Ms. BASS changed her vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So the previous question was ordered.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question was asked; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The result of the vote was announced.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 767, the House will proceed to the immediate consideration of House Resolution 755. The Clerk will report the resolution. The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That Donald John Trump, President of the United States, is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors and that the following articles of impeachment be exhibited to the United States Senate:

ARTICLE I: ABUSE OF POWER

The Constitution provides that the House of Representatives "shall have the sole Power of Impeachment" and that the President "shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors." In his conduct of the office of President of the United States—and in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States Presidential election to his advantage. In so doing, President Trump engaged in this scheme or course of conduct that included soliciting the Government of Ukraine to publicly announce investigations into—

- the table.

- the noes appeared to have it.

- the noes appeared to have it.
(A) a political opponent, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden, Jr.; and
(B) a discredited theory promoted by Russia alleging that Ukraine—rather than Russia—interfered in the 2016 United States Presidential election.

(2) With the same corrupt motives, President Trump—acting both directly and through his agents—ordered the United States Government—conditioned two official acts on the public announcements that he had requested:

(a) the release of $391 million of United States taxpayer funds that Congress had appropriated on a bipartisan basis for the purpose of providing vital military and security assistance to Ukraine to interfere in the 2020 United States election and which President Trump had ordered suspended; and

(b) a head of state meeting at the White House, which the President of Ukraine sought to demonstrate continued United States support for the Government of Ukraine in the face of Russian aggression.

(3) Paced with the public revelation of his actions, President Trump ultimately released the military and security assistance to the Government of Ukraine, but has persisted in and corruptly urged and solicited Ukraine to undertake investigations for his personal political benefit.

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

In all of this, President Trump abused the powers of the Presidency by ignoring and injuring national security and other vital national interests to obtain an improper personal political benefit. He has also betrayed the Nation by abusing his high office to enlist a foreign power in corrupt elections.

Wherefore President Trump, by such conduct, has demonstrated that he will remain a threat to national security and the Constitution if allowed to remain in office, and has acted in a manner grossly incompatible with self-governance and the rule of law. President Trump thus warrants impeachment and trial, removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.

ARTICLE II: OBSTRUCTION OF CONGRESS

The Constitution provides that the House of Representatives “shall have the sole Power of Impeachment” and that the President “shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other High Crimes and Misdemeanors”. In his conduct of the office of President of the United States—and in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of 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—Donald J. Trump has directed the unprecedented, categorical, and indiscriminate defiance of subpoenas issued by the House of Representatives to its “sole Power of Impeachment”. President Trump has abused the powers of the Presidency in a manner offensive to, and subversive of, the Constitution, in that:

The House of Representatives has engaged in an impeachment inquiry focused on President Trump’s corrupt solicitation of the Government of Ukraine to interfere in the 2020 United States Presidential election. As part of this impeachment inquiry, the Committees undertook the investigation served subpoenas seeking documents and testimony deemed vital to the inquiry from various Executive Branch agencies and offices, and current and former officials.

In response, without lawful cause or excuse, President Trump directed Executive Branch agencies, offices, and officials not to comply with those subpoenas. President Trump thus interposed the powers of the Presidency against the lawful subpoenas of the House of Representatives, and assumed to himself functions and judgments necessary to the exercise of the “sole Power of Impeachment” vested by the Constitution in the House of Representatives.

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

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

(2) Directing current and former Executive Branch officials and offices to defy lawful subpoenas and withhold the production of documents and records from the Committees—in response to which the Department of State, Office of Management and Budget, Department of Energy, and Department of Defense refused to produce a single document or record.

(3) Directing current and former Executive Branch officials not to cooperate with the Committees—in response to which nine Administration officials defied subpoenas for testimony, namely John Michael “Mick” Mulvaney, Robert B. Blair, John A. Eisenberg, Michael Ellis, Preston Wells Grifith, Russell T. Vought, Michael Duffey, Brian McCormack, and T. Ulrich Brechbuhl.

These actions were consistent with President Trump’s previous efforts to undermine United States Government investigations into foreign interference in United States elections.

Through these actions, President Trump sought to arrogate to himself the right to determine the propriety, scope, and nature of an impeachment inquiry; investigate, in his own conduct, as well as the unilateral prerogative to deny any and all information to the House of Representatives in the exercise of its “sole Power of Impeachment”. In the history of the Republic, no President has ever ordered the complete defiance of an impeachment inquiry or sought to obstruct and impede so comprehensively the ability of the House of Representatives to investigate “high Crimes and Misdemeanors”. This abuse of office served to cover up the President’s own repeated misconduct and to seize and control the power of impeachment—and thus to nullify a vital constitutional safeguard tested solely in the House of Representatives.

In all of this, President Trump has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice, and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, President Trump, by such conduct, has demonstrated that he will remain a threat to the Constitution if allowed to remain in office, and has acted in a manner grossly incompatible with self-governance and the rule of law. President Trump thus warrants impeachment and trial, removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 767, the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on the Judiciary is adopted. The resolution shall be debatable for 6 hours equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking member of the Committee on the Judiciary or their respective designee.

The gentleman from New York (Mr. Nadler) and the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Collins) each will control 3 hours.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and insert extraneous material on H. Res. 755.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Ms. Pelosi), the distinguished Speaker of the House.

Ms. PELOSI. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for his tremendous leadership in helping us honor the Constitution of the United States.

I also extend my gratitude to Chairman Schiff, who will be presiding later in the day.

Madam Speaker, this morning and every morning when we come together, Members rise and pledge allegiance to the flag. Every day, all across America, children in school, members of the rank and file in hands on heart, pledge allegiance to the flag. This is a sacredly engaged pledge.

Let us recall what that pledge says: “I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.”

“The Republic for which it stands” is what we are here to talk about today: a republic, if we can keep it.

We gather today, under the dome of this temple of democracy, to exercise one of the most solemn powers that this body can take: the impeachment of the President of the United States.

For 230 years, Members have taken that sacred oath, which makes us custodians of the Constitution.

When our Founders declared independence and established our new Nation, they crafted a system of government unlike any ever seen before: a republic, starting with the sacred words, “We the People.”

For centuries, Americans have fought—and died—to defend democracy for the people. But, very sadly, now, our Founders’ vision of a republic is under threat from actions from the White House. That is why, today, as Speaker of the House, I solemnly and sadly open the debate on the impeachment of the President of the United States.

If we do not act now, we would be derelict in our duty. It is tragic that the President’s reckless actions make impeachment necessary.

He gave us no choice.

What we are discussing today is the established fact that the President violated the Constitution.
It is a matter of fact that the President is an ongoing threat to our national security and the integrity of our elections: the basis of our democracy.

Hundreds of historians, legal scholars, and former prosecutors—regardless of party—have concluded that the President committed impeachable offenses.

Since today is a national civics lesson, though a sad one, I submit these documents for the Record and commend them for students to study.

**48+ Former Federal Prosecutors Statement on Mueller Report**

May 6

We are former federal prosecutors. We served under both Republican and Democratic administrations at different levels of the federal system: as line attorneys, supervisors, special prosecutors, United States Attorneys, and senior officials at the Department of Justice. The offices in which we served were small, medium, and large; urban, suburban, and rural; and located in all parts of our country.

Each of us believes that the conduct of President Trump described in Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III’s report would merit filing felony charges against the President were it not for the case of any other person not covered by the Office of Legal Counsel policy against indicting a sitting President. The special counsel report is overwhelming. These include:

- The President’s efforts to fire Mueller and to falsify evidence about that effort;
- The President’s efforts to prevent witnesses from cooperating with investigators probing him and his campaign;
- Attempts to Fire Mueller and Then Create False Evidence

Despite being advised by then-White House Counsel Don McGahn that he could face legal jeopardy for doing so, Trump directed McGahn to occasion Fire Mueller or to gin up false conflicts of interest as a pretext for getting rid of the Special Counsel. When these acts began to come into public view, the President “repeatedly offered to have McGahn deny the story”—so going so far as to tell McGahn to write a letter for our files falsely denying that Trump had directed Mueller’s termination.

Firing Mueller would have seriously impaired the President and his associates—obstruction in its most literal application. Directing the creation of false government records in order to prevent or discredit truthful testimony is similarly unlawful. The Special Counsel’s report states: “Substantial evidence indicates that in repeatedly urging McGahn to dispute that he recommended firing the White House, instructing his former campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, to carry a demand to Sessions to direct Mueller to confine his inquiry to future elections. Lewandowski tried and failed to contact Sessions in private. After a second meeting with Trump, Lewandowski passed the message to White House official Rick Dearborn, who Lewandowski thought would be a better messenger because of his prior relationship with Sessions. Dearborn did not pass along Trump’s message. As the report explains, ‘[s]ubstantial evidence indicates that the President’s effort to have Sessions limit the scope of the Special Counsel’s investigation to future election interference was intended to prevent further investigative scrutiny of the President’s and his campaign’s conduct’”—in other words, the President’s efforts to get the Attorney General to limit the scope of an ongoing investigation into the President and his associates.

All of this conduct was directed to control and impede the investigation against the President by leveraging his authority over others—is similar to conduct we have seen charged against other public officials and people in powerful positions.

**Witness Tampering and Intimidation**

The Special Counsel’s report establishes that the President tried to influence the decisions of both Michael Cohen and Paul Manafort by threatening and intimidating witnesses. Some of this tampering and intimidation, including the dangling of pardons, was done in plain sight via tweets and public statements; other such behavior was done via private messages through private attorneys, such as Trump counsel Rudy Giuliani’s message to Cohen’s lawyer that Cohen should tell “‘[j]eep tonight’, [you] have friends in high places.”

Of course, these aren’t the only acts of potential obstruction detailed by the Special Counsel. The prior misuse of normal prosecutorial judgment also to charge other acts detailed in the report.

We emphasize that these are not matters of close professional judgment. Of course, there are arguments or defenses that could be raised in response to an indictment of the nature we describe here. In our system, every accused person is presumed innocent and it is always the government’s burden to prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt. But, to look at these facts and say that a prosecutor could not probably sustain the burden of proof of guilt of the President violates the standard set out in Principles of Federal Prosecution—runs counter to logic and our experience.

As former federal prosecutors, we recognize that prosecuting obstruction of justice cases is critical because unchecked obstruction—which allows intentional interference with the independent counsel investigations to go unpunished—puts our whole system of justice at risk. We believe strongly that, but for the OLC memo, the overwhelming weight of professional judgment would have rested in favor of prosecution for the conduct outlined in the Mueller Report.

If you are a former federal prosecutor and would like to add your name below, click here. Protect Democracy will update this list daily with new signatories.

**Letter to Congress from Legal Scholars**

Dec. 6

We, the undersigned legal scholars, have concluded that President Trump engaged in impeachable conduct. We do not reach this conclusion lightly. The Founders did not make impeachment available for disagreements over policy, even profound ones, nor for extreme distaste for the person in which they execute their office. Only “Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors” warrant impeachment. But there is overwhelming evidence that President Trump violated his oath of office by seeking to use presidential power to pressure a foreign government to help him distort an American election, for his personal and political benefit. The direct expense of national security interests as determined by Congress. His conduct is precisely the type of threat to our democracy that the Founders feared when they included the remedy of impeachment in the Constitution.

We take no position on whether the President committed a crime. But conduct need not be criminal to be impeachable. The standard here is constitutional; it does not depend on what Congress has chosen to criminalize.

Impeachment is a remedy for grave abuses of the public trust. The two specific bases for impeachment named in the Constitution—treason and bribery—involve such abuses because they include conduct undertaken not in the “faithful execution” of public office that the Constitution requires, but instead for personal gain (bribery) or to benefit a foreign enemy (treason). Impeachment is an especially essential remedy for conduct that corrupts elections.

The primary check on presidents is political: if a president behaves poorly, voters can punish him or his party at the polls. A president who corrupts the system of elections seeks to place himself beyond the reach of this political check. At the Constitutional Convention, George Mason described impeachable offenses as “attempts to subvert the constitution.” Corrupting elections subverts the process by which the Constitution makes the president of the United States—Put simply, if a President cheats in his effort at re-election, trusting the democratic process to serve as a check through election is no remedy at all. That is what impeachment is for.

Moreover, the Founders were keenly concerned with the possibility of corruption in the president’s relationships with foreign governments. That is why they prohibited the president from accepting anything of value from foreign governments without Congress’s consent. The same concern drove their thinking on impeachment. James Madison noted that Congress must be able to remove the president between elections lest there be no remedy if a president betrayed the public trust in dealings with foreign powers.

In light of these considerations, overwhelming evidence made public to date forces us to conclude that President Trump engaged in impeachable conduct.

We sign our names to this recommendation only a few of those facts: William B. Taylor, who leads the U.S. embassy in Ukraine, testified that President Trump directed the withholding of hundreds of millions of dollars in military aid for Ukraine in its struggle against Russia—aid that Congress determined to be in the U.S. national security interest. He also revealed activities that would aid the President’s re-election campaign. Ambassador Gordon
Sondland testified that the President made a White House visit for the Ukrainian president conditional on public announcement of those investigations. In a phone call with the Ukrainian president, the President asked for a “favor” in the form of a foreign government investigation of a U.S. citizen who is his political rival. President Trump and his chief of staff, Mark Meadows, made clear that Trump’s dereliction in pursuing oversight of improper and corrupt acts might repeat his guilt and return to power.

We in Congress, Article I, the legislative branch, must stand up and make clear to the American people and to all people who this body still stands by the principles enshrined in the Constitution and defended by generations of Americans.

Last week, in observance of the 75th anniversary of the Battle of the Bulge, Members traveled to that hallowed ground to express our gratitude to the heroes who sacrificed everything to secure victory over tyranny, not just for America but for the world. The veterans of that battle, who are in their nineties, told us how, after the war was won, the Europeans whom they liberated would ask: Why did you risk—you don’t know us—and give your lives to save us? We are not Americans. Our men would say: We came here to fight for you not because you are Americans but because we are Americans.

As our beloved Elijah Cummings, our Oversight Committee chair, our North Star, said when he announced his support of this action, even the history books are written about this tumultuous era, I want them to show that I was among those in the House of Representatives who stood up to lawlessness and tyranny.

He also said, almost prophetically:

When we are dancing with the angels, the question will be: What did we do to make sure we kept our democracy intact?

Elijah has since passed on. Now, he is dancing with the angels.

I know that he and all of us here are very proud of the courage of Members who want to honor the vision of our Founders for a republic, the sacrifice of our men and women in uniform to defend it, and the aspirations of our children to live freely within it.

Yes, we are told to defend democracy for the people. May God bless America.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, we are here today to enter into a debate that should surprise no one. This has not been a surprise, and it is not even something that we would not have thought about.

The Founders’ great fear of a rogue or corrupt President is the very reason why they enshrined impeachment in the Constitution.

As one Founder, William Davie of North Carolina, warned, unless the constitution contained an impeachment provision, a President might spare no efforts or means whatever to get himself reelected.

Another Founder, George Mason, insisted that the President who procured his appointment in the first instance through improper and corrupt acts might repeat his guilt and return to power.

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Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, we are here today to enter into a debate that should surprise no one. This has not been a surprise, and it is not even something that we would not have thought about.
From the very moment that the majority party in this House won, the inevitability that we would be here today was only a matter of what date they would schedule it, nothing else.

In fact, how it even began to look entirely settled seems to be September 26th, when Speaker Pelosi announced an impeachment inquiry even before seeing the call transcript that we are going to hear so much about today.

You know, it is not about what this body does, or its constitutional oath, and there has been a lot of “constitutional” and “Founders” thrown around and will be all day today. But there is one thing that I will mention all along, and that is, also, the Founders were very concerned about a partisan impeachment in which politics or the majority, who have their strength, can do what they want to do, regardless of any facts.

In fact, I have said it before, and I will say it again, I do not believe, no matter what was said today and even what has been said—this is not a solemn occasion. When you go looking for something for 3 years, and especially this year since January, you ought to be excited when you find it, but they can’t because I know what has now happened. It took me till last night, but I was thinking about it. Why do we keep calling this a solemn occasion when you have been wanting to do this ever since the gentleman was elected? The President came forward and did what he saw fit for the American people, but yet they wanted to impeach him. And it hit me. Now I know.

The reason they wanted to is now they are realizing what I told them and have been telling them for the last few weeks, that the clock and the calendar are terrible masters. The clock and the calendar are terrible masters. They do not care about anything except getting the time done and the calendar fixed. They do not care about time. And one day, the clock and the calendar will hang along this body in a very detrimental way.

How do I know this? Because one of our Members, Ms. Tlaib, said on the floor she was sworn in: We are going to impeach. Well, you know the rest. In May 2019, Mr. Green said: I am concerned if we don’t impeach President Trump stays in office. Really? After we went on process, and we went on facts. Why? Because the American people will see through this.

But there is something that very much bothers me about the facts. There were five meetings—we will hear about those today—in which there was never a linkage made. There was one witness who is dependent on over 600 times in the majority’s report that, in the end, the majority said: Nothing was ever done to get the money. In fact, they didn’t even know the money was held.

Today is going to be a lot of things. Today, we are going to talk a lot about impeachment. We are going to talk about our President. We are going to talk about two Articles of Impeachment, abuse of power because they can’t actually pin anything of factual basis on him—the President did nothing wrong in this issue—and then they are going to talk about obstruction of Congress.

Today, we are going to talk a lot about impeachment. We are going to talk about our President. We are going to talk about two Articles of Impeachment, abuse of power because they can’t actually pin anything of factual basis on him—the President did nothing wrong in this issue—and then they are going to talk about obstruction of Congress.

You know, obstruction of Congress, as I have said before, is like petulant children saying we didn’t get our way when we didn’t ask the right way, and we didn’t actually go after it and try to make a case.

You know why, Madam Speaker? The clock and the calendar are terrible masters. The majority will own that problem today because to the clock and the calendar, facts don’t matter. The promises to the base matter, and today is a promise kept for the majority—not a surprise, a fact.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. Nadler. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, the House of Representatives must now consider two Articles of Impeachment against President Trump. The first article charges that the President used his public office to coerce a foreign government into attacking his political rival. The second article charges that the President took extreme and unprecedented steps to obstruct our investigation into his conduct.

Taken together, the two articles charge that President Trump placed his private political interests above our national security, above our elections,
and above our system of checks and balances.

After months of investigation, there can be no serious debate about the evidence at hand. On July 25, when he spoke to President Zelensky of Ukraine, Trump said the upper hand. The President, through his agents, had already demanded that Ukraine announce an investigation of his political opponents. Ukraine needed our help, both military aid, which had been appropriated by Congress because of our security interests, and an Oval Office meeting to show the world that the United States continues to stand with Ukraine against Russian aggression.

President Trump should have been focused on the interests of the American people on that call. Instead, he prioritized his private political interests. President Trump asked President Zelensky for a favor. He wanted Ukraine to announce two bogus investigations before Vice President Biden, then his leading opponent in the 2020 election, and another to advance a conspiracy theory that Ukraine, not Russia, attacked our elections in 2016.

The request was premised on any legitimate national security or foreign policy interests. One was intended to help President Trump conceal the truth about the 2016 election. The other was intended to help him gain an advantage in the 2020 election.

After the call, President Trump ratcheted up the pressure. He deployed his private attorney and other agents, some acting far outside the regular channels of diplomacy, to make his desires clear. There would be no aid and no meeting until Ukraine announced the sham investigations.

To our founding generation, abuse of power was a specific, well-defined offense. A President may not misuse the power was a specific, well-defined offense.

impeachment. The President faces a second Article of Impeachment, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SENSENBERN. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to impeaching the President. The Constitution says that any civil officer, including the President, may be impeached for treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. Unlike the Nixon and Clinton cases, there are no allegations that the President has committed a crime.

We have had almost 3 years of non-stop investigations. We have had the Mueller report, we have had the Schiff investigation, and at no time has there been any evidence that indicates that Donald J. Trump violated any criminal statute of the United States.

So why are we here? We are here because the majority leader, the Democratic Caucus, has been hijacked by the radical left. They have wanted to reverse the course of the 2016 election ever since Donald J. Trump won that election.

Now, the second Article of Impeachment, obstruction of Congress, basically says that, unless the President gives us everything we want, when we want it, then he has committed an impeachable offense.

That is a bunch of bunk.

Now, the President has certain individual and executive privileges by virtue of his office.

Whenever there has been a dispute between the executive and legislative branches heretofore, they have gone to court. The Supreme Court a couple weeks ago said they would take jurisdiction over deciding whether the President has to comply with one subpoena relating to his tax returns. Now, the Democrats have been bent to impeach the President of the United States before the court decides this. That means that there is a rush job to do this.

Why is there a rush job? Because they want to influence the 2020 elections.

They have spent 3 years doing this; they have spent millions of taxpayer dollars, including the Mueller report, putting together this impeachment; and they also have had this Congress wrapped around impeachment and not doing their jobs until the day broke this week.

Mr. SENSENBERN. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to impeaching the President.

Now, here, the Democrats have been doing their jobs until the dam broke. Why is there a rush job? Because they want to influence the 2020 elections.
Stop this charade. Vote “no.”

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Wisconsin knows full well the President asserted no privileges here. He simply ordered complete defiance of the impeachment inquiry.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania (Ms. SCANLON).

Ms. SCANLON. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman NADLER for his leadership as we navigate this challenging time, not just for our committee and Congress, but for our country.

It is with profound sadness that I stand here today in support of these Articles of Impeachment.

President Trump’s behavior is exactly what our Founders feared most. They knew that with the awesome power of the Presidency came the risk of a President abusing that power for personal gain.

They were particularly concerned about an executive who became entangled with foreign governments, corrupted our elections, or sought to avoid consequences for his own misconduct in office.

That is why they included impeachment in the Constitution: to protect our Republic.

Our colleagues across the aisle have claimed that we are impeaching the President because we don’t like him, but this moment is about more than disagreement with the President’s policies or personality. Those issues belong in the voting booth.

Our task here is not to judge the President himself. Instead, we must judge his conduct and whether his actions have undermined our Constitution.

The President has committed the highest of high crimes under our Constitution. He used the highest office in our government and taxpayer dollars to pressure a foreign country to interfere in our elections. He undermined our national security.

When he got caught, he tried to cover it up, obstructing our investigation and refusing to produce subpoenaed documents and witnesses.

A government where the President abuses his power is not “of the people.”

A government where the President pressures a foreign country to undermine our elections is not “by the people.”

A government where the President puts his own interests before the country is not “for the people.”

This isn’t complicated. You know it. I know it. The American people know it.

President Trump’s wrongdoing and the urgent threat that his actions present to our next election and our democracy leaves us no principled alternative but to support these Articles of Impeachment.

Our Constitution, our country, and our children depend upon it.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I wish, as the gentlewoman just said, that they would examine the factual conduct, but I guess that is not going to happen.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. JOHNSON).

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. COLLINS) for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the Founders of this country warned us against a single-party impeachment because they feared it would bitterly and perhaps irreparably divide our Nation.

The truth is, in the 243 years of this Republic, there has never been a single-party, fraudulent impeachment process like the one being used today.

Our Democrat colleagues have weaponized the impeachment provision of the Constitution to nullify the votes of 63 million Americans who elected President Donald J. Trump.

This is not about a phone call or Ukraine or even his use of the executive privilege.

You need only to remember that 95 of the Democrats on this floor today voted to impeach Donald Trump before the July 25 phone call ever happened between President Trump and President Zelensky.

Not only is this a single-party impeachment, it is also evidence-free.

After all their Herculean efforts, they could only come up with two short Articles of Impeachment.

On the first, the Democrats know there is zero evidence in the record of these proceedings to show that President Trump engaged in any abuse of power.

As you will hear today, their entire case is based on hearsay, speculation, and conjecture, and there is not a single fact witness that can provide testimony to support their baseless allegations.

The Democrats’ second claim is that President Trump obstructed Congress by simply doing what virtually every other President in the modern era has also done, and that is to assert, Mr. Speaker, a legitimate executive privilege, which protects the separation of powers.

And you know what? If they disagreed with that, the Democrats could and should have just simply gone a few blocks away to a Federal court to get an expedited court order compelling the extra documents and information they really want. What has always been done in the past, but they didn’t do that here, because these Democrats don’t have time for it.

They are trying to meet their own arbitrary, completely reckless, and Machiavellian timeline to take down a President that they loathe.

The real abuse of power here is on the part of the House Democrats as they have feverishly produced and pursued this impeachment 20 times faster than the impeachment investigation of Bill Clinton.

They are trying to reach their predetermined political outcome, and along the way, they have steamrolled over constitutionally-guaranteed due process, previously sacrosanct House rules, and the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

This must fail. This is a shameful day for the country.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman knows that impeachment was put into the Constitution as a defense of the Republic in between elections.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CONAWAY).

Mr. Speaker, other than authorizing an act of war, impeachment is the gravest item that we as a Congress can consider.
The decision to move forward with impeachment of a United States President is so consequential that it has only been done three times previously in our Nation’s history, all based on legitimate evidence of criminal behavior. Unfortunately, many of my colleagues have established what should be a solemn and grave proceeding into an absolute political circus simply because they don’t like the man occupying the White House.

Many Democrats have been intent on impeaching the President since the day he took office. Their actions are clearly motivated by hatred for President Trump. This impeachment vote today is the next step in their long-held plan to remove him from office.

The partisan impeachment investigation run by the House Intelligence Committee was unnecessarily held behind closed doors in a room designed to share classified information.

Nothing classified was shared during these meetings, but the result of this decision was that most Members of Congress and all Americans were blocked from hearing the facts for themselves.

Chairman SCHIFF repeatedly withheld classified information from the Republicans, including the ability for anyone but himself and his staff to speak with the whistleblower at the center of this investigation. He was even called out by liberal media for spreading misinformation and falsehoods throughout the impeachment process.

The public hearings were held with complete disregard for the House rules and decades of precedent. Republicans were not allowed to call witnesses or to make basic parliamentary motions. In fact, the only witnesses allowed to testify publicly were those who fit neatly within the Democrats’ predetermined narrative.

Most importantly, we have not been presented with any real evidence that proves the President is guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, as required by the Constitution to remove a duly-elected President. If there was criminal activity, as many of my Democrat colleagues claim, then why are there no crimes listed in the Articles of Impeachment?

We have forever weakened this body by turning impeachment into a political weapon. This impeachment scheme is nothing more than an attempt to conduct taxpayer-funded opposition research and damage the President’s electability heading into 2020.

The American people see right through this charade and are fed up. It is time for this madness to stop and for us to get back to the important work the American people sent us here to do.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN).

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, American elections belong to the American people, not the American President and not foreign powers.

No President may cheat the people by working with foreign governments to steal from us a free and fair election. And no President who attempts it may cover up that cheating by systematically obstructing Congress in our work.

Article II of the Constitution does not authorize a President to do whatever he wants. The reason we have a Constitution is to keep government officials from doing whatever they want. If we the people lose the certainty of free and fair elections to Presidential corruption and foreign manipulation, then we lose our democracy itself, the most precious inheritance we have received from prior generations who pledged their sacred honor and gave everything they had to defend it.

The struggle for democracy is the meaning of America. That is why we remain the last best hope of a world
ravaged by authoritarianism, violence, and corruption. We must act now to protect our elections and safeguard constitutional democracy for the enormous and unprecedented challenges that still lie ahead of us.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia (Mrs. MILLER).

Mrs. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H. Res. 755.

Today is a disappointing day. It is the day my colleagues from across the aisle cast the vote that they have spent the last 3 years obsessioning over, the vote to impeach our duly-elected President.

There are two charges claimed by House Democrats, and there is zero cause for either.

While President Trump has led, our country has thrived, and Washington liberals have fared better. Despite the commitment of many of our colleagues to obstruct the Trump administration’s agenda at every turn, our country continues to succeed.

In this body, however, we have not been able to deliver on what Americans want and need. We still have not finished securing our border. The opioid epidemic still rages in our communities. Our infrastructure is still in dire need of an overhaul. We still have not reached a bipartisan resolution on drug prices.

If Congress hadn’t spent the last year stuck in a divisive, ugly, partisan impeachment debacle, think of what we could have done, the lives that could have been saved, the communities that could have been improved, the crisis on our southern border ended, and the positive work that we should do for our country. But we didn’t, all because of divisive political theatrics.

Congress can do better than this, and America deserves better.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. CICILLINE).

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Articles of Impeachment against Donald J. Trump, the 45th President of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, no one runs for Congress to impeach a President. But this President has left us no choice.

President abused the enormous powers of his office when he solicited foreign interference for the purpose of helping him in his reelection campaign in 2020. The President betrayed our national security and undermined the security of our elections when he put his own personal political interests ahead of the interests of our country. He tried to cheat to win reelection.

This wasn’t an attack on Vice President Biden. This was an attack on our democracy.

If we do not hold the President accountable today, we will no longer live in a democracy. We will live in a dictatotorship where any future President will be free to abuse their office in order to get reelected.

Today, every Member of this Chamber faces a choice: whether to do what the Constitution demands and the evidence requires. To turn a blind eye to the President’s grave misconduct, a blind eye to the overwhelming evidence of high crimes and misdemeanors.

To my friends on the other side of the aisle, I say this: This is not about making history. This is about holding a lawless President accountable in the way our Framers intended. This is a time to put our country over your political party. Do not seek safety in the high grass of a vote against these articles. We are all Americans. Show the American people your devotion to your country is more powerful than your loyalty to your political party.

United, we can defend our democracy from all enemies, foreign and domestic. Divided, we risk losing our democracy.

To those who obstructed the investigation into his misconduct:

For our democracy, for our Constitution, for the people you represent, and for all who will inherit our country from us, I pray you will do the right thing.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it gives me pleasure to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. ROGERS).

Mr. ROGERS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in complete and total support of President Trump.

The matter before the House today is based solely on a fundamental hatred of our President. It is a sham, a witch hunt, and it is tantamount to a coup against the duly-elected President of the United States.

This is a sad day for our Nation when one political party, along with their cohorts in the deep state and the mainstream media, try to hijack our Constitution.

The Democrat majority has irresponsibly turned the impeachment process into a political weapon, something that Republicans refused to do when our base was calling for the impeachment of President Obama.

It is well past time for the House to move beyond this hoax and put our Nation first. That is exactly what President Trump is doing. The United States has record-low unemployment and historic performance in the stock market. President Trump is rewriting failed trade deals of the past to put America first. He is rebuilding our military, helped create Space Force, and the list goes on.

I implore my colleagues to end this spectacle now.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I am hearing a lot from my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, except a defense of President Trump’s conduct, which is indefensible.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTCH).

Mr. DEUTCH. Mr. Speaker, some say this impeachment is about eight lines in a call transcript, but there is so much more. This was about a scheme that lasted months and involved dozens of Trump administration officials.

Look at the evidence: text messages, emails, calls, and meetings.

Way back in May, the President told his team: “Talk to Rudy” Giuliani. They did. The President’s message? “No White House meeting unless Ukraine helped him in the 2020 election.”

Ambassador Sondland said there was a “prerequisite of investigations” into the Bidens and announcement of investigations was a “deliverable.”

Ambassador Volker said the most important thing for the Ukrainian President to do was commit to an investigation into the Bidens.

Just before the July 25 call, Volker told the Ukrainians: “Assuming President Z convinces Trump he will investigate . . . we will nail down date for visit to Washington.”

Direct evidence kept coming after the call, more texts, more emails, and more calls, all with the same message: If Ukraine didn’t announce an investigation into the President’s political rival, then they wouldn’t get the White House meeting that they had been promised, and they wouldn’t get the aid that they needed in their war against Russia.

American Presidential power comes from the people through elections. The Constitution requires that we protect those elections. But when the President abused his power to solicit foreign interference, he was cheating American voters before they even had a chance to vote.

Mr. Speaker, President Trump’s actions force us to protect our elections and the Constitution. I urge my colleagues to defend the Constitution, support these Articles of Impeachment, and remind the world that, in America, no one is above the law.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would remind this whole body that it is more than eight lines. In fact, there are four facts: There is no pressure. There is no conditionality. They did nothing to get it. And they got the money.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. SPANO).

Mr. SPANO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this political effort to remove President Trump from office.

I am not surprised this day has come, but I am disappointed, disappointed because impeachment is one of the most consequential decisions that we can make in this body, and this impeachment is based purely on partisan motivations.

Speaker PELOSI said we shouldn’t go down this path unless there was something compelling, overwhelming, and
bipartisan because of how divisive it would be. Unfortunately, it is clear the majority has had laser focus on one thing for 3 years: impeaching the President.

The majority has failed to deliver for the American people. They failed to pass a budget on time, failed to pass the spending bills on time, and failed to deliver bipartisan solutions that will actually help improve the lives of Americans.

But the American people see through this sad charade for what it is: an attempt to undo the 2016 election based on hearsay and opinion, not fact.

The transcript of the call showed no conditions were placed on the aid. President Trump and President Zelensky have said there was no pressure, and Ukraine received the aid without taking any actions.

The Constitution is clear. The President may only be impeached for committing treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. Nowhere in the two Articles of Impeachment brought today does it argue that the President has committed treason, bribery, or other violation of the law.

This is not overwhelming. It is not compelling. It is not bipartisan. But the Speaker was right in one way. This is incredibly divisive and has lowered the bar for what future Presidents will face.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly oppose the articles before us today, and I hope that we will finally move past this nightmare and get to work to deliver results for the American people.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, the evidence is clear that President Trump took advantage of Ukraine’s vulnerability and abused the powers of his office to pressure Ukraine to help his re-election campaign. This is the highest of high crimes and President Trump must be held to account.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. CORREA).

Mr. CORREA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Homeland Security Committee, I know firsthand the dangers that foreign interference in our elections present to our democracy. As a Member of Congress, it is my sworn duty to ensure that our Nation is secure from all threats, foreign and domestic. And Congress has a constitutional job to investigate allegations of misconduct by the executive branch, including the United States President.

The Constitution is the highest law of the land, creating a system of checks and balances to prevent the creation of a king. Congress is a coequal branch of our Nation’s government, equal with the Presidency, with duties that are given to us by the Framers.

This is a very sad day, and I do not take impeachment lightly; yet, I am here to do my job as a Member of Congress. (English translation of the statement made in Spanish is as follows:)

My town sent me to Washington to work with everyone, Democrats and Republicans, to improve the lives of our communities.

Sadly, we are here, today, considering the actions of the President of the United States.

My vote will be to ensure that we remain a democracy, and not a dictatorship.

Many of our sons and daughters have paid the price of our freedom with their blood. Our liberty and democracy must be the inheritance that we leave to our sons and daughters.

A democracy exists when nobody is above the constitution, and we are all subject to the law.

I ask God to give us wisdom, and to help us unite our beloved homeland, the United States of America.

Mi pueblo me mando a Washington para trabajar con todos, Demócratas y Republicanos, para mejorar las vidas de nuestra comunidad.

Tristemente estamos presentes, considerando las acciones del presidente de los Estados Unidos.

Mi voto, sera para asegurar que sigamos siendo una democracia, y no una dictadura.

Muchos de nuestros hijos y hijas, han pagado el precio de nuestra libertad con su sangre. Nuestra libertad y democracia, tienen que ser la herencia que les dejamos a nuestros hijos y hijas.

Una democracia existe cuando nadie está sobre la constitución, y todos somos sujetos a la ley.

Le pido a dios que nos de sabiduría, y que nos ayude unir nuestra querida patria, los Estados Unidos Americanos.

Mr. Speaker, today I pray to God for His guidance in unifying our great Nation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BUTTERFIELD). The gentleman from California will provide a translation of his remarks to the Clerk.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would have to disagree with my chairman. I am not sure what he has been watching, but the facts are not undisputed. They are very much disputed, not only by the minority, but by the witnesses, who actually testified.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CARTER).

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the Democrats’ sham process, which makes a mockery of the rules of the House and is, frankly, dangerous to this country.

Since day one, the Democrats have made it clear that they wanted to move toward impeachment well before any of the accusations took place. What Democrats, unfortunately, don’t recognize is the damage that this will cause for our political institutions and America’s trust for years to come.

Every American should be concerned that Speaker PELOSI doesn’t trust our citizens to let them decide who should lead our great country.

This impeachment process isn’t focused on strengthening and protecting our political foundations but, rather, shaping public opinion.

I ask you: Is it worth it? Not only is the process alarming, but it is wasting taxpayer dollars and valuable time that elected officials could be using to move our country forward. That includes: securing our borders, addressing student loan debt, and bringing down the cost of healthcare and prescription drugs.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues, while considering these articles, to ask themselves whether this is truly being done for the good of the country.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I would remind the gentleman that, after recovering millions of dollars in ill-gotten gains, the Mueller investigation was actually a net plus for the taxpayers.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. NEGUSE).

Mr. NEGUSE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank Chairman NADLER and Speaker PELOSI for their leadership and their moral courage.

Today, the House of Representatives is debating whether to take the rare step of voting to impeach a President for only the third time in our country’s history. Unfortunately, President Trump has left us no choice.

The fact of the matter is that the President abused the power of his office and invited a foreign country to interfere in our elections. In so doing, he undermined the sanctity of the free and fair elections upon which our Republic rests.

Making matters worse, over the past several months, President Trump and his administration have done everything they can to obstruct Congress from uncovering the truth.

Let us be clear, in the history of our Republic, no President has ever obstructed Congress like this before.

During the Watergate investigation, as my colleagues well know: President Nixon’s chief of staff testified before Congress; President Trump’s chief of staff refused.

President Nixon’s counsel testified; President Trump’s counsel refused.

White House aides, unfortunately, to President Nixon testified; President Trump refused to allow any aide who may have knowledge relevant to this investigation to testify.

Simply put, his administration has engaged in a wholesale obstruction of Congress, and that is exactly why we are considering not just one but two Articles of Impeachment before the House today.

Every Member of this body has a responsibility to uphold the Constitution that defines our Republic, and when necessary, to hold the executive branch accountable. We are exercising that responsibility today.
Mr. Speaker, therefore, I will vote “yes” on both articles because it is what the Constitution requires and what my conscience demands.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would never have thought that a Department of Justice investigation was used as a money revenue plot, but I guess one thing is true: It was a loser for the minority in a net profit situation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. NEWHOUSE).

Mr. NEWHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, the people’s House should be better than this. We should be better than this.

During the Member’s remarks in the Judiciary Committee, the committee’s impeachment proceedings, he stated: “To my Republican colleagues: . . . How do you want to be remembered during this watershed moment in our Nation’s history?”

Mr. Speaker, it won’t be watching sport on a laptop during official Judiciary Committee proceedings to impeach a sitting President;

It won’t be using expletives to refer to our President, calling for his impeachment just hours after being sworn into Congress;

It won’t be using the chairmanship of the once-respected Intelligence Committee to distort the President’s words in order to mislead the American people; and

It certainly won’t be using the most serious and solemn powers of Congress to overturn a legitimate national election for political expediency.

No, Mr. Speaker, my fellow Republican colleagues and I won’t be remembered in history for doing any of those things because we know this is far too grave a matter for subversions such as these of our democratic Republic.

We should all be better than this.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time remains on both sides?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York has 156½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Georgia has 157 minutes remaining.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. ESCOBAR).

Ms. ESCOBAR. Mr. Speaker, our country faces a great tragedy and moment of truth. We have witnessed the President of the United States abuse his public office for personal political gain and invite foreign governments to interfere in our elections, putting the integrity of a government of, for, and by the people at great risk.

The evidence is overwhelming and clearly shows that President Trump will continue to abuse his office and obstruct Congress if left unchecked.

The Intelligence Committee conducted a robust investigation into the President’s misconduct. Members interviewed 12 witnesses in public hearings, totaling over 30 hours; conducted 17 depositions, totaling over 100 hours; examined text messages and emails; reviewed the President’s own words and actions; and published a 300-page report detailing their findings.

All of this, despite the fact that, under the President’s direction, 12 current and former administration officials refused to obey subpoenas, and 71 document requests were denied.

The Judiciary Committee then reviewed the evidence and concluded that two Articles of Impeachment, which I support, were warranted.

The evidence shows that President Trump is a clear and present danger to our free and fair elections and our national security. The most powerful evidence of this pattern has come from the President himself.

In 2016, we heard him when he called on Russia to interfere in our elections. He said: “Russia, if you’re listening. . . . He then repeated this call for election interference on the July 25 call with the Ukrainian President, and we heard him again, on the White House lawn, further adding China to that mix.

I stand ready to protect our sacred Republic, secure our Articles of Impeachment, and pray that my colleagues have the courage to do the same. We must uphold our oath of office and defend the Constitution and our fragile democracy, because no one is above the law.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. RUTHERFORD).

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, in 2016, Vladimir Putin and his cronies waged a war on our elections with the goal of sowing discord and division in America.

Do you think he has been successful? Somewhere in Russia right now, Putin is laughing at us today. The majority is giving him exactly what he wants: a divided America with pure, partisan politics, with nasty political rhetoric at an all-time high. And some across the aisle are actually celebrating the results of future elections already.

It seems to many Americans that, for the past 3 years, the House majority has been carrying out the wishes of the Kremlin. The sad part is the Democrats have vowed to continue their sham investigations even after today’s vote.

Impeaching a duly-elected President in a purely partisan manner with no crimes to show for it—not one element of a crime defined—disgraces the integrity of our democracy.

Now is the time to end the partisan politics, come together, and put America first.

Mr. Speaker, I urge this body to vote “no” to partisan impeachment.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES).

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, George Washington, in his farewell address to the Nation, counseled Americans that the Constitution is sacredly obligatory upon all. It is in that spirit that we proceed today.

Donald Trump pressured a foreign government to target an American citizen for political gain and, at the same time, withheld, without justification, $391 million in military aid to a vulnerable Ukraine as part of a scheme to solicit foreign interference in an American election.

That is unacceptable. That is unconstitutional.

There are some who cynically argue that the impeachment of this President is another divisive measure for the already fractured Union, but there is a difference between division and clarification. Slavery once divided the Nation, but emancipators rose up to clarify that all men are created equally.

Suffrage once divided the Nation, but women rose up to clarify that all voices must be heard in our democracy. Jim Crow once divided the Nation, but civil rights champions rose up to clarify that all are entitled to equal protection under the law.

There is a difference between division and clarification.

We will hold this President accountable for his stunning abuse of power.

We will hold this President accountable for undermining our national security.

We will hold this President accountable for corrupting our democracy.

We will impeach Donald John Trump.

We will clarify that, in America, no one is above the law.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK).

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, nullifying a national election requires an overwhelming case of high crimes supported by indisputable evidence that the vast majority of the Nation finds compelling.

Now, article I is a made-up crime called abuse of office. It does not require that the President break any law, but that Congress doesn’t like the way he lawfully discharged his constitutional duties. This would reduce the Presidency to that of a minister serving at the pleasure of Congress, destroying the separation of powers at the heart of our Constitution.

Article II is another made-up crime called obstruction of Congress. It means the President sought to defend his constitutional rights and those of the Office. This required the judiciary from our Constitution and places Congress alone in the position of defining the limits of its own powers relative to the President.

