

Text of Proposed Articles of Impeachment

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 19—Following is the text of proposed articles of impeachment recommended to the House Judiciary Committee today by its special counsel, John M. Doar:

Proposed Articles I Resolution

RESOLVED, that the House of Representatives does impeach Richard M. Nixon, of high crimes and misdemeanors in the conduct of his office, as set forth in the following articles, in violation of the sacred obligation of his constitutional oath, faithfully to execute the office of the President of the United States, and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, all in the manner marked by concealment and public deception, contrary to his trust as President, unmindful of the solemn duties of his high office, to the manifest injury of the confidence of the nation and the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice, and subversive of constitutional government;

I

On May 27 and June 17, 1972, agents of the Committee to Re-Elect the President, on behalf of Richard M. Nixon, and solely in his interest in preserving political power, at the direction of his man, chief of staff to the President; political agents, including H. R. Haldeman, chief of staff of the President; John Mitchell, and Jeb Magruder, illegally committed burglary at the Watergate headquarters of the Democratic National Committee.

This act was pursuant to authorization from the President's personal agents at the White House, including H. R. Haldeman, and was supervised by G. Gordon Liddy, an agent of the White House previously assigned to the Committee to Re-Elect the President, and E. Howard Hunt, an agent of the White House employed by it for such purposes.

Beginning almost immediately after the burglary, and continuing up to the present time, Richard M. Nixon, using the powers of his office, acting directly and personally and through his personal agents at the seat of Government and their immediate subordinates, has made it his policy to cover up and conceal responsibility for the burglary, the identity of other participants, and the existence and scope of related unlawful covert activities.

The means of implementing this policy have included the subornation of perjury, the purchase of silence of those

duly constituted grand jury in the District of Columbia to have participated in a criminal conspiracy to obstruct justice, but not indicted solely by reason of his office as President, leaving the pursuit of justice no recourse but through the constitutional powers of impeachment and removal from office granted to the Congress, as set forth in Article I, Sections 2 and 3; Article II, Sections 2 and 4; Article III, Section 2.

II

On Sept. 3, 1971, agents of the White House, on behalf of Richard M. Nixon and solely in the interest of obtaining information to be used by him and his agents in public defamation of Daniel Ellsberg, unlawfully committed burglary at the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Ellsberg's psychiatrist, in Los Angeles, Calif.

The agents who committed this crime were part of a special unit established in the White House at the direction of Richard M. Nixon to engage in such unlawful covert activities; were supervised directly by John Ehrlichman, assistant to the President, and were financed in part by the unlawful conversion of funds raised for campaign purposes and controlled on behalf of the President by Special Counsel to the President Charles Colson.

The burglary was part of a pattern of massive and persistent abuse of power for political purposes involving unlawful and unconstitutional invasion of the rights and privacy of individual citizens of the United States.

The pattern has included the use and attempted use of the C.I.A. and the Secret Service, as well as White House agents, for investigative intelligence work not authorized by law, unlawful F.B.I. electronic surveillance of White House staff, newspaper reporters and private citizens in the political interests of the President, deliberate concealment of records of the F.B.I., corrupt use of the I.R.S. to obtain information for political purposes, improper effort by the President to influence Judge Byrne in the criminal proceedings against Ellsberg and the release of misleading information by the White House in efforts to conceal and distort the true nature of these actions.

The pattern of conduct has been at the direction of Richard M. Nixon and on his behalf, acting both personally and directly and through his personal agents at the seat of government and their immediate subordinates.

III

In its investigation of the matters set forth in Articles I and II of this Resolution, the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives has issued subpoenas to Richard M. Nixon for

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Republicans, top, and Democrats, foreground, conferring before yesterday's House Judiciary Committee session. Top, from left: Charles E. Wiggins of California, Edward

Hutchinson of Michigan and David W. Dennis of Indiana. Bottom: Elizabeth Holtzman of New York and Wayne Owens of Utah. Impeachment articles were presented.

and Attorney General Designee Richard Kleindienst,

(2) the relationship between large political contributions from the American Milk Producers Institute and a contemporaneous political decision by the President to reverse a decision by the Secretary of Agriculture that an increase in milk price supports was not warranted by the statutory criteria.

