

# House Calendar No. 61

116TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. RES. 755

[Report No. 116–346]

Impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DECEMBER 10, 2019

Mr. NADLER submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

DECEMBER 15, 2019

Reported with an amendment, referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

[Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert the part printed in italic]

[For text of introduced resolution, see copy of resolution as introduced on December 10, 2019]

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# RESOLUTION

Impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

- 1       *Resolved, That Donald John Trump, President of the*
- 2       *United States, is impeached for high crimes and mis-*
- 3       *demeanors and that the following articles of impeachment*
- 4       *be exhibited to the United States Senate:*

1       *Articles of impeachment exhibited by the House of Rep-*  
2   *resentatives of the United States of America in the name*  
3   *of itself and of the people of the United States of America,*  
4   *against Donald John Trump, President of the United States*  
5   *of America, in maintenance and support of its impeach-*  
6   *ment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors.*

7                          ARTICLE I: ABUSE OF POWER

8       *The Constitution provides that the House of Represent-*  
9   *atives “shall have the sole Power of Impeachment” and that*  
10   *the President “shall be removed from Office on Impeach-*  
11   *ment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high*  
12   *Crimes and Misdemeanors”. In his conduct of the office of*  
13   *President of the United States—and in violation of his con-*  
14   *stitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President*  
15   *of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve,*  
16   *protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States,*  
17   *and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that*  
18   *the laws be faithfully executed—Donald J. Trump has*  
19   *abused the powers of the Presidency, in that:*

20       *Using the powers of his high office, President Trump*  
21   *solicited the interference of a foreign government, Ukraine,*  
22   *in the 2020 United States Presidential election. He did so*  
23   *through a scheme or course of conduct that included solici-*  
24   *ting the Government of Ukraine to publicly announce in-*  
25   *vestigations that would benefit his reelection, harm the elec-*  
26   *tion prospects of a political opponent, and influence the*

1    2020 United States Presidential election to his advantage.  
2    President Trump also sought to pressure the Government  
3    of Ukraine to take these steps by conditioning official  
4    United States Government acts of significant value to  
5    Ukraine on its public announcement of the investigations.  
6    President Trump engaged in this scheme or course of con-  
7    duct for corrupt purposes in pursuit of personal political  
8    benefit. In so doing, President Trump used the powers of  
9    the Presidency in a manner that compromised the national  
10   security of the United States and undermined the integrity  
11   of the United States democratic process. He thus ignored  
12   and injured the interests of the Nation.

13       President Trump engaged in this scheme or course of  
14   conduct through the following means:

15              (1) President Trump—acting both directly and  
16              through his agents within and outside the United  
17              States Government—corruptly solicited the Govern-  
18              ment of Ukraine to publicly announce investigations  
19              into—

20                      (A) a political opponent, former Vice Presi-  
21              dent Joseph R. Biden, Jr.; and

22                      (B) a discredited theory promoted by Rus-  
23              sia alleging that Ukraine—rather than Russia—  
24              interfered in the 2016 United States Presidential  
25              election.

1                   (2) *With the same corrupt motives, President  
2 Trump—acting both directly and through his agents  
3 within and outside the United States Government—  
4 conditioned two official acts on the public announce-  
5 ments that he had requested—*

6                   (A) *the release of \$391 million of United  
7 States taxpayer funds that Congress had appro-  
8 priated on a bipartisan basis for the purpose of  
9 providing vital military and security assistance  
10 to Ukraine to oppose Russian aggression and  
11 which President Trump had ordered suspended;  
12 and*

13                  (B) *a head of state meeting at the White  
14 House, which the President of Ukraine sought to  
15 demonstrate continued United States support for  
16 the Government of Ukraine in the face of Rus-  
17 sian aggression.*

18                  (3) *Faced with the public revelation of his ac-  
19 tions, President Trump ultimately released the mili-  
20 tary and security assistance to the Government of  
21 Ukraine, but has persisted in openly and corruptly  
22 urging and soliciting Ukraine to undertake investiga-  
23 tions for his personal political benefit.*

1       *These actions were consistent with President Trump's  
2 previous invitations of foreign interference in United States  
3 elections.*

4       *In all of this, President Trump abused the powers of  
5 the Presidency by ignoring and injuring national security  
6 and other vital national interests to obtain an improper  
7 personal political benefit. He has also betrayed the Nation  
8 by abusing his high office to enlist a foreign power in cor-  
9 rupting democratic elections.*

10       *Wherefore President Trump, by such conduct, has dem-  
11 onstrated that he will remain a threat to national security  
12 and the Constitution if allowed to remain in office, and  
13 has acted in a manner grossly incompatible with self-gov-  
14 ernance and the rule of law. President Trump thus war-  
15 rants impeachment and trial, removal from office, and dis-  
16 qualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust,  
17 or profit under the United States.*