Our Bill of Rights guarantees every American the right to an accused and their accuser, to call witnesses in their defense, to be protected from hearsay, and to defend these rights in court. The Democrats have trampled them all in their stampede to impeach. Even in this kangaroo court, the Democrats’ hands are tied. They have introduced firsthand knowledge that the President linked aid to action—in fact, two witnesses provided firsthand knowledge.
that he specifically ordered no quid pro quo.

Any case that charged no actual crime and offered no legally admissible evidence would be laughed out of court in a heartbeat. That is the case before us today. To define the grounds for impeachment in such a way that assures that it will become a constant presence in our national life. Now we know just how reckless is the Democrats' chant of “resist by any means necessary.” This is a stunning abuse of power and a shameful travesty of justice that will stain the reputations of those responsible for generations to come.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, abuse of power was no vague or weak notion to the Framers. It had a very specific meaning: the use of official power to obtain an improper personal benefit while ignoring or injuring the national interest. President Trump has abused his office and must be removed.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. COHEN).

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Speaker, from our founding, the United States has been a special nation, a city upon a hill. Our values are enshrined in our Constitution: liberty, equality, and opportunity. We are a self-governing people where every person is equal before the law. In the United States, we don’t have a king. We choose our leaders. We vote.

Generations of Americans have fought, and some have died to secure these inalienable rights. The Constitution begins: “We the People of the United States. That is us. It is not “we the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, or China” or “we the Democrats” or “we the Republicans.” It is: “We the People of the United States.” All Americans—and only Americans—get to have a say in our elections.

Donald Trump used the high power of the Presidency to pressure a foreign nation to besmirch his perceived primary political opponent. He corrupted our elections and compromised our national security so that he could keep power—not power for the people, power for himself. In 2016, Candidate Trump called for foreign interference when he said: “Russia, if you are listening...”

In 2019, President Trump sought foreign interference when he needed a favor from Ukraine to intervene in the 2020 election. President Trump attacked and is a continuing threat to our system of free and fair elections.

Like all of you, Mr. Speaker, I took an oath to support and to defend the Constitution. I urge my colleagues to abide by that oath and stand up to President Trump’s abuse of power and obstruction of Congress. To my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, I appeal to your patriotism and implore you to defend free and fair elections and preserve the Constitution.

God save the United States of America.
Obstruction of Congress?
Is this the new standard?
If this is the new standard, then every President since Jimmy Carter and every President moving forward will and would be impeached.

Let me explain:
It is an honor to serve in the United States House of Representatives, but today I am distraught. Today Democrats will disregard the will of the American people and vote to impeach the duly elected President of the United States. What should be equally troubling is that this has eroded, if not wiped out, the trust the American people have in the 116th Congress.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, President Trump said no quid pro quo only after the White House learned of the whistleblower complaints and after the Washington Post had published an article about the President’s pressure campaign on Ukraine.

Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. Bass).

Ms. BASS. Madam Speaker, this is a sad day in U.S. history when we have to vote on Articles of Impeachment because Donald Trump has abused the power of the Office of the President by his attempt to cheat his way to reelection.

The facts are uncontested.
Fact one: The President abused the power of his office by attempting to shake down the elected government of a country that has been our ally. Trump wanted President Zelensky of Ukraine to dig up and to make up dirt on Vice President Biden because he sees him as the biggest threat to his reelection.

Fact two: Trump wanted Zelensky to go before the press and announce an investigation of Biden hoping the mere announcement of the investigation or we worry about Russian interference in our election. It is a sad day in America when we have to worry about the Commander in Chief interfering in the election in order to be re-elected. Elections should be decided by the American people.

Mr. STEWART. Madam Speaker, I discovered something recently. It is shocking, I know, but it turns out that some people don't like President Trump. They think he is loud, they think he can be arrogant, they think sometimes he says bad words, and sometimes he is rude to people; and their sensitive natures have been offended. I get that. I really do.

But let's be clear. This vote this day has nothing to do with Ukraine. It has nothing to do with abuse of power, and it has nothing to do with obstruction of Congress.

This vote today is about one thing and one thing only: They hate this President, and they hate those of us who voted for him. They think we are stupid, and they think we made a mistake. They think Hillary Clinton should be the President, and they want to fix that. That is what this vote is about.

They want to take away my vote and throw it in the trash. They want to take away my President and delegitimize him so that he cannot be reelected. That is what this vote is about.

For those who think this started with this investigation, what nonsense. You have been trying to impeach this President since before he was sworn into office.

□ 1330

Some of you introduced Articles of Impeachment before he was sworn into office. This isn't something you are approaching prayerfully and mournfully and sadly: Oh, the chaos. Oh, the sadness.

This is something you are gleeful about, and you have been trying to do it for 3 years. And it is very clear. You don't have to go back and Google very much to find out that this is the absolute truth. I could give you pages of examples of things you have said for 3 years about this President. That is what this is about.

If this impeachment is successful, the next President, I promise you, is going to be impeached, and the next President after that.

If you set this bar as being impeachable, every President in our future will be impeached. It erodes our Republic in ways that our Founding Fathers recognized. They got it right, high crimes and misdemeanors. Other than that, settle it at the ballot box.

I look forward to that day. Let the American people decide.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. DEGETTE). Members are reminded to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I remind the gentleman that, if President Trump is impeached and removed, the new President will be MIKE PENCE, not Hillary Clinton.

Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. MUCARSEL-POWELL).

Ms. MUCARSEL-POWELL. Madam Speaker, I did not have the privilege of being born into this country. My mother brought me from Ecuador, looking for freedom and opportunity.

But that is not for me to do alone. This is a story that I share with so many people who live in Florida's 26th District and all over the country. We have experienced corruption in our countries of birth, where brutal dictatorships have chocked their potential to benefit those in power.

This President elected by the American people has violated his oath of office and violated the rule of law. The evidence is overwhelming that he withheld military aid approved by Congress and leveraged a White House meeting to extract a political favor from a foreign government.

The President actively sought foreign election interference to benefit himself. It is undeniable that he has abused his power and obstructed Congress. He presents a clear and present danger to our democracy.

As an immigrant, I still get chills because I feel so fortunate to live in this extraordinary country. The genius of American democracy lies in our Constitution and the dedication to the rule of law. I want my children, and all of our children, to feel the same way when they grow up.

However, if we sit idly by as cracks begin to appear in our democratic institutions, our children will be in the same situation so many of us experienced when we left countries whose leaders destroyed democracy.

We in Congress must abide by our oath to defend our Constitution. That is my duty as a Member of this body. That is my duty as a mother.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. I yield 1 1⁄2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. KING).

Mr. KING of New York. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the Articles of Impeachment against President Trump.

As Chairman NADLER must recall, exactly 21 years ago today, I spoke on this floor in opposition to the impeachment of President Clinton. And 21 years ago tomorrow, I voted against all four Articles of Impeachment against President Clinton.
Today's Articles of Impeachment against President Trump are an assault on our Constitution and the American people. To impeach a President for a phone call for which no crime is charged, never mind a high crime, and asserting his constitutional prerogative to the clear exercise of power by the Congress. It sets a dangerous precedent of weaponizing impeachment to undo the solemn decision of the American people.

Madam Speaker, President Trump and I grew up in the same borough of New York City, and today, I am proud to stand with President Trump and urge a "no" vote on these horrible Articles of Impeachment. I strongly urge a "no" vote.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN).

Ms. LOFGREN. Madam Speaker, the President and Members of Congress each take an oath to uphold the Constitution. When the President abuses his Presidential power to upend the constitutional order, we have an obligation to live up to our oath of office.

We have been presented with direct evidence about the President's actions. They are obvious, national security, and undermine the integrity of the next election. We now vote on Articles of Impeachment for abuse of power and contempt of Congress as a result of that evidence.

I have voted on Presidential impeachments as part of the Committee on the Judiciary twice before. This third time brings me no joy.

President Nixon attempted to corrupt elections. His agents broke into the Democratic Party headquarters to get a leg up on the election, and then, just like President Trump, he tried to cover it up. Then, he resigned. This is even worse.

President Trump not only abused his power, but to help his reelection, he used a foreign government to do it. He used military aid provided to fight the Russians as leverage solely to benefit his own political campaign.

George Washington would be astonished since he warned "against the insidious wiles of foreign influence."

The direct evidence is damning. The President hasn't offered any evidence to the contrary. These actions constitute grounds for Presidential impeachment.

What is before us is a serious abuse of power and obstruction of Congress. These abuses strike at the heart of our Constitution.

The President's unconstitutional abuse of power, a high crime and misdemeanor, is ongoing. He totally refused to provide any information to Congress related to the impeachment inquiry.

It is our responsibility to use the tool our Founders gave us in the Constitution as a President is a clear abuse of the constitutional order. We must impeach.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. ROUZER).

Mr. ROUZER. Madam Speaker, The Washington Post headlined the story immediately following President Trump taking the oath of office stating: "The campaign to impeach President Trump has begun." How accurate they were.

Here we are, almost 3 years later, and what we are witnessing today is unprecedented in American history, a very partisan-based impeachment with no warrant for. This is an impeachment based on hearsay and speculation rooted in a deep-seated hatred for a man whom many of my colleagues on the other side detest—not all, but many. Nowhere in the Constitution does it say that personal disdain is grounds for impeachment.

At every turn, the claims made by my Democratic colleagues have turned out to be false.

Early on, it was claimed there was evidence of Russian collusion. There was none.

We were told the FBI didn't abuse the FISA process in its investigation of the Trump campaign. That, too, has now been proven completely false.

Then, when the Russian collusion hoax collapsed, we were told that we would hear from a whistleblower that had details of a nefarious call between the President and the President of Ukraine. Then, we found out they were nonexistent or that the President didn't even know who the whistleblower is.

We were told there was clear evidence of a quid pro quo for personal gain. After reading the transcript, it is obvious that you have to make assumptions that wouldn't even stand up in traffic court to come to that conclusion.

Instead, the indisputable facts of record destroy their case.

The case shows no conditionality between aid and an investigation.

President Zelensky said there was no pressure.

The Ukrainian government had no knowledge that any aid was being held up at the time of the call.

Ukraine never opened an investigation, but still received aid and a meeting with President Trump.

Though they allege treason and bribery by the President, the articles we consider today only make vague accusations of abuse of power and obstruction of Congress because they found no evidence of treason or bribery, or anything else, for that matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. ROUZER. Madam Speaker, today is a very sad day for our Republic. The country is now more divided than it ever has been in my lifetime. The truth has been trampled by this House of Representatives. Because of the abuses of the FBI and the Department of Justice, more Americans have an even dimmer view of very important American institutions. Thankfully, the lens of history will ensure that the truth is told and will endure.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, one spécifiant avant la statue de la President would corrupt our elections and who would abuse the great powers of his office to ensure his own reelection.

The impeachment inquiry is not an effort to overturn an election. It is a reaffirmation of the simple truth that, in the United States of America, no person—not even the President—is above the law, and our democracy cannot allow a duly-elected President to abuse the power of his office for personal and political gain.

Madam Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Madam Speaker, I have a man or woman.

Today, the American people should receive clarity and truth. The Constitution is the highest law of the land. The President breached and violated the Constitution of the United States of America. The President committed constitutional crimes. The President's crimes are impeachable.

John F. Kennedy said: "If this country should ever reach the point where any man or group of men by force or corruption could defy the commands of our court and our Constitution, then no law would stand free from doubt... and no citizen would be safe from his neighbors."

The facts are undisputed.

First, President Trump violated his oath of office by placing his personal political interests above the national interest by scheming to coerce Ukraine into investigating a potential election opponent.

Second, President Trump betrayed the Nation's interests by withholding the congressionally agreed $391 million to a fragile ally against a very strong foe, Russia.

Third, the essential purpose of the scheme concocted by the President was to enlist a foreign country to help in the 2020 election.

These acts are constitutional crimes and abuse of power. The truth is, the President did ask for a favor. Those who claim that July 25 call—no mention of corruption, only the mention of the Bidens.

The President was engaged in wrongdoing and is a clear and present danger. He has a pattern, and his behavior remains a continuing threat to America's national security.

The truth is that abuse of power does violate the Constitution while both corrupting and cheating our American democracy. His acts betrayed the Nation. He must take care to execute law faithfully.

This is the truth. Why does the truth matter? Because it matters to the farmer at his or her plow. It matters to...
the waitress on an early-morning shift. It matters to the steelworker building America. It matters to the teacher in a fifth grade class. It matters to a mother kissing her military recruit going off to war.

The Constitution must be preserved. Our laws must be honored and respected. The bloodshed and sacrifice of fellow Americans cannot be ignored, trampled on, or rejected.

Our actions on the vote taken today must be for no personal gain or grenade.

We must reject that abuse of power because that is not America. No one is above the law. Alexander Hamilton said impeachment was designed to deal with "the misconduct of public men" and violations of public trust.

"The President pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Texas.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. The President has violated the trust. We must impeach Donald J. Trump.

Madam Speaker, I hate no woman or man. Today the American people should receive clantry and truth. The Constitution is the highest law of the land. The President breached and violated the Constitution of the United States of America. The President committed Constitutional Crimes. The President’s crimes are impeachable.

President John F. Kennedy said that, "If this country should ever reach the point where any man or group of men by force or threat of force could long defy the commands of our court and constitution, then no law would stand free from doubt, and no citizen would be safe from his neighbors."

The facts are undisputed. First, President Trump blocked and delayed by placing his personal and political interest above the national interest by scheming to coerce Ukraine into investigating a potential election opponent.

Second, President Trump betrayed the national interest by withholding vital, congressionally appropriated security assistance; $391 Million to a beleaguered and besieged ally facing armed aggression from Russia, America’s implacable foe.

Third, the essential purpose of the scheme conceived by President Trump was to enlist a foreign power against the United States and Ukraine. For that purpose, he requested and violations of public trust.

The bright light of this constitutional Democracy has been dimmed because of his acts—the truth is no longer for all—it is for one man—Donald J. Trump—his truth, his way—we must reject that abuse of power—because this is not America. No one is above the law.

As Alexander Hamilton wrote in The Federalist, impeachment was Designed to deal with "the misconduct of public men" which involves "the abuse or violation of some public trust."

The President has violated that public trust and the House of Representatives must now protect and defend the Constitution and impeach Donald J. Trump.

Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD several supporting documents.

The President: I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine, they say Crowdstrike ... I guess you have one of your wealthy people. The server, they say Ukraine has it. There are a lot of things that went on, the whole situation. I think you’re surrounding yourself with some good people. I would like to have the Attorney General call you or your people and I would like you to get to the bottom of it. As you saw yesterday, that whole nonsense about the performance by a man named Robert Mueller, an incompetent performance, but they say a lot of it started with Ukraine. Whatever you can do, it’s very important that you do it if that’s possible.

President Zelensky: Yes it is very important for me and everything that you just mentioned, the Attorney General. I think it is also very important and we are open for any future cooperation. We are ready to open a new page on cooperation in relations between the United States and Ukraine. For that purpose, I just recalled our ambassador from United States and he will be replaced by a very competent and very experienced ambassador who will work hard on making sure that our two nations are getting closer. I would also like and hope to see him having trust and your confidence. And I also want that Mr. Giuliani will be able to travel to Ukraine and we will meet once he comes to Ukraine. I just wanted to assure you once again that you have close friends around us. I will make sure that I surround myself with the best and most experienced people and in addition to that investigation, I guarantee as the President of Ukraine that all the investigations will be done openly and candidly. That I can assure you.

The President: Good because I heard you had a prosecutor who was very good and he was shut down and that’s really unfair. A lot of people are talking about that the way they shut your very good prosecutor down and you had some very bad people involved. Mr. Zelensky is a little friend. He was the mayor of New York City, a great mayor, and I would like him to call you. I will ask him to call you along with the Attorney General. But he knows what’s happening and he is a very capable guy. If you could speak to him that would be great. The former ambassador from the United States, the woman, was bad news and the people she was dealing with in the Ukraine were bad news so I just want to let you know that. The other thing, there’s a lot of talk about the President stopped the prosecution and a lot of people want to find out about that so whatever you can do with the Attorney General would be great. Biden went around bragging that he stopped the prosecution so if you can look into it. ... It sounds horrible to me.

President Zelensky: I wanted to tell you about the prosecutor. First of all I understand and I’m knowledgeable about the situation. Since we have won the absolute majority in our Parliament, the next prosecutor general will be 100% independent, the candidate, who will be approved by the parliament and will start as a new prosecutor in September. He or she will look into this situation, specifically to the companies that you mentioned in this issue. The issue of the investigation of the case is actually the issue of making sure to restore the honesty so we will take care of that and will work on the investigation of the case. On top of that, I would kindly ask you if you have any additional information that you can provide to us, it would be very helpful for the investigation to make sure that we administer justice in our country with regard to the Ambassador of Ukraine. As far as I recall her name was Ivanovitch. It was great that you were the first one who told me that she was a bad ambassador because I agree with you 100%. Her attitude toward me was far from the best as she admired the previous President and she was on his side. She would not accept me as a new President of Ukraine. So it’s not a very good feeling. The President: Well, she’s going to go through some things. I will have Mr. Giuliani give you a call and I am also going to have the Attorney General call we will get to the bottom of it. I’m sure you will figure it out. I heard the prosecutor was treated very badly and he was a very fair person. So good luck with everything. Your economy is going to get better and better I predict. You have a lot of assets. It’s a
ally last time I traveled to the United
friends that live in the United States. Actu-
you that I also have quite a few Ukrainian
friends, their incredible people. Ukraine is a
great country. I have many Ukrainian

PUTIN RECLAIMS CRIMEA FOR RUSSIA AND BITTERLY DENOUNCES THE WEST

By Steven Lee Myers and Ellen Barry.—

MOSCOW.—President Vladimir V. Putin re-
claimed Crimea as a part of Russia on Tues-
day, reversing what he described as a his-
toric mistake by the Soviet Union 60 years ago and brushing aside international condemnation that could leave Russia iso-
lated for years to come.

In an emotional address steeped in years of
resentment and bitterness at perceived slights from the West, Mr. Putin made it
clear that Russia's patience for post-Cold War accommodation, which had largely been exhausted, had finally been exhausted. Speaking to
the country's political elite in the Grand
Kremlin Palace, he said he did not want to divide with the West, but he vowed to
protect Russia's interests there from what
he described as Western actions that had left
Russia feeling cornered.

"Crimea has always been an integral part
of Russia in the hearts and minds of people," Mr. Putin declared in his address, delivered
in the capital, Kiev. Ukraine's new prime
minister, Arseniy P. Yatsenyuk, declared
that the annexation had moved from "a polit-
aical to a military phase" and laid the blame
squarely on Russia.

Mr. Putin's determined response to the
ouster of Ukraine's president, Viktor F.
Yanukovych, last month has left American
and European leaders scrambling to find an
effective response to an unfolding integra-
tion to the hope that Mr. Putin was prepared to find a political solution—or "off ramp"—"to an es-
calating crisis that began with the collapse
of Mr. Yanukovych's government on the
night of Feb. 21.

Within a week, Russian special operations
troops had seized control of the strategic loca-
tions across Crimea, while the regional au-
torities moved to declare independence and
schedule a referendum on joining Russia that
was held on Sunday.

Even as others criticized the vote as a
fraud, Mr. Putin moved quickly on Monday
to recognize its result, which he called "more than convincing" with nearly 97
percent of voters in favor of seceding from
Ukraine. By Tuesday he signed a treaty of
accession with the region's new leaders to
make Crimea and the city of Sevastopol the
84th and 85th regions of the Russian Federa-
tion.

The treaty requires legislative approval,
but that is a mere formality given Mr. Putin's unchallenged political authority and
the wild popularity of his actions, which
have raised his approval ratings and un-
leashed a nationalist fervor that has
drowned out the few voices of opposition or
even caution about the potential costs to
Russia.

Mr. Putin appeared Tuesday evening at a
rally and concert on Red Square to celebrate
an event charged with emotional and histori-
ical significance for many Russians. Among
the music Guerrilla War, a piece by
P. Vasiliev, that quickly emerged after Mr. Yanukovych fled the capital following months of protests and two violent days of clashes that left
scores dead.

Mr. Putin, as he has before, denounced
the uprising as a coup carried out by
"Russophobes and neo-Nazis" and abetted by
foreigners, saying it justified Russia's efforts
to protect Crimea's foundation.

"If you press a spring too hard," he said, "it will recoil."

He justified the annexation using the same
arguments that the United States and Eu-
cepted to justify the independence of
Kosovo from Serbia and even quoted from
the American submission to the United Na-
tions International Court when it reviewed the
matter in 2009.

Mr. Putin did not declare a new Cold War,
but he bluntly challenged the post-Soviet
order that had more or less held for nearly a
quarter-century, and made it clear that Rus-
sia was prepared to defend itself from any
further encroachment or interference in areas it considers part of its core security,
including Russia itself.

He linked the uprisings in Ukraine and the
Arab world and ominously warned that there
were efforts to agitate inside Russia. He sug-
gested that dissident journalists in which he
considered traitors, a theme that has reverber-
atated through society with propagandistic
arguments and websites.

"Some Western politicians already threat-
en us not only with sanctions, but also with
the potential for domestic problems," he
said. "I would like to know what they are
implying—the actions of a certain fifth col-
umn, of various national traitors? Or should we
consider that they worsen the social and
economic situation, and therefore pro-
povke people's discontent?"
Jetliner Explodes Over Ukraine; Struck by Missile, Officials Say

(By Sabrina Tavernise, Eric Schmitt and Rick Gladstone, July 17, 2014)

GRABOVO, UKRAINE.—A Malaysia Airlines Boeing 777, the largest airliner in the world, exploded, crashed and burned on a flowered wheat field Thursday in a part of eastern Ukraine controlled by pro-Russia separatists, blown out of the sky by what Ukrainian and American officials described as a Russian-made antiaircraft missile.

Ukraine accused the separatists of carrying out the attack, and Russian officials offered denials. American intelligence and military officials said the plane had been destroyed by a Russian SA-series missile, based on surveillance satellites and evidence at the scene that showed the final trajectory and impact of the missile but not its point of origin.

There were strong indications that those responsible may have errantly downed what they had thought was a military aircraft only to discover, to their shock, that they had struck a civilian airliner. Everyone aboard was killed, their corpses littered among wreckage that smoldered late into the summer night.

Russia’s president, Vladimir V. Putin, blasted Ukraine for a report that he called conditions for insurgency in eastern Ukraine, where separatists have bragged about shooting down at least three Ukrainian military aircraft. But Mr. Putin had not specifically denied that a Russian-made weapon had felled the Malaysian jetliner.

Whatever the cause, the news of the crashed plane, with a passenger manifest that spanned at least nine countries, elevated the insurgency into a new international crisis, which the United States had slapped new sanctions on Russia for its support of the pro-Kremlin insurgency, which has brought East-West relations to their lowest point in many years.

Making the crash even more of a shock, it was the second time within months that Malaysia Airlines had suffered a mass-casualty flight disaster with international intrigue—and with the same model plane, a Boeing 777—200ER.

The government of Malaysia’s prime minister, Najib Razak, is still reeling from the unexplained disappearance of Flight 370 over the Indian Ocean in March. Mr. Najib said he was stunned at the news of Flight 17, which had been bound for Kuala Lumpur, the Malaysian capital, from Amsterdam with 283 passengers, including three infants, and 15 crew members. Aviation officials said the plane had been traveling an approved and heavily trafficked route over eastern Ukraine, about 20 miles from the Russia border, when it vanished from radar screens with no distress signal.

“This is a tragic day in what has already been a tragic year for Malaysia,” Mr. Najib told reporters after a televised statement from Kuala Lumpur. “If it transpires that the plane was indeed shot down, we insist that the perpetrators must swiftly be brought to justice.”

Mr. Najib said he had spoken with the leaders of Ukraine and the Netherlands, who promised their cooperation. He also said that he had spoken with President Obama, who told him that “he and I both agreed that the investigation must not be hindered in any way.”

The remark seemed to point to concerns about Russia’s role in the crash, which is in an area controlled by pro-Russia insurgents.

Mr. Obama and Mr. Putin also spoke about the disaster, the broader Ukraine crisis, which is in an area controlled by pro-Russia insurgents.

Mr. Obama and Mr. Putin also spoke about the disaster, the broader Ukraine crisis, which is in an area controlled by pro-Russia insurgents. Despite the turmoil, the commercial air space over eastern Ukraine is heavily trafficked and has remained open. Questions are likely to be raised in the coming days about why the traffic line jammed by conflict between Russia and Ukraine, was not closed earlier.

With the news of the crash on Thursday, Ukraine declared the eastern part of the so-called gray zone—where Russian-backed European carriers rerouted their flights, and Aeroflot, Russia’s national carrier, announced that it had suspended all flights to Ukraine for at least three days. The conspicuous absence was Aeroflots flights to Crimea, the southern peninsula that Russia annexed in March, a pivotal point in the Ukrainian crisis.

It was unclear late Thursday whether any Americans had been aboard the flight. Russia’s Interfax news agency said there had been no Russians aboard.

In Amsterdam, a Malaysia Airlines official, Hub Gorter, said the plane had carried 154 Dutch passengers; 45 Malaysians, including the crew; and 27 Australians, 12 Indonesians, nine Britons, four Belgians, four Germans, three Filipinos and one Canadian.

Nearly all of the rest of the passengers had not been identified.

Prof. David Cooper, director of the Kirby Institute at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, said the flight was bound for Novosibirsk from Tel Aviv, that a prominent AIDS researcher traveling to the 20th International AIDS conference in Melbourne was among those on the flight.

Another crew member, who appeared to confirm the news from Sydney, said he was unaware how many other passengers were also on their way to the conference, which is scheduled to start on Sunday.

Andrei Purgin, deputy prime minister of the Donetsk People’s Republic, an insurgent group in eastern Ukraine, denied in a telephone interview that the separatists had shot down a plane.

Mr. Purgin did not rule out the possibility that Ukrainian forces themselves had shot down the plane. “Remember the Black Sea plane disaster,” he said, referring to the 2001 crash of a Siberia Airlines passenger jet, that Ukrainian forces themselves had shot down during a military training exercise.

In comments broadcast on Ukrainian television, Vitali Klitschko, the mayor of Kiev, said the crash illustrated the threat to peace that Ukrainian forces themselves had shot down the plane. “When we hear about this plane, this is not just a local conflict in Donetsk and Luhansk, but a full-scale war in the center of Europe,” he said. “I’m certain the international community this time will pay attention and understand.”

[From Defense One]

IN UKRAINE, THE US TRAINS AN ARMY IN THE WEST TO FIGHT IN THE EAST

(By Ben Watson, News Editor)

For more than two years, the U.S. military’s contingent of 300 or so soldiers have been quietly helping train an enormous alf”s army in western Ukraine. Meanwhile, Russian-backed separatists appear to be keeping pace some 800 miles to the east, showcasing entire parking lots full of new tanks and artillery on display just a 15-minute drive from the front lines.

“Every 55 days we have a new battalion come in and we train them,” said U.S. Army Training Expo Center chief Kevin Conner of Yavoriv Combat
Training Center in western Ukraine. “And at the end of that 55-day period, we’ll do a field training exercise with that battalion.” The U.S. and partnered armies have trained seven battalions in the past roughly two years or so.

That’s what she calls the “main line of effort” that you tend to see most of the time in the news.

Building a host-nation’s military, the U.S. has learned painfully in the 21st century, has rarely been a good news story. And Ukraine’s conflict has taken a backseat to the sequel to one of those stories: the war on ISIS, in which eight Americans have lost their lives fighting since 2014. In the same period, the U.S. has moved to have nearly 4,000 soldiers to Russian-backed separatists.

Since Crimea was annexed in 2014, the U.S. and partner militaries have helped grow Ukraine’s forces from just over 100,000 troops to nearly 250,000 today. Just since January, Capt. Christopher’s unit of 250 soldiers has added another 3,000 or so Ukrainian soldiers to Kiev’s ranks.

“But that’s not the real end state,” she said. “Essentially, what we’re trying to do is get them to the point where they’re running their own combat training center,” like the U.S. Army’s National Training Center at Fort Irwin, Calif., or the Joint Readiness Training Center at Fort Polk, Louisiana.

In other words, their task is to build an army’s entire training infrastructure almost from the ground up—a tall order following decades of not-so-casual corruption that has plagued Ukraine’s and many post-Soviet countries’ militaries across eastern Europe.

“Our goal essentially is to help the Ukrainian military become NATO-interoperable,” Christopher said. “So the more they have an opportunity to work with different countries, the better.”

U.S. troops are largely kept away from the fighting. In the months after Minsk II was signed, the U.S. and its international community have struggled with the appropriate response to Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and annexation of Crimea. Instead, President Vladimir Putin has continued to hold a veto-proof majority, and so he grudgingly allows sanctions, or at least to face sanctions, one Russian lawyer even said in May that Moscow would not cooperate if the U.S. or NATO tried to enter Crimea.

Which would suggest that the U.S. Army’s quiet mission in Ukraine may go quietly on for many, many months to come.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. MITCHELL).

Mr. MITCHELL. Madam Speaker, today, the House of Representatives votes on two Articles of Impeachment for President Trump.

Members, and all Americans, must recognize that impeachment was intended to be a safety valve, rarely used, only when a President acts in such an immoral and blatantly unlawful manner as to threaten the very basis of our Republic.

I will be voting “no” on these articles, the future tone of this House and politics in this Nation must be carefully considered. The issue is not whether we agree with or like the President’s rhetoric, political tactics, use of Twitter, personal choices, or his political rallies. One of our Founders, Alexander Hamilton, warned of the risks of impeachment becoming a solely partisan act in the Federalist Papers.

This impeachment inquiry and these articles clearly do not heed that warning. These proceedings are weaponizing impeachment, making it another election tool.

I have carefully examined the evidence presented throughout the inquiry and, contrary to some, considered our history, our founding documents, and our future. It is clear, President Trump’s actions, as described in these articles, do not constitute treason, bribery, or high crimes and misdemeanors. You simply don’t like him.

I will be voting “no” on these articles and will hope, someday, we return to serving the needs of the American people.

Mr. RICHMOND. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. RICHMOND).

Mr. RICHMOND. Madam Speaker, President Trump, on January 20, 2017, raised his hand and swore to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution. Now we must preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution from him.

Madam Speaker, I raise today, not to disparage and embarrass the President of the United States, but to defend our precious democracy, our political process.

I speak today, not because I hate this President, but because I love this body, the people’s House.
I have heard Republicans say: Why are we rushing to judgment? This is not a rush to judgment; it is a rush to justice, and we must not delay.

Corruption is corrosive; it eats away like acid. The longer we wait, the more time we allow for this President to do irreparable harm to our country and our democracy.

Just last week, Rudy Giuliani was back at it in Ukraine. So please don’t tell us to wait, because the corruption continues.

There is a famous quote that says: Politicians worry about the next election; statesmen worry about the next generation. Today calls upon us to be statesmen and stateswomen—Democrats, Republican, and Independent. Our election is under attack from within.

So, to my Republican colleagues, many of whom spent a lifetime trying to build a reputation of honesty and courage, I beg you: Don’t throw that away for President Trump. He doesn’t deserve the country he appreciates it past the next tweet or next week.

My fear and my prediction is that his actions will continue.

Madam Speaker, Donald Trump recently said: I can do anything I want. And he bragged that he could shoot someone on Fifth Avenue and get away with it. Well, he is shooting holes in our Constitution on Pennsylvania Avenue, and our House, the people’s House, must defend the Constitution from a domestic enemy to the rule of law: Donald Trump.

Because I don’t want generations to come to blame me for letting our democracy die, I, therefore, rise in favor of impeaching Donald Trump.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Luetkemeyer).

Mr. LUETKEMEYER. Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to this process and the judge who hasomented our country for nearly 3 years. If there was ever any doubt that this entire illegitimate investigation is 100 percent politically motivated, earlier this month, Speaker Pelosi actually admitted the impeachment process began 2½ years ago.

Let me say that again. The Speaker of the House said publicly that the Democrats have been trying to remove our President from office since the day he got into the White House. This is what they did, and it was not the outcome they wanted.

Another of my Democrat colleagues publicly admitted, in May, that the driving force behind their actions was: ‘If we don’t impeach the President, he will pre-empt this.’

This wasn’t an investigation, Madam Speaker; this was a political crusade. In order to arrive at their Stalinistic, predetermined conclusion, House Democrats spent the last several months staging well-rehearsed hearings where charges were drawn up by their own focus groups; Democrat donors served as witnesses; and Democrat staff served as judge and jury.

Even with the odds so blatantly stacked against the President, Democrats still came up with absolutely nothing.

A while ago, the Speaker spoke of the Pledge of Allegiance. The last phrase of the pledge is for all.’’

Justice was not something afforded the President during the investigation. He was denied due process, something the Supreme Court said should be afforded in all congressional investigations. That makes this process illegal and illegitimate.

What a shame. What a sham. Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. Garcia).

Ms. GARCIA of Texas. Madam Speaker, I didn’t come to Congress to impeach the President—even when he separated babies from their parents at the border, even when he took money from our troops when he so he build his wall.

No, I didn’t call for impeachment because I am here to make a difference in the lives of my constituents. Yet, here we are in the middle of a constitutional crisis.

As a former judge, I took my responsibility seriously to weigh the evidence and determine if the President’s actions were impeachable. Unfortunately, the evidence in the Intelligence and Judiciary reports leaves us with no choice but to impeach the President.

So I stand on my oath that I have sworn to the Constitution and to the American people, and, today, I urge my colleagues to stand by their oaths, too.

The Framers of the Constitution included impeachment as a safeguard against a corrupt President whose misconduct could destroy the very foundations of our country.

Donald J. Trump abused his power when he abused his office and ordered government officials not to appear before us.

Donald J. Trump corrupted our election when he asked a foreign government to interfere for his personal and political gain.

Today, sadly, I ask my colleagues: Will you put your party over our country, or will you help save our democracy and vote ‘yes’ on the Articles of Impeachment before you? I urge you to vote ‘yes’.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I do have an inquiry as to the time remaining for both sides.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Johnson): He’s got 2 minutes and 21 seconds left before time.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania (Ms. Dean).

Ms. DEAN of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, words matter. We have heard many words over the course of these last weeks. But what strikes me are the words that are missing from my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, a gaping hole in this conversation, the words they cannot or will not mouth, defending a President’s conduct, conduct that threatens our constitutional order.

Madam Speaker, I ask: When is it ever right for a President to coerce a foreign power to interfere in our elections?

When is it ever right for a President to intimidate a foreign leader into announcing false investigations into a political rival?

When is it ever right for that President to withhold congressionally appropriated aid to that country at the expense of its national security and our very way of life?

And when is it ever right for a President to block a coequal branch of government from investigating this scheme to cheat an election?
The answer, of course, is never. But that word does not come trippingly from the tongues of those who are making the choice to stand behind a man whose behavior is not worthy of your tortured words.

By our vote today, we are speaking to future Presidents and to future generations. We are declaring that we will not tolerate foreign interference in our Presidential elections. Americans alone will determine the outcome.

And now, it's time to permit a President to order the complete defiance of a co-equal branch of government.

In the end, regardless of the outcome of this impeachment, the President’s tenure will end, and this body and our grandchildren will be left with what we did here today.

Ours is a somber generational duty about love of country and lifting our Constitution to its gravest protections but its highest aspirations.

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Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

As I have reminded many times, we have followed a sham process that we have had to deal with, and we have followed the facts and won both.

I yield, if you want to talk about elections, remember, it was the Speaker of the House who said we can’t trust the voters; it is too dangerous to leave it with the voters for President Trump next year.

Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Arizona (Ms. LESKO).

Mrs. LESKO. Madam Speaker, as you all know, I serve on both the Judiciary Committee and Rules Committee, and I have literally spent hours—hours—poring over testimony, looking at documents, sitting in hearings.

And do you know the conclusion I got from all of that? This impeachment is a total joke and a total sham. And let me talk to you one of the reasons why I think that.

All of those witnesses, the 17 witnesses that the Democrats brought forward, not one single one of them was able to establish that President Trump committed bribery, treason, high crimes, or misdemeanors, which is required in the U.S. Constitution.

And, again, 17 out of 24 Democrat Members on the Judiciary Committee voted to move forward Articles of Impeachment before the phone call, and five out of nine Rules Committee Democrat Members did the same thing.

So, if the main part of your impeachment is the call, why did you vote for impeachment prior to the call?

I also want to remind the American public and others that, for 2 years, ADAM SCHIFF claimed he had proof—proof—that President Trump had colluded with Russia. That turned out to be false.

And then, overnight, it was obstruction of justice, then quid pro quo, then bribery, then extortion, and the list goes on; yet, not one of those is listed in the Articles of Impeachment.

To my Democrat colleagues, Madam Speaker, I say: Please stop tearing the country apart. Stop this sham.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The gentleman is correct. President Trump’s behavior is not new. He has a pattern of engaging in misconduct and then obstructing any investigation into his misconduct to cover up his actions and hide the truth from the American people.

Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD) for the purpose of a unanimous consent request.

(Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mr. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Madam Speaker, today, the House of Representatives will vote to impeach the President of the United States. In America’s 243-year history, he is only the third president to be impeached. The consequence of the process reminds us that impeachment is an extraordinary remedy and should be taken only against a president if their actions are simply beyond the pale.

When Congress learns a president may have committed an impeachable act, it is Congress’s constitutional duty to investigate whether the president’s actions are impeachable. Our House did just that when we learned the president may have undermined the Constitution in his dealings with the Ukrainian government.

I disagree with President Trump on almost every issue. I do not agree with the way he runs his government. I do not agree with his spending priorities. I do not agree with his treatment of migrants seeking asylum in this country. I believe he is temperamentally ill-suited to his office. But I have had disagreements, of one kind or another, with every president with whom I have served.

However, disagreements over policy, tone, and style are simply not enough to justify impeaching a president.

The voters of our country placed incredible trust in this president when they elected him. He now holds the most powerful office in the most powerful country in the world, the United States of America. As president, he has a duty to use that power to uphold the Constitution and the rule of law.

Today, the House is considering two separate articles of impeachment. The first is that the president abused his power and second, that the obstructed Congress. Both of these charges needed substantial evidence in order to be proven, and the investigations of the House Intelligence and Judiciary Committees have given us that evidence.

Having reviewed that evidence, I will vote to impeach the president. I take no partisan joy in doing so. No American should take joy in the impeachment of a president. But as Members of Congress, we took an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. Today we are living up to that responsibility. My impeachment vote is also a signal to future presidents that they are not above the law and will be held accountable if they violate our Constitution. When our children and grandchildren look back on this historic time, I hope they will know we did not shy away from our oath of office and that we fought to protect our democracy and to preserve our Constitution for them and for future generations.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. LANGEVIN).

Mr. LANGEVIN. Madam Speaker, our Nation was founded on certain principles: that government should be of, by, and for the people; that a system of three coequal branches of government would provide the checks and balances necessary to ensure the people’s voices are heard; and that no one is above the law.

Today, sadly, we are voting to impeach President Donald John Trump because he has fundamentally broken his covenant with the American people. In doing so, we are using the powers and the Founding Fathers enshrined in the Constitution to address a President who has violated his oath of office.

The evidence is clear and the facts are not in question:

President Trump has consistently engaged in a pattern of behavior inconsistent with the rule of law;

He has refused to take responsibility for his actions;

He has undermined the checks and balances we rely on by obstructing Congress at every turn;

And, most importantly, he has abused his power by using his office to solicit foreign interference in our elections, undermining the will of the people.

So, on this sad day for our Nation, I will do what the President has so often failed to do: I will fulfill my oath to support and defend the Constitution, and I will vote in favor of impeachment.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. CHABOT).

Mr. CHABOT. Madam Speaker, today is a sad day in our Nation’s history as House Democrats are poised to approve, on a strictly party-line vote, Articles of Impeachment based on what constitutional scholar Jonathan Turley called wafer-thin evidence. This will set a dangerous precedent where impeachment becomes the norm rather than the exception.

That is not what our Founding Fathers intended. They wanted impeachment to be rare. They set a high bar for impeachment: treason, bribery, high crimes and misdemeanors.

Alleged abuse of power, the first article, is not a high crime and misdemeanor. In fact, that is not even a
crime. And since there is no concise legal definition of abuse of power, the majority party in the House can designate nearly any disagreement with the President from now on as impeachable.

The second article, alleged obstruction of Congress, would produce a similarly dangerous precedent. Asserting executive privilege, a practice that began with George Washington, is not obstruction of Congress; rather, it is a function of the essential checks and balances contemplated under the Constitution.

Here is what nearly every grade school student in America knows but, apparently, House Democrats do not: If Congress disagrees with the President, they don’t agree with the President, take it to court. Let the third branch of government decide. They are the refs.

The House has never—I repeat, never—approved either abuse of power or obstruction of Congress as an Article of Impeachment, but that is going to change today.

Today, House Democrats are pursuing a wacky constitutional theory under which all four Presidents on Mount Rushmore could have been impeached. If all of this sounds absurd, Madam Speaker, it is because it is absurd. In fact, this whole process is absurd and has been from the outset.

But here is what is not absurd but, rather, frightening: House Democrats, today, are setting a dangerous precedent under which no future President will ever be impeached, and that will forever negatively tarnish the history of this House.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, the President’s conduct constituted the highest of high crimes against our country. An offense does not have to violate a criminal statute to be impeachable. That was confirmed in President Nixon’s case and again in President Clinton’s. There is no higher crime than for the President to use the power of his office to corrupt our elections.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. POCAN).

Mr. POCAN. Madam Speaker, this July, President Trump blocked $400 million in congressionally approved aid that Ukraine desperately needed to fend itself against Russia because he believed Ukraine to be his favor first. He also used his powers as President to launch a public investigation into a political rival. Military aid and other benefits would only come after.

But this is not about a single call or a single transcript; this is about a perfect storm, months of activity directly linked to personal and political gain and has refused to cooperate with a coequal branch of government.

This is a vote for our Constitution, setting the precedent for all future Presidents, Democrat or Republican. Donald Trump must be held accountable for his actions. Today, we send a clear signal to this President and all future Presidents: No one is above the law.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. MARSHALL).

Mr. MARSHALL. Madam Speaker, I rise to object to the impeachment of the legitimately elected President of the United States.

Enough. Madam Speaker, for the love of this country, enough. Enough of this impeachment circus. Enough of these sham witch hunts.

I am voting “no” because the President has done nothing wrong. The only thing that President Trump is guilty of is doing the things he said he would do; and if my Democrat colleagues were honest, they would tell us the only thing President Trump is guilty of is not being Hillary Clinton.

The only party guilty of obstruction, abuse of power, or whatever focus group terms they are using today is the party on the other side of this aisle. They are the party of the American people. They are obstructing the very foundations of our country.

By politically weaponizing impeachment, they have dangerously shattered precedent and abused our Constitution. They, alone, will bear this responsibility.

Madam Speaker, they will fail, and it is no wonder the American people don’t trust this body. It is past time to be done with this circus and get to the work that matters, like securing our borders and passing trade deals.

I will vote “no” and encourage this body to move on from this heartbreaking, disgraceful day to things that actually matter.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Madam Speaker, the moment our Founders anticipated in establishing the power of impeachment has arrived.