Each of these subpoenas was duly authorized by vote of the committee and under the resolution of the House of Representatives directing the committee to conduct the impeachment inquiry. Richard M. Nixon has refused without cause to comply with the subpoena, in contempt of the Congress and of the cause of constitutional government, leaving the process with no recourse but through the exercise of the constitutional powers of impeachment and removal from office that are granted to the Congress.

IV

ess was rendered ineffective, solely by reason of the fact that Richard M. Nixon was President of the United States and that impeachment proceedings against him had been instituted, thus leaving the fair enforcement of the tax laws no recourse but through the exercise of the constitutional powers of impeachment, and removal from office that are granted to the Congress of the United States.

PROPOSED ARTICLES II

RESOLVED, That Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors.

The evidence taken by the Committee on the Judiciary pursuant to House Resolution 803 of the 93d Congress sustains the following articles of impeachment, which are hereby adopted by the House of Representatives and shall be exhibited to the Senate:

has willfully obstructed the exercise of the sole power of impeachment vested by the Constitution in the House of Representatives by failing to produce, or to permit the production of, tape recordings, documents, and other things whose production was demanded by eight subpoenas duly authorized and issued by the Committee on the Judi-

ciary under the authority of House Resolution 803 of the Ninety-Third Congress for purposes of its investigation, authorized and directed by that resolution, of whether sufficient grounds exist for the House of Representatives to exercise its constitutional power to impeach Richard M. Nixon.

ARTICLE II

In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, contrary to the oath of his office and his constitutional duties and in violation of the trust of the people, abused the powers of his office to secure his

of that policy.

ARTICLE III

Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, in violation of his oath and his constitutional duty faithfully to execute the laws, and of Title 18 of the United States Code, on and after June 17, 1972, and continuing to the present day, has engaged in a course of conduct individually and in concert and agreement with his staff assistants, agents and others which course which course of conduct has included acts of bribery, the making of the false statements to Government investigators, interference and attempted interference through misrepresentation and other means with the proper functioning of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Criminal Division and the Watergate Special Prosecution Task Force of the Justice Department, obstruction of the proceedings of grand juries and duly authorized Congressional committees, failure to comply with valid and lawful subpoenas issued by courts and Congressional committees, the withholding and destruction of evidence, the making of false public statements, the offering of promises of pardons to prospective defendants in Federal criminal prosecutions, the concealment of criminal offenses, and subornation and commission of perjury, all for the purpose of obstructing and impeding the due administration of justice and lawful investigations by prosecutors, grand juries, law enforcement agencies, and congressional committees, of an illegal breaking and entering of the office of the Democratic National Committee on June 17, 1972, and actions prior and subsequent to it.

ARTICLE IV

In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, contrary to his oath faithfully to execute the office and to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution to the best of his ability and in violation of his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has abused the powers vested in him as President for his personal political or financial benefit:

(1) He has endeavored to use the Executive power vested in the President by the Constitution to prevent, obstruct, and impede investigations by agencies of the Executive Branch.

(2) He has endeavored to use the Executive power vested in him by the Constitution to obtain confidential information from executive agencies that could be used for his personal political advantage.

(3) He has used his Executive power, and his power as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces illegally to violate the constitutional rights of citizens of the United States for his personal political advantage.

(4) He has endeavored to use the power of pardon vested in the President to make promises to potential defendants to influence their testimony to investigators, grand juries, and judicial tribunals for his personal advantage and contrary to the due

(7) He has abused his power of nominate and appoint the Attorney General of the United States by nominating and appointing an individual to that position who he knew had testified untruthfully under oath to a Senate committee conducting hearings on his qualifications for office and by ratifying the untruthful testimony rather than reporting it to the Senate, all in derogation of the Senate's constitutional power to advise and consent to the nomination of the Attorney General and in violation of his duty to give information to Congress.

