator Ervin's knowledge of constitutional law, but I am unalterably opposed to his apparent viewpoint, as I listen to it, that there might be--that this might be justiciable.

I guess I am just so blind to that argument that I can't even admit that there is such an argument. And I think if we have a standard of proof, then that, if anything, could give the Supreme Court an opening to rule on the decision--that might.

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And I am fearful of it, Bob.

Finally, frankly, even though the House were not to include an article of impeachment going to the refusal of the Vice-President or the President or any civil officer to submit in response to the House request information bearing upon impeachment, just that refusal, in my judgement, nullifies the impeachment clause, renders it a nullity--if the President won't cooperate with the House, if he refuses to give information, then as far as I am concerned the presumption of innocence changes to a presumption of guilt.

And in my own mind I am frank to say, I think, that I would have voted to convict Mr. Nixon. Now, there are those who say the House could have gone to the courts, the House didn't run out--it hasn't exhausted its remedies. But if it does that, then the House is acknowledging that the courts may have a voice in this impeachment process.

As far as I am concerned, if I hadn't found him guilty on the three articles--and the thir, article may have provided something along this line, I don't recall--but if he steadfastly refused to cooperate with the House in caring out his constitutional duty under the impeachment clause, he negates that clause, he amends that clause, he deletes it from the Constitution.

And regardless what standard of proof you put in there, I would vote him guilty, whether he is a Democrat or a Republican.

So that is why I say it is unenforceable and I think we would make a mistake to attempt to write something like that.

Senator Griffin. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to offer the amendment. I may give it some more thought and try to offer it on the Floor--I suspect if I don't, someone else will.

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I think maybe the consensus here is not for it.

The Chairman. All right. Are there other amendments? The only other question that I recall now that was raised that we have not resolved is whether the Presiding Officer should have the right to vote to break a tie. And if we leave it as is, that would be a matter to be determined at the time by the Senate. There is no provision in the rules.

Senator Byrd. Also, there is one other argument, Bob--Mr. Chairman, if you will indulge me, I will make it very b. ef. If the person impeached were to refuse evidence requested by the Senate, even though it is not in the House impeachment articles, I would vote to convict him.

That is all.

The Chairman. What are your wishes? Do you want to leave that as is?

Senator Griffin. I would like to move, I guess, that we follow Bob's suggestion that the Presiding Officer be allowed to vote except--of course, if it were the President

Pro Tem, he would be a Member of the Senate, if he would be presiding--but not on the question of guilt or innocence or the matter of punishment.

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Senator Hatfield. He wouldn't vote on guilt or innocence anyway, that is a two-thirds requirement.

Senator Griffin. The only place where it might be a matter of concern is the area that you brought up.

Senator Byrd. Yes, on the final judgment, if the Senate wanted to proceed to vote to disqualify the person convicted from holding any office, from holding or enjoying any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States--and it was a tie vote, I suppose the Chief Justice could cast a vote. The Constitution says the Vice President may not vote except in case of a tie. I don't suppose that could be carried over to the Chief Justice, because the Constitution says he shall preside--it doesn't say he can vote in case of a tie.

And I suppose that constitutionally we could write into our rules that he could not vote on any question of judgment. I would prefer to leave it go at that.

The Chairman. As it is now.

Senator Byrd. Leave it as it is now, but with that one rule added. We could add that as a rule.

The Chairman. Now, wait a minute--you would say it how? Senator Griffin. What is the rule that you would add, Bob?

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Senator Hatfield. Would the Senator yield?	,
Senator Byrd. Yes.	
Senator Hatfield. I am going to have to go to another	
meeting. If you want a motion to report this out before I	
leavebecause otherwise you don't have a quorumI would	
be happy to	
Senator Griffin. Why don't we do thiswhy don't we	
make reference to these two points in the report, and indi-	
cate	
The Chairman. And just leave it open for the Floor?	
Senator Griffin. That the Committee did not resolve	
these questions.	,
The Chairman. While we have a quorum, I would like to	· i
have authority for the staff to make technical corrections	-
that might be needed. Is there objection? Without objection,	
then.	
I would also like to have authority to report the rules	
out as amended without a written report and request permission	
to file a written report later, so that we will comply with	
our September first deadline. Is there objection? Without	
objection.	
Now, then, there is a quorum present. Senator Griffin	
made the suggestion that we leave these two items open in	
the report. I will do whatever you wish.	-
I think, in my judgement, we are getting into a	
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constitutional question if we try to give the Presiding Officer the authority to break a tie. I don't think he has it constitutionally. Because the right to vote is given to the Vice-President not to the Presiding Officer.