The evidence is clear: President Trump abused his power by asking a vulnerable foreign leader to investigate his political rival and to validate a baseless Russian conspiracy theory propagated by Russia, while congressionally appropriated defense aid and a coveted White House visit hung in the balance. He then blocked Congressional investigations into his abuses.

These abuses threaten the integrity of our elections, corrupt our diplomacy, and undermine our national security. Underlying it all is the President’s often-emoted belief that his powers are constitutionally unlimited.

We often regard constitutional “checks and balances” as indestructible underpinnings of our democracy. In fact, they are neither fixed nor unbreakable. President Trump has demonstrated this beyond a reasonable doubt.

When constitutional boundaries are broken, it’s—we—living, breathing people within our institutions who must rise to defend our democracy. It is this accountability that prevents creeping authoritarianism and protects our representative democracy, where no one, including the President, is above the law.

It’s up to the Congress, the first branch of government, to apply the remedy that the Constitution prescribes, because the threats to our democracy are real and present. The eyes of history are upon us.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. COMER).

Mr. COMER. Madam Speaker, since the beginning of this impeachment inquiry, it has been extremely troubling to see the partisan, divisive way in which Democrats have carried out this entire process.

I guess we shouldn’t be surprised, though. They promised they would undo the will of 63 million Americans who voted for President Trump.

I can tell you the people I represent in Kentucky, the very people who voted for this President, to enact change and fight for this country, are appalled at the charade they have seen in the House in recent months. They are appalled at the actions from House Democrats who have failed to even come close to proving their case.

I hope all of my congressional colleagues carefully consider the precedent they are setting by voting in favor
of this sham process and these illegitimate Articles of Impeachment. These articles were written and built on a report that was drafted with biased presumptions, cherry-picked witnesses, and vastly disputed facts.

The President did not commit any impeachable offense, and it is clear for all of us to see through the now very well-known transcript. This rigged process sets a concerning precedent for impeachable offenses moving forward, and I wholeheartedly oppose these baseless Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. COLLINS).

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, many have lamented that this effort is not bipartisan, but that is on my Republican colleagues.

Republicans have not sought the truth. They have sought to avoid the truth by setting the stage for a sham trial and demanded witnesses, patriots, warriors, and career diplomats who have provided evidence against the President.

No House Republican has joined us to demand the documents and witnesses that President Trump has refused to produce.

And Senate Republican leaders, this week, have announced that President Trump, himself, can set the rules of his trial and there will be no fact witnesses.

Republicans refuse to seek the truth and condemn the abuse of power or to work with us to prevent this ongoing behavior in the future, and that is the tragedy of today's events.

In our Nation's history, thousands of Americans have gone into battle without reservation to fight for our Republic as they still do today. Many have been gravely injured, and some have made the ultimate sacrifice. But in contrast, for fear of losing an election, my colleagues will not speak up for the rule of law or against Presidential abuse of power. Voters may give them a pass, but history will judge them harshly.

I will vote for the Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 1/2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LOUDERMILK).

Mr. LOUDERMILK. Madam Speaker, I thank my colleague and friend from Georgia (Mr. COLLINS) for yielding.

Madam Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the Articles of Impeachment, but in strong opposition to the process that has brought us to this point.

Our Constitution and Bill of Rights are all about process. Our Founders knew that without constraints we could accuse anyone of any crime at any time, even without compelling evidence. That is why the Fifth and the Fourteenth Amendment have established a bedrock principle of innocence until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.

But on November 14, Speaker PELOSI informed the press that the President should prove his innocence when she stated: Mr. President, if you have anything that shows your innocence, then you should make that known.

The Constitution also guarantees that the accused can call witnesses to testify in their behalf, but the Republicans and the President have continually denied that right throughout this process.

The Sixth Amendment guarantees the right of the defendant to face their accusers. During that sham trial, Pontius Pilate afforded more rights to Jesus than the Democrats have afforded this President in this process.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, the President was given the opportunity to come and testify before the Judiciary Committee, to send his counsel, to question witnesses. He declined to do so.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KILDEE).

Mr. KILDEE. Madam Speaker, this is a sad day for our country and for our democracy. The President has abused the powers of his office, betrayed the public trust, and undermined America's national security by pressuring a foreign government to interfere in our elections for his own political gain.

In this moment in our history, the Constitution is clear: The remedy for such misconduct by a President is impeachment.

I didn't come here to Congress to impeach a President of the United States, but, sadly, the President's misconduct leaves us no choice but to follow the Constitution.

I have two grandchildren. My granddaughter, Caitlin, is 8, and my grandson, Colin, is 4. Some day a long time from now, they will ask me about this day. They will ask about the time a President put himself above the law, and they will want to know what I did to stop him. And I will have an answer for them.

Today, I vote to uphold the Constitution. I will vote to impeach Donald Trump.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, it is interesting that the President was supposedly given rights in the Judiciary Committee, but maybe who would he have asked questions of, three law school professors and a staff member? Not a lot of due process there.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1/2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BABIN).

Mr. BABIN. Madam Speaker, we are here today because House Democrats have spent upwards of $30 million in 3 years trying to overturn the 2016 election of President Trump and come up with nothing.

Because of their radical leftwing, Democrats are willing to make all future Presidential elections invalid unless judged by the majority in the House of Representatives.

The President of the United States does not serve at the pleasure of the House of Representatives.

Perhaps the greatest denial of reality regarding President Trump is acknowledging that, under his policies, things are actually going much better than they have in decades for working Americans.

We are a democratic constitutional Republic in which power flows from the people to our President and elected officials.

The Democrat majority thinks otherwise. They believe that they are entitled to rule us even if they have to change the rules to invalidate the will and the votes of the people of America. That is why the absence of a case does not matter in this charade of impeachment.

I believe that the American people recognize and share my urgency about what is at stake here.

Madam Speaker, you and your majority may decide today, but I have faith that the American people will decide otherwise next November.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Washington (Ms. DELBENE).

Ms. DELBENE. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution.

After carefully reviewing all of the evidence and the Articles of Impeachment before us, it is clear that President Trump abused the power of the Presidency and obstructed Congress. I did not come to this conclusion lightly.

Impeachment is an extremely serious matter, but no President can be allowed to pressure a foreign country for personal and political gain. No President is above the law.

His behavior has jeopardized the integrity of our elections, put our national security at risk, and placed his personal interests above those of the American people.

His obstruction has prevented the House from conducting its constitutional duty of oversight of the executive branch.

By failing to uphold his oath of office, President Trump forces each of us as Members of the House of Representatives to uphold our oath.

Madam Speaker, I urge my colleagues to do just that, and defend our democracy.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 1/2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. RIGGLEMAN).

Mr. RIGGLEMAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Virginia (Ms. ROE).
I represent the Fifth District of Virginia, which was home to so many Founding Fathers whose vision shaped the great country we are living in today.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison are not around to see what their creation has become, but I don’t think they would be pleased to see Congress subverting the will of democracy by holding an impeachment vote because the majority party simply cannot accept the election result.

Instead of wasting the taxpayers’ time and money on specious investigations, we could have passed legislation to address surprise medical billing, secure the border, address the opioid epidemic, reduce student debt, and solve a litany of other issues that Americans actually care about.

Tomorrow, we might have a vote on the USMCA, which we should have passed months ago had it not been for the obstruction and delays from Democrats, delays that have made farmers in my district and other districts suffer.

Votes like the one we will take today, the decisions that have led up to today’s vote, the nature and entire process of this proceeding reeks of careerist bureaucrats and politicians that put politics over people.

I was not elected to take political votes that attempt to overturn the will of the American people. I ran for office to serve my constituents. Let’s remember: that is why we are here.

Weaponizing emotion is not the way to serve the United States of America. And, Madam Speaker, to my colleagues who do just that, I offer a quote Thomas Paine wrote in “The Crisis”: “To argue with a person who has renounced the use of reason is like attempting to turn back the tide of a river.”

Mr. NADLER, Madam Speaker. I would remind the gentleman that the House has passed over 400 bills, 275 bipartisan bills: driving down costs of healthcare and prescription drugs, raising wages, fixing infrastructure, taking on corruption and self-dealing in Washington. Eighty percent of these bills are languishing on Senator McConnell’s desk.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Ms. KapTUR).

Ms. KAPTUR, Madam Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

I wish to place on the record that Memos has sworn a solemn oath to protect and defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Today we fulfill our oath by defending liberty.

The central figure testing America’s resolve is not here in Washington today. Rather, the cloistered villain sits in Moscow at the Kremlin.

Vladimir Putin has coordinated murders, election hacking, propaganda, the entrapment of willing fools and greedy underlings who put their own selfish interests over liberty.

Putin seeks to sow disarray and destabilize democracies and the NATO alliance. At Putin’s direction, Russia illegally invaded Ukraine in 2014. As Ukrainians defend Europe’s eastern flank, 14,000 people have been killed at Putin’s hand, with over 2 million displaced.

Rather than stand up to Putin, President Trump and his minions aided Putin, first in hastening Russian interference in our 2016 elections, and then more recently withholding vital military aid from Ukraine to coerce its interference in our 2020 elections for Mr. Trump’s personal gain.

Might I end by saying: Onward to liberty. Vote for the Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. MURPHY).

Mr. MURPHY of North Carolina. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to these baseless Articles of Impeachment and the unprecedented process that has been used in this effort to impeach the duly elected President of the United States.

It is a mockery of American justice. In 1788, one of our Founding Fathers, Alexander Hamilton, wrote in the Federalist Papers:

In many cases, impeachment will connect itself with the pre-existing factions . . . and in such cases, there will always be the greatest danger that the decision will be regulated more by the comparative strength of parties, majority and minority, than by real demonstrations of innocence or guilt.

What does this mean? It means that the majority can exert its influence regardless of justice.

In this statement, Hamilton warned us about the danger of mob rule.

Democrats have a criminal and have been searching for a crime for 3 years, but this President has not committed a crime.

As the leader of American foreign policy, the President has a constitutional obligation to root out corruption in countries to which we provide aid. This is not an abuse of power. It is his job.

One of the articles is obstruction of Congress. The only thing that has been obstructed is this President’s right to due process.

I don’t blame the President for refusing to fully participate in this guilty-until-proven-criminal. This is not how our Founding Fathers framed American justice.

This is a tragic day in our Nation’s history. We have individuals that hate this President more than they love this country.

Our country needs prayer, and not this disruptive partisanship.

Mr. NADLER, Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, the President’s obstruction is unprecedented and catastrophic. The President’s Team claims that the House cannot investigate his misconduct outside of an impeachment inquiry. He defies lawful congressional subpoenas and then he sues to block third parties from complying with such subpoenas.

Even as he pursues his own interests in court, his administration simultaneously argues that Congress is barred from obtaining judicial enforcement when executive branch officials disregard its subpoenas.

So when can the President be held accountable for his wrongdoing? In his mind, NEVER.

The Constitution, however, disagrees.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON).

Ms. NORTON, Madam Speaker, my words are my only remedy today, in spite of the upcoming D.C. statehood vote we expect to be successful.

The people of the District of Columbia have no vote on impeachment or on any other matter on this floor now. I spoke on this floor on the impeachment of President Clinton 20 years ago.

Unlike the Clinton impeachment on perjury concerning an affair with an intern, Trump’s impeachment turns on sabotage of national security to get himself reelected.

Clinton repented. Trump insists that he did nothing wrong. That is a promise to continue his long pattern of abuse of power and obstruction of Congress.

Impeachment is our only recourse.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. BUCK), a member of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. BUCK, Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. COLLINS) for yielding.

Today, Democrats lower the bar for impeachment.

Under this standard, a President can be impeached in the absence of a crime, without due process, and for asserting a legally, constitutionally recognized privilege.

History shows Democrat Presidents have abused power and undermined democracy to win elections, and yet they have not been impeached.

President Franklin Roosevelt used the IRS to target his political opponents. His son later admitted FDR used “the IRS as a weapon of political retribution.”

President John F. Kennedy used the FBI to wiretap and monitor political opponents, including congressional staff. He deported one of his mistresses to avoid a scandal.

President Lyndon Johnson spied on Goldwater’s campaign, signing off on wiretapping his opponent and Goldwater’s airplane, and using a CIA spy to obtain advance copies of Goldwater’s speeches and appearances.

President Barack Obama refused to provide documents to Congress related to Fast and Furious. His unconstitutional recess appointments were unanimously struck down by the Supreme Court. He used national security agencies to lie to the American people about Benghazi to win the 2012 election. He spied on reporters. Finally, it
was the Obama administration that committed 17 serious violations before the PISA Court to spy on Trump campaign associates.

Despite these clear abuses of power by FDR, JFK, LBJ, and Obama, Republican leaders did not speak up.

Why? Because the Framers did not want a low bar for impeachment. They wanted Congress and the President to work out their differences.

When I asked Professor Turley in a Judiciary Committee hearing if any President could avoid impeachment with those low standards, he said, "No."

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I remind the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. RESCHENTHALER), another member of the Judiciary Committee, that Attorney General Holder and others testified, unlike, now.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Ms. KELLY).

Ms. KELLY of Illinois. Madam Speaker, today is a solemn day in America, a day that none of us hoped for when we came to Congress, but the events of 2016 taught something that each of us swore that we were prepared to execute in defense of the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

This is the oath that binds the men and women of the 116th Congress, as one of us here took an oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

A clear and present threat to American democracy is what brings us here. The architect, a President who asked the American people to engage in the democratic process with their hard money, and they never did anything for the American people.

I vote "yes" for Sarah in Chicago, Doug in Kankakee, Diane in Flossmoor; "yes" for Kathy in Momence, Kathryn in Crete, and Jim in Park Forest.

The facts are simple. The path forward is clear. Impeachment is not an option; it is an obligation, because no one is above the law.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. RESCHENTHALER), another member of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. Madam Speaker, I thank Ranking Member COLLINS for yielding.

You know, in the Navy, we had a saying: BLUF, bottom line up front.

Well, I will give you the bottom line. Democrats are terrified that President Trump is going to win reelection.

They can't beat him on the merits, so Democrats are caving to their far left radical base and they are using the thoughts and feelings and the assumptions of some unnamed bureaucrats rather than relying on facts and law to impeach a duly elected President.

Let me be clear: This is nothing more than a political hit job.
Every single one of us, today, faces a stark choice. If we choose to turn a blind eye, to put political expediency before the Constitution, then we are complicit in this subversion of democracy. If we do not hold this President accountable, we have failed the people who sent us here, and we have abdicated our own oath to defend the Constitution.

In the United States of America, no one is above the law, not even the President.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BYRNE).

Mr. BYRNE. Madam Speaker, in 3 months, we have gone from receiving an unsubstantiated, hearsay, and discredited whistleblower complaint to the production of Articles of Impeachment against a President of the United States. Not since Andrew Johnson has the House engaged in such a partisan political stunt.

From the beginning, this has been a sham, and this House has been nothing but a circus. The Democratic majority literally locked themselves in the basement of this building, hiding from the American people. When my colleagues and I refused to stand for it, Democrats moved to public hearings but двиг with questions, denied us witnesses, and denied the President any meaningful opportunity to defend himself.

With this complete abuse of process, the Democratic majority has produced the flimsiest and most legally unsound Articles of Impeachment in the history of this Nation. Never before has the House reported an Article of Impeachment that does not allege an underlying crime, yet this majority will do so today.

Read the transcripts. There was no quid pro quo, no bribery, no extortion, no crime, and no abuse of power. They don’t even allege a crime in their Articles of Impeachment. The President’s actions are not an impeachable offense.

If the dealings of Hunter Biden were so aboveboard, you would think the majority would be just fine looking into this matter. Yet, they haven’t moved my resolution asking for an investigation, and our subpoenas for Hunter Biden have all been denied. Hunter Biden doesn’t get a pass because his dad was Vice President. I always have fought against this charade every step of the way, and I will proudly vote “no” today.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Ms. MOORE).

Ms. MOORE. Madam Speaker, the facts are uncontestable. The evidence is overwhelming. The President grossly misused the Office of President and obstructed Congress, and justice requires this impeachment.

I feel compelled to respond to the false narrative that Democrats are using this process to overturn an election.

I agree that elections are the appropriate venue for public policy disputes. However, we are not talking about a public policy dispute. We are talking about a President who subverted national security by soliciting foreign interference in our elections, the exact things that we have alleged and the exact circumstance for which they drafted the impeachment clause.

Our democracy, our Constitution, deserves standing up for, not Donald John Trump. I will leave my colleagues with this thought as they decide how to cast this historic vote: For what shall it profit a man to gain the whole world only to lose his own soul.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 ½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOODEN).

Mr. GOODEN. Madam Speaker, this is the day the Founding Fathers feared when they granted Congress the power of impeachment, where we have a political party so dead set against the President that they will do anything to impeach him. And they are about to get away with it, simply because they have the votes. But that is not how this process is supposed to work. It is supposed to be dictated by a thin partisan majority, nor is it meant to be used when an election is just around the corner.

No one understands that better than our Speaker, for whom I have great respect. And I agree with the comments she made on March 6 of just this year: “Impeachment is so divisive to the country that unless there is something so compelling and overwhelming and bipartisan, I don’t think we should go down that path because it divides the Nation.” That is exactly what has happened. When we walk out of here tonight, we all know how this result is going to go. The Democrats are voting for this. Not the Republican is breaking. This is not bipartisan.

The American people are disgusted with the United States House of Representatives, and we bring shame upon the United States House of Representatives, and we bring shame upon this body today by moving forward with this impeachment.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. LOWENTHAL).

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Madam Speaker, the facts in this case are as simple as they are tragic. After witnesses attested to these facts. No one has credibly refuted them. President Trump tried to coerce Ukraine to interfere in the 2020 elections. He used the power of his office for personal political gain.

By withholding money to Ukraine, the President has endangered our ally Ukraine and undermined our own national security. When he got caught, the President attempted to cover up the crime and shut down any investigation by our Congress. We have overwhelming evidence that this President poses an urgent threat to our elections, to our national security, and to the rule of law. Congress must vote to impeach him to protect our constitutional Republic. There is no alternative.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, the only urgent threat to this body is the clock and the calendar and the desire to impeach this President before we go home for Christmas.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 ½ minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. DAVID P. ROE).

Mr. ROE. Madam Speaker, today is a sad day in the people’s House. Since Donald Trump was elected in 2016, Democrats have been on a crusade to stop him by any means.

I believe the American people are the fairest people on this Earth. They believe that everyone should be treated equally under the law, no matter what station you occupy in life: rich or poor, President or factory worker—fair. This process has been anything but fair. For 2 years, we have been told that then-candidate Donald Trump colluded with Russians to interfere with our elections. Two years and millions of dollars spent on the Mueller investigation: no collusion, no crime.

We would not be here. After being wrong, Democrats would finally decide to work on the problems that the American people sent us here to do.

You would be wrong again.

Then, we were told that the President withheld money to the Ukrainians in a quid pro quo. No, no, a bribery. No, abuse of power. I guess whatever polls best—to gather information on a potential political rival.

Well, here are some facts about what happened:

Fact number one: The transcript of the July 25 phone conversation that the President released shows no pressure.

Fact number two: President Zelensky did not know the money was withheld.

Fact number three: No investigation occurred or was announced.

Fact number four: The money was released September 11, 2019.

I could go on, but these facts are so clear that any Member on the other side of the aisle said: “I’m concerned that if we don’t impeach this President, he will get re-elected.” That, Madam Speaker, says it all.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Oregon (Ms. BONAMICI).

Ms. BONAMICI. Madam Speaker, I take seriously my oath to uphold and defend the Constitution, and I do not take today’s proceedings lightly. The Founding Fathers included the impeachment process in the Constitution to uphold our values and to maintain the checks and balances that are essential to separation of powers and to democracy. They knew way back in 1787 that a President could abuse the power of the office. In fact, they adopted the phrase “high crimes and misdemeanors” from a phrase that had been used in the English Parliament...
since 1386 intended to cover situations where an official abused his power and included disobeying an order from the Parliament.

Donald Trump has abused the power of his office by inviting a foreign government to investigate the President and inviting foreign assistance for his personal political gain. He obstructed the investigation every step of the way. That is wrong, and it is an impeachable offense.

Then, when Congress exercised our constitutional duty to investigate these wrongdoings, he obstructed the investigation every step of the way. That is also wrong, and it is also an impeachable offense.

In our country, no one is above the law. That includes the President of the United States.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. KELLY).

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, December is such a great month, and there are so many great dates in December. We talk about the wonderful things that have happened in December of the past.

In addition to Christmas being something we celebrate, the Boston Tea Party took place in December. Also, on December 7, 1941, a horrific act happened in the United States, one that President Roosevelt said: This is a date that will "live in infamy."

Today, December 18, 2019, is another date that will live in infamy. Just because you hate the President of the United States, and you can find no other reason other than the fact that you are so blinded by your hate that you can’t see straight, you have decided the only way we can make sure this President doesn’t get elected again is to impeach him.

On the floor of the people’s House, the bastion of democracy and liberty in the whole world, we have decided that political power is far more important than principle.

Madam Speaker, I urge all Members of the House to vote “no” on impeachment and to look their voters in the eye.

Listen, let me tell you, the voters will remember next November what you are doing this December. This is a terrible time. This is a date that will live in infamy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. FRANKEL).

Ms. FRANKEL. Madam Speaker, in 1787, at the conclusion of the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin was asked: Do we have a republic or a monarchy?

He responded: “A republic, if you can keep it.”

Madam Speaker, a republic is a form of government in which the country is considered a public matter, not the private concern or property of the rulers.

In a republic, no person is above the law. In a republic, the President may not abuse his power by withholding critical foreign assistance for his own personal political gain or may he stop witnesses from talking.

I did not come to Congress to impeach a President, but I did take an oath to keep the Republic. For our children and our grandchildren, we should do nothing less. One day, I will tell my grandson that I stood up for our democracy. I will vote ‘yes’ to impeach the President.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1–2/3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. GROTHMAN).

Mr. GROTHMAN. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, I would like to address why we are here.

We are certainly not here because of a misquoted phone call in July of 2019. The Washington Post ran an article, headlined, “The Campaign to Impeach President Trump Has Begun,” the day he was sworn in.

The gentleman from Maryland who spoke earlier today called for impeachment 2 days before President Trump was sworn in.

The gentleman from Texas was introducing impeachment resolutions 2 years ago and said: President Trump should be impeached so he can’t get re-elected.

This impeachment is not about anything that happened on a phone call. This impeachment is about what President Trump has done.

The people in this country who are let in who are inadmissible or apprehended and don’t have legal authority fell from 100,000 people in May to under 5,000 people in November, and you hate him for it.

Ben Carson thinks that low-income housing should be used by American citizens and not people who are here illegally, and you hate him for it.

President Trump doesn’t want people coming here and going on welfare, and you hate him for it.

President Trump wants able-bodied people on food stamps to try to work, and he is hated for it.

President Trump renegotiated that rip-off trade agreement with Mexico and Canada and that was put in place by President Bush and President Obama, and you hate him for it.

President Trump sides with law enforcement instead of criminals and murders dropped 1,000 people last year, and you hate him for siding with the police.

President Trump lets Christian adoption agencies choose whom they want to be parents, and you don’t like him for that.

President Trump won’t let foreign aid go to agencies that perform abortions, and you hate him for that.

President Trump’s judges stick to the Constitution, and he is disliked for that.

President Trump is keeping his campaign promises, and you hate him for that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are again reminded to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

We do not hate President Trump, but we do know that President Trump has persisted, during this impeachment inquiry, in soliciting foreign powers to investigate his political opponent.

The President steadfastly insists that he did nothing wrong and is free to do it all again. That threatens our next election as well as our constitutional democracy.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. MCDERMOT).

Mr. MCDERMOT. Madam Speaker, the House of Representatives, the people’s House, is vested by the Constitution with the power of impeachment to balance the power of the Presidency. Without this essential duty, the President could exploit his sacred office without any regard for the law.

On January 3, 2019, every Member of the House swore an oath to defend the Constitution, and this week, we are being asked to do just that.

When allegations arose that the President tried to coerce a foreign government to help undermine the 2020 election, the House carried out its duty to investigate a potential abuse of power; but the President refused to cooperate and forbade his administration from doing so, obstructing Congress from carrying out our sworn responsibility.

If these actions bear no consequence, future Presidents may act without constraint, and America will be at an end. Therefore, compelled by my sworn duty to defend the Constitution, I will vote to impeach this President.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOHO), my friend.

Mr. YOHO. Madam Speaker, I would like to address my colleagues on the other side of the aisle and reiterate President Washington’s warning to the Republic 223 years ago.

The Constitution rightly sets a high bar for impeachment, but the integrity of the process also depends on the ability of the legislators to vote their independent judgment and principles.

Removing a President is too important and lawmakers are given too much latitude to define “high crimes and misdemeanors” for it to be any other way. Otherwise, excessively partisan political considerations can result in an election simply because the President is a member of the opposite and opposing party.
It is in regard to this impeachment process that George Washington forewarned us as a nation at this moment in history. When political parties “may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men” and women “will be enabled to subvert the power of the people to usurp for themselves the reins of government. . . .”

How wise he was.

“Voting to impeach the President is an assault to our Republic, the Constitution, and against President Trump.”

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, John Adams warned in a letter to Thomas Jefferson that these risks are unavoidable and might sometimes overlap: “You are apprehensive of foreign interference, intrigue, influence. So am I—but, as often as elections happen, the danger of foreign influence recurs.”

Madam Speaker. I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CLINE).

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, today, history is being written. The facts are conclusive: The President attempted to use the power of the powerful Office to force Ukraine to influence our 2020 election.

In the process, President Trump jeopardized our national security and withheld vital military assistance intended to prevent further Russian aggression in the region.

However, as our committees—including the Committee on Oversight and Reform, of which I am a member—sought to interview additional witnesses and obtain documents, the President ordered, from the power of his office, that the executive branch not participate and obstructed the congressional oversight.

Article I provides the House of Representatives with the sole power of impeachment, as well as the authority to conduct oversight of the executive branch.

What did he have to hide?

When the Framers met over 200 years ago, they went to great lengths to ensure future Presidents will be forced to answer to their constitutional responsibility. I stand today in support of the two Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CLINE).

Mr. CLINE. Madam Speaker, today is a sad day for this body, for the voters who sent me here last November, and for our Nation.

Benjamin Franklin cautioned, when asked what he had given us: “A republic, if you can keep it.”

Today, we take a step further toward losing the Republic that our Founding Fathers envisioned by engaging in activity that they specifically warned against: the misuse of the constitutional power of impeachment for one party’s political gain.

Our Constitution is the very foundation of our Republic. Its assurance of self-determination has been the shining beacon by which our Nation has charted its course over the last two centuries.

From a new democratic experiment struggling to survive to the greatest Nation on Earth, America has been powered, over the years, not by government, but by the ingenuity, the bravery, and the faith of its people, confident in their place as one nation under God, Indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

So it is we the people who determine our President, not we the Judiciary Committee nor we the Congress. The Constitution is clear: It is only when we see clear proof of the impeachable offenses outlined in Article II, Section 4, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors, that we are to challenge the decision of the voters, break the figurative glass, and pull the emergency rip cord that is impeachment.

We do not have that proof today. Thomas Jefferson said: “I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we suppose a majority are not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education.”

But rather than educate, this majority has chosen today to obfuscate with hearsay, innuendo, and speculation. And when history looks back on this shameful period for this House, it will judge it for what it truly is: the ugly hijacking, by the majority, of our Constitution and the powers it so solemnly entrusts to us to engage in a blatantly political process designed to finally achieve what they could not achieve at the ballot box: the removal of a duly elected President.

Compelled by my sworn duty to uphold this Constitution and for the people, I vote “no” on impeachment today.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. HUFFMAN).

Mr. HUFFMAN. Madam Speaker, as we take this solemn, necessary step of impeaching President Trump, my Republican colleagues have made up their minds. We can’t persuade them to do the right thing, so I will address my remarks to the future.

Today’s vote will be judged by future generations, including my precious children, Abby and Nathan—maybe grandkids.

Historians will study what Members of this Congress did when our democracy was tested like never before by a President who put personal interests above the good of this Nation to cheat his way to re-election and, when caught, not only lied and refused to admit wrongdoing, but flouted Congress’ authority. He even called the constitutional impeachment mechanism unconstitutional.

Historians will marvel how some Members of Congress continued to stand by this man; how they put blind, partisan loyalty or fear of Donald Trump above their duty to defend the Constitution; how they made absurd partisan arguments and tried to obstruct these proceedings; and how, instead of pushing back when their party fell under the dark spell of authoritarianism, they embraced it as if the Constitution, the rule of law, and our oath of office mean nothing.

Madam Speaker, for our future generations, our children, the judgment of history, let me be clear: I stand with our Constitution, with the rule of law and our democracy. I will be voting ‘yes’ to impeach Donald J. Trump.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield ½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS).

Mr. WILLIAMS. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Today’s vote to impeach the duly elected President of the United States is truly historical. However, its unique place in history is not for the reasons the Democratic Party and their mainstream media overlords are so despondent, trying to downplay.

Today, will be remembered as the day that the Democrats, claiming a false moral supremacy over the desire of the American people, executed a deliberate and orchestrated plan to overturn a Presidential election.

It will be the first time in history that a party paraded out their Ivy League academics to explain to 31 States and almost 63 million people that their voice should not be heard and why their votes should not be counted.

I pray for our Nation every day, but today, I am praying for my colleagues across the aisle who arrived at this point partisan and self-directed fork in the road and chose the road never before traveled and one that has a dead end.

Donald J. Trump is our President, chosen by the American people, fair and square. As we say in Texas: ‘It’s a done deal.’ Demagogues attempt to change history will never undo that.

May God bless the greatest country in the world, the United States of America.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker. I would remind the gentleman that the impeachment clause is placed in the Constitution to protect the American people and our form of government against a President who would subvert our constitutional liberties in between elections.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Madam Speaker, as I still I rise.

Madam Speaker, I rise because I love my country, and, Madam Speaker, “Shall any man be above justice?”

That is the question posed in 1787 by George Mason at the Constitutional Convention.

Shall any man be beyond justice? Madam Speaker, if this President is allowed to thwart the efforts of Congress
with a legitimate impeachment inquiry, the President will not only be above the law, he will be beyond justice. We cannot allow any person to be beyond justice in this country.

In the name of democracy, on behalf of the Republic, and for the sake of the many who are suffering, I will vote to impeach, and I encourage my colleagues to do so as well.

No one is beyond justice in this country.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I also remind my chairman that the impeachment was not to be used between election cycles to defeat a sitting President who you think will be reelected.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BUCHANAN).

Mr. BUCHANAN. Madam Speaker, I will vote today against both Articles of Impeachment because they are without merit and setting a dangerous precedent for our country. This political vendetta is an abuse of the impeachment process and would subvert the votes of 63 million Americans.

Just because the President’s opponents are afraid that he will win reelection is no excuse for weaponizing impeachment. No President in history has been impeached 10 months before an election.

Elections are the heart of our democracy. Our Founding Fathers devised a simple way to remove a President if he is unqualified. They left it to the people to decide this next November.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. TLAIB).

Ms. TLAIB. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of impeachment. I learn so much every single day from my constituents and from home. Their common sense and understanding of what is right and wrong is centered on why they oppose any person using the most powerful position in the world for personal gain.

We honor our veterans in this Chamber almost on a daily basis. Do we ever follow their lead, where we serve the people of the United States and uphold the Constitution, not as Republicans or Democrats, but as Americans?

We discuss their sense of duty and responsibility to country and democracy, not political party. Doing nothing here, Madam Speaker, is not an option. Looking away from these crimes against our country is not an option.

This is about protecting the future of our Nation and our democracy from corruption, abuse of power, criminal coverups, and bribery.

Madam Speaker, this vote is also for my sons and the future of so many generations. I urge my colleagues to please vote ‘yes’ on these Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield today on this dark day in the United States House of Representatives to my opposition to the shameful impeachment process that has occurred in the people’s House.

Some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle do not like President Trump. We know this because they proudly called out their intention to impeach our President before he was even sworn into office.

Out of disdain for the President and for those of us who elected him, the House of Representatives is considering two Articles of Impeachment that are so very weak that they even fail to include specific crimes.

The people that I represent in south-central and southwestern Pennsylvania know the truth. The American people know the impeachment circus has never been about the facts. This process has always been about seeking revenge for the President’s election in 2016 and attempting to prevent him from winning again in 2020.

Madam Speaker, I wholeheartedly oppose this partisan and shameful effort to impeach our democratically and duly elected President.

Madam Speaker, for the sake of our Nation, I urge my colleagues to join with me and vote ‘no’ on the Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, all we keep hearing from the other side are attacks on the process and questions of our motives. We do not hear, because we cannot hear, because they cannot articulate a real defense of the President’s actions.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts (Ms. PRESSLEY).

Ms. PRESSLEY. Madam Speaker, I rise today to protect our democracy.

Today, we take a stand against corruption and abuses of power.

What we are doing here today is not only patriotic, it is uniquely American. America is a story of ordinary people confronting abuses of power with a steadfast pursuit of justice.

Throughout our history, the oppressed have been relegated to the margins by the powerful, and each time we have fought and deliberated in our approach, clear-eyed.

Each generation has fought for the preservation of our democracy, and that is what brings us to the House floor today. Efficient and effective in the pursuit of our truths.

Congress has done its due diligence. Today we send a clear message. We will not tolerate abuses of power from the President of the United States of America. The future of this Nation rests in our hands today.

Madam Speaker, it is with a heavy heart, but a resolved one, and because I believe our democracy is worth fighting for, I will vote to impeach Donald J. Trump, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The chairman hears us. He doesn’t want to acknowledge it. When you have nothing but a process that was completely amuck, you talk about process. I have already debunked the facts many times. Let’s do it one more time.

No pressure by either Mr. Trump or Mr. Zelensky. In fact, what really just horrifies me is they continue to say that Mr. Zelensky, who is the supposed victim here, said many times there was no pressure. The Democrats are calling him a liar and weakening him in his own country. That is deplorable.

There is no conditionality in the transcript or conditionality after that. Five meetings prove that. They were all high-level meetings. No conditionality. Two of those meetings were after the Ukrainians actually knew of the possibility that aid was being held.

They have not even addressed the truth and the facts. After there was nothing done to get the money, guess what? They got the money. That is the fact. That is what they don’t want to deal with. That is where we are today. So let’s continue to see how the sham was perpetrated.

Today is the culmination of the Democrats’ 3-year-long quest to delegitimize the President. This has been in the works since November 2016 and was all but promised when the Democrats took the majority.

I believe our democracy is worth fighting for. This is about protecting the future of so many generations. I urge my colleagues to vote against the Articles of Impeachment. I
Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. BARRAGÁN).

Ms. BARRAGÁN. Madam Speaker, it is with a solemn sense of duty that I rise today in support of impeachment. As we debate two Articles of Impeachment against the President for his abuse of power and obstruction of Congress, I want history to know that I stood up to say that I stand for the Constitution and our democracy.

When my immigrant mom became a United States citizen, she took an oath of allegiance to our country and Constitution. When I stood on this floor as a new Member of Congress, I took an oath to uphold and defend our Constitution.

The President abused his power when he used his official office and power to ask a foreign government to interfere in our elections. When he asked a foreign government for a personal favor to dig up dirt on his political opponent so he could use that dirt against the President he got caught, and then he tried to cover it up.

Today we say no more. Today we say we will not allow this President to abuse his power and endanger our nation. And to say that no one is above the law, not even this President.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PERRY).

Mr. PERRY. Madam Speaker, since before inauguration, the press and Members of this Congress have been for impeachment. Members refused to attend the inauguration. They called for impeachment, and they voted for impeachment without any evidence. They voted for impeachment creating and manufacturing evidence.

Recall and votes of no confidence are not included in our Constitution for a reason. Our system demands evidence of high crimes and misdemeanors. If such evidence existed, there would be an agreement in this Chamber, but there is not. There is not an agreement because there is no evidence.

Madison and Hamilton warned us that this might happen and that impeachment would veer toward political factions, and that is exactly what this is. This is bitterly and nakedly partisan.

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle have made a mockery of this process and this government. They despise the President and are themselves abusing the power of their office all to settle the political score they were unprepared to resolve at the ballot box.

Madam Speaker, they hope that if they repeat them over and over and stay on message that you will believe their charges. Repeating things that are not true does not make them true.

The ugly immigrant mom meme of the President was clear: President Trump was interested in getting to the bottom of what happened in the 2016 election. He asked the Ukrainians to work with our Attorney General. The Ukrainians were already getting the military hardware, and they got the assistance money and the meeting they desired. These are not crimes. These are disagreements over foreign policy and the fact that this President is conducting it.

If it weren’t so sad, it would be laughable, Madam Speaker. My colleagues are not driven by a quest for facts or truth; they are driven by their partisan animus and a timetable. These are the reckless and irresponsible acts of elitists in the swamp, and they undermine the fabric of our Republic.

Madam Speaker, I urge a “no” vote. Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to remind the gentleman that there is, in fact, extensive direct evidence—including the President’s own words and actions—which is corroborated and supported by indirect and circumstantial evidence.

The record leaves the following key facts indisputable: President Trump’s personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, pushed Ukraine to investigate Vice President Biden and a smoking conspiracy theory about the 2016 elections.

President Trump directed U.S. officials and President Zelensky himself to work with Mr. Giuliani to fulfill his demands. President Trump withheld critical military aid for Ukraine.

And President Trump stonewalled Congress’ investigation to cover up his misconduct.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CASTEN).

Mr. CASTEN of Illinois. Madam Speaker, this should not be a partisan vote. This is a vote about America. It is a vote about our democracy and our oath to the Constitution.

We all took an oath to protect the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. We all know that what President Trump did was wrong. We all know it was wrong to withhold foreign aid for a political favor. We know it is wrong to ignore congressional subpoenas. We know it is wrong to default to sily partisan and process arguments rather than to rise and defend this beautiful, but all too fragile, democracy.

When those in elected power abuse their position for personal advantage, it is on us to somberly uphold and defend the responsibility that the Founders bestowed on us.

So, when my colleagues talk about partisanship, I would remind him of those great words of Lincoln. I am paraphrasing him slightly:

When one party inflame partisanship rather than let the Nation survive, I am proud to be the party that would accept partisanship rather than let the Nation perish.

So in this moment the answer is clear: not because we want to impeach but because we must.

So, Madam Speaker, when you vote in a few hours, don’t vote your party; vote your character. That is how you are going to be judged, and that is how we are all going to be judged.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I inquire how much time is remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia has 44½ minutes remaining.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TIPTON).

Mr. TIPTON. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this partisan impeachment process.

Make no mistake, this process did not begin with the whistleblower report. In fact, impeachment efforts began shortly after the President was elected. The theatrics and political posturing that have ensued are not part of an effort that this body is actually pursuing to preserve checks and balances, rather the process echoes the calls by some who refuse to accept the 2016 election results.

Neither of the articles receiving a vote justify the removal of the President from office. The first article suggests that the President pressured a foreign government to be able to assist in an upcoming election. Ukraine received its aid without a prearranged agreement, proving this article to be an unsubstantiated allegation.

The second article is premised that obstruction occurred when the White House ignored subpoenas issued by the House. Our Federal courts are the ultimate arbiters of these decisions. In fact, previous administrations, Republican and Democrat both, have dealt with these issues and claimed executive privilege.

Madam Speaker, the articles that are before this House are unsubstantiated. I intend to vote “no” on these articles, and I encourage my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GALLEGLO).

Mr. GALLEGLO. Madam Speaker, today I will vote to impeach President Donald Trump for abuse of power and obstruction of Congress.

Those still defending the President’s actions are desperately grasping at straws while living in an alternate universe where facts do not exist. 

To those still unwilling to search their souls, ask yourselves: Would you support a Democratic President using billion dollar dollars to pressure a foreign government to investigate a Republican political opponent based on false Russian conspiracy theories? Of course not. That is absurd.

Any President who does that has abused the power of the Presidency for personal gain and undermined our most sacred tradition: our elections.

In a few hours, every Member will make a choice. Will you fall into the
age-old political trap of thinking blind partisanship is all that matters? Will you vote to defend the Constitution and our democracy so that President Trump and every future President will know that they are not above the law and will be held accountable for their actions?

I have made my choice. I hope every Member puts the defense of our Nation first and joins me.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Nebraska. Madam Speaker, I rise today to speak out against this attempt to remove the duly elected President of the United States.

Impeachment is importantly established in our Constitution. The impeachment of a President has only happened twice in our country’s 243-year history. Yet, today, for highly political purposes, the House majority is trying to remove President Trump from office based on secondhand, indirect accounts.

The Articles of Impeachment are voting on today offer no evidence of a crime but, instead, are purposely broad to fit the majority’s narrative. Less than 1 year until the next Presidential election, we are being asked to override the choice of the American people. This lopsided, hyperpartisan, biased impeachment process has been predetermined as an outcome from the very beginning.

This is an unfortunate day in the history of our great country. We must hope this political game does not set a precedent for how to follow in the future.

Surely, there will be disagreements between the President and Congress for many years to come. Instead of unnecessarily dividing our country, as we are seeing today, we should be looking at ways to bring our country together.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, President Trump’s actions are both impeachable and criminal. Although the violation of the Federal criminal statute is neither necessary nor sufficient to justify impeachment, President Trump’s conduct violated the Federal antibribery statute very clearly.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. BEYER).

Mr. BEYER. Madam Speaker, today, I vote to impeach President Donald Trump for abuse of power and obstruction of Congress. I don’t hate the President, but I love my country, and I have no other choice.

Voting for these Articles of Impeachment is the only moral course of action, the only way to honor our oath of office.

I have no doubt that the votes I cast today will stand the test of time. This has nothing to do with the 2016 elections.

I am so disappointed that my Republican friends approve of the President’s abuses of power and solicitation of foreign interference in our elections. This is the very definition of the willful suspension of disbelief. They know in their hearts that what the President has done is deeply wrong. They know that they would vote without hesitation to impeach any Democratic President who had done these things.

I remind all Americans, the President did not rebut the facts—the many, many facts—which have led to these Articles of Impeachment today.

For the sake of our democracy, our Constitution, and our country, we must do the right thing and vote to impeach President Trump.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I am just amazed by what the chairman just said. If it was obvious that he violated the brisitute statute clearly, then why didn’t we add it as an Article of Impeachment?

The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. GUEST).

Mr. GUEST. Madam Speaker, Article II, Section 4 of the United States Constitution states that the President of the United States may be removed from office for treason, bribery, or high crimes and misdemeanors.

As a former prosecutor, I am confident that no court would accept these Articles of Impeachment as having met the standards set forth by our Founding Fathers. The impeachment articles rely almost exclusively on hearsay and opinion testimony, and they present no direct evidence of wrongdoing.

As a former district attorney, I am dismayed that the Democrats have submitted Articles of Impeachment against a sitting President using circumstantial evidence that fails to offer proof of an impeachable offense.

Additionally, the charges levied against the President in the Articles of Impeachment lack historical precedent and are motivated by pure political reason. If the House of Representatives passes the Articles of Impeachment, the Democrats will have set a dangerous precedent by undoing America’s vote for President because a single party disagreed with the 2016 Presidential election results.

Madam Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote “no” on the Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON).