(8) He abused the Executive power vested in the Constitution by asserting in bad faith a claimed executive privilege to withhold information, documents and tape recordings from duly authorized tribunals of other branches of the Government, in order to prevent revelation of his own wrongdoing and that of his subordinates and associates, in derogation of the judicial power vested in the courts of the United States by Article III of the Constitution and of the sole power of impeachment vested in the House of Representatives by Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution.

ARTICLE V

In his conduct of the office of President, Richard M. Nixon has violated his oath of office to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution to the best of his ability and has violated his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed by endeavoring on numerous occasions to hinder, obstruct, and impede the due administration of justice, all of which tended to undermine the criminal justice system:

(1) He authorized and directed an endeavor by his official subordinates and their agents to interfere with the due administration of justice in the trial of Daniel Ellsberg by defaming and discrediting Ellsberg and one of his attorneys, by violating Ellsberg's constitutional rights to a fair trial and due process by concealing evidence relevant to his defense, and by endeavoring to influence the decision of the presiding judge in that trial.

(2) He authorized and participated in endeavors to obstruct and impede the due administration of justice in the grand jury investigation of electronic surveillance of the offices of the Democratic National Committee through payments of money, offers of executive clemency, and the counseling of false and misleading statements and testimony to impede the conduct of the investigation, through refusals to produce material evidence subpoenaed by the grand jury, through the concealment, destruction and alteration of evidence in his personal custody and control, through the making of false and misleading public statements intended to influence the public, prosecutors and potential witnesses, and through revelation of information obtained from the prosecutors by virtue of his official position to targets of the investigation.

(3) He has impeded the prosecution

Force by refusing to produce evidence within his custody and control, directing the removal of the first Special Prosecutor, and litigating on bad faith claims of executive privilege to conceal evidence bearing upon areas of the investigation.

ARTICLE VI

Richard M. Nixon has abused the Office of President of the United States, in violation of his oath faithfully to execute the office and of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, for his personal pecuniary benefit:

(1) He willfully evaded taxes for the years 1969, 1970, 1971 and 1972 by knowingly signing and filing tax returns for those years that included charitable contribution deductions based on a gift of certain papers and other things to the Government of the United States that he claimed to have been made on or before July 25, 1969 (the last date on which such gifts could be made in order to be claimed as a tax deduction), when he knew the gift had not been made on or before that date.

(2) He directed the Secret Service to authorize certain expenditures as necessary for the personal protection of the President, and directed the General Services Administration to make such expenditures and others from Government funds, for improvements and maintenance to properties owned by him, knowing that such expenditures were beyond the authority of these agencies and were for his personal benefit, in violation of Article II, Section 1, Clause 6 of the Constitution, which prohibits the President from receiving any emolument from the United States, other than a fixed compensation for his services, during his term of office.

The House of Representatives saves to itself the liberty of exhibiting at any time further articles or other accusations of impeachment against the said Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America, of replying to the answers he may make to the articles preferred against him, and of offering proof to each and every part of these articles and of any additional articles, accusations or impeachment, as the case may require.

And the House of Representatives does demand that the said Richard M. Nixon, President of The United States of America, be put to answer the high crimes and misdemeanors charged against him in these articles and that such proceedings, examinations, trials and judgments be had and given upon them as may be agreeable to law and justice.

