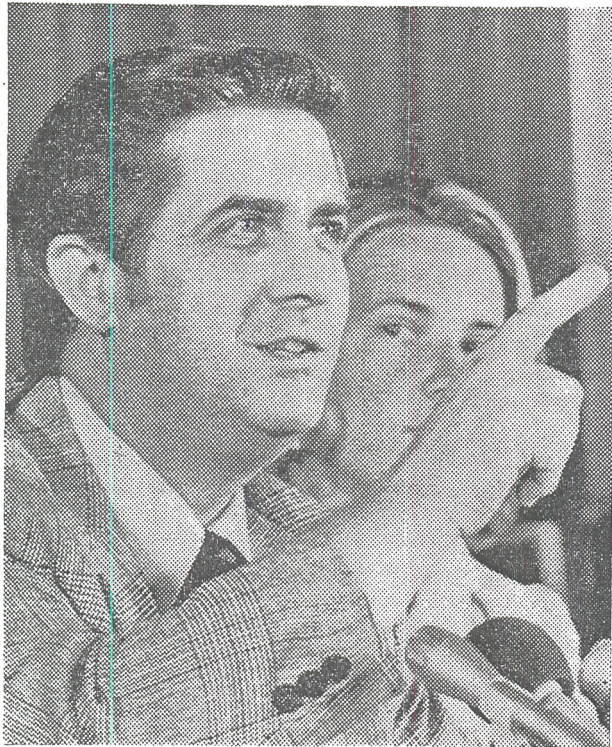


A Republican Asks Panel To Impeach the President; The Debate Starts Tonight



The New York Times/George Tames

Lawrence J. Hogan, Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee, announcing his stand for impeachment yesterday in Washington. With him is Mrs. Hogan.

Rep. Hogan, a Conservative, Speaks Out as Democrats Redraft the Articles in Bid for Bipartisan Support

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 23 — Senior Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee met privately today to redraft proposed articles of impeachment in an attempt to elicit broad, bipartisan support for formal charges against President Nixon.

The action by the Democratic leaders, on the eve of the start of formal committee debate on impeachment, coincided with the surprise announcement by a staunch Republican conservative, Representative Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, that he would vote to impeach Mr. Nixon.

"Unless Richard Nixon is removed from office and this disease of Watergate which has sapped the vitality of our government is purged from the busy politics, government and politics will continue to be clouded by mistrust and suspicion," Mr. Hogan said. [Page 23.]

In a statement as harshly phrased as any made heretofore by the President's Democratic critics, Mr. Hogan accused the President of having "lied repeatedly" about Watergate, having approved what he "knew to be" hush money payments and having "personally helped to orchestrate" the Watergate cover-up. He said that the evidence had compelled him, "beyond a reason-

able count," to conclude that Mr. Nixon had committed impeachable wrongs.

The Judiciary Committee's final deliberations — only the second in the nation's history to be directed at the possible impeachment of a President and the first to be televised nationally — were scheduled to begin at 7:30 P.M. tomorrow with the introduction of the proposed articles in final form and general debate on them.

ABC-TV and the Public Broadcasting Service are telecasting the proceedings. In New York they will be broadcast over Channels 7, 13 and 21, and on radio over WBAI, WCBS-AM, WINS, and WNYC-AM.

Spurred by Mr. Hogan's 11th hour statement—and by his estimate that "at least" five of the 17 minority members of the panel could be persuaded

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to join in recommending that the House impeach Mr. Nixon—the senior Democrats sought a formula for formal charges that would produce the widest Republican support.

Well-paced committee members said that an ad hoc drafting subcommittee, composed of Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr. of New Jersey, the chairman, and three other Democrats, was focusing on the following two central articles of impeachment:

¶That the President, as Mr. Hogan charged, played an active and central role in the Watergate cover-up attempt and thus violated his constitutional oath to enforce the nation's laws.

That Mr. Nixon seriously abused his Presidential authority by defying subpoenas for Watergate evidence and by taking a variety of clandestine steps to eavesdrop on American citizens.

'Highly Volatile' Atmosphere

As the committee prepared for the decisive debate, the atmosphere on Capitol Hill was, as the House Republican leader, Representative John J. Rhodes of Arizona, stated it, "highly volatile."

Four committee Republicans who are widely believed to be either open to or leaning toward votes for impeachment met privately this morning to discuss the form of impeachment articles that they might be willing to endorse. They were Representatives Tom RAILS back of Illinois, Hamilton Fish Jr. of upstate New York, M. Caldwell BUTLER of Virginia and William S. COHEN of Maine.

One of the four, who asked not to be quoted by name, said that the discussion had been aimed at "educating the staff" of the committee on the proper form that impeachment articles should take if they are to win Republican backing.