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Madam Speaker, I find no pleasure coming to the floor today to consider impeachment. I ran for Congress to represent my community and to serve the country I love.

As a combat veteran and having served 8 years on the Intelligence Committee, I understand the threat that foreign actors can play in our elections. Every elected official must dedicate our country to protecting our democracy. No one should invite a foreign country to interfere with our most sacred act of voting.

It was abuse of power by the President to ask a foreign nation to interfere in our election to benefit his personal and political interests and to condition bipartisan, congressionally approved aid on that interference.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY).

Mr. ROY. Madam Speaker, our Founders intended us to be free to impeach for something less than a high crime and misdemeanor.

While my colleagues are free to dislike the President, and while they may reasonably view the infamous phone call and negotiations with Ukrainians as something less than perfect, they are not free to impeach for something less than a high crime and misdemeanor.

In just over 10 months, though, the people are free to decide, and we should let them.

Madam Speaker, the eyes of the world are upon us. The press galleries are full. Our floor is filled with Members. When will we give the world something better than this?

My colleagues wax eloquent about the Constitutions they found under mothballs. Where is the respect for the Constitution when the people’s House daily refuses to do its actual job while shredding federalism and limited government?

Today, in Mexico, a young girl will be abused while being trafficked toward our open borders, while some yell “kids in cages” and play race politics in the false name of compassion.

Today, in New York, a young mother will be aborted into abortion-like the President, and while they may reasonably view the infamous phone call and negotiations with Ukrainians as something less than perfect, they are not free to impeach for something less than a high crime and misdemeanor.

Today, across America, diabetics will struggle to afford insulin due to a healthcare system ravished by government and insurance bureaucrats empowered in the false name of coverage.

Today, our children inherit $100 million of debt an hour, borrowed in the false name of what government can provide.

It is this conduct by Congress failing to do its jobs that should be impeached. One might ask if America would be better off taking the first 435 names out of the phonebook to represent us in the United States House than what is on display here today.

Today is not a dark day because the American people know this: America is great. Washington is broken. And we are taking our country back.

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Ms. MATSUI. Madam Speaker, I rise today with a heavy heart. I came to Congress to serve the great people of Sacramento and to build a better future for our children and grandchildren, including my grandkids, Anna and Robby.

The facts before us are crystal clear. We heard testimony from 17 brave patriots who value our democracy and the Constitution. They testified that President Trump threatened to withhold federally approved, already authorized defense aid to Ukraine in exchange for an election-related quid pro quo. The investigations and hearings conducted by the House provide overwhelming evidence that President Trump abused his power and endangered our national security.

President Trump issued a blanket order prohibiting all executive office personnel from testifying, responding to subpoenas, or turning over documents. Therefore, he has obstructed the legitimate and constitutional obligation of Congress.

The President’s actions leave me no choice. President Trump violated his oath of office. Now, I will uphold my oath of office to preserve and protect our Constitution and my promise to my constituents to carefully analyze all issues before me. I will vote in favor of both Articles of Impeachment against President Donald John Trump.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Madam Speaker, impeaching a President is one of the most solemn and consequential decisions the United States Congress can make. It is not an action that I or my fellow House colleagues take lightly.

Investigations and hearings conducted by the House provide overwhelming evidence that President Trump abused his power and endangered our national security. He threatened to withhold congressionally approved taxpayer dollars to Ukraine as it was about to take office. It is not an action I or my fellow House colleagues take lightly. Impeachment exists to protect our democracy. As Alexander Hamilton wrote in the Federalist Papers, the impeachment clause in the Constitution exists to address “the misconduct of public men,” which involves “the abuse or violation of some public trust.”

The investigations and hearings conducted by the House Intelligence and Judiciary Committees provide overwhelming evidence that President Trump abused his power and endangered our national security when he coerced Ukraine into investigating his likely rival in the 2020 election by withholding $391 million in critical military aid and a White House meeting from the Ukrainian government. Withholding this military assistance to Ukraine as it enters the fifth year of its deadly war against Russia endangers Ukraine’s sovereignty and safety as well as the United States’ national security interests.

President Trump also issued a blanket order prohibiting all executive office personnel from testifying in Congressional impeachment hearings, responding to subpoenas and turning over documents. Therefore, he has obstructed the legitimate and constitutional obligation Congress has to conduct an impeachment inquiry when there is evidence of wrongdoing by the President.

No one is above the law. The President’s actions leave me no choice. President Trump threatened to withhold congressionally approved, already authorized defense aid to Ukraine in exchange for an election-related quid pro quo. He threatened to withhold congressionally approved taxpayer dollars to Ukraine as it was about to take office. He threatened to withhold congressionally approved taxpayer dollars to Ukraine as it was about to take office. He threatened to withhold congressionally approved taxpayer dollars to Ukraine as it was about to take office.

I am disappointed in a broken and partisan process that has consumed House Democrats.

We were told this investigation was going to be bipartisan and transparent. Instead, the proceedings were held in closed doors with no attempt at a fair hearing.

All this was done deliberately in an effort to undo the results of the 2016 election.

Madam Speaker, my constituents in Florida want to see us get to work. They are counting on us to actually fix the surprise medical billing, to lower the cost of prescription drugs. Instead, we are here a week before Christmas, voting to impeach the legitimate President of the United States, on the strength of nothing but rumors.

We have wasted almost a year on this process while House Democrats chose political theater over serving the American people. This shameful vote to impeach our President will be a lasting stain on our House.

Madam Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to vote “no.”

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I am glad to know that Mr. Trump is going to be bipartisan and transparent. Instead, the proceedings were held in closed doors with no attempt at a fair hearing.

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Madam Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to vote “no.”
Your whole case is sort of destroyed if you arecoercing somebody if there was no pressure felt; yet, we don’t seem to get that parton this floor debatedoday.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Montana (Mr. GIANFORTE).

Mr. GIANFORTE. Madam Speaker, today this Chamber is pushing through the most partisan, baseless Articles ofImpeachment in our history.

House Democrats’ hyperpartisan impeachment has been a sham since day one, driven by those whose bitter rage against President Trump has blinded their better judgment.

The facts are they resolved to overturn the results of the 2016 election the day President Trump won. Earlier this year, Speaker PELOSI said: “Impeachment is so divisive to the country that unless there’s something so compelling and so compelling and so compelling that I don’t think we should go down that path.”

None of those standards have been met—none.

The committee hearings were a scripted, substance-free, made-for-TV show. They would be comedy if impeachment weren’t so serious and grave. Witnesses denied awareness of an impeachable offense. And because the majority has failed to make the case for impeachment, there is no bipartisanship.

Compelling? Overwhelming? Bipartisan? Speaker PELOSI has not met her own criteria for impeachment, but here we are. Despite Democrats testing and tweaking their impeachment message, the American people have rejected it.

I will vote against this partisan impeachment sham. Let’s get back to the work that the American people sent us here to do on this and bipartisan. I don’t think we should go down that path.

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None of those standards have been met—none.
Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER).

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Madam Speaker, thanks to the hard work of our committees and the leadership of the Speaker, we found overwhelming evidence Trump invited foreign interests to interfere in our elections for his personal gain, and then he took unprecedented efforts to cover it up, obstructing Congress.

I am proud of the courage of new Members to do their duty, so that, for the first time in his privileged life, Donald Trump will be finally held accountable for his reckless personal behavior and abuses.

I vote proudly for these two Articles of Impeachment. And then I hope the House retains control of the articles until the Speaker and Leader SCHUMER can negotiate an agreement on process and witness protection, so that the next stage will be open and fair so that Donald Trump will ultimately be held accountable.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 1/2 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. KEVIN HERN).

Mr. KEVIN HERN of Oklahoma. Public hearings began November 13. Less than a month later, Speaker PELOSI announced Articles of Impeachment on December 5, saying the investigation had revealed enough information to move forward with impeachment.

Let’s think about that 22-day investigation. Six of those days were week-ends where hearings weren’t happening, and the House was not in session. Seven of those days were week-days that the House was in recess, including the week of Thanksgiving. Two of those days were fly-in days, where Congress doesn’t hold hearings. So out of the 22 days, just 7 days were used to investigate, debate, and vote on the impeachment of the duly elected leader of our country.

No wonder my constituents are upset; 7 days to impeach the President of the United States. Not to mention that this 7-day investigation uncovered zero facts in support of impeachment. I spent every minute I had in there as an observer of these hearings, and all I learned is if you hate someone so strongly and enough people agree with you, that is grounds enough to be impeached.

We asked for 12 hours of debate, the same amount of time allotted to President Clinton’s impeachment, 12 hours of debate for possibly the biggest vote I would cast in my tenure as a Representative. It isn’t asking too much, but, no, they want to get out of here before Christmas, so it is okay to rush the process.

I am ashamed to be part of this today, even as I vote against the impeachment. My constituents are calling every day mad as hell, saying we should be ashamed that this historic Chamber has fallen so low as to allow something like this to happen.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, my friend, the gentleman from Georgia, has a tagline about the clock and the calendar. Madam Speaker, this is not about the clock and the calendar. It is about corruption and the Constitution. It is about a President who abuses power to coerce an ally to intervene in our election and poses a continuing threat to the integrity of our next election.

The President’s defense is built on three pillars, and when those three pillars fall, the entire defense of the President collapses.

First, they claim there was no quid pro quo. Well, the evidence is undisputed. President Trump conditioned a White House visit and military aid on President Zelensky’s public announce-ment of the investigations. Ambassador William Taylor wrote at the time, “I think it’s crazy to withhold security assistance for help with a political campaign.”

A reporter asked White House Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney if there had been a quid pro quo here, and he replied, “We do that all the time. Get over it.” The President refused to help our ally until he got a personal political favor before the aid was released.

Second, the minority claims that the Ukrainians didn’t know about the hold. The evidence, again, is undisputed. Ukraine knew about the hold on the military assistance within hours of the President’s July 25 call. The Inspector General of the Department of Defense testified under oath that on July 25 the State Department sent two emails to the Department of Defense notifying them that Ukrainian officials were asking, ‘Where is the aid?’ The Ukrainians understood exactly what President Trump was asking. He wanted a personal political favor before the aid was released. And so the second defense fails.

Third, and finally, my Republican friends say the aid was released. But the aid was released only after the President got caught. This House launched its investigation on Sept-ember 24, and the hold on the aid was lifted only after the congressional investigation, by ordering that all requests and demands for information be denied.
With our national security and the integrity of our election at risk, we must act, not because of the clock and the calendar, but to fight against corruption and for continued self-government by the American people.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Madam Speaker, I would just point out that, to believe everything that was just said, you have to also believe that President Zelensky is a pathological liar.

I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. DUNCAN).

Mr. DUNCAN. Madam Speaker, we are not debating impeachment of an American President today. Your minds are already made up. The Democrat majority has had a verdict, impeachment, looking for a crime since the inauguration.

The Washington Post ran the headline, “The Campaign to Impeach President Trump Has Begun” just 19 minutes after President Trump took the oath of office.

The freshman Congresswoman from Michigan told a group of supporters, “We are going to impeach the mother-blank” shortly after she was sworn in.

Even President Trump admitted last week that the impeachment effort has been going on for 2½ years, long before any phone call between two world leaders.

In fact, 71 percent of the Democrats on the Judiciary Committee supported an impeachment before the phone call. The impeachment sham is based on hearsay, conjecture, and opinion. And you know what, you can’t even get a phone call between two world leaders.

Where are the crimes of treason, high crimes or misdemeanors committed here? Those are things that constitute impeachable offenses, not hatred or policy disagreements. If memory serves me right, Congress told the administration to withhold aid to Ukraine until they got their act together, addressed corruption, and straightened it out. That was in multiple NDAs. As voted on by both parties in this Chamber.

So in the simplest terms, we are impeaching the President for doing something we told him to do. Give me a break. We have wasted precious time we were supposed to be protecting people while you held secret hearings and deposition behind closed doors in Chairman SCHIFF’s chamber of secrets.

But the American people have a great sense of fairness, I promise you. They see President Trump has not been treated fairly in this process. Impeachment based on hearsay and opinion, not facts. It is a sad day in this Chamber, the people’s House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I now inform you that the gentleman from California (Mr. SCHIFF) the chair of the Intelligence Committee, will now serve as my designee and will control the remainder of the time on the majority side.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, my colleague, Chairman NADLER, for yielding, and I thank him for the extraordinary job that he has done as chairman of the Judiciary Committee throughout these difficult proceedings.

Madam Speaker, my colleagues, my fellow Americans, I rise to support the impeachment of President Donald J. Trump.

“When a man unprincipled in private life desperate in his fortune, bold in his temper, possessed of considerable talents, having the advantage of military habits—despotick in his ordinary demeanor—known to have scoffed in private at the principles of liberty—when such a man is seen to mount the hobb’s-horse of ambition to join in the cry of danger to liberty—to take every opportunity of embarrassing the general government and bringing it under suspicion—to flatter and fall in with all the nonsense of the zealots of the day—it may justly be suspected that his aim is rather to introduce confusion that he may ride the storm and direct the whirlwind.” These are the words of Alexander Hamilton written in 1792. Could we find a more perfect description of the present danger emanating from the White House?

The Framers crafted a Constitution that contemplated free and fair elections for the highest office in the land, but also afforded the Congress with a power to remove a President who abused the powers of his office for personal gain, who compromised the public trust by betraying our Nation’s security or who sought to undermine our democratic system by seeking foreign intervention in the conduct of our elections.

I would say that the Founders could have little imagined that a single President might have done all of these things, except that the evidence has sadly proved this is exactly what this President has done. Hamilton, among others, seems to have predicted the rise of Donald Trump with a staggering prescience.

Having won freedom from a king, the drafters of our Constitution designed a system of government to be made to check ambition, in which no branch of government would predominate over another, and no man would be allowed to be above the law, including the President, especially the President, since with whom would the danger be greater than with the officer charged with being our Commander in Chief?

Over the course of the last 3 months, we have found incontrovertible evidence that President Trump abused his power by pressuring the newly elected President of Ukraine to announce an investigation into President Trump’s political rival, Joe Biden, with the hopes of defeating Mr. Biden in the 2020 Presidential election and enhancing his own prospects for reelection. He didn’t even need the investigation to be undertaken, just simply announced to the public; the smear of his opponent would be enough.

To effectuate this scheme, President Trump withheld two official acts of vital importance to a nation at war with our adversary, Vladimir Putin’s Russia. The President withheld a White House meeting that Ukraine desperately sought to bolster its standing on the world stage. And even more perversely, President Trump suspended hundreds of millions of dollars of military aid approved by this Congress to coerce Ukraine into doing his electoral dirty work.

The President of the United States was willing to sacrifice our national security by withholding support for a critical strategic partner at war in order to improve his reelection prospects.

But for the courage of someone willing to blow the whistle, he would have gotten away with it. Instead, he got caught. He tried to cheat, and he got caught.

In fact, this wasn’t the first time. As a candidate in 2016, Donald Trump invited Russian interference in his presidential campaign, saying at a campaign rally, “Russia, if you’re listening, ‘Russia, if you’re listening, I hope you’re able to find the 30,000 emails that are missing,’ a clear invitation to hack Hillary Clinton’s emails. Just 5 hours later Russian Government hackers tried to do exactly that.

What followed was an immense Russian hacking and dumping operation and a social media disinformation campaign designed to help elect Donald Trump. Not only did candidate Trump welcome that effort, but he made full use of it, building it into his campaign plan and his messaging strategy. And then he sought to cover it up.

This Russian effort to interfere in our elections didn’t deter Donald Trump. It empowered him. The day after Special Counsel Bob Mueller testified before Congress about Russia’s sweeping and systematic effort to influence the outcome of our last election, the day after President Trump believed that the investigation into his first electoral misconduct had come to an end, the President was back on the phone urging yet another country, this time Ukraine, to help him cheat in another election.

Three consecutive days in July tell so much of the story, three consecutive days in July of 2019.

July 24, the day that Special Counsel Mueller testified before Congress and President Trump thought he was finally in the clear.

July 25, the day that President Trump got on the phone with the Ukrainian President and, in the context of a discussion about military support for that embattled nation that the President had recently frozen, said, “I
would like you to do us a favor, though,” and asked Ukraine to do two investigations to help his reelection efforts in 2020. That was July 25.

And then we come to July 26, the day Gordon Sondland called President Trump on his cell phone from a restaurant in Ukraine. Gordon Sondland, not some anonymous “never Trump-er,” but a million-dollar donor to the President’s inauguration, and his hand-picked ambassador to the European Union.

What does President Trump ask Sondland? The answer to this call, what does President Trump ask? What does the President want to know?

Did he ask about Ukraine’s efforts to battle corruption? Of course not. Did he ask how the war with Russia was going? No.

On the phone, his voice loud enough for others to hear, President Trump asked Sondland, “So he is going to do the investigation?” And the answer was clear. Sondland assured Trump that the Ukrainian president was “going to do it” and that “he would do anything you ask him to.”

Madam Speaker, I say to my colleagues, if that wasn’t telling enough, in a conversation that followed, an American diplomat dining with Sondland asked if it was true that President Trump didn’t give a blank about Ukraine.

Sondland agreed, saying, the President cared only about “big stuff.”

The diplomat noted that there was big stuff in Ukraine, like a war with Russia.

And Sondland replied that the President cared only about big stuff that benefited him personally, like the “Biden investigation that Mr. Giuliani was pushing.”

In that short conversation, we learned everything we need to know about the 45th President of the United States. He doesn’t care about Ukraine or the impact on our national security caused by withholding military aid to that country fighting for its democratic life. All that matters to this President is what affects him personally: an investigation into his political rival and a chance to cheat in the next election.

As Professor Gerhardt testified before the Judiciary Committee 2 weeks ago: “If what we are talking about is not impeachable, then nothing is impeachable.”

Even as this body uncovered the facts of this Ukraine scheme, even as we opened an impeachment inquiry, even as we gathered evidence, President Trump continued his efforts to seek foreign help in the next election.

“Well, I would think,” he said from the White House lawn on October 3, “that, if they are being honest about it, they would start a major investigation into the Bidens. It is a very simple answer,” he said.

And he made it clear it is an open invitation to other nations as well, saying, “China should start an investigation into the Bidens,” too.

President Trump sent his chief of staff to the White House podium, and he told the world that, of course, they had linked aid to investigations, and that we should just “get over it.”

And even as these articles have made their way to this House floor, the President’s personal attorney has continued pursuing these sham investigations on behalf of his client, the President.

The President and his men plot on. The danger persists. The risk is real. Our democracy is at peril.

But we are not without a remedy prescribed by the Founders for just these circumstances: impeachment.

The only question is this: Will we use it? Or have we fallen prey to another evil that the Founders forewarned? The excess of factionalism, the elevation of party over country.

Many of my colleagues appear to have made their choice: to protect the President, to enable him to be above the law, to empower this President to cheat again as long as it is in the service of their party and their power.

They have made their choice, despite this President’s continued efforts in 2020 to obstruct Congress from investigating, every request for witnesses and testimony from this co-equal branch of government.

They have made their choice, knowing that to allow this President to obstruct Congress will empower him and any other President that follows to be as corrupt, as negligent, or as abusive of the power of the Presidency as they choose.

They have made their choice, and I believe they will rue the day that they did.

When Donald J. Trump was sworn in on January 20, 2017, he repeated these words: “I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the Office of the President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Has he lived up to that sacred obligation? Has he honored his oath of office? Has he preserved, protected, and defended the Constitution of the United States?

The uncontested evidence provides the simple yet tragic answer: He has not.

In America, no one is above the law. Donald J. Trump sacrificed our national security in an effort to cheat in the next election, and for that and his continued efforts to seek foreign interference in our elections, he must be impeached.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Madam Chair, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

It is nice to see you here, Chairman SCHIFF. It would have been nice to have either you or the whistleblower present in either the Judiciary or the Oversight hearings.

I think we are continuing to neglect the four key facts of this. The transcript is out. Everybody can read it. The American people can read it. There is no conditionality or aid discussed on that call. The two principals on that call, President Trump and President Zelensky, have said there was no pressure. President Zelensky has basically screamed from the rooftops on numerous occasions that there was no pressure, no bribery, no quid pro quo.

The Ukrainian Government got the money and didn’t know the aid was being paused, and no investigation was authorized and a meeting with the President took place, and the aid was released.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Madam Speaker, I come from a State that raises corn and cotton, cockleburs and Democrats.

Your frothy eloquence neither convinces nor satisfies me.

I am from the Show Me State. You have to show me.

The only thing that you all have shown, so far is that you are about to impeach a duly elected President who has done nothing wrong.

Democrats are not impeaching the President because they are scared for our republic or that he has committed a crime; they are impeaching him because they fear the President’s policies and how well they are working for the American people. Most of all, they fear the election, because they know they can’t beat him.

In fact, one of my Democrat colleagues is quoted as saying: “I am concerned if we don’t impeach him, he will get reelected.”

This kind of rhetoric is disgusting.

Impeachment is not a political weapon, and any Member who votes for impeachment should be ashamed today.

You cannot undo the results of the 2016 election simply because your flawed candidate did not win.

And I thank God she didn’t.

Over the last 3 years, unemployment has dropped to the lowest point in generations, we are seeing better trade agreements with our trading partners, and record numbers of taxes and regulations that stifle economic growth have been rolled back, all thanks to President Trump’s leadership and commitment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Madam Speaker, I yield an additional 15 seconds to the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Madam Speaker, this is very important. We shouldn’t be surprised. Democrats have introduced Articles of Impeachment against five out of our last six Republican Presidents.

They are the party of impeachment. The Democrats are the party of impeachment.
The SPEAKER pro tempore. Once again, Members are admonished to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SWALWELL).

Ms. SEWELL of Alabama. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JOHNSON).

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio. Madam Speaker, this is a sad day for America. This partisan impeachment sham seeks to disenfranchise 63 million American voters. I want to use my time to call on this Chamber, for Members to rise and observe a moment of silent reflection, to give every Member here the chance to pause for a moment and remember the voices of the 63 million American voters the Democrats today are wanting to silence.

Madam Speaker, disenfranchising 63 million voters gives me 63 million reasons to vote "no". And I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Alabama (Ms. SEWELL).

Ms. SEWELL of Alabama. Madam Speaker, it is with a heavy heart and a profound sense of the gravity of this moment that I rise today in support of the impeachment of President Donald J. Trump.

To be clear, I did not run for Congress to impeach a President. I come to work very day on behalf of the hardworking people of Alabama’s Seventh Congressional District.

But the facts are uncontested. The truth is clear. And I have been left no other choice.

As a member of the Intelligence Committee, I sat in shock, in awe as witness after witness came forward, their stories painting a clear picture of the President’s abuse of power.

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They testified that the President had direct orders to withhold vital military aid for Ukraine and a White House visit in exchange for investigations into the Bidens.

To date, all the military aid has not been released, and there still has been no White House meeting.

The bottom line is clear. President Trump endangered our national security and the very essence of our democracy for his own personal political gain. Then, President Trump sought to cover it up by subverting the oversight authority of Congress.

If Presidential abuse of power is left unchecked, we all become accomplices when he does it again. This cannot become the new normal, not on our watch.

While President Trump’s indefensible actions set in motion this event, my vote for impeachment today is not about the President. It is about my oath to defend and protect the Constitution of this United States of America and to make sure that I uphold and honor the sacred trust that my constituents gave me.

President Trump has betrayed his oath of office. Let us not betray ours.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I am back. I also noticed some changes around here since I left, I notice I have a new manager on the other side, who, as I came back in from getting a quick bite, I noticed gave an eloquent defense of his side of this story that we are telling. I just wish we could have had that same eloquent defense before the Judiciary Committee, where he could have been asked questions instead of just giving one side.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. KELLER).

Mr. KELLER. Madam Speaker, today will forever be remembered as a stain on our Republic.

These impeachment proceedings are not based upon facts, evidence, reason, or any inappropriate or impeachable actions by our President. Instead, the actions being taken by those favoring impeachment are a product of their disdain for President Trump, his America First agenda, and, particularly, a disdain by the other party for the 63 million Americans who elected him as President.

Again, these Articles of Impeachment are not based on any facts but, rather, on hearsay, presumptions, innuendo, and feelings, feelings by Democrats and career bureaucrats who have wanted President Trump removed from office since the day he was elected.

In defense of the Constitution, I urge all Members to oppose both Articles of Impeachment. It is unclear who will judge those voting for impeachment today more harshly; history or voters.

I want Democrats voting for impeachment today to know that I will be praying for them from the Gospel of Luke, the 23rd chapter, verse 34: “And Jesus said, ‘Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.’”

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, my colleagues have referred to patriotic Americans who testified before the Intelligence Committee as career bureaucrats. I want to remind people just who those career bureaucrats are.

These are the people like Ambassador Bill Taylor, who has served this country for decades. He graduated from the class at West Point, served during Vietnam in combat, and earned a Bronze Star.

They are people like Colonel Vindman, who served in Iraq and earned a Purple Heart.

They are people like Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch, who served in dangerous places all over the world, one of the most respected of all of our Foreign Service officers.

These are the people who my colleagues would pejoratively label as “career bureaucrats.” Why? Because they have the courage to do their lawful duty, to answer a subpoena and to come and testify. For this, they are called, “career bureaucrats.” Well, we should have more career bureaucrats of that caliber.

Madam Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. COSTA).

Mr. COSTA. Madam Speaker, I rise with a heavy heart. The two most difficult votes any Member of Congress...
ever has to cast is to vote to go to war or to impeach. Today, I will vote for the Articles of Impeachment.

Over the last few months, I have listened carefully to my constituents. I have weighed all the available information to determine whether or not the President committed any wrongdoing. There are disturbing facts from this administration that informed my decision, including the President’s own words.

His handpicked Ambassador to the European Union testified there was a quid pro quo to withhold aid to Ukraine for an investigation of former Vice President Biden, and that everyone was in the loop.

His own National Security Advisor, John Bolton, said he wanted nothing to do with this drug deal, as he called it. Then, the President openly acknowledged that China and Ukraine should investigate Mr. Biden.

There is much more evidence pointing to the President violating his own oath of office. I have not made this decision lightly, but I must uphold my own oath of office because I believe the President has failed to uphold his oath of office.

The weight of history, my belief in the Constitution of the United States, and our own national security interests have led me to this vote.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I appreciate anybody who would come and give testimony. But it is interesting to see that the same chairman who just spoke eloquently about those who testified would have to actually dismiss completely almost anything by Mr. Volker or Mr. Morrison.

But, again, I will say, at least they had the ability and the willingness to come and testify, unlike the chairman, who wrote a report, sent it to the Judiciary Committee, and didn’t.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. GRANGER).

Ms. GRANGER. Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the politically driven Articles of Impeachment that have been brought before the House of Representatives today.

For the past 3 years, Democrats have been unable to accept the voters’ choice to elect President Trump. They have used any and all undemocratic and unconstitutional means to try and remove him from office.

My vote today is not only against illegitimate impeachment of our President, which began not with facts but with a foregone conclusion; it is against House Democrats making a mockery of due process and the rule of law.

This will not go anywhere in the Senate, so all that Democrats have accomplished is postponing the important work the American people sent their elected officials to Washington to do.

This endless crusade of Democrats to remove the duly elected President of the United States has put partisan politics above the issues that Americans face today. It is time Democrats stop playing partisan games that hurt hardworking taxpayers. It is time for the American people to be Congress’ priority again.

Madam Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in voting “no.”

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, I am more than delighted to highlight the testimony of Ambassador Volker and Mr. Morrison. Ambassador Volker, who acknowledged that, in retrospect, he should have recognized that when they were calling for investigations of Burisma, it really meant the Bidens, and that to ask for a foreign leader to investigate a political rival was wrong.

I am happy to refer to his testimony as well as Mr. Morrison, who went to the National Security Council lawyer immediately after they learned of that telephone call and who also testified that he was informed by Ambassador Sondland that the President wanted Zelensky “in a public box,” that he wanted him to be forced to go to the mike and announce these sham investigations.

I am happy to refer to their testimony as well.

Madam Speaker, I am now happy to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. SPEIER).

Ms. SPEIER. Madam Speaker, my father fled Nazi Germany for America because he saw what happened when a despotic, unenlightened, unenlightened. He fled because he believed in democracy, the rule of law, and the right to vote. Before he died, he asked to be buried in a simple pine box with an American flag to symbolize his love of this country.

Today, we are called upon to do our duty out of love of country. The President stands accused. We must judge him as we judge any of our fellow citizens: on the facts and on the law.

The facts show that the President’s North Star is Russia, not the Constitution.

There is no question that President Trump delayed military aid to Ukraine, our ally, as they were under attack by Russia, our adversary.

There is no question the President withheld a meeting with President Zelensky at the White House, giving Russia the upper hand in peace negotiations with Ukraine.

There is no question that President Trump promised hoax that Ukraine attacked our election in 2016, a canard that has been proven to be a lie, a Russian lie.

The only question is his motive. The fact is, his conduct and crimes are reprehensible and unquestionably impeachable.

When I vote today, my father’s legacy is deep, very deep, within me. My father loved America, and I love America. That is why I will vote to impeach the President of the United States.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, I see how this is playing out. Instead of coming to testify for 7 or 8 hours and answering all questions, we are going to do it in potshots.

Again, let’s talk about Mr. Volker. He did testify and wanted to investigate Vice President Biden. What he did testify to, which was left out, was that they wanted to, if the Ukrainians are doing bad things, place Hunter Biden on the board of Burisma to avoid anything that needed to be investigated and found.

Let’s at least tell the story. Again, they had plenty of time to do this in an actual hearing, not here. This is what they want. This is what they have been wanting. The majority has played this the whole time. We will play this out as long as they want to. It would have been better, though, if they actually had a case, to have made it in the proper setting instead of not coming and not testifying.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. WEBER).

Mr. WEBER of Texas. Madam Speaker, it is very interesting to hear the socialistic left Democrats that have a notion and appreciation for the Constitution and our Founders’ principles. Would that those same socialists, Madam Speaker, afford unborn babies the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as well.

Madam Speaker, history tells us, in the first three impeachments in this country, crimes were involved. Johnson violated a law that Congress had just passed, over his veto. Nixon was involved in a coverup in Watergate. Clinton lied to a Federal grand jury and expected Monica Lewinsky to falsify an affidavit. Crimes, all instances of crimes.

Now come the socialistic-leaning D’s, in my opinion. Madam Speaker, ostensibly reading the President’s mind, knowing what his intent was, and dictating to us and the witnesses that were in the hearings what his mindset was. Quite frankly, they didn’t believe that he had the right to be in charge of foreign policy.

We heard Ambassadors, and, yes, we heard career bureaucrats, career diplomats, whatever you want to call them. They get to ride the bus; they don’t get to drive the bus. The President is in charge of foreign policy.

They said that the President had the audacity to use his judgment on foreign policy instead of theirs. Opinions. Opinions. Suppositions, indeed. The very swamp he is draining is objecting.

We heard a canard that has been proven to be a canard. Whatever you want to call it, it is a canard. Who knew?

Opinions. Suppositions, indeed. The very swamp he is draining is objecting. Who knew?

Today, now, during the earlier rule debate, comes the floor manager of the other side from Massachusetts citing not facts, nor fact witnesses, but newspaper articles from CNN and USA Today, opinions, and history that are unbelievable, Madam Speaker. Americans are watching. The D’s are delusional, deleterious, delirious, and in deep yogurt.
Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I would just remind my colleagues that Ambassador Volker said that the attacks on Joe Biden were meritless, and he tried to persuade Mr. Giuliani that there was no factual support for them. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS).

Mr. LEWIS. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. Madam Speaker, I rise with a heavy heart to support this resolution.

When we came to Washington in 1961 to go on the Freedom Rides, we chose that day. When we came here on August 28, 1963, for the March on Washington, it was joyful. We met with a young President, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

When we came here on August 6, 1965, for the signing of the Voting Rights Act, we were excited and hopeful. We met with President Lyndon Johnson.

But today, this day, we didn't ask for this. This is a sad day. It is not a day of joy.

Our Nation is founded on the principles that we do not have kings. We have Presidents, and the Constitution is our compass. When you see something that is not right, not just, not fair, you have a moral obligation to say something, to do something. Our children and their children will ask us: What did you do? What did you say?

For some, this vote may be hard. But we have a mission and a mandate to be on the right side of history.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I always like to be polite, and I do appreciate the gentleman from California confirming everything I just said in my statement a moment ago. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. WENSTRUP).

Mr. WENSTRUP. Madam Speaker, since 2016 America has seen a pattern of failed and disproven attacks and allegations against President Trump.

Today is the fourth impeachment-related vote since President Trump took office. It is yet another attempt to reach their predetermined conclusion of impeachment, a conclusion built on political bias, accusations, and innuendo. These repetitive and false allegations reveal a political obsession disguised as some kind of righteous oversight.

When they didn't win at the ballot box, they pursued a Russian collusion narrative that Special Counsel Robert Mueller had to waste time and taxpayer dollars to prove false.

When Russian collusion malicious deception didn't work, Madam Speaker, Democrats sought a new path forward to impeach President Trump: They created a made-for-TV set of hearings complete with witness auditions held in the basement of the Capitol.

Despite all of their efforts, the charges the House considers today lack evidence to support them. There wasn't one witness who said a crime or impeachable offense was committed.

Madam Speaker, I remind my colleagues, no crime, no impeachable offense. That is a pretty good defense if you ask me.

I will work diligently to further reveal the truths and further reveal the abuses of power, Madam Speaker, that Democrats paid for and enacted during the last 3 years, abuses of power from the other side of the aisle within this body and within our FBI. Americans deserve the truth.

All in all, history will be remembered today as the political impeachment that set the precedent for Presidents to be impeached every time there is a divided government.

I oppose the articles before us today, and I yield to the other side and their superior imaginations.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. QUIGLEY).

Mr. QUIGLEY. Madam Speaker, indeed, we are here today because the President of the United States abused his power and betrayed his oath of office. He laid siege to the foundation of our democracy: the electoral process.

These actions have posed a direct threat to the freedom and fairness of the upcoming 2020 election.

The very day after Robert Mueller testified the House systemically and relentlessly attacked the 2016 election, the President picked up the phone and made his now infamous July 25 call to Ukrainian President Zelensky, asking President Zelensky on that call to "do us a favor though," and announced investigations into his political rival, Joe Biden.

We have since learned from numerous National Security Council and State Department officials that the President did not even expect Ukraine to open these investigations; rather, he just wanted them announced so he could smear his rival. Rather than trusting the voters to decide who should hold the White House, he sought the aid of a foreign country to tip the scales in his favor—again.

After Russia's unprecedented interference, a dark cloud hung over the 2016 election; and instead of leading the country and opening these investigations; rather, he just wanted them announced so he could smear his rival. Rather than trusting the voters to decide who should hold the White House, he sought the aid of a foreign country to tip the scales in his favor—again.

After Russia's unprecedented interference, a dark cloud hung over the 2016 election; and instead of leading the American people out from under the cloud, the President, instead, obstructed by protecting him from consequence, attempted to pressure Zelensky to interfere in the 2020 election.

After a courageous whistleblower came forward and warned Congress and the American public about the President's scheme, the President stood on the White House lawn in front of TV cameras broadcasting around the world and called for China to interfere, too.

Some of my colleagues have asked: Why not wait? Why are we proceeding? That is because nothing could be more urgent. We are on the precipice of the 2020 election, and Congress has ultimate responsibility to protect the sacred equalizer: our right to vote.

To defend the integrity of our elections and to fulfill our duty to the Constitution, I will be voting in favor of impeachment today.

Mr. LAMBORN of Colorado. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. LAMBORN).

Mr. LAMBORN. Madam Speaker, anyone watching this impeachment sound and fury, signifying nothing, should look out for three misrepresentations the Democrats are making:

One, Trump endangered national security.

No. The 55-day delay did not stop Ukrainians from defending themselves. Trump actually gave them lethal aid, which Obama never did. During Obama's negligence, Democrats said nothing.

Two, Trump is not above the law. No one is.

But why don't the Democrats tell us what law he broke? They can't, because he didn't break any. So Democrats have resorted to two vague and subjective articles: abuse of power and obstruction of justice.

And, three, the evidence is not in dispute.

No, the evidence is very much in dispute. In fact, for every statement Democrats cherry-pick to indict Trump, more statements back up the President.

In reality, this is nothing but a partisan ploy by Democrats to overturn an election. But this charade will fail, and the Senate will exonerate Trump, and everyone knows it.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CASTRO).

Mr. CASTRO of Texas. Madam Speaker, as my colleagues have said, the evidence of the President's abuse of power and obstruction of Congress is uncontested. But let's outline a few key events involving the nearly $400 million in military aid that was held up by President Trump and for President Trump despite congressional mandate.

The summer of 2019 was a summer of shame at the White House.

On July 3, the White House first blocked security assistance money for Ukraine with no explanation.

On July 10, Gordon Sondland states, during a White House meeting with Ukrainian officials, that they will get a meeting with the President only after announcing an investigation into President Trump's political rival.

On July 18, a White House staffer announces the freeze on Ukrainian aid, per direct Presidential order.

And on July 25, one day after Robert Mueller's testimony before Congress, President Trump makes a now infamous phone call with Zelensky asking him to investigate the Bidens.

Then, things start to fall apart. The White House learns that a whistleblower has reported President Trump's phone call with President Zelensky in a complaint.
On September 9, Congress starts to investigate the President’s actions, and then the jig is up.

On September 11, the aid is suddenly released without explanation—over 2 months later.

When you read the call transcript and follow the timeline I have laid out, guilty is guilty. Nothing changed during that time regarding the President’s supposed concerns over corruption.

So let’s be clear. The military aid was released because the President got caught.

But getting caught doesn’t get you off the hook.

And I ask my colleagues: Is attempted murder a crime? Is attempted robbery a crime? Is attempted bribery by a President a crime? Yes, it is.

The only question now is whether we will find the moral courage to stand up for our country and impeach the President of the United States.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. PALMER).

Mr. PALMER. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the impeachment of President Trump.

Today is a day that diminishes the reputation and stature of the United States House of Representatives, a day I never dreamed I would see.

Today, my Democratic colleagues seek to overturn an election by forcing a vote that will forever be a stain on this Congress. They are not just voting to impeach President Trump; my colleagues are voting to impeach the judgment of every person who voted for him and the process by which we elect a President and by which we will govern our Nation.

My Democratic colleagues claim the Russians influenced the outcome of the 2016 election, but based on their corrupt impeachment proceedings, it appears my colleagues have been influenced by how Russia conducts political trials: no real evidence, no real crime, no due process, and no justice.

The Democrats have failed to show any legitimate justification for the impeachment of President Trump. When they could not find real evidence, they made it up and called it a parity.

They conducted most of the hearings in secret.

They instructed witnesses not to answer Republican Members’ questions, and they denied Republicans the right to call witnesses, making it absolutely clear their objective was, from the beginning, pathetically political.

We all understand that elections have consequences.

To all of my colleagues, Democrats and Republicans alike, this day will surely have consequences, as well, as we descend into more disrespect, distrust, and even contempt that will eventually be destructive of this Chamber and, I fear, eventually, our Republic.

I urge all Members to vote “no” on impeachment.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, very quickly, my colleagues have made repeated reference to some secret proceedings in some secret star chamber. This is apparently what they call deposi- tions.

Is it possible my colleagues that, when they were in the majority, they conducted depositions, but they were different in this respect:

In the depositions we conducted in the Intelligence Committee, over 100 Members were able to participate. That is how secret they were. We revealed all of the transcripts of those depositions.

The repetition of this falsehood does not make it true; it only makes the falsehood that much more deliberate.

I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. AMASH).

Mr. AMASH. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of these Articles of Impeachment. I come to this floor not as a Democrat, not as a Republican, but as an American who cares deeply about the Constitution, the rule of law, and the rights of the people.

Under our system of government, impeachment is not about policy disagreements or ineffective governance, nor is it about the morality or immorality, on statutes that did not exist at the time our Constitution was written. Impeachment is about maintaining the integrity of the Office of the Presidency and ensuring that Executive power is directed toward proper ends in accordance with the law.

The Constitution grants the House “the sole power of impeachment” and the Senate “the sole power to try all impeachments.”

We in the House are empowered to charge impeachable conduct. The Constitution describes such conduct as “high crimes and misdemeanors,” but because it pertains to high office and relates to the misuse of that office, we need not rely on any other branch or law. It is an opinion. It is not even a crime that can be charged in a court of law.

Unlike Presidents Nixon and Clinton who were tried for actual crimes, this President is being impeached on vague phrases that appear nowhere in our Constitution.

The first article of Impeachment crafted as a fiction is not an enumerated basis in the Constitution for impeachment. The Democratic majority would have you believe that abuse of power is a high crime or misdemeanor. It is not. It is an opinion. It is not even a crime that can be charged in a court of law.

President Donald J. Trump has abused and violated the public trust by using his high office to solicit the aid of a foreign power, not for the benefit of the United States of America, but, instead, for his personal and political gain. His actions reflect precisely the type of conduct the Framers of the Constitution intended to remedy through the power of impeachment, and it is our duty to impeach him.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, undoubtedly, H. Res. 660 does not matter to the majority, in particular, the manager of this bill, because the inspector general, his transcript has not been released. There have not been documents that were transferred that were supposed to be transferred to the White House, and we are still not sure we got everything we are supposed to get in the Judiciary Committee.

I guess when you want to be transparent and open, you hold it in a SCIF and do whatever you want.

Mr. STEUBE. Madam Speaker, this impeachment charade did not start with the whistleblower complaint. The campaign to impeach a duly elected President and overturn the will of 63 million Americans started 19 minutes after the President took the oath of office.

Nineteen minutes after the inauguration, The Washington Post published a story headline, “The Impeachment of President Trump Has Begun.”

The first day of this Congress, on day one, a Democratic member of my class called for the impeachment of the President long before the call to Ukraine. Then it was the Russia collusion hoax, then obstruction of justice, then bribery, then quid pro quo—none of which are included in these articles before us today.

The first Article of Impeachment crafted as a fiction is not an enumerated basis in the Constitution for impeachment. The Democratic majority would have you believe that abuse of power is a high crime or misdemeanor. It is not. It is an opinion. It is not even a crime that can be charged in a court of law.

This House is impeaching a President over a phone call to another world leader, a few lines in a phone transcript that have been completely and utterly misrepresented by the majority. The process that ensued was anything but open, transparent, bipartisan, or equitable.

Abandoning all past historical due process afforded the minority and the President, the Democrats ran a partisan investigation, refusing rights of the minority, refusing the ability of the President’s counsel to call wit- nesses, refusing to allow the Presi- dent’s counsel to cross-examine fact witnesses, and refusing a minority hearing day, just to name a few.
The majority waves around a report drafted that the Democratic staff concocted as a matter of fact. When they needed backup for their approach, they paraded out liberal professors with animus against the President who gave them license to impeach the President for a wish.

House Democrats are making themselves kings in a manner far worse and more obvious than what they are accusing the President of doing. The only abuse of power here is by the Democratic-led Congress.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. Cisneros).

Mr. CISNEROS of California. Madam Speaker, when I was 18 years old, I joined the United States Navy and took the oath to support and defend the Constitution for the first time. I took that oath again earlier this year as a Member of Congress; and every day I work hard to live by that oath and give the 39th District the representation it deserves.