Proposed Articles III

Article I

That Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, did participate in acts, individually and in concert with others, to obstruct the investigation and prosecution of criminal acts committed against

operate with law enforcement agencies and prosecutors;

In that Richard M. Nixon did, on March 21, 1973, authorize the payment of money to E. Howard Hunt, the purpose of said payment being to induce E. Howard Hunt to refrain from disclosing knowledge of the commission of criminal acts, including the breaking and entering of the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding in Beverly Hills, Calif., on Sept. 3, 1971;

In that Richard M. Nixon did, individually and in concert with others, destroy or fail to produce evidence relating to the investigation of the breaking and entering of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee on June 17, 1972, and the prosecution and defense of persons charged in the breaking and entering;

In that Richard M. Nixon did withhold from appropriate Government officials information that action had been taken to obstruct and interfere with the investigation of the breaking and entering of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in Washington, D.C., on June 17, 1972;

In that Richard M. Nixon did conspire with others to promise executive clemency to persons in return for their withholding vital information and evidence of criminal activities;

In that Richard M. Nixon did conspire with others to interfere with the investigation of the breaking and entering at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in Washington, D.C., on June 17, 1972, by inducing witnesses to submit untruthful statements and testimony, by restricting the investigation into the breaking and entering, by alleging such investigation would interfere with nonexistent operations of the Central Intelligence Agency, and did conspire to obstruct the full investigation of a breaking and entering at the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding in Beverly Hills, Calif., on Sept. 3, 1971;

(10) He abused the executive power vested in the Constitution by asserting in bad faith a claimed executive privilege to withhold information, docu-

ments, and tape recordings from duly authorized tribunals of other branches of the government, in order to prevent revelation of his own wrongdoing and that of his subordinates and associates, in derogation of the judicial power vested in the courts of the United States by Article III of the Constitution and of the sole power of impeachment vested in the House of Representatives by Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution.

In that Richard M. Nixon did disclose information concerning proceedings before a Federal grand jury;

In that Richard M. Nixon did interfere with and impede the production of evidence in connection with the trial of criminal charges against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo;

In that Richard M. Nixon did interfere with and influence the trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo by offering an appointment to the position of Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the presiding judge, William Matthew Byrne;

Wherefore, Richard M. Nixon, by such

cert with others, interfere with the investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the breaking and entering of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in Washington, D. C., on June 17, 1972, by instructing the Central Intelligence Agency to falsely indicate to the Federal Bureau of Investigation that further investigation of such crime would interfere with alleged activities of the Central Intelligence Agency;

In that Richard M. Nixon did, in concert with others, attempt to interfere with and influence the trial of criminal charges against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo by offering to appoint the presiding judge, William Matthew Byrne, to the position of Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation;

In that Richard M. Nixon did conspire with others to obtain and distribute to unauthorized persons confidential information from the files of the Internal Revenue Service;

In that Richard M. Nixon did, in concert with others, interfere with the internal operations of the Internal Revenue Service by directing harassment of persons named by him;

In that Richard M. Nixon did restrict

the importation of milk products and authorize an increase in government price supports for milk products in exchange for the commitment of contributions to the reelection campaign of Richard M. Nixon;

In that Richard M. Nixon did, in concert with others, promise to appoint individuals to the position of Ambassador in exchange for the commitment of a campaign contribution;

In that Richard M. Nixon did, in violation of the civil rights of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo, withhold evidence pertaining to the defense of defendants Ellsberg and Russo against criminal charges;

In that Richard M. Nixon did authorize the establishment of a unit within the Executive Office of the President for the purpose of undertaking covert activities without regard to the civil rights of citizens of the United States and in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States;

In that Richard M. Nixon did unlawfully authorize the installation of wire taps on numerous individuals of the United States and did receive and distribute confidential reports from the Federal Bureau of Investigation on such wire taps;

Wherefore, Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial for removal from office.

ARTICLE III

That Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, in violation of the Constitution of the United States, did receive omoluments from the United States in excess of the compensation provided by law pursuant to Article II, Section 1, Clause 6 of the Constitution of the United States;

In that Richard M. Nixon did receive government funds expended on his behalf at and on property located in or near San Clemente, California, and Key Biscayne, Florida, and

laws of the United States, and, individually and in concert with others, commit fraud in the filing of his personal income tax returns for any or all of the years 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972;

In that Richard M. Nixon did knowingly sign and file tax returns containing untruthful claims for deductions;

In that Richard M. Nixon did knowingly fail to report income received during said years;

Wherefore, Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial for removal from office.

