

Those Who Will

Makeup Of House Committee

By David S. Broder
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The 38 men and women on the House Judiciary Committee who now sit in judgment of the President of the United States are, like their colleagues in Congress, highly individual bundles of conscience, political cunning, anxiety and ambition.

The committee is not, however, a perfect cross-section of the House or the country — and the peculiarities of this group may help skew the first stage of the impeachment process.

Women, blacks, and urban liberals are over-represented among the 21 Democrats, compared to their proportions among the 248 Democrats in the House. Southerners, conservatives and rural constituencies are under-represented.

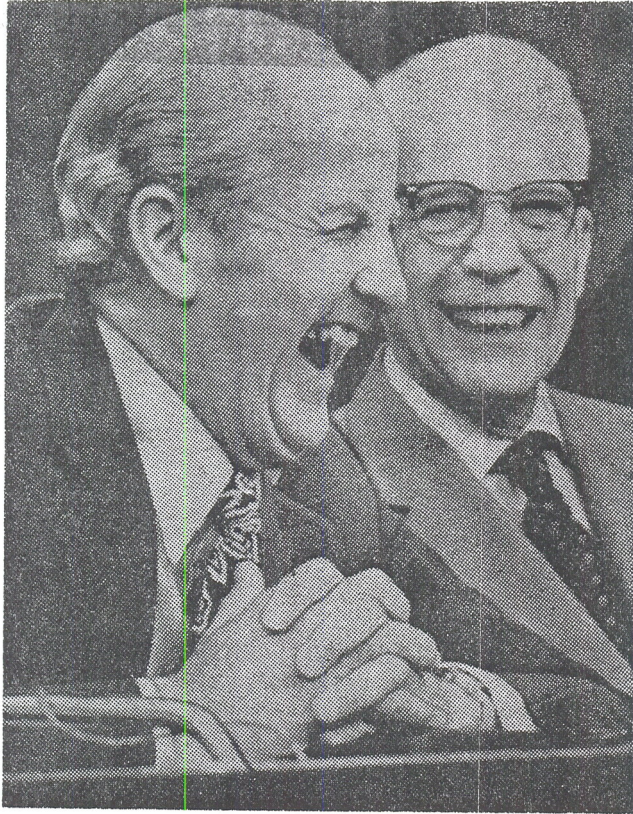
On the Republican side, just the opposite is the case. The 17 minority members are weighted to the South, Midwest and West — and to the conservative side of the spectrum.

A member's general philosophical or political position is not necessarily a guide to his vote on impeachment — as Representative Lawrence J. Hogan (Rep-Mo.) demonstrated Tuesday. Hogan, one of the four former FBI agents on the panel, an ardent crusader against abortion and for conservative causes, and a staunch Nixon supporter throughout his career, came out hard for impeachment.

But the Judiciary's basic polarization between Liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans is the basic reason so much emphasis was focused on the handful of conservative Democrats and moderate Republicans.

It is such men as Walter Flowers (Dem-Ala.), James R. Mann (Dem-S.C.) and

Decide



AP and UPI photos

Before the opening of the House Judiciary Committee debate last night, Republicans Robert McClory of Illinois and Henry P. Smith of New York found something amusing, while Democrat Sam Donohoe of Massachusetts appeared to be working up to his historic motion for impeachment.

Ray Thornton (Dem-Ark.) who will decide how solid the Democrats are for impeachment.

And it is such men as Robert McClory (Rep-Ill.), Henry P. Smith III (Rep-N.Y.), Tom Railsback (Rep-Ill.), Hamilton Fish Jr. (Rep-N.Y.), M. Caldwell Butler (Rep-Va.) and William S. Cohen (Rep-Maine) who will determine whether Republicans rally with any strength around the President.

There are two other characteristics of the Judiciary members that could affect their votes.

Few of them are vulnerable to short-term political retaliation in 1974. And most of them are young enough and junior enough to be thinking of long-term career objectives.

On most scorecards, of the 33 Judiciary Committee members seeking reelection, fewer than half a dozen look to be dangerously vulnerable to defeat this year — no matter which way they vote.

Representatives Robert F. Drinan (Dem - Mass.), the

Jesuits priest who was the first impeachment advocate in Congress, and Representative Edward Mezvinsky (Dem - Iowa), a freshman critic of the President, both had very close races in 1972.

On the Republican side, the four most vulnerable members are the two New Jersey congressmen, Charles W. Sandman Jr., and Joseph J. Maraziti, both weakened by redistricting, representative Harold V. Froehlich (Rep - Wis.) and Representative Wiley Mayne (Rep - Iowa), both of whom barely won in 1972 with help from Mr. Nixon's coattails. Of those four, only Froehlich is considered a possible pro - impeachment vote.

Even without the immediate pressure of possible election defeat, however, Judiciary Committee members involved in a political-judicial process like impeachment are certain to reflect the political character of their districts.

Thus, the predictably heavy support among committee Democrats is a direct byproduct of the fact that

their ranks include three of the 16 blacks in the House plus another half-dozen, including chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. (Dem-N.J.), whose big city districts include substantial minority populations.

It is also a byproduct of the fact that the Judiciary Committee through the years has been a favorite place for service by lawyers interested in liberal causes, like Representative Don Edwards (Dem-Calif.), a former national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action.

On the other hand, most of the Republicans on the committee — from the ranking minority member, Representative Edward Hutchinson of Michigan down to Representative Delbert L. Latta of Ohio, at the bottom of the table — come from the kind of rural and small-town districts that represent bedrock conservative Republicanism.

Representative Charles E. Wiggins (Rep-Calif.), who has emerged as the President's chief defender, is, appropriately, the congress-

man from the same Whittier district that sent Richard Nixon to the House a quarter-century ago.

The striking characteristic of the committee is the briefness of many of its members' tenure. Only seven of the 17 Republicans and nine of the 21 Democrats were in Congress before Mr. Nixon entered the White House.

Most of them, plainly, hope to be around long after he is gone.

Railsback, the Illinois moderate who has emerged as the key figure among the uncommitted GOP members, reflected that Wednesday, when he said: "My feeling is that the future of the (Republican) party is not in the White House."

Railsback said that in his own western Illinois district, "My people are against impeachment by a rather large margin." But he noted that "almost all the pressure to vote against impeachment is coming from the senior regular party officials . . . I find an entirely different feeling on the part of the younger people."