I have always maintained that impeachment is a serious undertaking and must be handled with incredible care. When the unprecedented allegations against the President and his interactions with Ukraine were first reported, I felt that it was Congress’ duty to investigate and find out the truth.

Now the facts before Congress and the American people. The President betrayed his oath to support and defend the Constitution by attempting to undermine the integrity of our election for his own personal benefit. He asked a foreign government to investigate a political rival and endangered our national security by withholding military aid to an ally.

For me, it is not about personal politics or party affiliation. It is about upholding the Constitution and our Constitution first and protect our national security. This is why I will vote to move forward with the impeachment of the President. I hope all my colleagues will join me in recognizing this grave threat and stand up to this administration in defense of our country and our Constitution.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Kustoff).

Mr. KUSTOFF of Tennessee. Madam Speaker, when I was sworn into office, we have seen some Members on the other side of the aisle pleading and promising to impeach President Trump. Prior to the start of this inquiry, Speaker Pelosi claimed that the impeachment must be compelling, overwhelming, and bipartisan. The impeachment inquiry was announced less than 3 months ago, and what we know is that the process has been fast, faulty, and flimsy.

What we have witnessed since September 24, when the inquiry was announced, is that the evidence we have seen is not compelling, it is not overwhelming, and the process is undoubtedly and unquestionably not bipartisan.

I am viewing this through the lens of a former United States Attorney, and as we take this vote, here is the bottom line: there was no bribery, there was no extortion, there was no quid pro quo, and there were no high crimes and misdemeanors committed by the President.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. Judy Chu).

Ms. JUDY CHU of California. Madam Speaker, we know that President Trump withheld needed military aid to Ukraine. We know that he used it to demand Ukraine interfere in the 2020 election for his own benefit, and we know that Ukraine knew. None of these facts have been disputed. Instead, the White House has tried to hide the truth. But the President is not above the law. Nobody is.

Corruption and obstruction: the President is guilty of both. The blatant abuse of power was made clear from the White House, was before three committees and was clear in the call summary released by the White House. The obstruction has been made clear by the President’s refusal to cooperate at every turn, even when ordered by a court.

Setting a precedent that any President can abuse their power to interfere in our elections is an existential threat to our democracy. It is also a betrayal of the oath of office and the Constitution.

Therefore, in fulfillment of my own oath of office, it is with solemn purpose today that I vote to impeach President Donald Trump.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Gibbs).

Mr. GIBBS. Madam Speaker, Democrats started with quid pro quo. That didn’t work, so they said it was bribery and extortion. Then they brought the witnesses in, and not one could answer if they saw any evidence of bribery, extortion, or any crime when questioned. It was just silence. Then the witnesses testified they heard this from so-and-so. When the Democrats brought their star witness in, Ambassador Sondland, when asked, he said: I presumed the aid was held up. I presumed?

Testimony was all hearsay, conjecture, and assumptions. So now it is abuse of power with no underlying crime, which is opinion. Abuse of power to the Democrats is they don’t like his policies, or he treated a reporter harshly.

Obstruction of Congress: there are three coequal branches of government. When the executive branch and the legislative branch have an impasse, that is when the judicial branch intervenes. They didn’t do that. The Democrats didn’t take that route.

Every President, including George Washington, could have been impeached based on these factless articles. There is no crime, and there is no victim as Ukraine received their aid before the December 30 deadline and no witnesses who witnessed anything.

This isn’t about the rule of law. It is about setting the President’s will above the law. It is disgraceful. It is time to end the charade and scam on the American people.

Madam Speaker, I urge everybody to vote “no” on these Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I am happy to remind my colleagues of Ambassador Sondland’s testimony.

He posed the question: Was there a quid pro quo?

The answer is yes.

When he was asked about a quid pro quo involving the military aid, he said it was as clear as two plus two equals four.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. Schakowsky).

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Madam Speaker, my adult son, Ian Schakowsky, I will always credit for my decision last June to impeach the President, but Ian made such a compelling case. He reminded me of the oath I have taken 11 times now to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. He said: Mom, this is not about politics, and this is not about party.

Pushing back against my arguments, he said: This has nothing to do with the final outcome. It is about doing the right thing, even if others don’t.

He made me see that it was about my legacy, my modest place in history. I want to thank my son for helping me do the right thing today to vote to impeach the President of the United States. Donald Trump, because no American is above the law.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I also would like to remind the gentleman from California that Mr. Sondland also said he had no direct evidence; he presumed that that was going on.

I guess we are back to presumption again.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Flores).

Mr. FLORES. Madam Speaker, on March 11 of this year, the Speaker of the House said the following in an interview with The Washington Post: “Impeachment is so divisive to the country that unless there’s something so compelling and overwhelming and bipartisan, I don’t think we should go down that path, because it divides the country.”

I think most Americans would agree with that statement because it sounds thoughtful and reasonable.

So here we are today to vote on the Articles of Impeachment.

How did the majority party do in meeting the objectives set forth by the Speaker?

Here are the answers: First, the only compelling attribute about this sham
is the lengths the majority has gone to appease the radical, Socialist wing of their party.

Second, the only overwhelming feature about this sham is the abuse of power by the majority and the reckless disregard for fairness by the majority through this entire circus.

Finally, the only bipartisan activity related to this sham will be the votes against these flimsy Articles of Impeachment.

Madam Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in opposing these deplorable Articles of Impeachment and to demand that the House get back to working on the priorities that hardworking American families care about the most.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RUPTERSBERGER).

Mr. RUPTERSBERGER. Madam Speaker, I spent 12 years on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, including 4 as ranking member. My bipartisan cooperation with the Republican chairman was widely recognized. When it comes to national security, there is no room for bipartisan politics.

All 17 witnesses—mostly Trump appointees—told the same story during the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence hearings, each testifying that our Commander in Chief jeopardized American national security for the sake of reelection. The President held hostage military aid for the fight against a common enemy, Russia.

He willfully obstructed Congress’ constitutionally prescribed impeachment powers.

Over the last 2 years, I resisted calls to begin impeachment proceedings, and I resent those who say this is about reversing the election. This isn’t about whether or not you like Trump. It is about upholding our Constitution.

Allowing this conduct to go unquestioned sets a dangerous precedent and permanently damages our system of checks and balances. No one is above the law. President Trump’s actions are a clear threat to our national security and democracy. We must uphold our oath of office and support these articles.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. WALBERG).

Mr. WALBERG. Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to these baseless Articles of Impeachment.

Our Founding Fathers never intended impeachment to be a one-sided political weapon. Sadly, the majority has reduced this serious constitutional action to a purely partisan tactic to take down President Trump.

History will not be kind to the vote today. It will be remembered as a rushed process that lacks credibility or transparency with a predetermined outcome that puts a premium on political theater instead of facts. By any objective standard, the Democrats’ impeachment case is the thinnest imaginable. There is no impeachable offense before us today. It is a complete and total sham.

I close, not by quoting a President from the past, but rather from the duly elected President Donald Trump: “You are the ones interfering in America’s election. You are the ones subverting America’s democracy. You are the ones obstructing justice. You are the ones bringing pain and suffering to our Republic for your own selfish personal, political and partisan gain.” These are hard words I know, but that is the sad reality of this entire process.

I will proudly vote “no” today, a vote that upholds our Constitution, defends our Presidency, and preserves the pillars of our Nation’s democracy.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GRIJALVA).

Mr. GRIJALVA. Madam Speaker, I will vote in favor of impeachment today. The facts are irrefutable, and the ongoing obstruction and coverup is shameful.

My parents came here as immigrants, and I am proud to live in a nation that rewarded their hard work by providing a better future for my sisters and me. As a first generation American and now a Member of Congress, a story like mine is only made possible by a nation that upholds the rule of law and truly lives out the values enshrined in our Constitution.

Mona and I are blessed with three wonderful daughters and five grandkids. Because of this living legacy and the legacy I intend to pass on to my grandchildren, my vote today is rooted in protecting their future.

The underpinnings for impeachment are real and historic. Trump has perverted the rule of law, abused his power, and engaged in a coverup. No amount of misdirection, lies, disinformation, tantrums, and cries of victimization by Trump and others can undo the abuse of power and obstruction of justice in plain view.

The President leaves us no choice but to vote to impeach, so that we can protect our democracy and correct the damage that is already done.

I will vote in favor of the impeachment of Donald J. Trump, not as a partisan act but as a serious, urgent, and necessary one.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY).

Mr. BRADY. Madam Speaker, 21 years ago this week, I spoke here on impeachment. Sadly, history will not treat Democrats well. They will forever be remembered as the Senator Joe McCarthy of our time, so blinded by their hatred of President Trump that they abandoned American rights of due process, fairness, and just decency.

Reminiscent of Joe McCarthy, they assaulted the Constitution, took glee in secret hearings, blocked evidence, and refused to have any house prosecutors. Ultimately, they chose abuse of power because they practice it so well.

President Trump committed no crime or impeachable offense—none. His legacy won’t be stained; Democrats’ will. We will look back at these days in shame because Trump haters in Congress, like red haters of the past, are willing to plunge America into darkness for raw political gain.

This impeachment betrays the Nation, the Constitution, and the American people. I vote “no.”

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Tyranny rarely appears full borne. It arises, it encroaches as freedom ebbs. Our Nation’s great Founders sought to protect us from tyranny with a carefully crafted system of checks and balances.

But now along comes a President who actually says he is constitutionally empowered to do whatever he wants, that he can neither be prosecuted nor even investigated for any crime, and that he can totally ignore any impeachment proceeding of which he disapproves.

These are the claims of a wannabe tyrant who has extolled the virtues of autocrats and autocrats from Manila to Moscow.

American citizens should be the only ones determining the fate of America. If the President continues demanding more foreign interference, we will never have truly free elections, and we will not be free.

We act today, recognizing the solemn responsibility to safeguard our security and our Constitution. We pledge allegiance to the flag and the Republic for which it stands, not to one man who would be king.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, before I call my next speaker, may I ask the time again?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia has 1 hour and 3½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from California has 57½ minutes remaining.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. ALLEN).

Mr. ALLEN. Madam Speaker, I thank my friend from Georgia for his great work in dealing with this very sad day in our country.

Madam Speaker, today, for the third time in our Nation’s history, a President will be impeached. This will be, however, the first time impeachment has been entirely partisan and without merit. This charade is not because President Trump is guilty of a high crime or misdemeanor but because one political party doesn’t like him or his policies.

Fact one: We have a divided government, and House Democrats are at war with the executive branch.
Fact two: They have been planning for this day since President Trump took office.

Fact three: They have accused the President first and have spent months looking for a crime.

President should be made by the American people, not Speaker Pelosi, Adam Schiff, and House Democrats.

Mr. Schiff, Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. Engel).

Mr. Engel. Madam Speaker, I thank my friend.

As chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I have to say that this is a sad day. No one is glib about the President's actions have brought us to this point.

But when you boil it down, we are here today because the President abused the power of his office to help his chances at reelection. He used the enormous weight of the Presidency and American foreign policy to push a foreign government to smear a political rival. And he got caught.

Why is this conduct so serious? Why has the President's behavior pushed the House of Representatives to exercise one of its most consequential constitutional responsibilities? Because corrupting an American election, particularly in cahoots with a foreign power, means corrupting American democracy.

Our elections are at the heart of our democracy, the foundation of what makes our system of government great, our Republic, if we can keep it, as Benjamin Franklin once said.

If our elections aren't fair, then our Republic cannot stand. Anyone who tries to fix an election is taking away the power of the American people to choose their leaders. If it happens at any level of government, it is toxic to our democracy, and this came from the highest level.

In this case, it is even more serious, because what was the President willing to give up for this advantage? What price was he willing to pay? The price was our national security.

When the President devised a shadow foreign policy that undermined our diplomacy and diplomats; when he held back assistance for Ukraine, which was embroiled in a war against Russia; when he pressured a foreign government to interfere in our elections; again, he defied our security. He shook the faith of a loyal ally. He played right into the hands of Vladimir Putin. He weakened our country all because he thought it might help his re-election bid.

Only the President has that power to corrupt our foreign policy for political gain. The moment he chose to do so, the moment he undermined our security, the moment he undermined our democracy, whether he succeeded or not—and thank God, he did not—at that moment, it became an abuse of power.

A President who abuses his power for personal gain is exactly what the Framers feared. It is why impeachment is in the Constitution.

We need to pass these articles. The President's actions have left us no choice. He cannot be allowed to undermine our democracy and tear apart the fabric that holds our country together.

Madam Speaker, I will vote for impeachment.

Mr. Collins of Georgia. Madam Speaker, it is not about Ukraine. It is about power. Donald Trump has it, and House Democrats want it.

With no crime, no victim, no evidence, no proof, no agenda for America, this impeachment charade marches on, following no rules and adhering to no sense of honor.

The American people aren't fooled by dirty tricks. Voters will never forget that Democrats have been triggered into impeaching the President because they don't like him and they don't like us.

Those who vote "yes" on today's Articles of Impeachment must carry the heavy burden of shame and guilt for as long as they serve in Congress, which won't be long because the American people will remember in November.

Democrats would rather trip the President just to see him stumble than see America succeed. They would rather impeach the President than work together for the better good of our country and our citizens.

Democrats may have won the House in 2018, but they haven't forgiven Donald Trump for having the audacity to win the Presidency.

And they haven't forgiven you, the American people, for voting for him.

The day before she was sworn in to Congress, one Member of the body said she promised to impeach the mousefighter.

She is not alone. Trump's impeachment was plotted and planned before the ink was even dry on his election certificate and, possibly, before some Democrats could even point to Ukraine on a map.

In seeking the chairmanship of the Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from New York said that he was the strongest Member to lead a potential impeachment.

Democrats may not have known why they were going to impeach the President, but they knew it was an inevitability, facts be damned.

This impeachment is a slap in the face to the millions of Americans who voted for President Trump. The same Americans who Democrats in Washington have mocked as smelly Walmart shoppers and ‘deplorables.' Madam Speaker, this impeachment isn't legitimate. It is the radical left's insurance policy. But we have an insurance policy, too. It is the next election, and we intend to win it.

Mr. Schiff. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Welch).

Mr. Welch. Madam Speaker, we, the people, have a common tie that binds us together now as it did at the founding of our country, and it is our shared respect for the Constitution of the United States.

Let us all step back from the maelstrom of the moment to recall that, at our country's inception 243 years ago, the concept of a democratic, self-governing rule was a breathtaking and idealistic aspiration. When the 13 American Colonies boldly rejected the rule of the British monarch, our Founders were determined to form a government that would rule instead with the consent of the governed.

Ensuring that this noble experiment endured through the ages was an enormous existential challenge. It was met with the adoption of the Constitution in 1788.

At its heart are two bedrock principles that have served as touchstones for our country ever since. First, it established America as a nation of laws, where no person is above the law. Second, it established the concept of a separation of powers where three coequal branches of government would check each other, lest power be concentrated in one at the expense of liberty to all.

Madam Speaker, when President Trump abused the power of his office by soliciting foreign interference in the upcoming election for his personal benefit, he willfully infringed upon the right of citizens to decide who will lead our Nation. In doing so, he placed himself above the law and in violation of his oath.

When he denounced, denied, and defied the clear authority of Congress to investigate his conduct, he repudiated our constitutional system of checks and balances and further violated his oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution.

It is for these reasons that I will cast my vote in favor of impeaching President Donald John Trump.

Mr. Collins of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Biggs).

Mr. Biggs. Madam Speaker, some of my colleagues across the aisle have said, "Hey, what are the facts?" as if we have the burden of proof.

Madam Speaker, it is their burden of proof. It is the Democrats' burden of proof.

The facts are unchanged. Ukraine received aid that they were promised and appropriated for. The aid was lawfully disbursed. In fact, it was disbursed within the time limits set by...
this Congress. If you wanted it sent to them before September 30, 2019, you should have put that in the legislation. You did not.

The Ukrainians gave nothing in return. The Ukrainian President said he felt no pressure, no coercion, no duress, no condition.

What changed? On the day that the aid was released, two anticorruption measures were signed into law by the Ukrainian President, President Zelensky.

Democrats have manufactured this sham and then argue that refusing to cooperate is impeachable. The Supreme Court is currently considering the extent of executive privilege when fighting dubious subpoenas. But instead of taking their process to court or waiting for the Court to rule on the pending case, the Democrats chose to press forward because, simply, they said: “We don’t want to wait.”

“We don’t have time,” they say. But failure to act so is an abuse of power of this institution that will have grave consequences for our Republic.

When the other side claims they proceed with soberness, I am bemused by media reports that indicate they have been hunkered down to do a jig today when they win the vote, which we know they will. I am struck that solemnity of process shouldn’t need to have an admonition against levity.

This process has been partisan, vindictive, dishonest. In this impeachment document, Democrats have lied about the content of the July 25 call; met secretly with the whistleblower; held Soviet-style hearings behind closed doors where the Committee on the Judiciary, the committee of jurisdiction, could not attend; and blocked the President’s counsel from participating in the fact-finding portion of the inquisition.

Madam Speaker, it has been a sham from start to finish.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT) for a unanimous consent request.

(Mr. SCOTT of Virginia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Madam Speaker, I include my remarks in favor of both Articles of Impeachment.

Every Member of Congress swore an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution, and that oath is the guide for all of us when considering articles of impeachment against the President of the United States. There has been considerable public debate over what constitutes impeachable offenses; the Constitution names them as ‘Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.’ Under normal circumstances, the country could wait until the next election to remove an undesirable president from office.

Issues like the President’s Muslim ban, separating babies from their parents at the border, trying to undermine access to health care, cutting funding for education, standing in the way of commonsense gun legislation, or other harmful policy stances are not impeachable offenses, but issues that will be addressed in the 2020 election. However, our founders included impeachment in the Constitution for times when an official’s conduct was so egregious, we could not wait for the next election to remove that individual from office. President Trump’s Ukraine scheme was intended to influence the 2020 election to make it an unfair contest, and that highlights as a key reason why he must be impeached and removed from office.

Multiple House Committees have conducted extensive investigations into the President’s conduct. The acquitted President Trump invited Ukraine to interfere in our next presidential election and leveraged desperately needed military aid and a high-profile visit to the White House to promote his scheme. This constitutes an attack on our electoral system and democracy itself and is a gross abuse of presidential power. This scheme needs to be viewed in the context of other actions by this President. The Mueller report found multiple instances of obstruction of justice committed by the President, and that obstruction has continued. Furthermore, the President has done everything in his power to obstruct.

With the Ukrainian scheme, the President has admitted in public to actions that sacrifice national security for his own personal, political gain and then he insisted that he did nothing wrong. His ongoing attack of the whistleblower serves to discourage other whistleblowers from coming forward, his intimidation of witnesses during impeachment proceedings, his orders to witnesses to ignore subpoenas, and his invitation to China to meddle in our next election all indicate that, left unchecked, this President will not cease his misconduct and will seek to do it again. The President continues to put his own personal and political gains above the law and his conduct in these matters constitutes clear abuses of power and an ongoing threat to our democracy.

If the President had simply acknowledged the basic fact that trying to sabotage the next election was an impeachable offense, that he would not continue such behavior, we could be discussing the question of waiting until the next election to express our views on his conduct. We would have to discuss the credibility of such a statement, but a discussion over waiting for the election would be a relevant issue. However, that is not the case. President Trump continues to obstruct proper convened investigations and he continues to abuse his power by trying to undermine the next presidential election.

For all of those reasons, I will vote for both articles of impeachment.

I came to the 116th Congress to serve the people of Virginia’s Third Congressional District, and to focus on my work as chair of the Committee on Education and Labor. Committee Democrats have worked to expand access to the building blocks of a strong middle class—a quality education, a rewarding job, and affordable health care. The House has already passed the Raise the Wage Act, the Lower Drug Costs Now Act, the Paycheck Fairness Act, the Stronger Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act, the Butch Lewis Act, the Dignity in Aging Act, and the Workplace Violence Prevention for Health Care and Social Service Workers Act. The Committee has also approved the College Affordability Act, the Rebuild America’s Schools Act, the Protecting the Right to Organize (PRO) Act, and other critical legislation awaiting a vote by the full House. Later this week, the House will ratify the USMCA with strong labor protections.

However, if we expect our democracy to survive, President Trump’s abuse of power cannot be ignored. No one is above the law.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. CARSON).

Mr. CARSON of Indiana. Madam Speaker, as we continue and consider this historic impeachment vote, let’s be clear that the President’s actions seriously jeopardize not only America’s national security but the security of our closest allies. His actions threaten the goals of the U.S.-led NATO alliance.

You see, Ukraine is a nation working hard to make its democracy stronger. Make no mistake, Ukraine is on the front line of our fight against corruption and organized crime. Thankfully, U.S. military aid helps Ukraine defend itself against Russia and integrate itself into the European community.

When our European allies are stronger, America is stronger. We are better equipped to promote democracy and put a stop to tyranny.

But, Madam Speaker, to President Trump, strengthening this valuable national security objective was not as important as smearing a political rival. Thankfully, Madam Speaker, we know that he held nearly $400 million of aid to Ukraine until President Zelensky agreed to help him dig up dirt on his potential 2020 opponent.

This aid was approved by Congress with strong bipartisan support.

President Trump’s actions hurt American diplomacy and undermine the integrity of our Nation’s promises to our allies. We will not allow our leaders to trade away our national security.

We cannot allow Russia’s continued threats to democracy to go unanswered, and we must not allow our own President of these United States to get away with breaking his own oath of office.

Madam Speaker, that is why we take this solemn but necessary vote to impeach.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATTA).

Mr. LATTA. Madam Speaker, this is a sad day for our country, one that our forefathers warned us against.

We have watched this illegitimate impeachment process unfold while making a mockery of our constitutional duties. House Democrats have conducted the most polarizing impeachment process in our Nation’s history and the men and women I represent are tired of this Democrat-run House putting political games above our Nation’s interests.
House Democrats held secret meetings, withheld important documents, deliberately misrepresented information to the public, and did not give due process to the President. This investigation was unfair, and the American people expect more out of Congress.

The Articles of Impeachment are not based on facts but, instead, are entirely politically motivated. The truth is there was no pressure put on President Zelensky, and the transcripts confirm that conditionally.

This inquiry has been rigged from the start, lacking fairness, transparency, and truth. It has been a waste of taxpayers' dollars, and it is based off the opinion of an unnamed whistleblower and hearsay. The accusations in today's proceedings do not align with the facts.

This impeachment process is out of step with existing precedent for Presidential impeachment proceedings, and it is not a process I will support. I urge my colleagues to put country first and vote in opposition to the Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY).

Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the impeachment of President Donald J. Trump.

President Trump abused the power of his office for his own personal and political gain at the expense of our national security.

President Trump's wholesale obstruction of Congress is unprecedented, indisputable, and impeachable. President Trump is the first President in history to openly and completely defy all aspects of the constitutional impeachment process.

In an attempt to cover up his abuse of power, he ordered the entire executive branch not to participate in the inquiry and directed it to defy lawful subpoenas from Congress.

As Chairman of the Committee on Oversight and Reform, I find this obstruction particularly offensive.

Even President Nixon accepted Congress' impeachment authority and allowed his aides and advisers to produce the documents to Congress. And President Nixon allowed current and former staff to testify in both the House impeachment and the Senate Watergate investigations, including his chief of staff and White House counsel.

By contrast, President Trump, without any legal basis, directed current and former officials not to cooperate with the House's inquiry, which resulted in nine administration officials defying subpoenas for testimony. And in response to the House's inquiry, President Trump refused to turn over even one single—not one single—document to Congress in response to lawful subpoenas.

Put simply, President Trump's actions are even worse than Nixon's.

Our Founding Fathers established a system of checks and balances that spread out power between the branches of government. They decided that no one would be a king, that no one is above the law, including the President. And they gave the responsibility of impeachment solely to the people's House.

When President Trump defies our subpoenas and obstructs our impeachment inquiry, he seeks to place himself above the Constitution and above the law.

We cannot let that stand; and if we do, then that is the end of Congress as a coequal branch of government, and we have allowed President Trump to elevate himself above the law.

It is our solemn duty, under the Constitution, to impeach President Trump for his blatant abuse of power and his obstruction of Congress.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. WILSON).

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for giving me this moment.

Mr. Speaker, years from now, history books will tell of this day. It will tell a story of a purely political effort to remove the President of the United States, an effort not built on a high crime or misdemeanor, not on a process in keeping with the high American standard of due process and equal treatment. This effort is rooted in the governing party's hatred of a man elected President of the United States.

Members on the other side of the aisle have been in pursuit of this moment since 2016. They are consumed by it. Earlier in this debate, one of our colleagues referred to our President as a "domestic enemy."

Our Founders warned us about this day. That is why our Nation has entrusted the future of the country with the outcome of elections, not the will of a party filled with contempt for a duly elected President.

My hope is that, when historians write about this day, it is not written in the context of a nation that lost its way because its elected Members chose hateful partisanship over the sacred oath that has protected this great Republic since its founding.

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MALINOWSKI).

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, in America, when we call the fire department or enroll our children in school, we do not expect a government official to say to us: "I need you to do us a favor, though." Why would we tolerate a President using his awesome power to make foreign policy, when the safety of our country is at stake, not for the people, but for himself?

I will vote to impeach today because President Trump did just that when he shook down a foreign country to criminally investigate his political rival.

If we fail to say that this was wrong, then any President will be free to ask a foreign power—for it Russia, China, or Iran—to help him hurt his political enemies at home, and every foreign tyrant and kleptocrat will know that America's foreign policy can be bought by doing our President a political favor.

If you believe that our highest duty is to protect America, then search your conscience and ask: Do you want our future Presidents to behave as this one has done?

Do not whisper in the shadows of the Capitol that you disapprove and then defend that conduct here today. Do your duty. Keep your oath. Defend your country, as will I.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. WILSON).

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, over a month ago, on November 14, I spoke on the impeachment hoax which points true then and still true today.

After over a month of secret investigations into the administration, Democrats have now decided to open these controlled hearings to the public. This continues the deception by Democrats to mislead the American people. It is insulting: no Republican witnesses, no counsel by the President to participate, and full exonerations by courageous President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine.

It is said that, instead of focusing on our military through the National Defense Authorization Act passed only last week or passing the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement to create jobs, Democrats continue, having wasted $30 million of taxpayers' money on the Russian hoax, now proceeding with a Ukrainian hoax.

This partisan witch hunt diverts attention from the President's successes: The unemployment rate remains at a record low; there is record job creation; and the stock market, again, today, is thriving, showing that President Trump keeps his promises.

In conclusion, God bless our troops, and we will never forget September the 11th in the global war on terrorism.

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. GOMEZ).

Mr. GOMEZ. Mr. Speaker, we are here at this moment in our Nation's history because the President abused the power of his office, bribed a foreign government to intrude into our democracy, and engaged in an unprecedented campaign of obstruction of Congress to cover it up.

Our credibility in the global community has been compromised. Our character and motivations are questioned. Where do the President's true loyalties lie: not with our constituents, not with our allies, but with our adversaries and himself.

Abraham Lincoln once said: "Nearly all men can stand adversity, but if you want to test a man's character, give him power."

Donald Trump has failed this test, and now our test is whether we will be
a check on that power. Therefore, we must hold anyone to account, regardless of party or politics, who sets fire to the very institutions that define our Nation and our values. With this in mind, I will vote “yes” to impeach Donald J. Trump.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Ms. FOXX).

Ms. FOXX of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to the president’s resolution to the resolution.

When Congress sees fit to examine its solemn power of impeachment, it is imperative that it does so in genuine pursuit of justice: fairly, transparently, and objectively. Anything less is unacceptable. This partisan impeachment has fallen far short of that.

Sadly, Alexander Hamilton’s prediction in Federalist No. 65 has come true, where he warned: “In many cases, it will connect itself with the pre-existing animosities, partialities, influence, and interest on one side or on the other; and in such cases, there will always be the greatest danger that the decision will be regulated more by the comparative strength of parties than by the real demonstrations of innocence or guilt.”

After years of investigations, hearings, and millions of taxpayer dollars, Democrats found no proof that the President committed a crime. The only witnesses allowed to testify were Republican-requested witnesses. That they incriminated. These empty, baseless articles reflect on the imperatives of two sons and reject these articles.

I stand before you on a serious and solemn day in the House of Representatives. The decision to impeach a President of the United States is of enormous magnitude and the utmost significance. There are few issues that so deeply reflect upon the Constitution and the American system of governance.

My ancestors were African slaves, forced on a transatlantic journey from the coasts of Sierra Leone to the plantations of South Carolina. I know full well that the designers of our Constitution, who were African slaves, to become Members of Congress with the right and duty to impeach of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors. The two articles of impeachment brought against President Trump concern his abuse of power and his obstruction of Congress.

Mr. KEATING. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS).

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, the decision to impeach a President of the United States is of enormous magnitude and the utmost significance. There are few issues that so deeply reflect upon the Constitution and the American system of governance.

A basic prerequisite for impeaching for “high crimes and misdemeanors” is a charge that an actual crime was committed. These empty, baseless articles expose for the American people what this is: a desperate, partisan attempt to avenge the loss of the Democrats’ preferred candidate in 2016.

We must respect American voters and our institutions.

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Just a quick fact-check before I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle claim that no Republican witnesses were allowed to testify. That is, of course, not correct.

In the Intelligence Committee, three of the Republican-requested witnesses testified; that is, one out of every four of the Republican-requested Republican-witnesses. That is the President did not make them any less requested by the minority.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. KEATING).

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today I reflect on the imperatives of two sons of Massachusetts:

John Adams, who, in one sentence, captured the very foundation of our country, saying, we are a government of laws, not men—translation: no one is above the law; and

John F. Kennedy, who, in his iconic City Upon a Hill address, cautioned that any one of us holding public office would be judged by the high court of history on whether we were truly men and women of courage, with the courage to stand up to one’s enemies and the courage to stand up, as well, to one’s associates, the courage to resist public pressure as well as private greed, and on whether we are truly men and women of integrity who never run out of the principles in which we believe and for whom neither financial gain nor political ambition could ever divert from the fulfillment of our sacred trust.

President Donald Trump, indifferent and disdainful of this sacred trust, conspired to extract personal benefit from his office.

He dishonored his oath. I refuse to abandon mine.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Madam Speaker, I would like to point out very quickly that the only Republican witnesses allowed in the Intelligence Committee hearings were on the Democrats’ pre-approved list.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. RICE).

Mr. RICE of South Carolina. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to this partisan sham of an impeachment resolution that is ripping our country apart.

Beginning even before he took office, President Trump has been attacked by a never-ending barrage of lies, corruption, and deceit by the liberal political elite, including James Comey, Peter Strzok, Lisa Page, Hillary Clinton, and the impeachment zealots in this Congress.

Democrats colluded with Russia and Ukraine to interfere in our 2016 election by producing the now-famous fake dossier. Now, they accuse President Trump of colluding with a foreign power. What a joke.

They abused their office to illegally wiretap and spy on President Trump’s campaign. Now, they accuse him of abusing his office. What a joke.

Democrats structure these proceedings to deny the President and Republicans in Congress a fair hearing. Then, they accuse the President of obstructing Congress. Look in the mirror, folks.

The reaction of the American people, that this is contrived and corrupt, was entirely, and entirely correct. The polls will turn against them, and the Democrats are desperate to stop the bleeding. That is why we are crouching this vote in today, just before leaving for recess, to dispose of impeachment as quickly and painlessly as possible.

The actions of the Democrats are a stain on this Chamber. I urge my colleagues to join me in fighting against this shameful abuse of power and vote “no” on this sham of an impeachment resolution.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I didn’t think I would have to do another fact-check so quickly, but, of course, there was no preapproved witness list.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS).

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, the decision to impeach a President of the United States is of enormous magnitude and the utmost significance. There are few issues that so deeply reflect upon the Constitution and the American system of governance.

As a senior member of the United States House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have spent years trying to promote American values of democracy and the rule of law in other parts of the world, including Eastern Europe. Because I have been so steeped in Ukrainian issues for so long, I know how damaging President Trump’s actions were.

But the President’s damage does not end there. He has consistently obstructed at every turn of this investigation. This Nation’s Founding Fathers fought to end accountable rule. We did not free ourselves from a King to turn the President into a monarch.

The camera of history is rolling, and I will cast my vote consistent with the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and the strength of our Constitution. This Nation’s Founding Fathers fought to end accountable rule. We did not free ourselves from a King to turn the President into a monarch.

May God bless the United States of America.
As a senior Member of the United States House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee with a particular focus on Europe, I have spent years trying to promote American values of democracy and the rule of law in other parts of the world including Eastern Europe. Other nations have been battered by the conflict provisions that promised civil liberties and the rule of law. Today, in Ukraine however there are leaders keen on anticorruption initiatives, invested in following the Western democratic model, and inspired by the American example. Nearly 13,000 Ukrainians have been killed since the conflict began, and sustained by Russia, who opposes this vision of liberty and opportunity.

Over the years, I have pushed for the U.S. government to fund and protect these Ukrainian freedom fighters from Russian aggression. As the leader of the United States, President Trump has responsibility to help Ukraine lay the ground work for a more sustainable system of governance, one that promotes the rule of law and free and fair elections. This duty is inextricably linked to American national security interests and have been present in these issues pertaining to Ukraine for so long. I know how damaging President Trump’s actions were. Based on witness testimony and the overwhelming evidence presented, I am forced to conclude that the President abused the power of his office for his own personal gain rather than the public interest and that this was in fact an impeachable offense.

The second article of impeachment concerns President Trump’s obstruction of Congress. Our constitutional system was designed to promote checks and balances between the different branches of government, with a particular focus on ensuring that the judiciary and the legislature could check the President. We did not free ourselves from a King to turn the President into a monarch. In the case of our current President, he has shown his disdain for separation of powers unrelentingly and unrepentantly. This pattern of behavior evidenced throughout the Mueller investigation and repeated itself again as the President has continually defied any oversight initiatives from the legislature. This is a complete contravention of our Constitutional system. And it is an impeachable offense.

In sum, the founders knew from the very beginning that the insertion of domestic political interests into foreign policy would be an existential threat to the United States. Indeed, confidence in our electoral system at home has been indispensable to the strength of our republic while the absence of quid pro quo corruption from our foreign policy has been essential to American leadership abroad. President Trump’s misconduct has betrayed both the principals, weakening our democratic institutions at home and our standing abroad.

The camera of history is rolling. Today’s vote is not about one man, but instead about the foundations of our republic for the years, decades, and centuries to come. I will cast my vote consistent with the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and the American constitutional system and for the impeachment of President Donald J. Trump. I do so because I could not look my granddaughter or any member of future generations in the eye having condoned actions that undermine our democratic system.

I urge all of my colleagues to do the same.
Mr. CROW. Madam Speaker, years ago, I took my first oath to the country, went to war, and fought alongside our Nation’s finest men and women. Some of them gave their lives for our Nation. Not a day has passed that I don’t recall those sacrifices.

I learned during that time that our Nation is built on sacrifice. We have overcome challenging times because people have decided to put aside their personal interests, their livelihoods, and, yes, even given their lives to do what is best for our Nation.

Our Founders created a system to ensure we would have no kings or dictators, a system that vested power in the people to ensure that no man or woman is above the law.

Generation after generation, this system has survived because people have fought for it. Today, it is our turn.

The President’s abuse of power and scorn for our constitutional checks and balances is unprecedented. Unless we stand up against these abuses, we will set the country on a dangerous new course.

My oath, my love of our country, and my duty to honor the sacrifices of those who came before us require me to act. To my colleagues, it is time to put aside our personal and political interests and honor those who have come before us.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 35 seconds to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WALKER).

Mr. WALKER. Madam Speaker, when emotions supersede the facts, the conclusion is cacymalic. Today, we are wrapping up not a 3-month process but, rather, a 3-year process with Democrats’ disavowal of what it has led to the abuse of this very House.

These are the same Democrats who promised America they saw evidence of Russian collusion. Do the American people trust them? Hell, no, they don’t. A growing number of American people have condemned this impeachment process, and that is with House Democrats setting the rules and then even bending and breaking the rules to fit their narrative. The majority of Americans see what this is. I wonder how many more will join them.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ESHOO).

Ms. ESHOO. Madam Speaker, I rise today to defend our Constitution and our democracy by voting for the two Articles of Impeachment.

The words of our sacred oath define our duty, and those words must be kept. Our Founders’ primary fear was that powerful members of our government would become, in Hamilton’s words, “mercenary instruments of foreign corruption.”

President Trump abused the powers of the Presidency by ignoring and injuring national security and other vital national interests to obtain an improper personal benefit. He also betrayed our Nation by abusing his high office to enlist a foreign power in corrupting democratic elections.

Article II agree with because it details the obstruction of Congress by the President by directing unprecedented, categorical, and indiscriminate defiance of subpoenas issued by this House of Representatives and abused the powers of the Presidency in a manner subversive to the Constitution.

I believe the Constitution is the soul of our Nation, and by defending it, we are saying we will not be souless.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 35 seconds to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BARR).

Mr. BARR. Madam Speaker, don’t be fooled. Democrats are not impeaching the President to protect national security.

Democrats are impeaching the President for following a law that they themselves voted for.

No less than five times in the last 6 years, bipartisan Congresses imposed sanctions on the executive branch an affirmative duty to ensure that the Government of Ukraine was countering corruption.

And for good reason: Ukraine is the third-most corrupt nation on Earth. So the President not only had the legal authority to temporarily pause security assistance to Ukraine, he had a mandate from Congress to do it.

As a result, President Zelensky’s government made historic anticorruption reforms, making Ukraine a more reliable ally, countering Russian aggression.

Far from compromising national security, the President’s actions advanced national security.

Oppose this impeachment.

Ms. ESHOO. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Res. 755, the resolution opposing this impeachment process, and in support of Gold Star families and our troops and their loved ones.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WALKER).

Mr. WALKER. Madam Speaker, when emotions supersede the facts, the conclusion is cacymalic. Today, we are wrapping up not a 3-month process but, rather, a 3-year process with Democrats’ disavowal of what it has led to the abuse of this very House.

These are the same Democrats who promised America they saw evidence of Russian collusion. Do the American people trust them? Hell, no, they don’t. A growing number of American people have condemned this impeachment process, and that is with House Democrats setting the rules and then even bending and breaking the rules to fit their narrative. The majority of Americans see what this is. I wonder how many more will join them.

As Ambassador Sondland testified, the President didn’t care about Ukraine. All he cared about was the big stuff that affected him personally, the investigation of the Bidens that Giuliani was pushing.

As a CIA case officer, I used to meet foreign nationals who were providing vital intelligence to help inform our hardest national security decisions and keep our country safe. These individuals, from countries where leaders abused their power and defied the rule of law, risked imprisonment and often their very lives in order to provide the United States with information to help us inform us.

But why? It was their belief in the United States, their belief in our country, the longest-standing democracy in the world; our country, a beacon of hope in the world, a democratic republic founded on a document and the beliefs of the rule of law and a belief in its people.

Today, I am proud to serve in the people’s House, representing my hometown and again serving our country, that beacon of hope in the world.

And today, especially today, I reflect on the founding documents that have set us apart in the world, leading people across generations and across the
world to risk everything because of their belief in our great Nation.

Today, especially today, I affirm my commitment to upholding and protecting the Constitution, the rule of law it defines, and the people it governs.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 35 seconds to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. AARRINGTON).

Mr. AARRINGTON. Madam Speaker, today, many of my Democratic colleagues, by appealing history, unfortunately, for supporting the first-ever completely partisan impeachment of a President of the United States.

Madam Speaker, I am deeply disturbed that history will indeed be made today in this hallowed Chamber, but for all the wrong reasons: not for love of country, but hatred for a political foe; not to pursue justice, but to punish a political adversary; not to seek truth, but to seize political power.

Madam Speaker, for the love of country, I hereby and unequivocally oppose this disastrous political ruse.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

Ms. WATERS. Madam Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, unfortunately, the rules of debate won’t allow me to cite all of the reasons why this President should be impeached. There are many.

However, Madam Speaker and Members of this House, to quote the late Maya Angelou: “When someone shows you who they are, believe them the first time.”

This day was not inevitable, but it was predictable, because this President has shown himself time and time again to believe that he is above the law, and he has no respect for our Constitution or our democracy.

Based on all that we know about Donald Trump, we could have predicted he would have abused the power of the President, he would have been impeached a long time ago. Based on all that we know about this President, he should be impeached. There are many.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. HIMES).

Mr. HIMES. Madam Speaker, I rise today in anger and hope. I am angry that President Donald Trump has treated his oath of office so disrespectfully that now we must hold him to account.

The truth is clear to anyone not deliberately looking away. The President withheld military aid and a White House meeting unless and until a vulnerable Ukrainian President announced a nakedly political investigation.

It didn’t matter if the Ukrainians uncovered any wrongdoing. The mere announcement of an investigation would damage his political opponent. Mr. Trump didn’t care about stopping corruption in Ukraine. He never mentioned the word “corruption” once in the infamous July 25 call. This was not an attempt to reduce Ukrainian corruption.

It was an attempt by Donald J. Trump to aim Ukrainian corruption straight at the heart of the Presidential election of 2020.

The President knows this, which is why he has not given this Congress a single email, phone record, or document.

That is not the behavior of a man with nothing to hide. It is, simply and undeniably, contempt of this Congress.

But what makes this impeachment essential is that the President’s abuse of power has not stopped. As we speak, he continues to urge foreign interference in our democracy: beseeching China to investigate the Bidens, sending Rudy Giuliani overseas to chase Russian conspiracy theories.

This morning, the President tweeted, “I did nothing wrong,” all caps. He believes it, too. He sees nothing wrong with inviting Russian, Ukrainian, or Chinese interference into our election.

He did it, he continues to do it, and he continues to lie with it. He will wake up tomorrow and do it again if we don’t stop him today.

Therein lies our hope.
Madam Speaker, I am proud today to answer the call to defend our democracy and the United States Constitution, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I am saddened today that I spent two Christmases defending our country overseas, and I got a measly 30 seconds to speak in this laughable process.

Our President made a campaign promise to drain the swamp, and there are those today relying on swamp creatures' words to preserve the swamp.

How do you suppress the votes of 63 million people in an electoral landslide? You keep repeating the same lies absent any factual basis.

I have heard some of the greatest fiction speakers here today. If you don't like the facts, just rewrite them in a parody and repeat.

If the facts are so clear and indisputable, why is the minority leader begging for more witnesses?

You can't prove something that never happened.

Mr. Speaker, due to a rushed process and limited debate, I was not allocated time to speak on the Floor ahead of this monumental vote, an opportunity that every member should be afforded.

I have spent two Christmases down range, defending our Constitution and Country, and it is a sad day when something this historic is rushed to a desired result so my colleagues will be home in time for the holidays.

I am disappointed in this body for putting their own convenience over the sanctity of our Nation.

I will tell you this: I would rather face attacks from our Nation's enemies than an attack on our Constitution.

This is the first time in history that impeachment proceedings have been completely partisan, shrouded in secrecy, and based on he-said-she-said accusations.

