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**An Explanation: 5 Bases
Of Impeachment Articles**

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WASHINGTON, July 25—The two articles of impeachment that were submitted to the House Judiciary Committee last night will undoubtedly be amended, rewritten and refined by the committee.

But these articles—one narrow, the other broad—provide the framework for the committee's final decision on whether to recommend President Nixon's impeachment.

They are a product of intensive negotiations among many committee members. They represent a compromise—the minimum acceptable to the majority of Democrats who are strongly critical of the President and the maximum allowable by the Republicans and Southerners who may vote for impeachment.

Many of the allegations leveled at the President over the last two years have been discarded.

The contributions from the milk producers, the Administration's relationship with the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, the President's personal financial irregularities and his unauthorized bombing of Cambodia were deemed, for one reason or another, to be unlikely to command majority support on the committee.

The first proposed article, the narrow one, charges President Nixon with obstructing justice by trying to cover up the facts of the Watergate burglary.

The second and broader article accuses him of abusing the powers of his high office.

Many of the items listed under the articles—nine under the first one, eight under the second—are overlapping. But the accusations can be broken down into five categories.

What follows is an explanation of these accusations that seem likely to form the basis of the final articles of impeachment:

Impeding Inquiries

The articles contend that the President impeded the investigations of the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Watergate special prosecutors by making false or misleading statements himself and condoning such statements by his associates and by ordering the dismissal of the first special prosecutor, Archibald Cox.

The evidence presented to the committee by John M. Doar, the special counsel, cited repeated instances in which Mr. Nixon's public statements were misleading. And it pointed to conversations on tapes and transcripts that Mr. Doar said indicated that the President wanted his aides to make false statements.

On April 16, 1973, after the Justice Department began to crack the Watergate case, Mr. Nixon instructed an aide, John D. Ehrlichman, to devise "a scenario with regard to the President's role."

The President learned in March, 1973, that the three associates—Gordon C. Strachan, Jeb Stuart Magruder and Herbert L. Porter—had lied in court to investigators, and he not only condoned the lies but praised Mr. Strachan.

And he told his counsel, John W. Dean 3d, on March 21, 1973, "Just be damned sure you say I don't remember; I can't recall, I can't give any honest answer to that that I can recall. But that's it."

"Favored Treatment"

The articles allege that Mr. Nixon led defendants and subjects of investigations to expect "favored treatment" in return for their silence or false testimony.

They charge the President with "approving and concealing" the payment of hush money and with promising "executive clemency."

James D. St. Clair, the President's attorney, directed the bulk of his defense argument

to an effort to rebut charges of presidential complicity in the payment of hush money or offer of clemency.

There is evidence on both sides of this question, and it is likely to be strenuously debated.

The evidence appears to be less ambiguous on the President's dealings with Henry E. Petersen, the Assistant Attorney General, and Mr. Nixon's later discussions with his top aides, Mr. Ehrlichman and H.R. Haldeman.

In April, 1973, Mr. Nixon promised Mr. Petersen that he would keep confidential the details of the Justice Department investigation. Transcripts of the President's conversations show that time and again, after talking with Mr. Petersen, he proceeded to apprise Mr. Ehrlichman and Mr. Haldeman of what Mr. Petersen had told him.

Illegal Surveillance

"In violation of the constitutional rights of citizens," the articles charge, the President permitted the telephones of 17 White House officials and reporters to be tapped. In addition, they say, the President permitted the Secret Service to conduct surveillance of his brother, F. Donald Nixon.

The articles also allege direct, unlawful Presidential complicity not only in the formation of the special investigative unit known as the plumbers but also in the burglary, conducted by that unit, of the office of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg's former psychiatrist.

The purpose of the burglary, it is asserted, was "to obtain information to be used by Richard M. Nixon and his subordinates in public defamation of Daniel Ellsberg."

Misuse of Agencies

The President is cited for his alleged efforts to use three sensitive agencies—the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Internal Revenue Service—for his personal and political benefit.

In the case of the C.I.A., equipment was provided to White House aides that was later used in surreptitious activities. The President has acknowledged having ordered C.I.A. officials to block the initial Watergate investigation temporarily.

Mr. Nixon was said to have misused the F.B.I. by directing that proper records not be kept of wiretap logs; by allowing secret files to be given to L. Patrick Gray 3d, then acting director of the bureau, who proceeded to destroy the files, and by impeding the bureau's early Watergate investigation. Moreover, Mr. Nixon was said to have approved sounding out Judge W. Matthew Byrne Jr. about becoming director of the F.B.I. while Judge Byrne was presiding at Dr. Ellsberg's trial.

As for the I.R.S., the President is accused of having ordered tax audits conducted in a manner that helped his friends and harassed his opponents.

Contempt of the House

The House has not formally cited Mr. Nixon for contempt but the proposed articles accuse him of acting "in contempt of the House of Representatives and in defiance of the power of impeachment, vested solely in the House of Representatives," because of his refusal to comply with committee subpoenas for 147 tape recordings and other documents.

Fish Is Caught 'Redhanded'

PERTH, Australia (AP)—A suburban housewife caught a freshwater crayfish redclawed one morning with one of her home grown strawberries. She said crayfish lived in a brook at one end of the garden and usually made their foraging raids at night.