Representative Jerome R. WALDIE, Democrat of California, told reporters, in addition, that there were "a lot of little conferences going on" among committee members and lawyers. The most important reportedly were a caucus of the committee's 21 Democrats last night, at which strategy for the de-

bate was discussed, and the deliberations today of the Democrats' drafting subcommittee.

The committee already had before it, informally, five separate sets of proposed articles, one drafted by John M. Doar, the special counsel on impeachment, and four offered by various Democratic members.

In each case, the proposed articles contain adjectives giving harsh assessments of Mr. Nixon's conduct in office and they make such diverse allegations as willful underpayment of taxes by the President and illegal bombing of Cambodia in secrecy.

Mr. Cohen, who was, until Mr. Hogan's announcement, widely regarded as the most likely Republican to vote for impeachment, said that "none of the articles I've seen are something I'd want to recommend."

He said that they were "too loose" in their language and that they contained "statements I don't think are supportable by facts."

Representative George E. DANIELSON, Democrat of California, said that he expected Mr. Rodino and the ad hoc drafting subcommittee to refashion the articles into a "succinct, neat, clean" set of charges against Mr. Nixon.

'Eliminate' Some Adjectives

Mr. Danielson said that they would elicit broader bipartisan support if the drafters "eliminate as many adjectives as possible." For example, he said it would be sufficient to allege that the President had "concealed evidence" rather than to say he had "concealed evidence willfully and maliciously" and becoming "hung up with argument about what is malice."

The three other members of the drafting group are Democratic Representative DON EDWARDS of California, JOHN CONYERS Jr. of Michigan and PAUL S. SARBANES of Maryland.

Mr. Edwards said in a brief interview that in drafting the proposed articles more narrowly the subcommittee was seeking a formula "designed to get wide acceptance."

He also said that the drafters might include in the proposal some articles that were unlikely to be adopted by the com-

mittee but that might be dropped as "trade-offs" to win the support of Republicans for the central charges.

Mr. Hogan, in announcing his decision and giving an extensive explanation for it, in effect encouraged the impeachment advocates to concentrate on the most serious, but broad, allegations against Mr. Nixon—the Watergate cover-up and abuse of Presidential authority.

Apart from the central charges, he said, the evidence "fails" to prove impeachable wrongdoing in such matters as the bombing of Cambodia, use of Federal money to improve Mr. Nixon's residences or secret cash campaign pledges to Mr. Nixon from industries that later obtained favorable treatment from the White House.

The Democratic majority reportedly discussed at length, in a two-hour party caucus last night, procedural steps that might lead to what one member called "the most psychological impact" from the committee debate on impeachment.

The panel voted late today, on a 21-to-16 roll-call that cut across party lines, to consider one proposed article and then vote on it before proceeding to debate the second proposed article.

The decision conformed with the plan by a number of the Democrats to attempt, as Representative Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts stated it, "to put the most powerful [article] first" and, in adopting it, build momentum for later proposed articles.

'Snowball Effect' Feared

Representative Trent Lott, a Mississippi Republican who is opposed to impeachment, said that he was concerned that such a procedure could have a "snowball effect" in which a pro-impeachment vote "becomes easier with each passing one."

Some committee members, including Mr. Rodino, preferred a procedure under which the panel would engage in 10 hours of general debate, before seeing draft articles of impeachment, and then would debate all of the articles and vote on them at the conclusion of the proceeding.

Representative Joshua Mil-

berg, Democrat of Pennsylvania, said that such a procedure would be a more "humane" approach for Republicans who might not wish to forecast their sentiments early in the proceedings.

Bipartisan Line-Up on Vote

But 10 Republicans joined with 11 Democrats in adopting the plan to debate, and vote on, articles in succession.

At the Democratic caucus last night Mr. Rodino was said to have encouraged the three conservative Southern Democrats on the panel—Representative Walter Flowers of Alabama, James R. Mann of South Carolina and Ray Thornton of Arkansas—to signal conservative support for impeachment by sponsoring the main impeachment resolution.

Democratic sources said that none of the three had "volunteered" thus far, however.

Mr. Rodino announced late today that the formal debate would begin tomorrow evening, lasting until about 10:30 P.M., and that it would resume at 9:30 A.M. on succeeding days and last into the evening.

The schedule suggested that a vote on the first, and presumably most forceful, of the proposed articles of impeachment could come sometime on Friday.

Mr. Rodino said that the committee would decide Saturday whether to continue the debate until all the articles had been dealt with or to recess until next week.

Mr. Flowers reportedly urged at the caucus last night that the committee remain at work, through the weekend if need be, until it had completed its deliberations.

One member quoted Mr. Flowers as having said, in jest, that if the committee went without a recess he could go home to Alabama to "face the explosion once and for all."

Representative Charles B. Rangel, a Democrat whose Manhattan district is centered on Harlem, quipped in return that he was sympathetic to Mr. Flowers's political problem.

"That's all right, Walter," Mr. Rangel reportedly said, "I'll go home with you to help explain it."

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