As a former prosecutor, I find it insulting my colleagues have built a case on second hand accounts, editorials, and opinions.

When the facts do not support the elements of crime, my experience tells me there is no crime.

Under the Constitution, it is the duty of the prosecution to prove the crime and not the accused to prove their innocence.

The House has wasted time and tax dollars on an unfounded witch hunt instead of legislating on behalf of our country.

Upon passage along party lines, the Senate will then be obligated to continue this circus at the expense of the American people.

Today is a sad day in this esteemed body for generations to come and a detrimental precedent is set for future presidencies.

Today is a day of reckoning and a day the framers of our Constitution warned us about.

James Madison foresaw this day when he feared the vague and heavily-disputed claims by my colleagues would turn our republic into an unruly parliamentary system in which Congress could remove a president over political differences with only partisan motives as evidence.

The power to impeach the President is the single most important vote that a member of this body can cast.

It should not be taken lightly, and it certainly should not be taken lightly by the House. Alexander Hamilton feared the greatest danger of abusing impeachment authority is that the decision would be "regulated more by the comparative strength of parties than the real demonstration of innocence or guilt."

The fears of our Founding Fathers have manifested in this chamber today.

We face a partisan process that will jeop- ardize our 243-year experiment at self-governance, now, and for decades to come.

Madam Speaker, I ask my colleagues to vote "no" to this sham.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHI).

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHI. Madam Speaker, like many of my colleagues, I have never ran for Congress wanting or ex- pecting to impeach anybody, let alone the President of the United States.

However, given the facts, here we are.

While some questions remain unanswered, two key facts are clear and compel me to support the Articles of Impeachment.

First, President Trump attempted to pressure a foreign government to help his reelection campaign.

And second, the President used the powers of his office to obstruct a congressional investigation into that wrongdoing.

The President has falsely claimed he has been denied the chance to defend himself, but at the same time, he is preventing the testimony of witnesses with direct knowledge of the events under investigation.

If the President were innocent, as he claims, surely these witnesses would be able to testify to that. If there had been no quid pro quo, these witnesses could say that. If aid to Ukraine were not intentionally delayed for improper purposes, they could surely testify to that also.

But rather than giving these witnesses the chance to speak, the President has silenced them. The President has silenced witnesses at the Defense Department. The President has silenced witnesses at the State Department. The President has silenced witnesses at the White House. He even silenced the loquacious Mick Mulvaney, who uttered at a press conference that there was a quid pro quo and "get over it."

By choosing to block this testimony, the President is not proving his innocence; he is just proving he is afraid of what they have to say.

As a wise man once said, the truth will come to light. And it has. It is our duty to act on it.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, it is a shame, on the floor of this House, when you accuse somebody and then make them prove they are not guilty of what you are accusing them of.

Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. JOHN W. ROSE).

Mr. JOHN W. ROSE of Tennessee.

Mr. Speaker, due to a rushed process and overwhelming pressure a foreign government to help his reelection campaign.

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Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, it is a shame, on the floor of this House, when you accuse somebody and then make them prove they are not guilty of what you are accusing them of.
Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. LONG).

Mr. LONG. Madam Speaker, we have never, ever, in the history of this country, seen a Presidency like this one. Once the President was sworn in, 19 minutes later, The Washington Post said impeachment begins today. A million people marched the next day in Washington. Bank of America and Starbucks, both who supported Hillary Clinton, had their windows broken out here in Washington because people were so upset that this man was elected President of the United States.

He has had his head held under water for almost 3 years now, never coming up for a breath of air, just keep pushing him down.

Lowest Black unemployment ever, lowest Hispanic unemployment ever, highest stock market ever, and the very lowest unemployment in years.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. FORTENBERRY).

Mr. FORTENBERRY. Madam Speaker, I have been concerned since the beginning of this impeachment process that it has been driven by a predetermined guilty verdict.

It is unfair. It is wrong. And now, every future President, Democrat or Republican, will have to worry that the impeachment process will be driven as a blunt-force political instrument.

He has been said that this day is sad, it is not sad; it is regrettable. But this day will end shortly. The House has had its cathartic moment. Tomorrow will begin a new day. Let’s get back to work.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from California (Mr. LAMALFA).

Mr. LAMALFA. Madam Speaker,

What are we hearing today are made-up articles to fit an ever-shrinking impeachment footprint. George Washington could be impeached under this criteria.

Democrats believe they are saving our democracy with these hysterical, made-up charges, which is odd because we are a republic, not a democracy, as they keep insisting.

It has been said that this day is sad. It is not sad; it is regrettable. But this day will end shortly. The House has had its cathartic moment. Tomorrow will begin a new day. Let’s get back to work.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from New York (Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY).

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from New York (Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY).

Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York. Madam Speaker, the facts and the evidence establish beyond peradventure that the President abused the power of his office for personal gain and sought to cover up his misconduct by obstructing the Congress.

What we do today goes to the heart of the oath we take to support and defend the Constitution. These actions are as necessary as they are heart-breaking.

It is the President, not any Member of this House, who has brought us to this sad place. House Nations echo in this Chamber and, like a tin can tied to his leg, will rattle behind him through the pages of history.

For in the final analysis, none of us will escape the truth. It will come for us all in this world or the next.

What is the truth? The President used taxpayer money and official acts to pressure a foreign government to help him win reelection by slandering a fellow American.

How do we know this truth? We know because brave Americans, soldiers and public servants, came forward to reveal the President’s misconduct.

And the President continues to undertake an unprecedented coverup to stonewall the public and obstruct their Representatives in Congress. He withhold access to documents and records belonging to the public that would further establish his mendacity. He blocks his advisors and associates from testifying before the public to conceal the wrongs they witnessed.

These actions are unworthy of the Presidency.

Today is about right and wrong and whether we still know the difference.

Today, we hold the President accountable. If we fail to do so, future Presidents would see corruption as without consequence. And there, our democracy goes to die.

We inherit this Republic from our ancestors, and we borrow it from our children. With humility, we pray that the history of this day will guide us to a better tomorrow.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. LONG).

Mr. LONG. Madam Speaker, we have never, ever, in the history of this country, seen a Presidency like this one. Once the President was sworn in, 19 minutes later, The Washington Post said impeachment begins today. A million people marched the next day in Washington. Bank of America and Starbucks, both who supported Hillary Clinton, had their windows broken out here in Washington because people were so upset that this man was elected President of the United States.

He has had his head held under water for almost 3 years now, never coming up for a breath of air, just keep pushing him down.

Lowest Black unemployment ever, lowest Hispanic unemployment ever, highest stock market ever, and the very lowest unemployment in years.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. FULCHER).

Mr. FULCHER. Madam Speaker, in a day heavy in verbal debate, I choose to do the work we were elected to do. Don’t give the political differences politically.

This is not the right place. This is not the right procedure. Settle our political differences politically.

We owe the American people a great duty to come together. Don’t give the Senate the victory lap. Give the House the victory lap. Vote “no” to impeach. We owe it to the American people.

They want so dearly for us to come together for our great Republic and thank our great President.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. FLEISCHMANN).

Mr. FLEISCHMANN. Madam Speaker, my heart aches for our great Republic today. I implore my Democratic colleagues in this House: We are not Republicans or Democrats. We are Americans.

This is not the right place. This is not the right procedure. Settle our political differences politically.

We owe the American people a great duty to come together. Don’t give the Senate the victory lap. Give the House the victory lap. Vote “no” to impeach. We owe it to the American people.

They want so dearly for us to come together for our great Republic and thank our great President.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, may I inquire of the time remaining for both the majority and the minority.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia has 43 minutes remaining for both the majority and the minority.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. WALTZ).

Mr. WALTZ. Madam Speaker, I am a Greek American and proud veteran, but this process does not make me proud. I fought all over the world, from Africa to Afghanistan, and I have seen fair and more transparent processes than this.

Since the Democrats lost the election in 2016, they have been focused on impeaching this President. Meanwhile, we have not solved the problems America entrusted us to solve: immigration, healthcare, and infrastructure.

Nothing in President Trump’s call rises to the level of high crimes and misdemeanors worthy of impeachment. For that reason, I will be voting against impeachment today.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. GUTTIE).
Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker. I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from South Dakota (Mr. JOHN-SON).

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Dakota. Madam Speaker. I am voting ‘no’. Impeachment is not in the best interest of this country. In fact, it has only deepened the partisan divide that truly plagues this country.

When the Sun comes up tomorrow, I pray with all my heart that the anger and the division in this Chamber will give way to an honorable, a productive, and a time of working together.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. ADERHOLT).

Mr. ADEHOLT. Madam Speaker, today, a duly elected President is being impeached by the House of Representatives, by the Democrats compelled by partisanship and not by the facts.

I am proud to stand here with President Donald Trump, and I plan to cast my vote against both Articles of Impeachment.

It is not that the President abused his power. It is my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who are abusing one of the most powerful tools that has been entrusted to Congress in the Constitution by our Founding Fathers.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. OLSON).

Mr. OLSON. Madam Speaker. Webster’s dictionary defines the star chamber as ‘characterized by secrecy and often being irresponsibly arbitrary and oppressive.’

Sadly, my Democratic friends have turned this Chamber, the people’s Chamber, into the star chamber of the people.

One great example is the most important thing we can do as Members is declare war. The next one is to impeach a President.

We are hoping Republicans can have every Member stand up and vote, like for Speaker, and say their vote loudly.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. THOMPSON).

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, while this institution should rightfully ensure the law is faithfully executed by the administrative branch, this exercise has shown itself to be the ultimate manipulation of the legislative branch’s oversight powers in order to achieve political gains.

I caution my colleagues, who have placed political expediency ahead of moderation, their votes later today will forever change this institution. Imagine a future where this body utilizes the most severe of its constitutional tools to continually put the opposition party on trial.

Madam Speaker, the American people have elected their Representatives to be their voice and that voice matters most important to this country. We must collectively focus on these issues, not on the political impulses of a few.

This cannot become the new normal. I will be voting a resounding ‘no’ on these Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BROWN).

Mr. BROWN of Maryland. Madam Speaker, when I was commissioned a second lieutenant in the United States Army, I swore an oath to support and defend the Constitution, and I have done so 13 times in my 35 years of public service. That oath means everything: to serve and fight for our country and to protect and promote our values.

Yet, President Trump betrayed his oath. He abused his power, the immense power of the Presidency. He threatened our elections by inviting foreign interference. He chose investigating a political rival over defending our national security.

So, today, we must use our power, the extraordinary power endowed by our Constitution and entrusted by the people: the power to impeach. We must hold President Trump accountable or else we will be complicit in undermining our democracy, our security, and our dignity.

His conduct demonstrates his unfitfulness to serve as Commander in Chief and warrants removal from office. The oath I took as a Member of Congress is the same I took as a soldier, an oath that reminds me values matter, that duty, honor, and the rule of law matter.

To keep my oath to the people I serve, the country I love, today I will vote to impeach the President of the United States.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. LAHOOD).

Mr. LAHOOD. Madam Speaker, I have said from the beginning of this process, impeachment is and should be the nuclear option reserved for the most treasonous activity and the most serious activity. Clearly, that has not been met here.

As I reviewed the facts and evidence, as a former Federal prosecutor—I have read the transcripts; I have watched the hearings; I have read the whistleblower report—that has not been met here.

In addition, this process has lacked fairness, due process, and transparency.

We shouldn’t be here tonight doing this. This is a travesty.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HARRIS).

Mr. HARRIS. Madam Speaker, it is unbelievable to the few Americans who are going to be watching this because they know what the outcome is. We all know what the outcome is.

They are wondering: Why are we trying to negate the vote of 63 million Americans instead of talking about the things that Americans care about: prescription drug coverage, the high cost of prescription drugs, the high cost of healthcare, securing our borders, keeping our economy going? These are the things we should be talking about.

No, instead, we are going to pass this resolution tonight and then go home for Christmas vacation instead of doing the job of America.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. WATKINS).

Mr. WATKINS. Madam Speaker, I was a political newcomer before this; and just like President Trump, perhaps like me, he was naive to think that this House, that in the people’s House, everybody was true and just. That is not the case.

Democrats weren’t saddened by this sullen day. They weren’t waiting for all of the evidence. This was always about politics because they loathe the President because he doesn’t play by their beltway rules.

I should have known.

But the fact is Kansas is better, the U.S. is better, and the world is better because of Donald Trump.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from California (Mr. CALVERT).

Mr. CALVERT. Madam Speaker, my friends on the other side of the aisle have been clamoring for this day since President Trump was elected.

The refusal to accept the election results and, later, the findings of the Mueller investigation have brought forth Articles of Impeachment that are negated by two simple facts, namely, the military aid to Ukraine was provided, and no investigation was ever started.

The real offense is that the President won the election, and their fear is that he will win again, despite all of their efforts.

I will vote against the partisan attempt to overturn the election.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. BURCHETT).

Mr. BURCHETT. Madam Speaker, I rise today in opposition to impeachment against President Donald Trump.
This is based on hearsay that was made by partisan witnesses behind closed doors. This impeachment is a sham, Madam Speaker, and it has divided this country.

Congress’ wasted time on this impeachment has been better used to address issues that are facing Americans, like securing our southern border, the opioid epidemic, or establishing a constitutionally mandated budget.

Now, American workers have to wait until the Senate trial to pass USMCA that the President and the House Republicans have been working on for over a year.

I am disappointed in the path Congress chose to go down.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Posey).

Mr. POSEY. Madam Speaker, this is a sad day for America.

We know this impeachment is a sham. They know this impeachment is a sham, and they know that most of the American people know that this impeachment is a shameful sham.

We know that it began the moment the President was elected, long before he ever had a telephone call with any foreign leader. We have heard the numerous quotations from them that validate those very points, yet they persist in trying to overturn the duly elected President of the United States of America’s election.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, I have heard several of my colleagues in a row now, and it is inexcusable how few of them want to address any of the facts of the President’s misconduct.

Apparently, Madam Speaker, I have struck a nerve. Nor do they wish to defend a President who would extort an ally, withhold key aid to help him cheat in an election.

They don’t want to defend that conduct, so, instead, they say: Oh, Democrats really want to impeach the President, or Democrats don’t like the President.

But what they can’t say is that this President’s conduct was ethical. What they can’t say is that this President’s conduct was constitutional.

What they can’t say is that this President’s conduct was legal. What they can’t say is that this President’s conduct was ethical.

And by the way, if the gentleman had extorted, but in articles, the gentleman can’t because he can’t make the case. He can only put it in his notes and then come to the mike when he can’t be questioned and talk about it. That is the question, and that is the chord that has been struck.

Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. ARMSTRONG).

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Madam Speaker, once President Trump was sworn in, Articles of Impeachment were introduced almost immediately. In 3 years, House Democrats have introduced 10 resolutions, getting support of over 100 of my colleagues, and all of that before the July 25 phone call.

But also during that time, the Russia conspiracy hoax was exposed. Obstruction of justice charges were abandoned after the Mueller hearings fell flat.

So, after 2 years, 19 lawyers, 40 agents, 2,800 subpoenas, 500 warrants, and 17 lies in a FISA warrant application, they had nothing to show for it.

Undeterred by the facts and interested in governing, the beat marched on. So here we are today. We have no quid pro quo, no bribery, no extortion, no crimes alleged in the articles at all.

But don’t worry, because we have a brand-new, 632-page report alleging all kinds of things, some for the very first time.

This isn’t a somber, solemn process. This is a political drive-by. They just want President Trump gone.

But this never-ending march toward overturning the 2016 election has consequences, because you are telling 63 million voters that you don’t respect their vote.

Voters in States like mine, who not too long ago used to send Democrats to this august Chamber but, recently, have found no home in the Democratic Party, feel that their values have been replaced by a liberal, elitist agenda and feel that partisan points are more important than practical solutions.

Your never-ending impeachment quest is a constant reminder to them that you don’t trust their judgment, you don’t understand their way of life, and you couldn’t care less about the issues that are important to them.

As Chairman NADLER has so ominously stated, if you are serious about removing a President from office, what you are really doing is overturning the results of the last election.

Well, they were serious. They spent the last 3 years talking about it, unwilling to accept the results of 2016.

I wonder if my colleagues recognize the irony that their impeachment vendetta is the greatest election interference of all, and it was homegrown right here in the Halls of Congress.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ZELDIN).

Mr. ZELDIN. Madam Speaker, this impeachment is an embarrassment for House Democrats.

On the substance, the Democrats claim that their case is uncontested,
relying on presumptions, hearsay, and 3 percent of the story trying to connect dots that actually aren’t connected.

Some inconvenient truths: President Zelensky didn’t know that there was a hold on aid until August 29. The aid gets released shortly thereafter, and Ukraine didn’t have to do anything in order to get that aid released; President Zelensky says no demand, no quid pro quo, no pressure.

But Democrats want the public to ignore the other 97 percent of this story. It doesn’t work like that.

Senate Democrats want new witnesses to show why there was a hold on aid. That is an odd request if you think you have already proven your case.

At the heart of this debate, two investigations are being discussed between countries. Democrats and media allies want the public to believe it is all just debunked that Ukrainians interfered in the 2016 election. They want you to ignore Avakov and Chaly’s communiqués worked with the Ukrainian Embassy, origins of the Steele dossier, the black ledger, and more.

The problem with all of this is that the American public is smarter than Democrats think and has good reason to disagree. Next, the Democrats claim the Republicans are arguing that it was Ukraine and not Russia that wanted to interfere and was interfering in the 2016 election. No, that is not what Republicans are saying.

Of course, we have the Burisma-Biden issue of a corrupt Ukrainian energy company run by a corrupt Ukrainian oligarch hiring Hunter Biden for at least $50,000 per month, with no energy experience and no Ukraine experience, solely because he is Vice President Biden’s son.

Now, the company wanted to hire Hunter Biden because they wanted to curry favor while there was this ongoing corruption investigation. Enter Joe Biden. He gets that prosecutor fired, threatening the loss of $1 billion if it didn’t happen immediately, which it was.

Now, Democrats believe that Burisma and Biden should be immune from scrutiny. I disagree. Never again should that conflict of interest ever happen. And our governments should be working together to get to the bottom of all of this.

The facts are that there was a total disaster on the process, from getting a Federal worker to file a whistleblower complaint to Schiff’s made-up version of the July 25 call.

In the closed-door interviews, Schiff was prosecutor, judge, jury, and witness. Coincidentally, every day he gotting America drunk on his favorite cocktail, three ingredients: cherry-picking leaks, withholding key facts, and misstating evidence.

In the depositions and in the public hearings, the President’s counsel was not invited to attend, present evidence, or cross-examine witnesses; and Republicans weren’t allowed to call witnesses like Hunter Biden, Joe Biden, and others.

Then there was the House Judiciary debacle where Schiff couldn’t even show up to present his reports. He had to have one of his staffers present it for him. This impeachment is ripping our country apart. It is focused on the process, the substance, the intentions, and the consequences. It is a total Schiff show. I encourage all my colleagues to vote “no.”

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. MEADOWS).

Mr. MEADOWS. Madam Speaker, today, as we sit here debating impeachment, all they want to talk about is the Constitution and Alexander Hamilton. During the last 30 days I have heard more about Hamilton from my Democrat colleagues, and until then the closest they ever came to Hamilton was a $10 bill. All of a sudden, what we have are constitutionalists on the other side of the aisle.

Madam Speaker, this has nothing to do with the Constitution. It has nothing to do with anything but raw politics.

There is only one person on the other side of the aisle who got seven Pinocchios for not telling the truth. No one on this side of the aisle got that during this impeachment process, Madam Speaker.

The American people need to understand two key facts: The Democrats in control set their own rules of evidence. They said, what we need to do for impeachment is to have compelling evidence and bipartisan support.

They don’t believe either of those two things. They failed the rules that they made up themselves.

We have got President Zelensky of Ukraine saying that there was no pressure. We have got the number two guy in Ukraine saying that there was no pressure. We have got the number three guy in Ukraine saying that there was no pressure. These are the supposed victims of this alleged crime, and yet here we are supposedly having this compelling evidence and facts when the best witness they had—had to change his testimony twice. They mentioned him 611 times, and ultimately, he said: I presume that that is what the President meant.

Madam Speaker, I can tell you that there are not facts here to support it. But what is more important than that, Madam Speaker, is that here we are today and we have bipartisan opposition to impeachment, not bipartisan support.

My colleagues oppose the American people to think that this is a sad and somber day. This is a sad day. It is a sad day for this institution because we have lowered the bar to impeach a President who continues to give us an economy that not only is growing, but growing at levels that we have never seen in the history of our country. When we look at unemployment at a level that is truly remarkable, they want to impeach.

But it is another sad day because now what they are doing is they are telling the American people that 233 Democrats deserve to decide who the President of the United States should be and disfranchise 63 million voters.

When all is said and done, when the history of this impeachment is written, it will be said that my Washington Democrat friends couldn’t bring themselves to work with Donald Trump, so they conspired themselves instead by silencing the will of those who did: the American people.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN).

Mr. SHERMAN. Madam Speaker, Robert Mueller lays out facts from 2017 that constitute Obstruction of Justice but says the President cannot be indicted, only Congress can apply the law to those facts.

So we have been talking about impeachment since those facts emerged in 2017. Of course, today, we focus on more recent crimes.

So why did we talk of impeachment back when a Republican-led Congress would not act?

Why do we impeach today when a Republican-led Senate is unlikely to act? First, because it is our constitutional duty, no matter what the political consequences.

Second, because it is the most effective tool to chasten and restrain a President who does not naturally feel constrained by the rule of law.

I would note that the President’s attempts to extort Ukraine was secretive and furtive, far different from his modus operandi of brazen threats that we saw in 2017.

We can only imagine what high crimes and misdemeanors this President would have boldly committed had nobody been talking about impeachment then—had he felt immune from impeachment.

Today we will demonstrate that the President is not above the law.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, it would have been nice if they had actually thought those crimes were bad enough to have put them in the articles, but they didn’t.

Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. RATCLIFF).

Mr. RATCLIFFE. Madam Speaker, do you know who doesn’t think the Democrats have presented enough testimony or evidence to impeach President Trump today? It is the Democrats.

Sure, here in the House, Democrats running this inquiry have declared they have done everything needed and
they have all the testimony and evidence necessary to impeach right now.

But right now, down the hall, Democrats in the Senate are saying the exact opposite. They are complaining they need more evidence and more testimony because the Senate Democrats know that House Democrats have built them a house-of-cards impeachment, an impeachment built by the same Democrats who told America: Trust us, President Trump committed treason; he is a Russian agent, and we have got evidence; so, of course, proved to be totally false.

To quote the favorite catchphrase of one Member of this House, they got caught.

Along the way, those same Democrats said: Trust us, the FISA law and court weren't abused by the Obama administration using a Democratic opposition research dossier against the Trump campaign and President Trump—again, totally false, and, again, totally caught. When Democrats started this latest impeachment inquiry, they said: Trust us, we have not yet spoken to the whistleblower.

Again, totally false, and they got caught.

Sadly, my Democratic colleagues have placed their own credibility in the hands of Members of this body who have no credibility left, Members whose bodies they claim because they keep getting caught betraying America.

Unless a bolt of courage and integrity strikes that side of the room in the next hour, history will reflect that Donald Trump is the third President to be impeached. History may also shortly reflect that he will be the first President to be reelected after being wrongly impeached.

If that happens, Democrats won't be able to hide behind a pretend veneer of caring about the Constitution. History will record the Democrats' legacy as a betrayal of the Constitution because the Founders meant for impeachment to be used for actions so extraordinary and so rare that it has happened three times in two and one-half centuries. It wasn't meant for congratulatory phone calls where there is no crime alleged, where there is no victim, and where the Democrats themselves couldn't even decide what to accuse the President of doing wrong before ending up with this embarrassment of a grab bag of an abuse of power article.

An obstruction of Congress?

To even allege it is an admission of constitutional illiteracy. The Founders had a term for what the Democrats call the obstruction of Congress. The Founders called it the separation of powers. The funny thing about obstruction is every time Democrats get caught trying to frame this President for some crime he didn't commit, they follow up by accusing him of obstructing the efforts to frame him for the things he never did in the first place.

The Founders warned and feared today might come when impeachment was used politically by the party that had the most votes. Today the Democrats are the Founders' worst nightmare come true. I think most Americans are probably wishing they could impeach the Democrats.

To them I say: You can next November.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I think, when the history of this time is written, it will record that, when my colleagues found that they lacked the courage to stand up to this unethical, unprincipled, and un-American leader, they tried to protect themselves by attacking those who did.

Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. TAKANO) for an unanimous consent request.

(Mr. TAKANO asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TAKANO. Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD my remarks supporting the impeachment of President Donald Trump.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I rise today as a strong believer in the American experiment and the democratic norms that distinguish us from the monarchies that existed at the birth of our nation and from the authoritarian tyrannies that exist today.

The facts that were uncovered during the House's impeachment inquiry point to unlawful misconduct by President Trump—misconduct that demands that we, the Congress, hold him to account.

The president's egregious abuse of power undermined the integrity of our elections, which are the foundation of our democracy, and threatened our national security.

Furthermore, his refusal to cooperate with the House's impeachment inquiry represents an unprecedented level of contempt for the law and violation of our democratic norms. What the president obstructed wasn't trivial, nor was it about concealing private conduct—he obstructed a Congressional investigation of great significance to our national interest and infringed on Congress' ability to carry out our constitutional duty.

As a separate and co-equal branch of government we must hold the president accountable for his abuse of power and his violation of the public trust.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. CLARKE) for an unanimous consent request.

(Ms. CLARKE of New York asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. CLARKE. Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD my remarks supporting the impeachment of Donald J. Trump.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. NAPOLITANO) for an unanimous consent request.

(Mrs. NAPOLITANO asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD my remarks supporting the Articles of Impeachment against Donald Trump.

Madam Speaker, I rise to say no one is above the law, not even the President. Today, we assert this truth, uphold our constitutional duty, and hold President Trump accountable for his actions. To fulfill my oath of office and protect the Constitution, I will vote to impeach President Donald Trump.

President Trump abused the power of his office when he solicited the 2016 election from Ukraine. He did this not to root out corruption or with our nation's interests in mind, but to gain a personal, political advantage in the election. The President withheld $391 million in congressionally-approved military aid for Ukraine until it agreed to invest the Ukrainian political rival. This corrupt scheme put at risk Ukraine's security as well as our own national security, and it undermined the integrity of our elections. It is a clear abuse of power.

President Trump then obstructed Congress, which sought truth and accountability. He ordered the complete defiance of lawful subpoenas for relevant documents and prohibited witnesses from giving testimony, further violating the Constitution. This unprecedented blockade has threatened our cherished system of checks and balances.

Madam Speaker, it is time to finally hold President Trump accountable for these corrupt and unconstitutional actions. We must pass the two articles of impeachment before us today to make certain no one is above the law and urge all of my colleagues to stand up for the Constitution and join me in voting yes.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. BEATTY) for an unanimous consent request.

(Ms. BEATTY asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. BEATTY. Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD my remarks supporting the impeachment of President Donald Trump.

Madam Speaker, I rise today—a day that will certainly be looked back upon by future generations.

Many years from now, when conspiracy theories are put aside and the truth made plain, the American people will know that President Trump broke his oath, abused the power of that great office, and thought himself above the law.

But they will also know that many members of this body—the People's House—kept their oath to defend the Constitution and hold President Trump accountable.

History will note each of our names and where we stood today—for democracy, for justice, and for this great country.

When we vote to impeach this president this evening, I can tell you that I will do so with a clear conscience and with the full confidence that future generations will judge us on the right side of history.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Virginia (Ms. WEXTON) for an unanimous consent request.

(Ms. WEXTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. WEXTON. Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD my remarks supporting the impeachment of President Donald Trump.

Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of both articles of impeachment.
I did not come to Congress to impeach the President, but his actions have left us no choice.

The facts are uncontested and the truth is inescapable.

The President leveraged the highest office in the land to personal gain. In doing so, he jeopardized our national security, undermined the integrity of our elections, and betrayed the public trust. The Framers gave Congress the power of impeachment precisely to protect our democracy from this kind of abuse of power.

The President's pattern of misconduct outlined in the articles of impeachment, and his unrepentant contempt for the rule of law, make it clear that he poses a clear and present danger to the very foundations of our democracy.

Voting to impeach the President is not an easy decision, nor is it one I take any pleasure in.

I will cast my vote tonight with a heavy heart and a solemn sense of duty to protect our Constitution.

Mr. SCHIFF, Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL).

Mr. PASCRELL. Madam Speaker, we are here today because of the failure of so many to cast aside narrow ambition to confront the threats standing before us. Offered the chance to investigate this government together, the President and his party stonewalled and obstructed. We are here today because we choose comfort over courage and avaunced the Repubilic.

This is the ongoing tragedy of our age. And it is ongoing. The matter is now solely in our hands and belongs to us and us alone. The buck has stopped. Many have invoked the judgment of history as an anecdote to this threat, but the threat to democracy is here today, not tomorrow.

We need not and we must not await the verdict of time for Donald Trump's abuse of power and obstruction.

We can offer that verdict right now, and we are.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JORDAN).

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, the Democrats forgot two key things. They forgot about the facts, and they forgot about fairness. Four facts will never change: We have the call transcript, no quid pro quo; we have the two guys on the call who have repeatedly said there was no pressure and there was no pushing; we have the fact Ukraine didn't know aid was held up at the time of the phone call; and, most importantly, Ukraine took no action and no announcement of investigation to get the aid released.

But Democrats don't care. They don't care about the facts, and they sure don't care about the process.

There was no subpoena power for Republicans and no Republican witnesses. During the depositions Republicans were prevented from getting all their questions answered, but Democrats got every one of their questions, the witnesses responded to every one of theirs, but not Republicans'. The chairman wouldn't let them.

Of course, there was the whistleblower, the anonymous whistleblower, with no firsthand knowledge, who was biased against the President, who worked for Joe Biden, and who was denied the chance to testify—the guy who started it all.

This is really about that the President has been driving these guys crazy because he is getting things done. He is doing what he said he was going to do. Whether the facts have been cut and unemployement is at its lowest level in 50 years, the economy is growing. Gorsuch and Kavanaugh are on the Court, we are out of the Iran deal, the embassy is in Jerusalem, hostages are home from North Korea, and a new NAPTA agreement coming tomorrow.

But guess what, Madam Speaker? When you drain the swamp, the swamp fights back. And they started attacking the President before the election even. On July 31, 2016, they opened the Russian investigation. The FBI spied on four American citizens associated with the Trump campaign. The FBI took the dossier to the FISA court. The dossier they already knew was false, they took to the court and lied to the court 17 times.

Guess what, Madam Speaker?

Three days ago on national television, even James Comey had to admit the FBI was wrong. Yesterday—1 day ago—the FISA court sends the FBI a letter and says: Straighten up and get your act together when it comes to the FISA application process.

Think about this: the attacks started then, and they have continued right up until today. But, Madam Speaker, I want you to think about something: The indication that the FISA process was fine, the dossier was fine, and the Russian investigation was fine, that same individual ran the impeachment process. That same individual's staff met with the whistleblower, that same individual is the only guy in Congress who knows who the whistleblower is for sure, and that same individual released the phone records of the President's personal attorney, released the phone records of a member of the press, and released the phone records of a Republican Member of the United States Congress. This process has been unfair, it has been dangerous, and it has been harmful to our country.

Democrats have never accepted the will of the American people. NANCY PELOSI made that clear 4 weeks ago when she called the President of the United States an imposter. The will of the people, the 63 million folks who voted for this guy and made him President in an electoral college landslide, they never accepted that fact.

We are less than 11 months away from the election. Let the American people decide who should be President. Let the American people decide.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SCHNEIDER).

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Madam Speaker, I rise to defend the Constitution and support these Articles of Impeachment. The President leveraged the power of his office by corruptly putting his own political interest ahead of our Nation's security. He blocked congressionally authorized military aid to coerce Ukraine to launch a phony investigation into his political rival.

In the months since, he has waged a campaign of absolute obstruction against Congress' constitutional authority, ordering all Federal officials to defy subpoenas and refusing to produce even a single document.

Madam Speaker, I take no joy in today's impeachment vote or that the President's actions demand this response. This is a sad moment for our country. Only tonight when the House voted to impeach a President, and never before on accusations of compromising our Nation's security, I hope, in the Senate, prosecution and defense can call and cross-examine witnesses, and the Senate can weigh the evidence and make their decisions without prejudice or prejudgment.

This is a solemn moment, but our system of checks and balances was designed for times like these. I have faith that our Constitution will guide us on the path ahead.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. NUNES).

Mr. NUNES. Madam Speaker, as the Democrats now admit, their attempt to remove the President began on Trump's Inauguration Day. When the Democrats' semi-official mouthpiece, The Washington Post, declared: The case to impeach President Trump has begun."

For years, the Democrats tried to expel the President with the preposterous accusation that he was a Russian agent. As deputy director General Horowitz, dishonest intelligentsia officials used false allegations spread by the Democrats to gain approval of a spying operation against the Trump campaign.

As they falsely accused the Trump campaign of colluding with Russians, the Democrats, themselves, colluded with Russians to manufacture these allegations in the infamous Steele dossier. They even tried to get nude pictures of Trump from Russian pranksters. With the Russian collusion hoax, the Democrats had everything going for them: Federal investigations run by Trump haters; an endless supply of media cheerleaders; and a galaxy of leftwing interest groups amplifying their ridiculous messages.

Yet, even with all those messages at their disposal, the Russia conspiracy theory collapsed, so they quickly concocted plan B.

The Ukraine hoax was based on a supposed whistleblower who colluded...
beforehand with the Democrats. The Democrats then prevented Congress from interviewing the whistleblower while conducting bizarre secret depositions and selectively leaking testimony to discredited media hacks. The Democrats used the most useful witnesses in public hearings that somehow reduced support for impeachment.

It is not easy to make a coup attempt boring, but the Democrats found a way. As it turns out, the American people don’t think a routine phone call with a foreign leader is a good basis for ousting a U.S. President.

The Democrats also put forth ever-changing accusations against the President, including campaign finance violations, quid pro quos, election interference, bribery, and extortion.

Eventually, they ended up with the ridiculous charges we consider today, abuse of power, an utterly meaningless term, and obstruction of Congress. One Democrat has pronounced the President guilty simply because he won’t cooperate with their plan to railroad him.

But the only thing President Trump is guilty of is beating Hillary Clinton. The Democrats refuse to accept that loss, are indignant here they will continue their impeachment efforts even after this one fails in the U.S. Senate.

Madam Speaker, after all their deceit,phony investigations, ginned-up crises, and manufactured outrage, the Democrats need a long period of rehabilitation. They must learn how to do something productive for the American people instead of ripping the country apart in their lust for power.

Mr. SCHIFF. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL), chair of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. NEAL. Madam Speaker, it is deeply unfortunate that we have to undertake this impeachment proceeding that unfolds this evening, but the part we play in this process is not optional. Among other things, as the Intelligence Committee and Committee on the Judiciary have painstakingly documented, the President has indeed abused his authority, and he has indeed obstructed justice.

He threatened to withhold congressional funds from an ally under attack from Russia unless they agreed to interfere in our election on his behalf. He has expressed no remorse, and he continues to maintain that his behavior was "perfect," while simultaneously obstructing legitimate congressional oversight and subpoenas of his administration from providing truthful testimony to investigators.

His actions are so far beyond the pale that they have left us with no remaining recourse except impeachment, and so we shall impeach because, as drastic and as unwelcome as this step is, our country faces even greater long-term risk if we fail to respond.

We cannot excuse a President who feels entitled to disregard or break the law with impunity. We are a nation built upon the rule of law, not the law of rules.

The Framers gave us their best effort in 1787, and, indeed, it was an extraordinary one. The Constitution they set down wasn’t perfect, but it founded a republic that has endured and thrived with exceptional stability. As the late Senator Moynihan pointed out, only two countries in the world both existed in 1800 and have never had their governments changed by violence since then: the United States and Britain. Only eight governments have existed since 1914 and have not had their form of government changed by force since then: the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Sweden, and Switzerland.

The innovative system of checks and balances that they constructed, with the separation of powers, brought about and successfully negotiated a generation of challenges that we have sustained.

In the very first week that the Framers began crafting this blueprint for America’s freedom and stability, negotiations immediately started on impeachment. No government in the world at that time exposed the head of government to impeachment, but America was to be different. In the view of the Framers, impeachment is in national crisis. It is a process that the Framers wisely judged that we would sometimes need. This evening is one of those rare moments.

Madison worried that, one day, the country could elect a President who "might pervert his administration into a scheme of peculation or oppression. He might betray his trust to foreign powers." George Mason asked the Delegates: "Shall any man to be above justice? Above that man be above it who can commit the most extensive injustice?"

Of course not, because having just thrown off one King, they would never consent to anoint another one. America firmly rejected the notion of divine right.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman.

Mr. NEAL. Article I of the Constitution prescribes Congress as the first branch of government. Just as importantly, let me quote Speaker Rayburn, who was once asked: "How many Presidents did you serve under?"

Speaker Rayburn answered: None. I served with seven Presidents of the United States.

Impeachment is reserved for moments of grave danger when the constitutional order becomes dangerously out of balance, moments like this one. That is why I will vote to impeach.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 1/4 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. FERGUSON).

Mr. FERGUSON. Madam Speaker, well, here we are, on the verge of doing exactly what America doesn’t want us to do and what they feared that you would do.

In 2016, I, along with 63 million American voters representing 304 electoral college votes, went to the polls, and we raised our collective political middle finger to D.C. and said for Donald Trump, folks like my father, who watched this place destroy his profession of community banking; my friends and family in the textile industry who saw their way of life destroyed following NAFTA; Americans in rural areas whose opportunity and life and voice have been drowned out by the screams of socialist Democrats; our friends and neighbors living in poverty and crime, broken-down, project-based public housing, who for generations have been told by this place: ‘This is the best that we think you can do. Here is your check. God bless you. Now, move along.’ Those voters.

Now you want to remove our voice from office. Well, our voice will be heard. And I am determined to make sure that it will be because we will fight back against this corrupt and unfair impeachment process.

How dare you, the liberal elites, the condescending bureaucrats, and every other kind of swamp critter in this godforsaken place tell the American public who the President should be. That is the job of the American voter, not yours.

This whole flipping rodeo is a sham and a shame, and it will not be forgotten.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. HECK).

Mr. HECK. Madam Speaker, this week Americans are busy finishing up their Christmas shopping mostly for their children, or if they are lucky enough to have them, their grandchildren. And high school and college students are taking final exams and sweating out the results.

That got me to thinking about those who follow and what our obligation is to them, and that got me to thinking about those who came before and how they might have seen their obligation to the people like me who our family believes literally was born on the boat on the way over here from Germany, or my father, who fought in World War II against the very people that his grandfather had left.

We are all here today, all of us, because someone before us sacrificed so that they could journey here and build a new life in this unique land. We are here today because those immigrants and their children were dedicated not only to the land of America, but to the idea of freedom and security by self-government, choosing our own leaders in free and fair elections, and the rule of law under the Constitution.
The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired. 

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from Washington. 

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, territory of America is in peril, brought about so by this President, who sought to cheat in an election, a President who puts himself above the law and attacks the bedrock constitutional precept of checks and balances. 

Yet, the question is, can America survive this behavior? What ideal will we hand down to those who follow us? And, finally, what is our obligation to those who would follow? 

It is simple: to do our duty, to defend the Constitution and the values underpinning it by voting “yes” on the Articles of Impeachment. 

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. DEMINGS). 

Mrs. DEMINGS. Madam Speaker, we live in the greatest democracy in the world, and I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of Americans are good, decent people who work hard and play by the rules. 

But then, we have people who have no respect for the law, people who have little regard for the rules, people who spend a lot of their time trying to figure out how to game the system. Law enforcement officers call them habitual offenders. The more they get away with, the more likely they are to engage in misconduct. 

Some say it takes courage to hold powerful people accountable, but I see it differently. I see it as a sense of duty, a regular part of my job as a Member of Congress. 

However, habitual offenders usually don't sneak up on you. They usually telegraph their intentions time and time again. 

On July 27, 2016, in my home State of Florida, then-candidate Trump said, “Russia, if you're listening, I hope you can beLiteral text reading: the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN).
Mr. Trump has allowed foreign powers to interfere in our domestic affairs. He has endangered our national security and our democracy itself. Madam Speaker, for those reasons, we must impeach this President.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. WALDEN) for a unanimous consent request.

(Mr. WALDEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WALDEN. Madam Speaker, I oppose this resolution on impeachment, and I include my statement in the RECORD.

Madam Speaker, President Donald Trump is unique in the history of the American presidency. No one has led as he has. His success and his style have frustrated his opponents.

Remember back to the fall of 2016 when pundits and politicians on the left lectured Americans about the historical need to accept the outcome of the election? Then Hillary Clinton lost. Some began undermining and attacking the President before he had even taken office. Others called for his impeachment.

Meanwhile—know—as a result of the Horowitz investigation—that some in the FBI engaged in nefarious actions to investigate the Trump campaign. They lied to and misled the FISA court in an incredible abuse of power by a government agency. Civil libertarians are rightly outraged by what occurred. Laws designed to protect America from foreign terrorists were misused to spy on an American presidential campaign.

The false narrative of the Trump campaign colluding with the Russians dominated the first two years of the Trump presidency. I supported the appointment of Mr. Mueller and repeatedly stood up for the independence of his investigation. I wanted the facts.

The Mueller investigation spent years and millions of taxpayer dollars and came up empty. That report produced nothing impeachable, or the articles of impeachment would include the findings of that report.

For me, overturning the outcome of an election demands two things: A bipartisan and fair process to determine wrong doing, and a criminal offense worthy of overturning the outcome of the voters’ will. Neither threshold has been met in this case.

With a clear conscience, I will vote against both articles of impeachment.

Read the articles of impeachment. “Abuse of power” and “obstruction of Congress,” are the charges. Neither of these are criminal violations. This isn’t perjury or burglary.

Every administration—Democratic and Republican—has come back against Congress’ request for witnesses and information. The Constitution enshrines this separate-brANCH conflict. Congress doesn’t like being told no. At times we’ve sued over it. It’s the tension our founders designed into the competing branches of government. Work it out, or go to the courts. But in this case, they truncated the timeline to exclude a judicial review. They announced the outcome before the investigation was completed.

I voted to hold President Obama’s Attorney General in contempt of Congress for refusing to turn over documents related to the “fast and furious” fiasco. Congress sued and won this case. But Republicans never seriously thought about impeaching the President.

I threatened to subpoena President Trump’s Attorney General Jeff Sessions to his face in the East Room of the White House during our investigation of the opioid crisis. We eventually worked it out and got to review the data we sought. Not once did I think about impeaching the President.

The anti-Trump crowd has weaponized impeachment and converted it into a partisan tool, something one of America’s founding fathers—Alexander Hamilton—warned against. The American people elected President Trump to shake things up. Washington, D.C. And that’s precisely what he’s done.

Lower taxes and less oppressive regulations would not have happened under a Clinton Administration. Hillary Clinton would not have stood up to China as President Trump has. She would not have demanded and gotten a new and better trade deal with our friends to the north and south. As for the Russians, she’s the one who led the “reset” with Russia that offended our European allies and played into Putin’s hand.