Senator Hatfield. Mr. Chairman, may I move that we report the rules out to the Floor, that those two questions be resolved by the remaining people--and you can have my proxy.

The Chairman. Is there objection? Without objection, then, the rules are ordered reported.

Senator Byrd. Mark, I am not convinced that maybe we oughtn't to write something in here--maybe the majority wouldn't want to--just dealing with the vote of the Chief Justice on the matter of judgement.

That question has never come up. It has never come up. Senator Hatfield. The motion is subject to amendment, as we do in the Appropriations Committee, whatever the remaining people want to do to amend. I would leave my proxy on the basis that I believe the Chief Justice should preside, period. And I would not suggest we broaden his powers to what they are at the present time.

Senator Byrd. I wouldn't suggest we broaden his powers. Couldn't we just deal with the one question of judgment without implying that he could vote on anything else?

Senator Griffin. Mark, it is my understanding that in

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reproduced at the NATIONAL'ARCHIVES that one Johnson trial, he did vote to break a tie on one occasion.

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Senator Hatfield. No, four times or two times, and he was sustained three.

Senator Griffin. So does he have the right to break a tie or doesn't he? Precedent says he does.

Senator Hatfield. I think he voted three times and ---Senator Griffin. The Chairman doesn't think so. The Chairman. Precedent on procedural matters. What I am saying is that if we write in here, if we give him by rule the authority to vote in the case of a tie, you can conceive of a situation where the Senate has voted to convict on an impeachment, which requires a two-thirds vote, and then we have the decision to make are we going to put a provision in that he shall not be eligible to hold any office of public trust.

And on that case it could be a tie vote and the--if you give the judge, the Presiding Officer here, the right to vote in case of a tie, then he would have the right to break that the. And it was never intended that, because he is not a member of the Senate.

Senator Byrd. Howard, I am willing to let precedent take care of it. But it seems to me that without giving him the right to vote, we could state specifically that on the matter of judgement, that he couldn't vote.

Would that imply that on other things he could? The Chairman. It would imply--and personally I would prefer to leave it as is. And then it will come up as the situation arises, as it did in the precedents--and if it is a tie vote and the Justice attempts to vote, then the Senate will decide it right then and there.

And I would personally prefer just to leave it that way.

Senator Williams. To exclude him from one, doesn't that sort of tilt the argument towards including him in the vote on other questions?

Senator Dynd. It might. I can't envision his doing it really.

Senator Griffin. Well, do you want to go to the Floor the way it is?

Senator Ratfield. The precedent is that he votes in case of the, if we go by the Johnson case.

The Chairman. But they were on a procedural case, and the Senate would decide that. Where it comes up on a matter of precedent, the Parliamentarian would state what the precodent is and the Senate would decide either to follow it or to reject it. And they could do it by majority vote.

Senator Hatfield. You would leave it as it is and let each case be handled by the Senate, if it should arise?

The Chairman. That would be my view.

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Senator Griffin. My suggestion was that we recognize by rule the precedent of procedural matters and then spell out that he doesn't have the right to break a tie in matters of judgment.

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The Chairman. It isn't in the matters of judgment. Obviously he doesn't there, because of the Constitution. And it requires two-thirds. But it does on the penalty. On the penalty is something that is the real question.

Senator Hatfield. Well, why can't you just say the Chief Justice will be permitted to vote only on procedural questions in case of a tie vote?

Senator Byzd. The Chairman doesn't want to do that and there are others who don't want to do that, too.

Senator Natfield. Well, I will let you resolve it. The Chairman. Well, what are your wishes, gentlemen? There is no amendment pending, the Chair will entertain a motion to adjourn.

Senator Williams. So move.

The Chairman. Very well. Thank you very much, gentlemen. I approciate it very much. We will report this without the written report--then we will give you the chance to review the written report before we file that with the Senate.

(Whereupon, at 12:46 p.m., the Committee adjourned.)

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