ARTICLE V

That Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, did commit acts in contempt of Congress and the Judiciary;

In that Richard M. Nixon did fail to produce information and materials as

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directed in duly authorized subpoenas issued by the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States House of Representatives on April 11, 1974; May 15, 1974; May 30, 1974, and June 24, 1974;

In that Richard M. Nixon did fail to produce information and materials as directed in a duly authorized subpoena issued by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia on April 16, 1974;

Wherefore, Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial for removal from office.

ARTICLE VI

That Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, did make and permitted others to make dishonest and misleading statements to the United States Congress, officials of the Executive Branch of the United States Government, and to the people of the United States;

In that Richard M. Nixon did order the dismissal of Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox in abrogation of commitments to the United States Senate and the people of the United States;

In that Richard M. Nixon did confirm in a public statement his belief in the honesty and integrity of Richard Kleindienst, his nominee for Attorney General, knowing at that time that said Richard Kleindienst had presented untruthful testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee;

In that Richard M. Nixon did, individually and in conspiracy with others, cause false and misleading statements to be presented to the United States Congress and the American people concerning military operations within and over the territory of Cambodia;

Wherefore, Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial for removal from office.

ARTICLE VII

PROPOSED ARTICLES IV Resolution

RESOLVED, That Richard M. Nixon has violated the duties and abused the powers of the Office of President of the United States of America. He has ignored his oath to execute the Office faithfully and to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States by conducting the Office for his personal pecuniary benefit and political advantage, misleading and receiving the people of the United States and their elected representatives in Congress, and by subverting the principles of constitutional government. He has breached his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed by willfully ignoring

the laws and by endeavoring to impede and obstruct their proper execution.

In all this, he has committed high crimes and misdemeanors in the conduct of his office, for which the House of Representatives do impeach him.

In support of its impeachment, the House of Representatives adopts the following articles of impeachment, which shall be exhibited to the Senate:

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON BEHALF OF ITSELF AND THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AGAINST RICARD M. NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

ARTICLE I

In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, contrary to his oath faithfully to execute the Office and in violation of the trust conferred upon him by the people, has on numerous occasions willfully misled, deceived, and given false information to the people of the United States and to their elected representatives in Congress.