We’ve never had a better economy or lower unemployment in the modern era. We’re the envy of the world. America is standing up to our competitors and enemies. We’re getting new and better trade agreements and bringing more jobs back to America.

We’ve never had a President lean in more to get lower drug prices or make our allies keep their promises to help pay for their national security.

President Trump is doing exactly what he promised, and that includes violating the political norms of the Washington, D.C. swamp. And for that, the left wants to send him packing.

In facts matter, we should not impeach this president, but instead get back to work solving the problems facing American families.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. NORMAN) for a unanimous consent request.

(Mr. NORMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. NORMAN. Madam Speaker, I oppose this resolution, and I include my statement in the RECORD.

Madam Speaker, Today I have heard my Democratic colleagues in the House invoke an article of impeachment against the President. Critics are calling it the “nuclear option.” We impeach a President because our country has eroded its constitutional norms, and the President is no longer qualified to hold office.

The country needs leadership, and we have it in the White House. I do not agree with some of his actions, but with due process, I believe in the America he’s working to build.

In the House, I worked hard to combat corruption both in government and the private sector. Today we cannot call this President to account for his corruption.

I do not believe the House will have a fair and impartial trial. The rules are biased in favor of the President, as are the witnesses. The AP’s report that President Trump was not even involved in the firing of James Comey is simply false.

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In facts matter, we should not impeach this president, but instead get back to work solving the problems facing American families.

Mr. PALAZZO. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my statement at this time.

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In facts matter, we should not impeach this president, but instead get back to work solving the problems facing American families.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. PALAZZO) for a unanimous consent request.

(Mr. PALAZZO asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PALAZZO. Madam Speaker, I oppose the Articles of Impeachment, and I include my statement in the RECORD.

Madam Speaker, as the Democrats continue to suppress Republicans’ right to speak out against the ridiculous impeachment inquiry, I was unable to provide remarks during the debate in the House on the two articles of impeachment today. I now ask my colleagues on the other side of the aisle why they chose to silence not only members of Congress but also our constituents. The responsibility of impeachment is not one I take lightly. I am disappointed the Democrats continued ramming this baseless impeachment through the House without hearing from every single member of Congress. Had I had the opportunity to speak before the House, I would have shared the following thoughts.

I rise with a heavy heart for our nation today.

And this evening, House Democrats will force a vote on the weakest articles of impeachment this legislative body has ever seen in an attempt to overturn the fair and lawful election of Donald Trump.

Since the day President Trump was inaugurated, Democrats have made it their sole purpose to impeach this man, but for what? No facts have been presented to substantiate a single allegation made by the liberal majority. Simply put Mr. Speaker, the Democrats in Congress do not care about free and fair elections. They do not care about the will of the American people. They care about obstructing the work of a great American president with whom they disagree.

The articles of impeachment before the House today, fall significantly short of an impeachable offense. The vote sets a horrible precedent that any majority can undo an election based on personality conflicts and policy disagreements.

The Democrats have entirely disregarded procedure and proceeding by blatantly ignoring the note that all are innocent until proven guilty—the president is not guilty of obstruction of Congress, and he is not guilty of an abuse of power.

The president making efforts to curb corruption in a country well known for corruption is not quid pro quo; it is good governance by a chief executive dedicated to doing right by the people of this country.

Make no mistake about it, when the work of this House is done, and the Senate votes to dismiss these charges, the other party will continue to obstruct and slander the president at every turn.

My constituents and I agree that the president is changing the face of America for the better. While some on the other side may not agree, they do not care about the will of the American people. They care about obstructing the work of a great American president with whom they disagree.

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The president making efforts to curb corruption in a country well known for corruption is not quid pro quo; it is good governance by a chief executive dedicated to doing right by the people of this country.
I encourage my colleagues to give up this charade, get back to leading, and move past personal vendettas against a duly elected president. The majority party could take some lessons from our president. Let’s put Americans first and get back to the business of our country.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I would ask the gentleman if he is ready to close.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I have a few more speakers.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ESPAILLAT).

Mr. ESPAILLAT. Madam Speaker, if you live on Lenox Avenue in the village of Harlem in my district, you are not above the law.

If you live on Webster Avenue in the Bronx part of my district, you are not above the law.

If you live in Washington Heights, the immigrant neighborhood in my district, you are not above the law.

So I submit to you, if you live at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, you are not above the law, and you will be held accountable.

President Donald Trump asked the Ukrainian President to “do us a favor” and look into the Bidens. That is abuse of power.

President Trump used the official White House meeting to extort the Ukrainian President. That is abuse of power.

President Trump ordered White House staff to withhold $400 million in aid to Ukraine. That is abuse of power.

President Trump and his staff defied multiple subpoenas from Congress. That is obstruction of Congress.

He blocked witnesses from testifying before this body. That is obstruction of Congress.

None of it is above the law. I cast my vote for these Articles of Impeachment, and I ask my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WITTMAN) for a unanimous consent request.

(Mr. WITTMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WITTMAN. Madam Speaker, I include my statement in the RECORD, recording that I am opposed to these Articles of Impeachment on the basis that they do not measure up to Article II, Section 4.

Madam Speaker, following the release of reports from the Oversight, Intelligence, Foreign Affairs, and Judiciary Committees, it is clear the hearings held by House Democrats over the last month have by no means proved President Trump committed an impeachable offense. Unhappy with the results of the election, House Democrats have been working to build a case for impeachment since the day President Trump took office. Speaker PELOSI said from the beginning that the impeachment must be “compelling, overwhelming, and bipartisan;” and today, none of those are true. In actually, there is one thing bipartisan about this impeachment: the opposition to it.

There is a reason why only three presidents have gone through this before—it is supposed to be an exceedingly rare occurrence. The founders worried against a majority party impeachment because it would divide the country—and that is what we are seeing right now, we are seeing Democrats weaponize the impeachment process and I am worried for the precedent this will set for the future.

The majority party fell by being solely focused on impeachment—leading us to pass two continuing resolutions, miss important deadlines for the NDAA, and leave funding to the last minute. I believe we need to be focused on solving problems and working on solutions for our constituents; the American people are sick of this partisan stalemate. I hope in the beginning of the next session we can get back to the real issues—finding a bipartisan solution to lowering the price of prescription drugs, creating an infrastructure package, reforming our broken budget processes, and expanding access to broadband in rural areas.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Ms. BROWNLEY).

Ms. BROWNLEY of California. Madam Speaker, this impeachment is a charade, get back to leading, and move past the impeachment process and I am worried for the accountability of the next election at risk.

Ms. BROWNLEY. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BUDD) for a unanimous consent request.

(Mr. BUDD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BUDD. Madam Speaker, I stand before you as a Representative of New Mexico, a place where we believe in dignity and respect for all. In Congress, I have been fighting for them. We have been working to make healthcare more affordable, education accessible, and move our country forward for the people.

But today, this President has forced us into a serious debate. We are talking about a President who used the power of the Presidency for his own political gain, risking our national security, and putting the integrity of the next election at risk.

It is a sad day when a President shows complete disrespect for Congress, a coequal branch of government and for the American people who elected us.

We collected the evidence, and the facts are indisputable. We all took an oath to protect and defend our Constitution. We have the solemn responsibility to hold this President accountable because it is our job.

I urge my colleagues to live up to our responsibility and show our fellow Americans that no one, not even the President, is above the law.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN) for a unanimous consent request.

(Mr. MULLIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MULLIN. Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD my opposition to these Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina (Ms. ADAMS) for a unanimous consent request.

(Ms. ADAMS asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. ADAMS. Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD my statement in support of the Articles of Impeachment against President Donald J. Trump.

After reviewing hours of testimony, countless pieces of evidence, and the Administration’s own words and actions, I believe the case has been made that this President abused his power and obstructed Congress from fulfilling its constitutional duty.

As such, I will support both articles of impeachment today on the House floor.

The evidence shows that the President put his interests above those of the country. We must act quickly because President Trump’s behavior poses a clear and present danger to our democracy.
His words and actions show that he is actively looking to interfere in next year's election by any means necessary.

We cannot stand for that kind of misconduct in our country's Chief Executive.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE), the minority whip.

Mr. SCALISE. Madam Speaker, impeaching a President of the United States. This isn't about some solemn duty tonight. Let's talk about what this is really about.

This has been about a political vendetta, a political vendetta that didn't just start with the Zelensky call. It started long before that.

Just listen to some of the quotes from Democrats in this Chamber:

Speaker PELOSI: It's been going on for 22 months, 2½ years, actually. We cannot accept a second term for Donald Trump. What's more serious is that he can't win.

This isn't about some crime that was committed. It is about fear that he might win reelection.

That is not why you impeach a President.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from New Hampshire (Ms. KUSTER) for an unanimous consent request.

(Ms. KUSTER of New Hampshire asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. KUSTER of New Hampshire. Madam Speaker, I include my statement in the RECORD regarding the 75th anniversary of the Battle of the Bulge in favor of the Articles of Impeachment.

Madam Speaker, earlier this week, I returned from a bipartisan trip to Belgium to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Battle of the Bulge—the Germans' last significant offensive during World War II.

We celebrated with courageous 95-year-old American veterans who turned the tide at Bastogne and the Ardennes Forest, so that my generation and generations to come may live in peace and freedom from tyranny.

My late father, Major Mel Kuster, was shot down during the Battle of the Bulge and spent the final six months of World War II in a Nazi prisoner-of-war camp.

In this solemn moment, on this historic day for our nation, I reflect on the legacy of my father and all World War II veterans. We owe them—and all the men and women who have served our nation—an incredible debt of gratitude for their service and bravery.

Today, we must defend a future worthy of their sacrifice.

Just moments ago, I upheld my oath to protect and defend the Constitution when I cast my vote to charge President Donald John Trump with articles of impeachment.

I did so with a heavy heart, to protect and defend the future of our great nation—our American democracy—for generations to come.

The evidence and facts are clear and uncontested: President Trump has abused the powers of the Presidency for his own personal gain, at the expense of our national security and the integrity of the 2020 election.

Articles of impeachment are formal charges against the President—this is not a vote to remove him from office. That decision will be made following a trial in the United States Senate.

I hope that the Senate will hold a fair, transparent and thorough trial to get to the truth for the American people.

Meanwhile, I will continue to focus my efforts on our important work to improve the lives of Granite Staters and all Americans. I wish you and your family a Merry Christmas, joyful holidays and peace in the New Year. May God bless the United States of America. Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the majority leader of the House of Representatives.
Mr. HOYER. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, I have had the honor of serving in this House for over 38 years. I have served during six Presidencies. I have been here through moments of tremendous progress and terrible times. We have seen periods of rank partnership and bipartisanism. I have seen our two-party system work, and I have seen it break down.

Never in all my years of serving in this great institution that I love and the people of my district did I ever expect to encounter such an obvious wrongdoing by a President of the United States, nor did I expect to witness such a craven rationalization of Presidential actions which have put our national security at risk, undermined the integrity of our elections, and defined the constitutional authority of the Congress to conduct oversight.

We have heard from Republicans that this impeachment really has to do with policy differences or how we feel personally about the President, about his temperament or that we simply dislike him.

Throughout the Trump Presidency, Democrats have resisted pursuing impeachment even as we watched with dismay and disgust at a pattern of wrongdoing. That pattern included:

- Ordering Federal agencies to lie to the public.
- Firing the FBI Director for refusing to end investigations of his campaign.
- Siding with Vladimir Putin against our intelligence agencies.
- Taking funding away from the military to put towards an ineffective border wall; and
- Setting policies that have led to the separation of families and caging of children.

We have, to be sure, deep disagreements with the policies and actions taken by this President.

There has been a lot of talk about the 63 million people who voted for Mr. Trump, little talk about the 65 million people who voted for Hillary Clinton. The policy difference, or those votes, this President was elected legitimately because we have an electoral college. But none of these are reasons to pursue what Chairman SCHIFF has called a wrenching process for the Nation.

In fact, Democrats rejected that process emphatically in three specific votes:

In December of 2017, Democrats overwhelmingly voted against pursuing Articles of Impeachment, including the Speaker and me. We did so again in 2018, with over 60 percent of the Democrats rejecting pursuing Articles of Impeachment.

And again just months ago, in July of 2019, 60 percent of the Democrats said no to pursuing Articles of Impeachment. We did this 48 days before the infamous July 25 telephone call. We did the same with 60 percent of Democrats voting not to proceed.

Credible witnesses, many of whom were appointed to office by President Trump, have corroborated the details and timeline of his abuse of Presidential power, which forms the basis of the first Article of Impeachment in this resolution. I will not recount all of the witnesses or abuses that have occurred.

I congratulate my colleagues and Mr. NADLER and his committee and Mr. SCHIFF and his committee for setting forth a compelling case. They have been allowed by the articles before us and by colleagues in their remarks.

What I will do is remind Americans that the House provided President Trump every opportunity to prove his innocence, but the witnesses were precluded from coming forth.

The witnesses who had personal knowledge did not come, either at the President’s request, in which he refused to show up because he thought it was a sham, or was it a sham? You have not said, or to the committees. Instead, he ignored congressional subpoenas for documents and for testimony by White House officials and ordered his subordinates not to cooperate. Perhaps they could have exercised their privilege.

This, itself, I suggest to you, is unprecedented. When Presidents Nixon and Clinton were asked to hand over documents and allow officials to testify, ultimately, both complied because it is the law.

Such actions of the President can be taken as further evidence of his obstruction and abuse of power. It is, in and of itself, impeachable conduct, the subject of the second Article of Impeachment.

These two articles, of course, concern two very profound constitutional issues about the abuse of power in our Republic:

First, whether it is acceptable for the President of the United States—any President—to solicit foreign interference in our elections.

Second, whether it is permissible for the President to obstruct Congress and act as if he is above the law and immune from constitutional oversight.

On December 4, the Judiciary Committee heard the testimony of constitutional law experts who weighed in on these points.

Some 1,500 historians have said the same thing as Professor Noah Feldman said: If we cannot impeach a President who abuses his office for personal advantage, we no longer live in a democracy. “We live in a monarchy or we live under a dictatorship.”

The votes we are about to take concern the rule of law and our democracy itself.

Let us not forget the words of John Locke, so influential to the Founders of our Republic. John Locke, a millennium ago, said this: “Wherever law ends, tyranny begins.”

This impeachment asks whether we are still a republic of laws, as our Founders intended, or whether we will accept that one person can be above the law.

In America, as we have said over and over again, no one is above the law, but only as long as we hold every person accountable for breaking the law, even a President, will the American people be served.

If the House does not act, if we wait and delay, we run the risk of allowing the President’s misconduct, if we believe it to be so, to be repeated at the expense of the integrity of our elections, our national security, and our constitutional system of separation of powers.

Democrats did not choose this impeachment. We did not wish for it. We voted against it once, we voted against it twice, we voted against it three times, as recently as July.

We did not want this. However, President Trump’s misconduct has forced our constitutional Republic to protect itself.

These votes that we are about to take and the process that will follow in the Senate are not only an assessment of the President’s commitment to the Constitution or to his oath of office; it is, as well, a test of our own.

DAMNING EVIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT’S HIGH CRIMES HAS EMERGED.

Nevertheless, Republican Members of this House and of the Senate have continued to defend the President, whose actions seem to many of us to be indefensible.

All of us feel a sense of loyalty to party. It is what makes our two-party system function. It is what helps hold Presidents and majorities accountable. But party loyalty must have its limits.

As evidence of the President’s indefensible offenses of law? Mounting daily as the witnesses testified, it has become increasingly clear that the limits of partisanship have been reached and passed.

Now, Democrats and Republicans together face a test before our constituents, our countrymen, and our creator.

The New York Times on October 18 summarized the question now posed to House and Senate, Republicans and Democrats: “Compromise by compromise, Donald Trump has hammered away at what Republicans once saw as foundational virtues: decency, honesty, responsibility,” and, yes, even civility.

It went on to say: “Will they commit themselves and their party wholly to Mr. Trump, embracing even his most antidemocratic actions, or will they take the first step toward separating themselves from him and restoring confidence in the institution of the presidency?”

Madam Speaker, we have seen Republican courage throughout our history, from the Civil War to the Cold War.
December 18, 2019

In 1950, Margaret Chase Smith, the Senator from Maine, a Republican, spoke bravely against the cancer of McCarthyism in her party, leading six of her Republican colleagues in a “Declaration of Conscience” against their own party.

“We are Republicans,” they declared. “But we are Americans first.”

In 1974, one Congressman took the brave and principled step of becoming the first Republican on the Judiciary Committee to support impeaching President Nixon.

He said to his colleagues and to the country: “It is not easy to align myself against the President, to whom I gave my enthusiastic support . . . on whose side I have stood in many a legislative battle, whose accomplishments in foreign and domestic affairs I have consistently applauded.

“But it is impossible,” he went on to say, “for me to condone or ignore the long train of abuses to which he has subjected the Presidency and the people of this country. The Constitution and my own oath of office,” he said, “demand that I bear true faith and allegiance to the principles of law and justice upon which this Nation was founded, and that I cannot, in good conscience, turn away from the evidence of evil that is to me so clear and compelling.”

My colleagues, that Congressman’s name was Larry Hogan, Sr. He represented the Fifth District of Maryland, which I now represent. His son is presently the second-term Republican Governor of our State.

When Larry Hogan, Sr., died in 2017, every obituary led with praise for his act of political courage.

Who among us, many years from now, will receive such praise as a man or woman of courage?

Who will regret not having earned it?

We have talked a lot about partisan differences.

There is one person who has spoken today who is neither a member of the Republican Party nor the Democratic Party. His name is Justin Amash, who represents a Republican district. He left the Republican Party, and in doing so, he admonished his colleagues that: “This President will only be in power for a short time, but excusing his behavior will forever tarnish your name.”

He spoke on this floor in support of the impeachment articles that we will consider this evening, neither a Democrat nor a Republican.

Representative Amash, of course, is the only Member of this House who has no allegiance to either party, but to his country. He is supporting, as I have said, both Articles.

We need not ask who will be the first to show courage by standing up to President Trump.

The question we must now ask is: Who will win the battle to find it?

The pages of our history are filled with Americans who had the courage to choose country over party or personality, but as President Kennedy wrote:

“The stories of past courage . . . can teach, they can offer hope, they can provide inspiration. But they cannot supply courage itself. For this,” President Kennedy said, “each man”—each woman—“must look into their own souls.”

Madam Speaker, I urge my fellow colleagues in the House and, yes, in the Senate, to look into your soul, summon the courage to vote for our Constitution and our democracy.

I understand we will all not see the same conclusion. But to do less betrays our oath and that of our Founders, who pledged their lives, their fortune, and their sacred honor.

Let us neither turn away from the evidence, which to me seems so clear, nor from our good conscience, which compels us to do what, in our hearts, we know to be right.

Let us not allow the rule of law to end or for tyranny to find its toehold.

With our votes today, we can bear true faith and allegiance to the vision of our Founders and we can show future generations what it truly means to be Americans first.

Vote “yes.”

Mr. Collins of Georgia. Madam Speaker, a few weeks ago just off of this floor, I said that a dark cloud was descending upon this body. And today, because of the clock and the calendar, it is closing.

It is amazing to me what I just heard from the majority leader: that Mr. Schiff and Mr. Nadler presented a compelling case for impeachment.

If this is a compelling case for impeachment, I am not sure why we are here right now.

It is not anywhere close to compelling.

But you know what is interesting is what I have heard today. The majority leader just spoke and said that the President was given every opportunity to come clean.

I tell you what, Madam Speaker, let me have just a few minutes, stop the clock, and let me go around to the press corps and everybody here and I am going to accuse you of something. You did it. You did it. You did it. You did it. Now prove it is wrong. You did it.

Guess what? You don’t want to, because deep down, you know that that is turning the entire jurisprudence of this country upside down.

You are guilty until you are proven innocent. You are innocent. And today from this floor, we have heard the majority leader say this President is guilty, and not the other way around.

He is innocent, and these articles come nowhere close to proving it.

But what is left of this body? Let’s have an honest conversation, Madam Speaker.

What we have found over the past few weeks is that it is okay for the majority to tear down a foreign leader because they can’t make their case. They have called him a liar or weak or worse, or as he was called in the committee, he even looked like a battered wife.

It is below the dignity of this body and this majority to tear down a foreign leader because they can’t make their case against him one.

We have broken rules in this House, even to this moment. Chairman Schiff and the others have broken H. Res. 660 by not turning over the things that they should be turning over.

Yes, we have still not gotten their stuff, and the White House still has not gotten their stuff.

I guess to the minority here, the rules today don’t matter either.

You see, there is a problem here, because we are going to vote on this tonight while breaking the rules. What a shameful incident.

But we also found a creative interpretation of minority rights. We saw minority, who has lived through the things that have been done even further.

We have even seen Members smeared in reports by drive-by political hacks when they match phone numbers of the ranking member and members of the press.

That ought to concern every one of you as much as it concerns every one of us. Nothing but a drive-by hit.

But you know something? The majority leader also just said wherever law ends, tyranny begins.

But I will say this: In this House, wherever the rules are disregarded, chaos and mob rule actually begin, and this majority has taken that to a new level.

It has been said today, where is bravery?

I will tell you where bravery is found and courage is found: It is found in this minority, who has lived through the last year of nothing but rules being broken, people being put down, questions not being answered, and this majority saying, Be damned with anything else, we are going to impeach and do whatever we want to do.

Why? Because we won an election.

I guarantee you, one day you will be back in the minority, and it ain’t going to be that fun. Because when you look at it, when you actually trash the rules of this House, you want to really look at: What did you gain at the end by trashing the institution you claim to love?

Those are the things we have found out so far.

But you know they are really careful in saying, Oh, you want to deal with process and process.

As I said last night in the Rules Committee—where they didn’t want to listen—I will win on process and I will win on facts, because we have the truth on our side.

Let me remind you that here is what the facts actually say. There was no pressure. Look at the call between President Zelensky and President Trump: no pressure. There was no conditionality. There was nothing done to get the aid, and the aid actually came.
Impeachment is the most consequential decision Congress can make other than sending our men and women into war. Yet, 85 days ago, Speaker PELOSI chose to impeach the President of the United States. She wrote the script and created a timeline to make the details fit. Why else are we doing this just hours before Christmas?

If that is all it was, a rush to judgment, she could be forgiven. But before the Speaker saw one word, one shred of evidence, she moved to impeach.

In the past, such a step demanded a vote from all of us from the start, but not only did she move to impeach before she gave this House and the hundreds of millions of people we represent a say in whether to pursue an impeachment inquiry, she threw out the bipartisan standards this House gave Presidents Nixon and Clinton.

That is why I immediately sent Speaker PELOSI a letter asking her to follow the rules of history, of tradition, to follow those standards that have served America well. What did she say? She rejected it. She rejected it because Democrats knew a fair process would crumble their case.

A fair process would have exposed to the American public what many already knew: Democrats have wanted to impeach President Trump since the day he was elected, and nothing was going to get in their way, certainly not the truth.

Madam Speaker, Chairman SCHIFF said he had evidence, more than circumstantial, of collusion. That was false.

In January, when we all stood in this body, we stood up, we raised our hands, and we swore that we would uphold the Constitution. A few mere hours after that, Congresswoman TJALIB said she was going to impeach the motherf**ker. Those are not my words.

A year before taking the majority, Chairman NADLER campaigned to the Democrats that he wanted to be chairman of the Judiciary Committee, where impeachment is. The New York Times writes, Madam Speaker, because he is the ‘strongest Member to lead a potential impeachment.’

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In 2016, they even dismissed his supporters, calling us “deplorables.” Now, they are trying to disqualify our voice before the 2020 election. They want to undo the results of the last election to influence the next one.

As I said, President Trump will still be President when this is all over. But Congress will have wasted months of time and taxpayer dollars on impeachment rather than doing what the American people want us to do. It didn’t have to be this way.

Is this why we came here to serve, to trample on due process rights, to issue more subpoenas than laws, to appease the new Democrat-socialist base? That is not leadership. That is raw partisan politics, and they know it.

By refusing to acknowledge the truth or follow the facts by substituting partisan animosity for real demonstrations of innocence or guilt, and by continuing a 3-year effort to undermine the President, impeachment has divided this Nation without any concern for the repercussions. Moreover, politicizing this process has discredited the United States House of Representatives and could forever weaken the remaining checks and balances.

To again quote Professor Turley, it is the Democrats’ rush to impeachment on these grounds, with unfair procedures, that is an “abuse of power.” History will right that.

Madam Speaker, as I said at the beginning, we face a choice. Do you trust the wisdom of the people, or do you deny them a say in their government? Fortunately, the people will have the opportunity to speak up and render their verdict in 11 months.

To fellow Americans, if you approve of the way this House has conducted its business, if you want to see your tax dollars go forward to endless investigations, support this impeachment.

But if you want to restore a working Congress, as I did in previous Congress that listened to you and worked to bring the best economy this country has ever seen and one that, once again, will work with the President to get things done for you and your family, then join with us in rejecting this baseless impeachment.

That is what is wonderful about this system of ours. We are a government of, by, and for the people. Always remember, we work for you, not the other way around.

Now, I will say this stronger and with more conviction than I have ever said it before: In this time of great trial and tribulation, may God bless America.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Madam Speaker, after 8 hours, let us return to where we began, with the articles themselves.

Article I charges the President of the United States with abusing the power of his office by coercing an ally into cheating in a U.S. election on his behalf. It charges the President of the United States with abusing his power by withholding official acts; by withholding a White House meeting that the President of Ukraine desperately sought to establish the support of his most important benefactor, the United States; by withholding hundreds of millions of dollars of military aid to a nation at war in order to get that nation to play a role in our election by smearing his opponent. That is the gravamen of the charge in Article I.

And what is the defense from my colleagues? And I have listened carefully to my colleagues for the last 8 hours, and I have to say, it has been hard for me to follow. But I think, when you cut through it all, when you cut through all of the sound and the fury signifying nothing, what it really amounts to is this: To what end should we care? Why should we care about what the President did to Ukraine?

Well, first of all, we should care about our allies. We should care about Ukraine. We should care about a country struggling to be free in a democracy.

We used to care about democracy. We used to care about our allies. We used to stand up to Putin and Russia. We used to know the party of Ronald Reagan used to.

Why should we care about Ukraine? But, of course, it is about more than Ukraine. It is about us. It is about our national security.

Their fight is our fight. Their defense is our defense.

When Russia remakes the map of Europe for the first time since World War II by dint of military force and Ukraine fights back, it is our fight, too.

And when the President sacrificestheir interests, our national security for his election, he is sacrificing our country for his personal gain.

That is the gravamen of Article I. Article II charges the President of the United States with obstructing the Congress, with denying the Congress any witness, any document, by telling all of his administration people: You will not appear. You will ignore a co-equal branch of government.

And what is the defense to this from my colleagues again? It is: Why should we care? He is the President of our party. Why should we care if he ignores this Congress?

Well, I remind my friends that he will not be the last President. There will be another President, and you may be, one day—although you do not act like it—you may one day be in the majority, and you will want to hold a President accountable.

What will you say when that President says: “You are a paper tiger. You have no oversight. I can ignore your subpoenas”? What will you say? What will you argue? Will you say: “Well, no, no, that was different. Then we were in the minority. Then it was a Republican President.”

Will that be your argument? Is that how little faith you have in our democracy and our Constitution? Is that how poorly you defend and uphold our Constitution?

But, finally, let me ask this question that encompasses it all: Why should we care about any of this?

I will bring you to one conversation that came to light, because it is not the most important conversation, but, in many ways, it is the most revealing.

And in that abrupt, brutal retort, we see why we should care, because what he was saying is: You, America, have forgotten what it means to uphold the rule of law. You have forgotten what it means to say that no one is above the law. We are a struggling democracy, but even we know better than that.

What is at risk here is the very idea of America. That idea holds that we are a nation of laws, not of men. We are a nation that believes in the rule of law.

When we say we uphold the Constitution, we are not talking about a piece of parchment; we are talking about a beautiful architecture in which ambition is set against ambition, in which no branch of government can dominate another. That is what it means to uphold the Constitution.

If you ignore it, if you say the President may refuse to comply, may refuse lawful process, may coerce an ally, may cheat in an election because he is the President of our party, you do not uphold our Constitution. You do not uphold your oath of office.

Well, I will tell you this: I will uphold mine. I will vote to impeach Donald Trump.

Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. OMAR. Madam Speaker, on March 7, 1788, six months after the Constitution was signed at Independence Hall, Alexander Hamilton laid out in detail the standards for impeachment in the Federalist papers.

Impeachment should, quote ‘proceed from the misconduct of public men, or, in other words, from the abuse or violation of some public trust,’ Hamilton wrote.

Donald Trump has without question met these standards.

These words from our framers—they don’t only serve as guidance for people in this country.

They serve as guidance for people around the world wishing to build a sound system of government.

And they have allowed us in the United States of America, to stand for democracy and the rule of law around the world.
So as the world watches, captivated and bewildered by the lawlessness of our president, I hope they are also able to see the full functioning of our democracy as we hold him accountable.

With this impeachment vote, the world is able to see the fruits of our democracy and the glory of the checks and balances preserved in our Constitution.

Unlike the dictatorship that my family fled from, in a democracy, we don’t just vote. We get to impeach a lawless president.

Mr. Speaker, I speak in opposition to the unprecedented and unauthorized impeachment of the President of the United States.

Since the day after the 2016 election, many of my colleagues have vowed to impeach President Trump and have since spent more than two years searching for a reason to do it. Today, they have brought forward two articles of impeachment based on unfounded accusations of abuse of power and obstruction.

Despite a lack of evidence, an unfair process and no bipartisan support, my colleagues across the aisle have barreled toward impeachment, ignoring or delaying key priorities like the US-Canada-Mexico Agreement along the way.

This is a sad day and the fact remains that this effort seeks to overturn the 2016 election not based on evidence, but on a disdain for President Trump.

I will vote against the articles of impeachment before us because I think the American people deserve better from the House of Representatives.

So on behalf of hardworking Kansans in the Fourth District and Americans across our country, I call on my colleagues to vote against articles of impeachment and focus on priorities that matter like growing our economy, supporting our veterans and military, lowering prescription drug costs, and helping Americans prepare for jobs and retirement.

That’s what the American people sent us here to do and it’s time we got back to work and beyond this shameful impeachment.

Mr. JOHN W. ROSE of Tennessee. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this partisan impeachment spectacle that seeks to accomplish what President Trump’s opponents failed to do at the ballot box in 2016. The bedrock of this country is our Constitution. Article II of the United States Constitution grants our President the necessary authority to deal with other nations and their leaders.

This President was lawfully elected by the American people. When President Trump was sworn into office, he assumed the role of our nation’s Commander-in-Chief. And, as Commander-in-Chief, he has done absolutely nothing illegal. The impeachment votes today are a sad continuation of the efforts that have been underway since President Trump was elected.

The majority has wrongly denied President Trump the fair process that was afforded to President Clinton and President Nixon at every stage of this investigation. I am also profoundly disappointed that the House Judiciary Committee refused to hold a minority day hearing in compliance with Clause 2(j)(i) of Rule XI of the Rules of the House.

It should greatly concern all Americans that co-equal subpoena authority was not granted to the minority during this hyper-partisan process. Co-equal subpoena authority for both the minority and majority has been a bedrock of past impeachment investigations. I am disappointed that my resolution, H. Res. 667, which would have granted co-equal subpoena authority to the minority and majority, was not adopted.

Instead of working to combat rising prescription drug prices, securing our southern border, protecting religious freedom, and reining in out-of-control government spending, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle have been laser-focused on removing President Trump from office for purely political reasons.

I want to remind those who are leading the ridiculous waste of taxpayer resources that there will be another election in 2020. The next election is the avenue for deciding a new president, not this. Throughout the history of this country, impeachment has been a rare process. With today’s impeachment, I worry that in the next 230 years of our republic, it will be rare that a president is not impeached.

On behalf of my fellow Tennesseans, and on behalf of my constituents in the Sixth District of Tennessee, I stand with our President and Congress and will vote “no” on both articles of impeachment.

Mr. SHIMKUS. Madam Speaker, long before today’s votes were scheduled, my wife Karen and I made arrangements to visit our son Joshua in Tanzania where he’s serving in the Peace Corp. At the White House last week I informed President Trump that I would not be present for these votes, and he was supportive of me visiting my son. I told him I did not support his impeachment, and I have requested that this statement of my reasons for opposing both articles of impeachment be entered into the Congressional Record.

I’ve been to Ukraine twice this year. I was an observer of the second round of the Presidential election on April 21, 2019. I returned with a bipartisan Congressional delegation from September 28 thru October 5, 2019 right in the middle of this supposed controversy.

We met with many people. We met with our embassy leadership. We also met with the Ukrainian Foreign Minister and Minister of Defense. We had a chance to visit our soldiers who are helping in the training mission of the Ukrainian military. During that time, we met with the military leadership of both countries. Finally, we met with members of the Ukrainian parliament. During all these meetings no one mentioned a quid pro quo.

What I also know is this: The Trump Administration provided the long- overdue aid to Ukraine, including lethal Javelin anti-tank missiles, that had been authorized by Congress but withheld by the previous administration in their misguided efforts to appease Russia. Other aid was temporarily delayed this year following the election of a new president—a political outsider we knew little about.

The new president, Volodymyr Zelensky, also addressed this issue several times. He has rejected the accusation that any quid pro quo or obstruction was applied to him or the Ukrainian government. The aid was also released prior to the Ukrainian government being pulled into this political controversy. These observations convince me that the first article of impeachment, “abuse of power,” is not credible.

My experience in Congress, including during the impeachment of President Clinton, likewise convinces me the second article of impeach-ment, “obstruction of congress,” is not a credible charge.

Constant tension exists between our legislative and executive branches of government. Every president I’ve served with has said at one time or another he is empowered to do things he wishes to do and withhold that. When Congress disagrees, we have at times taken those questions of executive authority or privilege to our third branch of government: the courts. But the Democrats haven’t even given President Trump an opportunity to defend his executive privilege through the courts. We are de-manding that he just give up his constitutional powers under Article II.

I’m disappointed to miss these votes but not embarrassed. I’m embarrassed that they are even happening.

Mr. POSEY. Madam Speaker, I rise to oppose the articles of impeachment which have been produced by this flawed process, which was based on hearsay and testimony largely collected from a closed-door, one-sided investigation.

In fact, the only witness we heard from who had direct knowledge of the conversation in question, testified that President Trump did not want a quid pro quo and confirmed that the aid to Ukraine was released without the launching of any investigation that the President’s detractors say he was seeking.

The two articles of impeachment in the resolution—abuse of power and obstruction of Congress—are broad and cite no specific crimes that the President committed. The House Democrats are basing the entire impeachment on hearsay testimonies grounded on absolutely no evidence of a crime.

However, last week we had a look at some real wrongdoing. We found out from the Justice Department’s Inspector General that the investigation into whether President Trump colluded with the Russians was based on fraudulent information filed with the secret court. The FBI was found to have withheld exculpatory evidence and senior FBI leaders were found to have manipulated facts in order to support this false collusion narrative, justify their investigation and expand it. This happened on multiple occasions.

While the Mueller investigation found no collusion with the Ukrainian Member like House Impeachment Leader ADAM SCHIFF, knowingly promoted this falsehood and used similar tactics to engineer this impeachment inquiry. This is unacceptable.

For the above reason, I voted to censor Chairman ADAM SCHIFF and will vote against these articles of impeachment.

We know this impeachment is a sham. They know this impeachment is a sham. They know that we know it is a sham.

We know that this shameful impeachment began the moment the President was elected, long before he ever had a single telephone call with any foreign government. We’ve heard the numerous quotations by those on the other side that validate that fact. And, yet the other side persists in attempting to over-turn the results of the last election of President Donald J. Trump, because he dares to drain a swamp to which they are beholden.

When the President calls for an investigation of corruption, the other side calls it “digging for dirt.” When they dig for dirt, they call it an “investigation.”

This is a sad day for America. This impeachment is the worst case of partisan politics in the history of our Republic.
Mr. BISHOP of Georgia. Madam Speaker, there is no joy for me in the impeachment process, because I know the nature of impeachment is polarizing. Unfortunately, based on his own words, conduct, and the evidence from credible witnesses, there is no other option but to impeach.

The first article alleges the President abused the power of his office for personal gain. He withheld military aid and an Oval Office meeting from a foreign government unless they gave him dirt he could use against his likely future challenger to help his own re-election bid. The President admitted he did this. This conversation was in the transcript the White House released. Two State Department officials' texts and phone calls confirmed the transcript and the President's own words.

The second article alleges the President obstructed Congress by refusing to comply with the lawful requests made by Congress in the impeachment inquiry. President Trump repeatedly instructed government officials and agencies not to cooperate and spurn subpoenas. In the history of our country, that has never happened. No President or Administration facing impeachment has ever categorically denied subpoenas and refused requests for documents, until President Trump. The President and his Chief of Staff have admitted they did it and told us “we do that all the time, get over it.” We must not get over it. We must not let the abnormal become the normal. We cannot allow this President to “do whatever he wants” if it violates the Constitution and laws of the United States.

To not impeach would say to future presidents they can disregard the Constitutional authority given to Congress. To not impeach would say to the American people that America’s presidency is for sale. To not impeach would tell future presidents they too can try to rig an election in their favor instead of letting voters decide. To not impeach would say our President is above the law. The President and Members of Congress take an oath to the Constitution. The President violated his oath, but I will not violate mine.

Mr. McCaul. Madam Speaker, for the first time in history, the House is moving to impeach a duly-elected president without asserting a connection between his actions and his policies. The Democrats are charging President Trump with a vague “abuse of power” for allegedly conditioning U.S. security assistance to Ukraine on an investigation into an energy company.

This deeply flawed inquiry did not produce clear evidence or bipartisan support. At a minimum, one would expect bipartisan support for such an extraordinary measure.

As a former federal prosecutor with the Public Integrity Section of the Department of Justice, I made inquiry with foreign officials and standards I would have applied to any case I handled during that time. During six weeks of depositions, I listened diligently and sought out relevant facts. But the Majority, driven by a political timeline, insisted on a rush to judgment. As a former government attorney, I have never seen a case handled in such a manner. Instead of interviewing multiple people with firsthand knowledge, they settled for speculation and innuendo.

Ultimately, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle failed to prove the President tied U.S. aid to a political investigation. Here’s what we learned instead:

The President placed a temporary hold on U.S. security assistance in mid-July and released it September 11 without Ukraine ever announcing an investigation. Multiple witnesses provided testimony that the pause was due to the President’s long-standing concerns about corruption in Ukraine. It took for firsthand accounts from administration officials, such as Vice President Mike Pence, to see the sincerity of Ukraine’s new President Volodymyr Zelensky. He campaigned as an anti-corruption reformer and made historic progress after his party took over the Ukrainian parliament in August.

The Democrats are now arguing we have no proof the President tied aid to an investigation. Adam Schiff, the Chairman of the Intelligence Committee, admitted only one person talked to the President about the aid—and that person was the only one who talked to the President about the aid—is Ambassador Gordon Sondland. When pressed, Sondland admitted he never knew why the aid was delayed. Neither President Trump, nor anyone else, ever told him that aid was tied to investigations, and any opinion he expressed to others about such a connection was only him “speculating.”

President Zelensky and his senior advisor Andriy Yermak, the key Ukrainians in the story that our witnesses hope and strongly denied they were ever pressured or given any sense that the temporary hold was connected to investigation requests. Indeed, they were not even aware of the hold until it was publicly reported in the press.

History was made in impeachment proceedings. This holds for the rush to impeach President Trump without direct evidence, in defiance of historic precedent and as a one-sided political probe. The “investigation” was held in the most secret room in the Capitol. Depositions occurred on days lawmakers were out of town. The Minority was not allowed to bring executive branch lawyers to defend themselves during depositions.

This contrasts with previous impeachment inquiries, where Presidents Nixon and Clinton could have administration attorneys attend all depositions and hearings, ask questions, make objections, present evidence, and request that their rights were denied in this inquiry, as this impeachment process was weaponized for political gain.

Opposing impeachment does not mean embracing every decision made by the administration in this case. I strongly disagreed with the hold the President put on aid while the House had appropriated for Ukraine and wrote an urgent letter with the gentleman from New York, Chairman Eliot Engel, a week before the aid was released. Then and now, I believe that unwavering support for Ukraine to counter Russian malign influence is a vital component of U.S. national security.

But the truth is, Democrats began their three-year effort to impeach the President the day he was sworn into office. In fact, 104 of my Democratic colleagues voted for impeachment before the phone call between President Trump and Ukrainian President Zelensky ever took place.

Our constitutional order demands far more than this to remove a duly-elected President. There’s a vast difference between voting for impeachment—of a duly-elected president—and impeaching the President of the United States. In other words, I believe it is the President’s duty to defend the Constitution and the President is the one to be impeached.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, the U.S. Constitution is clear and unambiguous—impeachment of any president is permitted only for treason, bribery, high crimes and misdemeanors.

Undoing the will of the people expressed in a free and fair election with the proposed articles of impeachment, totally fails to meet the legal standard prescribed by the U.S. Constitution. Despite hearings and a process that were egregiously flawed and unfair, there is still no direct evidence whatsoever of any crime.

Disagreement with or intense dislike for this or any other president of the United States is not now—nor should it ever be—grounds for impeachment.

Mr. HORSFORD. Madam Speaker, when I made the decision to return to Congress, I did so with a clear understanding of how important this moment is for our country and the democracy of our nation. My desire to serve has always been to help people who deserve an effective voice fighting for them. I did not come to Congress to impeach a president. Despite the ongoing inquiry, I’ve remained laser-focused on the issues that I hear from my constituents most often—access to affordable health care, lowering the cost of prescription drug prices, passing commonsense gun reforms that will make our communities safer, and addressing income inequality in all of its forms.

My role as the Representative for Nevada’s Fourth Congressional District also includes faithfully preserving and upholding our Constitution and the systems of checks and balances that undergird our federal government. Our Constitution clearly lays out Congress’ role in protecting our democratic institutions and the delicate balance that exists within it. Today, the House of Representatives is voting to uphold this solemn responsibility to hold President Trump accountable.

In an effort to fulfill my obligation to uphold our Constitution and the rule of law, I have paid careful attention to the investigations of the impeachment inquiry in the House of Representatives. The Committees of jurisdiction and witnesses have brought forward evidence uncovering the truth of President Trump’s July phone call and subsequent inappropriate behavior toward President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine.

It has become apparent that President Trump is a continuing threat to our democracy and danger to our national security. He abused the power of his office for personal and political gain at the expense of our national security; he conditioned official acts—including the release of U.S. security assistance to Ukraine—with violating his oath of office by obstructing justice and directing defiance of subpoenas issued by the House as part of its impeachment inquiry. This is no longer a question of facts, it is a question of duty—my duty to this country, our Constitution, and my oath of office to uphold that Constitution and protect our democracy.

This decision took careful thought and consideration. When I made my oath of office, I
Almost 14,000 people have been killed since Russia invaded Ukraine. Withholding $400 million Congress appropriated to help Ukraine defend herself unless Ukraine helped the President dig up dirt on his political rival Joe Biden was the last straw for me. People’s lives are at risk. This was more than paying hush money for strippers, profiting from foreign governments staying at resort properties, or even obstructing justice as laid out in the Mueller Report.