18                  ARTICLE II: OBSTRUCTION OF CONGRESS

19       *The Constitution provides that the House of Represent-  
20 atives “shall have the sole Power of Impeachment” and that  
21 the President “shall be removed from Office on Impeach-  
22 ment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high  
23 Crimes and Misdemeanors”. In his conduct of the office of  
24 President of the United States—and in violation of his con-  
25 stitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President  
26 of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve,*

1 *protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States,*  
2 *and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that*  
3 *the laws be faithfully executed—Donald J. Trump has di-*  
4 *rected the unprecedented, categorical, and indiscriminate*  
5 *defiance of subpoenas issued by the House of Representa-*  
6 *tives pursuant to its “sole Power of Impeachment”. Presi-*  
7 *dent Trump has abused the powers of the Presidency in a*  
8 *manner offensive to, and subversive of, the Constitution, in*  
9 *that:*

10       *The House of Representatives has engaged in an im-*  
11 *peachment inquiry focused on President Trump’s corrupt*  
12 *solicitation of the Government of Ukraine to interfere in*  
13 *the 2020 United States Presidential election. As part of this*  
14 *impeachment inquiry, the Committees undertaking the in-*  
15 *vestigation served subpoenas seeking documents and testi-*  
16 *mony deemed vital to the inquiry from various Executive*  
17 *Branch agencies and offices, and current and former offi-*  
18 *cials.*

19       *In response, without lawful cause or excuse, President*  
20 *Trump directed Executive Branch agencies, offices, and offi-*  
21 *cials not to comply with those subpoenas. President Trump*  
22 *thus interposed the powers of the Presidency against the*  
23 *lawful subpoenas of the House of Representatives, and as-*  
24 *sumed to himself functions and judgments necessary to the*

1     *exercise of the “sole Power of Impeachment” vested by the*  
2     *Constitution in the House of Representatives.*

3         *President Trump abused the powers of his high office*  
4     *through the following means:*

5             *(1) Directing the White House to defy a lawful*  
6     *subpoena by withholding the production of documents*  
7     *sought therein by the Committees.*

8             *(2) Directing other Executive Branch agencies*  
9     *and offices to defy lawful subpoenas and withhold the*  
10    *production of documents and records from the Com-*  
11    *mittees—in response to which the Department of*  
12    *State, Office of Management and Budget, Department*  
13    *of Energy, and Department of Defense refused to*  
14    *produce a single document or record.*

15             *(3) Directing current and former Executive*  
16    *Branch officials not to cooperate with the Commit-*  
17    *tees—in response to which nine Administration offi-*  
18    *cials defied subpoenas for testimony, namely John*  
19    *Michael “Mick” Mulvaney, Robert B. Blair, John A.*  
20    *Eisenberg, Michael Ellis, Preston Wells Griffith, Rus-*  
21    *sell T. Vought, Michael Duffey, Brian McCormack,*  
22    *and T. Ulrich Brechbuhl.*

23         *These actions were consistent with President Trump’s*  
24    *previous efforts to undermine United States Government in-*

1   vestigations into foreign interference in United States elec-  
2   tions.

3       Through these actions, President Trump sought to ar-  
4   rogate to himself the right to determine the propriety, scope,  
5   and nature of an impeachment inquiry into his own con-  
6   duct, as well as the unilateral prerogative to deny any and  
7   all information to the House of Representatives in the exer-  
8   cise of its “sole Power of Impeachment”. In the history of  
9   the Republic, no President has ever ordered the complete  
10   defiance of an impeachment inquiry or sought to obstruct  
11   and impede so comprehensively the ability of the House of  
12   Representatives to investigate “high Crimes and Mis-  
13   demeanors”. This abuse of office served to cover up the  
14   President’s own repeated misconduct and to seize and con-  
15   trol the power of impeachment—and thus to nullify a vital  
16   constitutional safeguard vested solely in the House of Rep-  
17   resentatives.

18       In all of this, President Trump has acted in a manner  
19   contrary to his trust as President and subversive of con-  
20   stitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause  
21   of law and justice, and to the manifest injury of the people  
22   of the United States.

23       Wherefore, President Trump, by such conduct, has  
24   demonstrated that he will remain a threat to the Constitu-  
25   tion if allowed to remain in office, and has acted in a man-

1   *ner grossly incompatible with self-governance and the rule*  
2   *of law. President Trump thus warrants impeachment and*  
3   *trial, removal from office, and disqualification to hold and*  
4   *enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United*  
5   *States.*

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