

A Bill of Impeachment The Progressive

I. Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, through his personal acts and those of his appointees and aides, has fostered, tolerated, and attempted to conceal the worst political scandals in this nation's history, thereby paralyzing the Government, inviting the contempt of the American people, and casting discredit on our country and its leadership throughout the world.

II. He is and must be held accountable for the crimes committed by many of his subordinates, for it is his responsibility, as Madison observed, "to superintend their conduct so as to check their excesses." If he was aware of their offenses, he is criminally culpable; if he was unaware, he is criminally inept.

III. He has attained and retained the high office he now holds through the use of illegal means, to wit: His agents have extracted secret and unlawful campaign contributions from various special interests in return for pledges of favorable government action in their behalf; they have authorized and commissioned snoopers and second-story men, styled "plumbers," to burglarize and spy on his political opponents, in violation of the common criminal statutes; they have hired saboteurs to employ various "dirty tricks" to disrupt a political campaign.

IV. He has attempted to undermine, circumvent, or annul the guarantees of the Bill of Rights—particularly the rights to privacy, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press—by: mounting an unprecedented campaign of harassment and vilification against the media of news and information; employing illegal wiretaps to spy on journalists and critics of his Administration; encouraging his aides to devise means of intimidating the media by use of governmental powers; embarking on political trials designed to silence those who dissented from his policies.

V. He has arrogated to himself powers

not conferred by the Constitution, or powers expressly reserved to Congress, to wit: He has secretly, illegally, and deceptively ordered the bombing of a nation—Cambodia—without the knowledge or consent of the American people and their elected representatives; he has unlawfully impounded Federal funds totaling many millions of dollars that were duly appropriated by Congress in legislation he himself had signed; he has invoked a nebulous and dubious doctrine of "executive privilege" to withhold from the people information about the people's business.

VI. He has employed fraudulent schemes to muster—or create an appearance of—public support for his Administration's major policies, especially with respect to the unlawful invasion and bombing of Cambodia. These schemes have involved the placement of newspaper advertisements concocted in the White House, the generation of inspired letters and telegrams of support, and the manipulation of public opinion polls.

VII. He and his associates have conspired in sundry schemes to obstruct justice by: attempting to withhold evidence in criminal cases pertaining to the Watergate Affair; dismissing the Special Prosecutor, Archibald Cox, when he proved determined to do his job; tendering bribes to defendants and witnesses to induce them to remain silent or offer perjured testimony; persuading the former director of the FBI to destroy evidence; invoking "non-existing conflicts with CIA operations" to thwart an FBI inquiry; attempting to influence the judge in the Pentagon Papers trial; ordering the Attorney General not to press a series of antitrust actions against the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation.

VIII. He has subverted the integrity of various Federal agencies by sanctioning efforts to: bring about a reversal of the Agriculture Department's policy

on dairy price supports to accommodate major campaign contributors; involve the CIA and the FBI in unlawful operations associated with the operations of the "plumbers;" exert pressure on independent regulatory agencies to hand down decisions favorable to his friends and supporters; employ the Internal Revenue Service to punish his "enemies."

IX. He has conducted his personal affairs in a manner that directly contravenes the traditional Presidential obligation to demonstrate "moral leadership," to wit: He has used substantial amounts of the taxpayers' money to pay for certain improvements and maintenance of his private homes—expenditures that can in no way be related to security requirements or any other public purpose; he has taken advantage of every tax loophole permitted by law—and some of doubtful legality—to diminish his own tax obligations; he has entered into questionable arrangements with his friends to acquire large personal property holdings at minimal cost to himself; he has publicly and emphatically defended one of these friends, C. G. (Bebe) Rebozo, at a time when various Federal agencies were conducting supposedly impartial investigations into his financial affairs.

X. He has attempted to deceive the American people with respect to virtually every particular cited in this Bill of Impeachment, by withholding information and evidence; by misstating the facts when they could no longer be totally suppressed; by constantly changing his version of the facts, so that the people could no longer place any credibility whatever in statements emanating from the Chief Executive of their Government, to the point where it now seems doubtful that he would be believed even if he were to begin, miraculously, to tell the truth.

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