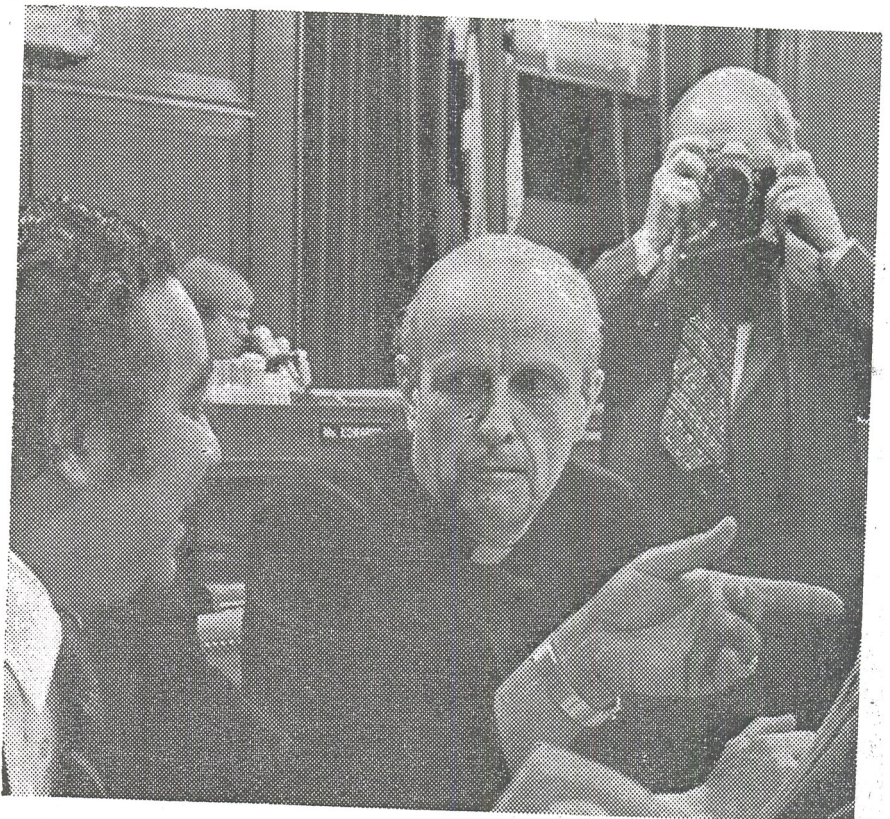
ARTICLE II

In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, contrary to his oath faithfully to execute the office and to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution to the best of his ability and in violation of his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has abused the powers vested in him as President:

(1) He has endeavored to use the Executive power vested in the President by the Constitution to prevent, obstruct, and impede investigations by agencies of the executive branch that might prove politically embarrassing to him.

(2) He has endeavored to use the Executive power vested in him by the Constitution to obtain confidential information from executive agencies that could be used for his personal political advantage.

(3) He has used his Executive power, and his power as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, illegally to violate the constitutional rights of citizens of the United States for his personal political advantage.



Charles B. Rangel of New York, left, and the Rev. Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts as the House Judiciary Committee began its deliberations. The New York Times

the Constitution.

(6) He has abused his power to nominate officials of the Executive Branch by using it to endeavor to influence the conduct of a criminal trial in order to prevent the public revelation of wrongdoing by his subordinates and their agents undertaken with his authorization.

(7) He has abused his power to nominate and appoint the Attorney General of the United States by nominating and appointing an individual to that position who he knew had testified untruthfully under oath to a Senate Committee conducting hearings on his qualifications for office and by ratifying the untruthful testimony rather than reporting it to the Senate, all in derogation of the Senate's constitutional power to advise and consent to the nomination of the Attorney General and in violation of his duty to give information to Congress.

(8) He abused his power as Com-

mander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces by conducting secret military operations in and over Cambodia and by concealing such operations through false and misleading statements to Congress and the people, all in derogation of the power of the Congress to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide for the common defense of the United States, and to control the expenditure of money from the treasury by appropriations, and in violation of his duties faithfully to execute this office, to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and to inform Congress.

(9) He abused the executive power vested in the President by the Constitution by directing that funds appropriated not be spent, contract authority not be allotted, and program applications not be received, all contrary to the laws enacted by Congress and in violation of his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

(10) He abused the executive power vested in the Constitution by asserting in bad faith a claimed executive privilege to withhold information, documents, and tape recordings from duly authorized tribunals of other branches of the government, in order to prevent revelation of his own wrongdoing and that of his subordinates and associates, in derogation of the judicial power vested in the courts of the United States by Article III of the Constitution and of the sole power of impeachment vested in the House of Representatives by Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution.

ARTICLE III

In his conduct of the office of President, Richard M. Nixon has violated his oath of office to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution...

gating on bad faith claims of executive privilege to conceal evidence bearing upon areas of the investigation.

ARTICLE IV

Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, in violation of his oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution to the best of his ability, has willfully obstructed the exercise of the sole power of impeachment vested by the Constitution in the House of Representatives by failing to produce, or to permit the production of, tape recordings, documents, and other things whose production was demanded by eight subpoenas duly authorized and issued by the Committee on the Judiciary under the authority of House Resolution 803 of the Ninety-Third Congress for purposes of its investigation, authorized and directed by that resolution of whether sufficient grounds exist for the House of Representatives to exercise its constitutional power to impeach Richard M. Nixon.

ARTICLE V

In the conduct of the Office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, in violation of his oath of office and of the Bill of Rights, has used the powers of the President to infringe the individual rights of citizens of the United States:

(1) He has violated the freedom of speech, press, and assembly guaranteed to citizens by the First Amendment to the Constitution by authorizing and directing illegal electronic surveillance of newsmen and private citizens for his political benefit; by endeavoring to obtain confidential tax-return information on his critics and supporters of political opponents from the Internal Revenue Service; and by authorizing and directing the dissemination of damaging information to defame and discredit individuals who opposed him.

(2) He has violated the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution, by authorizing illegal electronic surveillance of newsmen, government employes, and former government employes for his political benefit; by disseminating information obtained by such illegal surveillance for his political benefit; and by authorizing an illegal entry into the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, in furtherance of a program undertaken at his direction to defame and discredit Daniel Ellsberg.

(3) He endeavored to deprive Daniel Ellsberg in criminal trial of his right to due process and his right to a fair trial, guaranteed by the Fifth and Sixth Amendments to the Constitution by authorizing a program to defame and discredit his public image and by concealing evidence material to his defense.

(4) He endeavored to violate the First and Fourth Amendment rights of citizens by approving a program,

tutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, for his personal pecuniary benefit:

(1) He willfully evaded taxes for the years 1969, 1970, 1971 and 1972 by knowingly signing and filing tax returns for those years that included charitable contribution deductions based on a gift of certain papers and other things to the Government of the United States, that he claimed to have been made on or before July 25, 1969 (the last date on which such gifts could be made in order to be claimed as a tax deduction), when he knew the gift had not been made on or before that date.

(2) He directed the Secret Service to authorize certain expenditures as necessary for the personal protection of the President, and directed the General Services Administration to make such expenditures and others from Government funds, for improvements and maintenance to properties owned by him, knowing that such expenditures were beyond the authority of these agencies and were for his personal benefit, in violation of Article II, Section 1, Clause 6 of the Constitution, which prohibits the President from receiving any emolument from the United States, other than a fixed compensation for his services, during his term of office.

ARTICLE VII

In his conduct of the office of the President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, contrary to his oath and in violation of the trust conferred upon him by the people, corrupted the electoral process by endeavoring to gain information from his political opponents by illegal means and by concealing from the people relevant facts concerning his fitness for office.

PROPOSED ARTICLES V

ARTICLE I

That Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, be and hereby is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors in office in that he endeavored to obstruct and impede lawful investigations and proceedings of the judicial and legislative branches of the United States Government in order to secure his re-election as President, to conceal unlawful activities conducted by his Administration and campaign committees and to shield former members of his administration from accountability under the law.

In the course of such obstruction of the lawful functions of the coordinate branches of the Federal Government, and in order to accomplish one or more of the aforesaid purposes, Richard M. Nixon did, individually and in conspiracy with others, engage in the following acts:

(1) In June, 1972, Richard M. Nixon induced the Central Intelligence Agency to obstruct, delay and impede an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of

faming and discrediting Ellsberg and one of his attorneys, by violating Ellsberg's constitutional rights to a fair trial and due process by concealing evidence relevant to his defense, and by endeavoring to influence the decisions of the presiding judge in that trial.

(2) He authorized and participated in endeavors to obstruct and impede the due administration of justice in the grand jury investigation of electronic surveillance of the offices of the Democratic National Committee through payments of money, offers of executive clemency, and the counselling of false and misleading statements and testimony to impede the conduct of the investigation, through refusals to produce material evidence subpoenaed by the grand jury, through the concealment, destruction and alteration of evidence in his personal custody and control, through the making of false and misleading public statements intended to influence the public, prosecutors and potential witnesses, and through revelation of information obtained from the prosecutors by virtue of his official position to targets of the investigation.

(3) He has impeded the prosecution of United States v. Mitchell et al. by refusing to comply with a valid subpoena of the prosecution for evidence in his sole custody and control and claiming that executive privilege empowers him to withhold such evidence in "the public interest," although he was named by the grand jury as an unindicted co-conspirator in that case.

(4) He has impeded the investiga-