The Founders fought and died for freedom and independence from a tyrannical ruler and foreign government. Impeachment and removal from office was the remedy they included in the Constitution to act as a check on a President who placed himself above the law, abused his power for his own personal benefit, and invited foreign governments to get involved in our domestic affairs, especially our elections. A President who flouts the separation of powers and checks and balances in our Constitution and who refuses to allow witnesses to appear before the House to receive our Founders’ universal condemnation. Treating taxpayer money as his own to exert a “favor” from a foreign government to aid him in his re-election goes to the very heart of concerns raised by our Nation’s Founders. Impeachment and removal is the instrument to act as a check on the awesome powers of the chief executive. For instance, Madison said in Federalist No. 47, “the accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive and judiciary, in the same hands . . . may justly be pronounced the very thing for which our system was formed to prevent.” He went on to say during the Constitutional Convention, “the Executive will have great opportunities of abusing his power,” and further that a President “might betray his trust to foreign powers.” George Washington’s Farewell Address warned of “foreign influence and corruption” which leads to the “policy and will” of America being “subjected to the policy and will of another.” Alexander Hamilton wrote in Federalist No. 65 that impeachment “proceeds from the misconduct of public men . . . from the abuse or usurpation of power.” The USA Today editorial board stated it perfectly when they wrote in their December 12, 2019 editorial:

In his thuggish effort to trade American arms for foreign dirt on former vice president Joe Biden and his son Hunter, Trump resembles not so much Clinton as he does Richard Nixon, another corrupt president who tried to cheat his way to re-election . . . This isn’t party politics as usual. It is precisely the misconduct the Framers had in mind when they wrote impeachment into the Constitution.

Impeachment is the remedy the Founders placed in the Constitution to remove a President during his or her term of office. This is especially true when the misconduct involves an upcoming election. The President invited foreign participation in our elections at least three times. First with, “Russia, if you’re listening” and demands on Ukraine to “do us a favor, though,” and third with his request for China to get involved in the 2020 election by starting “an investigation into the Bidens.” Any further delay or simply allowing the election cycle to run its course results in the immediate abuse impeachment was designed to prevent.

For the sake of the Constitution, fair elections free of foreign interference, and our national security, President Trump should be impeached.

Ms. WILSON of Florida. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of the impeachment of Donald J. Trump. This is not a joyous moment. Impeachment ought to be an act that is momentous and rare. My concern today is one of those rare occasions because this President’s abuse of power strikes at the very heart of our republic.

I was initially one of the holdouts on impeachment, preferring first to see a strong, defendable case that Donald Trump had abused the power of his office before endorsing such a serious step. When it became clear that President Trump abused the power of his office by attempting to extort the Ukraine government by withholding military aid in exchange for a political investigation, our only choice was to move forward on impeachment. Mr. Trump attempted to use the power of the Presidency to subvert democracy itself.

My Republican friends argue, in part, that no crime was committed because Mr. Trump could not be criminally charged when he asked to criminally investigate the political rival of the most powerful man in the world. I agree in part. These crimes were not committed against Mr. Zelensky. Donald Trump believes that the power of the Presidency is his personal tool to coerce the weak to do his bidding. If it had not been Mr. Zelensky, it would have been some other poor fellow compromised by need or greed. These crimes were committed against the Republic and the American people who belong to it. And the power of impeachment was given to this body in order to save us from small men entrusted with great power. In 1787, Benjamin Franklin was asked this simple question: “What have we, a republic or a monarchy?” I hope that my colleagues will answer as Mr. Franklin did: “A republic, if we can keep it.” I will vote yes to impeach the President of the United States. I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. GARCIA of Illinois. Madam Speaker, I rise today to express my support for the impeachment of Donald J. Trump.

Today’s vote to impeach the President is sobering. While I have deep disagreements with President Trump on immigration, health care, climate change and other policy areas, I did not come to Washington to impeach the President. I came to represent the voices of my constituents and I take my duty very seriously.

The facts tell a disturbing yet highly consistent story. The President’s misdeeds have been verified by an immense body of evidence and the testimony of dozens of witnesses—including civil servants and constitutional scholars. For the highest call, this President abused his power to bribe another country for his own personal and political gain. This is wrong.

I voted to impeach President Trump to do right by my constituents, the future of our democracy, and to uphold the rule of law and my oath to defend the Constitution. The facts are clear. The President obstructed Congressional investigations by instructing his accomplices to ignore compulsory calls to testify before Congress. No matter how he tries to spin it, President Trump violated the Constitution and must be held accountable. House Democrats and Senate Republicans are going along with the President’s lies and attempts to cover up his actions.
No one is above the law, not even the President.

Donald Trump indisputably violated the Constitution and is, without a shadow of a doubt, no longer fit to discharge the duties of the President of the United States of America. I urge my colleagues to support these articles of impeachment.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Madam Speaker, this year, our nation finds itself in the midst of historic turmoil. President Donald J. Trump’s defiance of the Constitution and disregard for the rule of law have given Congress no other choice but to proceed with impeachment. The President has brought this on himself through his actions. As instructed by H. Res. 660, on November 19, 2019, the House Permanent Select Intelligence Committee began conducting open public hearings to ensure the American people were able to hear directly from witnesses as the committee collects and examines evidence in a fair and professional manner. This was followed by public hearings in the House Committee on the Judiciary, which allowed for an examination of the constitutional grounds for impeachment and an airing of evidence against the President.

After weeks of depositions, public hearings and a thorough review of evidence, the House Judiciary Committee concluded that President Trump violated the oath of office on December 11th, 2019, in H. Res. 755, which set forth two articles of impeachment: Abuse of Power and Obstruction of Congress.

As the House today deliberates and decides on these articles, it is important to lay the full scope of the President’s misconduct before the American people.

My constituent and authentic American leader, Ralph Nader, a consumer advocate, renowned attorney, author, and a respected voice in American politics and good governance, has partnered with constitutional scholars, Bruce Fein and Louis Fisher, to assess the President’s misconduct and whether it meets the Constitutional standard for “... Bribery, or other High Crimes and Misdemeanors.”

Inclusion in the Record his thinking and those of others in our nation, in the hopes that it will help the public further understand the significance of this vote.

ARTICLE OF IMPEACHMENT
(By Ralph Nader, Bruce Fein, and Louis Fisher)

Resolved, That Donald J. Trump, President of the United States, is impeached for bribery and high crimes and misdemeanors in violation of his constitutional oath of office and that the following article of impeachment be exhibited to the Senate:

Article of Impeachment Exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States of America and of All the People of the United States of America, Against Donald J. Trump, President of the United States of America, in Maintenance and Support of Its Impeachment Against Him for Bribery and High Crimes and Misdemeanors in Violation of his Constitutional Oath of Office To Preserve, Protect and Defend the Constitution of the United States.

ARTICLE
In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Donald J. Trump, in violation of his constitutional duty faithfully to execute the laws of the United States of America, and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, Article 1, section 1, clause 6, and, contrary to his public trust, has systematically soiled the letter and spirit of the Constitution on a scale vastly greater and more egregious than that of any other President of the White House in doing the following:

1. CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS. President Trump has stated, “Then I have Article II, where I have the right to do whatever I want as President.” He has chronically acted in violation of the Constitution accordingly.

The informing or oversight powers of Congress are even more important than its legislative prerogatives. The United States Supreme Court has affirmed the plenary authority of Congress to investigate the executive branch for abuses, irregularities, illegality or the need for new laws. As the Supreme Court fa- mously lectured, sunshine is said to be the best of disinfectants; electric light the most efficient policeman. The House Judiciary Committee voted an article of impeachment against President Richard M. Nixon for defying a congressional subpoena that compromised the ability of Congress to investigate impeachable misconduct.

President Trump has repeatedly and unconstitutionally systematically undermined the congressional power of inquiry by the ongoing congressional impeachment inquiry of the President himself, by instructing numerous current and former White House staff and the Executive branch to defy congressional subpoenas on an unprecedented scale far beyond any previous President. Without congressional authority, he has secretly deployed special forces abroad and employed secret guidelines for targeted killings, including American citizens, based on secret un-substantiated information. He also illegally endeavored to block private persons or entities from responding to congressional requests or subpoenas for information, e.g., Deutsche Bank. He has refused to disclose his tax returns to the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee contrary to a 1924 law, 26 U.S.C. 6103(f).

The informing or oversight powers of Congress are even more important than its legislative prerogatives. The United States Supreme Court has repeatedly affirmed the plenary authority of Congress to investigate the executive branch for abuses, irregularities, illegality or the need for new laws. Transparency, not secrecy, is the coin of the realm.

Congress possesses plenary authority independent of the President to determine whether presidential defalcation or obstruction of a congressional subpoena warrants impeachment for destroying the rule of law in the executive branch. A court order is unnecessary. Under the Constitution, the Supreme Court held impeachment questions are assigned to the House and Senate to the exclusion of federal courts in Nixon v. United States, 506 U.S. 224 (1993).

2. ABUSE OF THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT AND ABUSE OF PUBLIC TRUST. President Abraham Lincoln famously declared that, “A house divided against itself cannot stand.” The nation’s motto is E Pluribus Unum. President Trump, however, has professed a divisive, bitter and rancor among “We the people of the United States” by inciting violence and threatening civil war if removed from office. He has regularly exhibited presidential lies as routine as the rising and setting of the sun, confounding civil discourse, truth and public trust. He has disregarded, belittled, and serially preyed upon women, mocked the disabled, incited violence against the mainstream media and critics, encouraged and engaged in a war on minorities and minority Members of Congress, including intercession with Israel in serious violation of the Speech or Debate Clause, Article I, section 9, clause 1, to deny two Members visit visas.

Mr. Trump has failed to superintend or check the chronic lawlessness of his subordinates, dereliction and James Madison characterized as an impeachable offense. In the very first Congress, Mr. Madison explained, “I think it absolutely necessary that the House should have the power of removing his subordinates from office; it will make him a proper and useful efficient policeman. The House Judiciary Committee concluded that President Richard M. Nixon for defying a congressional subpoena that compromised the ability of Congress to investigate impeachable misconduct.

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He has compromised the national interest to enrich family wealth on a scale unprecedented in the history of the presidency.

6. DECLARE WAR CLAUSE. Article I, section 8, clause 11 empowers Congress alone to take the nation into a state of public war with any nation at war with the United States. The President alone is not the United States, so the President cannot declare war on behalf of the United States. President Trump has also systematically undermined the separation of powers by allowing executive branch agencies to make decisions on their own, thereby allowing the President to evade the constitutional requirement for Senate approval of war declaration.

7. TAKE CARE CLAUSE: PRESENTMENT CLAUSE. Article II, section 3 obligates the President to “take care that the laws be faithfully executed.” In violation of that trust, President Donald J. Trump has repeatedly appointed principal officers of the United States, including the National Security Advisor and Cabinet officials, who have not been confirmed by the Senate. This has led to the impeachment of Donald J. Trump.

8. APPOINTMENTS CLAUSE. President Trump has repeatedly appointed principal officers of the United States, including the National Security Advisor and Cabinet officials, who have not been confirmed by the Senate. This has led to the impeachment of Donald J. Trump.

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10. SOLICITING A FOREIGN CONTRIBUTION FOR THE 2020 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND BRIEFERY. President Trump has repeatedly solicited foreign assistance to corrupt the 2020 presidential campaign by offering the President of Ukraine to contribute something of value to diminish the popularity of potential rival Joe Biden. President Trump also obstructed a coequal branch of government from performing its Constitutional responsibilities of oversight and review.

11. VIOLATING CITIZEN PRIVACY. The Fourth Amendment protects the right to be let alone from government snooping, the most cherished right among civilized people as Justice Brandeis elaborated in his dissent in 1928. President Trump has aggressively expanded the scope of permissible government surveillance and information collection, leading to the arrest of political opponents, the issuance of warrants on journalists, and the leak of classified information.

12. SUPPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH. The major purpose of a free press protected by the First Amendment is to prevent government lies or illegalities—to shine light on the dark side. Justice Hugo Black elaborated in New York Times v. United States (1971) that news organizations are “judges, jury, and executioner to kill Americans, and even Americans, with impunity.” The President's obstruction of the constitutional responsibility to publish the classified Pentagon Papers from suppression:

“The Government’s power to censor the press must at all times work by a process of accretion and extinction: equality between the press and the Government will remain forever more censurable to the Government. The press was protected so that it could tell the people about what was done by those entrusted with responsibility to act in their behalf, and it was protected so that it could prevent any part of the government from deceiving the people and sending them off to distant lands to die of foreign fevers and foreign epidemics.”

President Trump is violating the First Amendment in stretching the Espionage Act to prosecute publication of leaked classified information that are instrumental to exposing government lies and deterring government wrongdoing or misadventures, including the outstanding indictment against President Trump, which was rebuked by the New York Times and The Washington Post with impugning the United States Supreme Court upheld the First Amendment rights of the New York Times v. The Washington Post to publish the classified Pentagon Papers, which accelerated the conclusion of the disastrous Vietnam War, in New York Times v. United States.

In all of this, Donald J. Trump, since the day of his inauguration, has conducted the office of the President contrary to his oath of office to destroy constitutional government to the great prejudice of the cause of justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore Donald J. Trump warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Madam Speaker, as we vote today, I think it is instructive that Americans reflect on how we got to this point. The impeachment against President Donald J. Trump has largely been brought on by the President himself.

The President took two specific actions: he directly solicited a foreign government to gather opposing information on his political opponent. He then further sought to promote a false narrative that it was Ukraine, and not Russia, who interfered with the elections in 2016. With the ability to correct the record, clear his name, or offer explanation for his actions, he chose instead to obstruct a coequal branch of government from performing its Constitutional responsibilities of oversight and review. He did this by refusing testimony, ignoring Congressional subpoenas, and not providing Congress with any pertinent information or data.

Today we’re putting Russia and other adversaries on notice, don’t interfere with our elections. Russia tried to divide this country in 2016, but they only succeeded if America turns away from the rule of law. Some Republicans have excused the President’s behavior by saying, “Donald Trump isn’t a politician, he’s a businessman. This is Trump being Trump, this is how he’s used to doing business.”

That very well may be true, but in a constitutional democracy, no one, including Donald Trump, is above the law.

I realize there are people who feel strongly and differently than I do, but to do nothing, to
take no vote, is in essence condoning this behavior that disregards our Constitution. Republicans may see today differently, but as we look forward, we must stand united as a Congress in defending our democracy.

For a democracy to work in a system of check and balances, no one is above the law. The President takes an oath of allegiance to the United States Constitution; there are no exceptions for the art of the deal.

Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Madam Speaker, there is quite a few comments from the other side about how this is partisan, and this is an attack, and we're coming after Donald Trump.

I don't like this President. I don't like his values, or his decision making, nor his policies or the words he chooses to use. But these articles are not about a man. They are about the ACTIONS of a man. They are about the ways in which someone elected to the highest office in this country abused that office, and violated the basic tenets of the constitutional balance of power.

I don't want him to serve two terms, but this is about that. This is about holding the President of the United States, whoever he may be, to the standards and expectations of that office.

I say that genuinely. I would take this same vote for any President who abused his office in that way. And any member of this body who fails to understand what this vote really means—making clear what we expect of the OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, not the person sitting in it—is deeply and horribly mistaken.

Anyone who fights for democratic values, who values the balance of power, who wants to ensure the underpinnings of the greatest democracy in the world remain strong for generations to come, will support these articles of impeachment as I intend to do.

Mr. RUIZ. Madam Speaker, as a citizen of the United States of America, the greatest experiment in democracy that our world has ever known, as the duly elected U.S. House Representative of my home communities of the Coachella Valley, San Gorgonio Pass, and the San Jacinto Pass in California's 36th Congressional District, and as the father to two young daughters growing up in this great nation, I rise today in support of impeaching the President of the United States, Donald J. Trump.

By conditioning $391 million in military aid to a foreign ally on an investigation into his political rival, Donald Trump abused the power of the presidency for personal political gain. He then obstructed Congress in its constitutionally mandated oversight role. In doing so, President Trump violated our Constitution, compromised our national security, and undermined the integrity of our democratic process.

This was a principled decision made with great reverence for the Constitution, in the basic tenets of the constitutional balance of power.

I was compelled by the overwhelming evidence and the sacred oath I took to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution—and by nature, our very democracy.

When President Franklin was leaving Independence Hall at the close of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, he was asked whether America would be a republic or a monarchy, and his response was, "A republic, if you can keep it.

By voting in favor of impeachment today, I am voting to keep it.

Benjamin Franklin and the Founding Fathers envisioned the tragic scenario we are witnessing at this moment in history: The President of the United States abusing the power of the office with a foreign country for personal political gain.

They gave us a constitutional remedy.

History must reflect that "what someone heard from another person sitting in it—is deeply and horribly mistaken.

But, I swore an oath to protect our country and our Constitution. I was compelled by the overwhelming evidence and the sacred oath I took to preserve, protect, and defend it. I need you people who will protect and defend it.

It is important for me, for my daughters, Sky and Sage, for my grandchildren, my great grandchildren, and future generations; it is important for future leaders, future Congresses, and for the historical record; it is important for the ideals of the Constitution and the core of our Republic that I solemnly cast my vote today in favor of impeaching President Donald J. Trump.

Ms. JOHNSON of Texas. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of H. Res. 755, a resolution impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors. Today is indeed a solemn day for the United States of America.

The two Articles of Impeachment, as written and passed by the House Judiciary Committee, outline the findings of the investigations done by several committees of jurisdiction, charged with the constitutionally-mandated task of determining the truth of the facts.

The truth is the President abused his power of office by obstructing the impeachment inquiry; solicited the interference of the Ukrainian Government in the 2020 U.S. presidential election in an attempt to undermine our elections; and posed a threat to national security for political gain.

Madam Speaker, I have listened to and spoken with my constituents in my district and throughout the state of Texas. The corrupt pattern of evidence is overwhelming. There are indisputable facts in H. Res. 755, a resolution impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Mr. CARTER of Texas. Madam Speaker, it is a fundamental ideal of our republic that every American receives justice under the law. As a Member of this body, we are required to uphold that ideal, and as a former judge, I was tasked with the same responsibility. What I have seen throughout this impeachment process is far from justice.

In fact, this President has lacked impartiality, respect for the United States Constitution, and fairness. When I was on the bench, I instructed every jury the same way. I told them that "what someone heard from another source other than what they directly observed is not evidence." Rumors and hearsay are not evidence under our laws, and it certainly shouldn't qualify as evidence in this chamber.

The evidence presented by the Majority in this case is entirely hearsay and therefore, should be inadmissible. In fact, the only direct evidence presented to this body is the transcript of President Trump's telephone call with the Ukrainian President.

The Constitution is clear—treason, bribery, high crimes and misdemeanors are impeachable offenses, and the evidence presented does not meet those standards. Impeachment is one of the most serious acts that Congress will undertake. It is not to be taken lightly or to be used as a political weapon against those you disagree with, but unfortunately, that is where we find ourselves today. For that reason, I am not supposing of impeachment, and I also ask my colleagues to reflect on one thing: in light of what you have observed about the process used to charge the President, are we upholding justice?

I think not. Ms. DELAURO. Madam Speaker, I rise to discuss an issue of solemn, national importance. The impeachment of a president of the United States is not a step we take lightly, nor with anything but the seriousness it demands.

But, we take it, because it is our duty to uphold our oath of office, the Constitution, and the trust that our constituents and the American people place in us. That is why I am voting for the articles of impeachment.

President Donald Trump's actions are a dangerous departure from his oath of office duty to uphold the Constitution. As with many of my colleagues, I was reluctant to call for impeachment because I feared it would further divide our country, be perceived as overturning the 2016 election, and go to the United States Senate where Republicans would acquit President Trump of the evidence. But the President's uncheckered actions gave the Congress no other choice.

Today, the House of Representatives is upholding its duty to protect the Constitution of the United States. Our founders set up a system of checks and balances to ensure that no one is above the law.

The Constitution for "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors" is clear: impeachment. It is a heavy price—intended only for matters of grave consequence to our republic. President Trump's actions meet that high bar, and that is why I am voting in favor of the articles of impeachment.

The facts of the case against President Trump are indisputable. In 2019, President Trump called Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky and asked him to "look into" 2020 Presidential candidate Vice President Joe Biden and his son—an investigation solely for his own personal and political gain.

In the weeks leading up to that call, the President withheld Congressionally-appropriated foreign aid to Ukraine, as well as a meeting between the two countries' presidents in the White House, as leverage. The President's abuse of power has been corroborated before the Congress by brave public servants over the past few months.

Facing a Congressional investigation into these matters, President Trump "directed the unprecedented, categorical, and indiscriminate defiance of subpoenas issued by the House of Representatives pursuant to its 'sole Power of Investigation.'" In doing so, President Trump obstructed Congress' Constitutionally-authorized investigation.

So, today, I will vote to uphold my responsibility, outlined in the oath I have taken and the Constitution. I will vote for the articles of impeachment.

Mr. PANETTA. Madam Speaker, I did not come to Congress to impeach the President. But, I swore an oath to protect our country.
and defend the constitution. That is why, today, I will vote to approve two articles of impeachment against this President for abuse of power and obstruction of Congress.

In order to arrive at that solemn and somber conclusion, I used many of the same skills that I applied as a former federal prosecutor. The President then repeatedly ignored and refused to cooperate with the numerous requests and subpoenas of the investigation by Congress. Moreover, the President proudly admitted this conduct and refuses to acknowledge that he did anything wrong.

I do not take pride in impeaching a sitting president of the United States. But as the U.S. Representative for the central coast of California, I am upholding my obligation under the United States Constitution and to protect the future of our democracy. The impeachment of the President and his upcoming trial in the U.S. Senate will not stop us from getting things done. As I have proven during my limited time in Congress, I will continue to work on and pass legislation that reforms our immigration laws, especially for Dreamers, the children of refugees. Curbing red tape promotes agriculture, combats the effects of climate change, improves our health care system, lowers prescription drug prices, changes the tax code to help the middle class and small businesses, defends equal rights, and protects our values and way of life on the Central Coast.

Mr. GOLDER. Madam Speaker, when I took the oath of office in January, I entered Congress prepared to work with President Trump whenever possible and to stand up to him whenever necessary. In my first year, I have ranked among the top five of 235 House Democrats in voting with the president. In a deeply divided and partisan Congress, the opportunities for agreement have often felt limited, but I have sought in good faith to work with him as best I can.

Since January, I have received many phone calls and letters from constituents calling upon me to support efforts to impeach the president for a wide range of reasons. I have resisted those efforts and maintained that the impeachment of the President of the United States must be considered as a last resort, reserved only for the most serious crimes and constitutional abuses.

Earlier this year, upon the conclusion of Special Counsel Robert Mueller's investigation, I determined that there was no evidence that the president committed an impeachable offense, and as a result I opposed calls for his impeachment. In my view, the Special Counsel's report identified a pattern of conduct beneath the office of the presidency, specifically: poor judgment, efforts to exert undue influence over an investigation, and attempts to obstruct justice. However, in reviewing the available facts, I did not find sufficient information to support impeachment principally because the Special Counsel did not find adequate evidence that the president or his campaign team were involved in a conspiracy to collude or coordinate with Russian efforts to interfere with U.S. elections. It was my personal judgment that the president's efforts to impede the investigation did not meet the threshold for launching impeachment proceedings.

What mattered most in my assessment of the Special Counsel's report was whether or not the Trump campaign coordinated with Russia to interfere in our elections—actions that, by clear red line, crossed a clear red line. This concern was rooted in the history of our nation, for there is no doubt that the Founders were fearful of foreign influence in our domestic affairs. In Federalist No. 68, Alexander Hamilton wrote:

"Nothing was more to be desired than that every practicable obstacle should be opposed to cabal, intrigue, and corruption. These most deadly adversaries of republican government might naturally have been expected to make their approaches from more than one quarter, but chiefly from the desire in foreign powers to gain an improper ascendant in our councils [emphasis added]. How could they better gratify this, than by raising a creature of their own to the chief magistracy of the Union?"

Our Framers also understood that impeachment matters touch to the very core of American elections. During the Constitutional Convention, James Madison argued that waiting for an election to vote a president out of office might not be a sufficient safeguard, because the president "might betray his trust to foreign powers." Similarly, in debating the need to include the impeachment clause in the Constitution, the Framers conceived of how a president might abuse his power in order to win an election. George Mason asked the Constitutional Convention, "Shall the man who has practiced corruption, and by that means procured the confidence of the people, be suffered to escape punishment by repeating his guilt?"

I have argued previously that to the extent that my constituents consider the president's actions, most of them believe that the future of our country's leadership and direction should be determined at the ballot box in 2020. I continue to believe that sentiment, but in order for my constituents to voice their opinions on the direction of the country, the security of the 2020 presidential election must be guaranteed, and for this reason, I will vote for a Senate trial. While I believe it is reasonable to conclude there is sufficient evidence to support the other charges in Article I and justify sending an indictment to the Senate for trial, I also regret that the House did not package the charge regarding the military aid as a separate article, rather than combining it with the president's direct solicitation of a foreign investigation into his political rival.

I have advocated for this change to Article I to House leadership, in part because I believe a trial of the president would provide an opportunity for the Senate and among the general public. Why exactly the Trump Administration withheld military aid from Ukraine is a question on which reasonable minds—looking at the same set of facts—may reach different conclusions. But there is no such room for disagreement on one stark fact: the President of the United States asked a foreign government to aid in his reelection by soliciting an investigation of his political opponent based upon trumped-up charges. Our Founders feared exactly this situation, a president willing to illegitimately wield the powers of his office in order to secure his reelection. As North Carolina's William Davie remarked at the 1787 Constitutional Convention, "If he be...
not impeachable whilst in office, he will spare no efforts or means whatever to get himself reelected.”

Article II of the resolution presents a separate charge, that the president “without lawful cause or excuse,” obstructed the congressional inquiries. While I do not dispute that the White House has been provocative in its defiance and sweeping in its claims of executive privilege, I also believe there are legitimate and unresolved constitutional questions about the limits of executive privilege, and that before pursuing impeachment for this charge, the House has an obligation to exhaust all other available options.

It is important to note that the House has not attempted to enforce subpoenas for key witnesses to the charges before the president, including those issued to Mick Mulvaney, John Eisenberg, and Russell Vought. The House has also failed to issue subpoenas to other key witnesses, like John Bolton and Rick Perry. In fact, because of a political decision to wrap up impeachment proceedings as quickly as possible, the House recently withdrew a subpoena for Charles Kupperman, a senior aide to John Bolton, and House counsel asked a federal court to dismiss a lawsuit that would clarify Mr. Kupperman’s obligation to testify.

At the heart of this matter is a debate about the limits of the president’s executive privilege, especially in the face of subpoenas issued by congressional committees conducting an impeachment inquiry. Professor Black has argued that executive privilege has a stronger claim in the earlier stages of the impeachment process, but that by the time of a Senate trial, it should be clearer what specific information is necessary for Congress to conclude its proceedings.

I believe the House must exercise as much restraint as possible in order to avoid setting a dangerous precedent for the future. On the one hand, each of the two political parties has an interest in protecting the executive privilege of the White House; there are some communications that should remain confidential, or at the very least not be released publicly in our national security. On the other hand, the White House has made broad and in my view excessive claims regarding executive privilege, declaring as early as April of this year that it would contest “all the subpoenas” and arguing that Congress is powerless to force the White House to comply.

This tension is precisely why our system of government provides for a forum in which disputes between the executive and the legislature over the scope of their respective privileges can be resolved. That forum is the judicial branch. The House can—and in other contexts has—gone to the courts to enforce committee subpoenas. Before wielding our awesome power to impeach a sitting president, we first ought to exhaust available judicial remedies, or—at the very least—give the courts a chance. If the president were to defy a court order to produce documents or to testify, that would clarify Mr. Kupperman’s obligation to testify.

December 18, 2019

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

Mr. HAGEDORN. Madam Speaker, many members of this body have publicly voiced support for impeachment since before this President was sworn into office—some even skipping the Inauguration, a time-honored American tradition, because they viewed him as an illegitimate President. For a significant number of my colleagues, this will not be the first—and possibly not even the last time they vote to impeach President Trump. Several have openly admitted they are concerned if they don’t vote to impeach the President, he will be reelected.

Even the highest-ranking member of this body publicly stated that this process has been two and a half years in the making. The Speaker admitted this just months after she told the American people that impeachment would need to be compelling, overwhelming and bipartisan. Yet, the only thing bipartisan about this impeachment is the opposition to it. Here are the facts:

The President and President Zelensky say there was no pressure.

The call transcript shows no conditionality—or “quid pro quo”—between aid and an investigation.

The initial Ukrainians were not aware that aid was withheld when Trump and Zelensky spoke. Ukraine did not open an investigation, and still received aid and a meeting with President Trump.
The sad truth is that this has been an overtly political process from the very beginning, and an unwarranted attempt to remove our duly elected President from office. I will vote “no” and I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to vote against this divisive impeachment.

I include in the Record a letter from President Trump to Speaker Pelosi:


Hon. Nancy Pelosi,
Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.:

DEAR MADAM SPEAKER: I write to express my strongest and most powerful protest against this impeachment drive being pursued by the Democrats in the House of Representatives. This impeachment represents an unprecedented and unconstitutional abuse of power by Democrat Lawmakers, unequaled in nearly two and a half centuries of American legislative history.

The Articles of Impeachment introduced by the House Judiciary Committee are not recognizable under any standard of Constitutional theory, interpretation, or jurisprudence. They include no crimes, no misdemeanors, and whatever you have claimed the Ukrainian telephone call was, you have cheapened the importance of the very ugly word, impeachment!

By proceeding with your invalid impeachment, you destroy the offices of the branch you are breaking your allegiance to the Constitution, and you are declaring open war on American Democracy. You dare to invoke the Founders’ words in pursuit of this election-nullification scheme—yet your spiteful actions display unfettered contempt for America’s founding and your egregious conduct threatens to destroy that which our Founders pledged their very lives to build. Even worse than offending the Founding Fathers, you are offending Americans of faith by continually saying “I pray for the President,” when you know this statement is not true, unless it is meant in a negative sense. It is a terrible thing you are doing, and you will have to live with it, not I!

Your first claim, “Abuse of Power,” is a completely disingenuous, meretricious, and baseless invention of your imagination. You know full well that Vice President Biden bragged about, you’re not getting the billion—going on video. Biden openly stated: “I said, ‘I’m gonna impeach the motherf**ker.’” Rep.

You and your allies said, and did, all of these things knowing you were doing what Joe Biden has admitted he actually did.

President Zelensky has repeatedly declared that he did nothing wrong, and that there was No Pressure. He further emphasized that it was a “good phone call,” that “I don’t feel pressure,” and that “nobody pushed me.” The Ukrainian Foreign Minister stated very clearly: “I have never seen a direct link between investigations and pressure.” Mr. Zelensky also said there was “No Pressure.” Senator Ron Johnson of Wisconsin, a supporter of Ukraine who met privately with President Zelensky, has said, “At no time did I ever hear any statement from Ukrainian that there was any mention by Zelensky or any Ukrainian that they were feeling pressure to do anything in return for the military aid. Many meetings have been held between representatives of Ukraine and our country. Never once did Ukraine complain about pressure being applied—not once! Ambassador Sandland testified that I told him: ‘No quid pro quo. I want nothing. I want nothing. I want President Zelensky to do the right thing, do the honest thing, do the courageous thing.’”

The second claim, so-called “Obstruction of Congress,” is preposterous and dangerous. House Democrats are trying to impeach the dullest and least ruinous president in the history of the United States. They are pursuing a constitutional impeachment effort for asserting Constitutionally based privileges that have been asserted on a bipartisan basis by both political parties throughout our Nation’s history. Under that standard, every American president would have been impeached many times over. As liberal law professor Jonathan Turley warned when addressing Congress: “I can’t emphasize this enough . . . if you impeach a president, if you make a high crime and misdemeanor out of going to the courts, it is an abuse of power. It’s your abuse of power. You’re doing precisely what you’re criticizing the President for doing.”

Everyone, you included, knows what is really happening. Your chosen candidate lost the election in 2016, in an Electoral College landslide (306–227), and you and your party have tried to disqualify it. You have developed a full-fledged case of what many in the media call Trump Derangement Syndrome and sadly, you will never get over it. You cannot accept the verdict issued at the ballot box during the great Election of 2016. So you have spent three straight years attempting to overturn the will of the American people and nullify their votes. You view democracy as your enemy!

Speaker Pelosi, you admitted just last week at a public forum that your party’s impeachment effort has been going on for “two and a half years,” long before you ever heard anything about Trump. Twenty-three minutes after I took the oath of office, the Washington Post published a story headlined, “The Campaign to Impeach President Trump Has Begun.” Less than three months after my inauguration, Representative Al Green said in May, “I’m concerned that if we don’t impeach this president, he will get re-elected.” Again, you and your allies said, and did, all of these things knowing you were doing what Joe Biden or President Zelensky or anything related to Ukraine. As you know very well, this impeachment drive has nothing to do with Ukraine, or the totality of proper conduct with its new president. It only has to do with your attempt to undo the election of 2016 and strengthen your control over the Congress.

Congressman Adam Schiff cheated and lied all the way up to the present day, even going so far as to fraudulently make up, out of thin air, my conversation with President Zelensky of Ukraine and read this fantasy language to Congress as though it were said by me. His shameless lies and deceptions, combined with the way he has hoaxed and lied is one of the main reasons we are here today.

You and your party are desperate to distract from the economy’s extraordinary economic growth, incredible jobs boom, record stock market, soaring confidence, and flourishing citizens. Your party simply cannot compete with our record: 7 million new jobs; the lowest unemployment rate of African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans; a rebuilt military: a completely renewed and modernized US military; the first decline in prescription drug prices in half a century; the first new branch of the United States Military since 1947, the Space Force; strong protection of the Second Amendment; criminal justice reform; a defeated ISIS caliphate and the killing of the world’s number one terrorist leader, al-Qaeda leader, the replacement of the disastrous NAFTA trade deal with the wonderful USMCA (Mexico and Canada); a breakthrough Phase One trade deal with China; massive new trade deals with Japan and South Korea; withdrawal from the terrible Iran Nuclear Deal; cancellation of the unfair and costly Paris Climate Accord; becoming the world’s top energy producer; recognition of Israel’s capital, opening the American Embassy in Jerusalem, and recognizing Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights; a policy in line with the JCPOA and the ending of Catch-and-Release, and the building of the Southern Border Wall—and that is just the beginning, there is so much more that Americans can be proud of—open borders, mass migration, high crime, crippling taxes, socialized healthcare, destruction of American energy, late-term taxpayer-funded abortion, elimination of the Second Amendment, radical far-left theories of law and justice, and constant partisan obstruction of both common sense and common good.

There is nothing I would rather do than stop referring to your party as the Do-Nothing Democrats. Unfortunately, I don’t know that you will ever give me the chance to do so.

After three years of unfair and unwarranted investigations, 5 million dollars spent, no evidence found, the entire force of the FBI, led by headquarters now proven to be totally incompetent and corrupt, you have found NOTHING! Few people have ever coined the phrase “I passed this test.” You do not know, nor do you care, the great damage and hurt you have inflicted upon wonderful and loving families across the land—those who conducted a fake investigation upon the democratically elected President of the United States, and you are doing it yet again.

I want to talk to the people who could have taken the punishment inflicted during this period of time, and yet done so much for the
success of America and its citizens. But instead of putting our country first, you have decided to disgrace our country still further. You completely failed with the Mueller report. You had nothing to find so you decided to take the next hoax that came along, the phone call with Ukraine—even though it was a perfect call. And by the way, when you listen to it, you will see is that many people, with permission, listening to the call on both sides of the conversation.

You are the ones subverting America’s Democracy. You are the ones Obstructing Justice. You are the ones bringing pain and suffering to our communities, our children, our children, our children. You have bin Laden, this Democrat conspiracy dissolved into dust, you did not apologize. You doubled down. You did not disavow those claims. You showed no remorse, no capacity for self-reflection. Instead, you pursued your next libelous and vicious crusade—you engineered and pushed forward the lie that I had committed an illegal, partisan attempt to subvert the Constitution, including the right to present evidence would be presented), the so-called whistleblower, and the second whistleblower, disappeared because they got caught, their report was never going to be made available to us. In other words, once the phone call was made public, your whole plot blew up, but that didn’t stop you from going right on doing it.

More due process was afforded to those accused in the Salem Witch Trials. You and others on your committees have long said impeachment is a bipartisan effort for our Nation, then you would be describing this as it is. You said it was very divisive—it certainly is, even far more than you ever thought possible—and it will only get worse! This is not an illegal, partisan attempt. There is nothing illegal, partisan attempted coup that will, based on recent sentiment, badly fail at the voting booth. You are not just after me, as President, you are after the entire Republican Party. But because of this colossal injustice, our party is more united than it has ever been before. History will judge you harshly as you proceed with this impeachment charade. Your legacy will be that of turning the House of Representatives from a revered legislative body into a Star Chamber of partisan persecution.

Perhaps most insulting of all is your false display of solemnity. You apparently have so little respect for the American People that you expect them to believe you are approaching this impeachment somberly, reservedly, and reluctantly. No intelligent person believes what you are saying. Since the moment I won the election, the Democratic Party has been possessed by Impeachment Fever. There is no reticence. This is not a somber affair. You are making a mockery of impeachment effort. You are accurately concealing your hatred of me, of the Republican Party, and tens of millions of patriotic Americans. Their ears are wise, and they are hearing straight through this empty, hollow, and dangerous game you are playing.

I have no doubt the American people will hold you and the Democrats fully responsible in the upcoming 2020 election. They will not soon forgive your perversion of justice and abuse of power.

There is far too much that needs to be done to improve the lives of our citizens. It is time for you and the highly partisan Democrats in Congress to immediately cease this impeach hopeless pursuit of false collusion with you and the White House. You are digging for dirt. When they dig for dirt, they call it an ‘investigation’. This is a sad day for America. This impeachment is the worst case of partisan politics in the history of our Republic.

Mr. POSEY. Madam Speaker, I rise to oppose the articles of impeachment that have been produced by this flawed process, which was based on hearsay and testimony largely on absolutely no evidence of a crime.

While the Mueller investigation found no collusion, some Members of Congress, like House Impeachment Leader ADAM SCHIFF, knowingly promoted this falsehood and used similar tactics to engineer this impeachment inquiry. This is unacceptable.

For the above reason, I voted to censure Chairman ADAM SCHIFF and will vote against these articles of impeachment.

We know this impeachment is a sham. They know Trump is innocent. This is a sham. They know that we know it is a sham.

We all know this shameful impeachment began the moment the President was elected, long before he ever had a single telephone call with any foreign government. We’ve heard the same question in the usual form and the other side that validate that fact. And, yet the other side persists in attempting to over-turn the results of the legitimate election of President Donald J. Trump, because he dares to drain a swamp to which they are beholden.

I call on the President to call for an investigation of corruption, the other side calls it ‘digging for dirt.’ When they dig for dirt, they call it an ‘investigation’.

This is a sad day for America. This impeachment is the worst case of partisan politics in the history of our Republic.

Mrs. DINGELL. Madam Speaker, no one enters Congress hoping to impeach the President. But when duty demands it, we have no other choice. Our founders included in the Constitution a provision for impeachment, a constitutional remedy that would protect our Nation from the gravest threats to our democratic republic.

Deciding how to vote cannot be accurately portrayed in tweets or sound bites, so I welcome the opportunity to explain my thoughts.

Unlike many others in the Democratic Party, I was, at first, hesitant about impeachment. As one of the few who predicted that Donald Trump could win the election, I made clear that I would work with him if he would help the hard-working men and women of my district in Michigan.

When the President called for an investigation of corruption, the other side calls it ‘digging for dirt.’ When they dig for dirt, they call it an ‘investigation’.

One hundred years from now, when people look back at this affair, I want them to understand it, and learn from it, so that it can never happen to another President again.

Sincerely yours,
DONALD J. TRUMP,
President of the United States of America.

Mr. POSEY. Madam Speaker, I rise to oppose the articles of impeachment that have been produced by this flawed process, which was based on hearsay and testimony largely collected from a closed-door, one-sided investigation.

In fact, the only witness we heard from who had direct knowledge of the conversation in question, testified that President Trump did not want a quid pro quo and confirmed that the aid to Ukraine was released without the launching of any investigation that the President’s detractors say he was seeking.

The two articles of impeachment are abuse of power and obstruction of Congress—are broad and cite no specific crimes that the President committed. The House Democrats are basing the entire impeachment on hearsay testimonies grounded on absolutely no evidence of a crime.

However, last week we had a look at some real wrongdoing. We found out from the Justice Department’s Inspector General that the investigation into whether President Trump conspired with the Russians was based on fraudulent information filed with the secret court. The FBI was found to have withheld exculpatory evidence and senior FBI leaders were found to have manipulated facts in order to support this false collusion narrative, justify their investigation, and expand it. This happened on multiple occasions.

While the Mueller investigation found no collusion, some Members of Congress, like House Impeachment Leader ADAM SCHIFF, knowingly promoted this falsehood and used similar tactics to engineer this impeachment inquiry. This is unacceptable.

For the above reason, I voted to censure Chairman ADAM SCHIFF and will vote against these articles of impeachment.

We know this impeachment is a sham. They know Trump is innocent. This is a sham. They know that we know it is a sham.

We all know this shameful impeachment began the moment the President was elected, long before he ever had a single telephone call with any foreign government. We’ve heard the same question in the usual form and the other side that validate that fact. And, yet the other side persists in attempting to over-turn the results of the legitimate election of President Donald J. Trump, because he dares to drain a swamp to which they are beholden.

I call on the President to call for an investigation of corruption, the other side calls it ‘digging for dirt.’ When they dig for dirt, they call it an ‘investigation’.

This is a sad day for America. This impeachment is the worst case of partisan politics in the history of our Republic.

Mrs. DINGELL. Madam Speaker, no one enters Congress hoping to impeach the President. But when duty demands it, we have no other choice. Our founders included in the Constitution a provision for impeachment, a constitutional remedy that would protect our Nation from the gravest threats to our democratic republic.

Deciding how to vote cannot be accurately portrayed in tweets or sound bites, so I welcome the opportunity to explain my thoughts.

Unlike many others in the Democratic Party, I was, at first, hesitant about impeachment. As one of the few who predicted that Donald Trump could win the election, I made clear that I would work with him if he would help the hard-working men and women of my district in Michigan.

When the President called for an investigation of corruption, the other side calls it ‘digging for dirt.’ When they dig for dirt, they call it an ‘investigation’.
ran advertisements in The Detroit News and The Detroit Free Press and on news websites and social media calling for impeachment. People in my district had strong opinions everywhere I went, from the grocery store and farmers markets to church and my bagel place.

At the time, my constituents were focused on the Mueller report into Russian interference in the 2016 election, which they hoped would provide a case for impeachment. But it wasn’t clear. What the report did reveal—a finding that was often overlooked in the focus on the Trump campaign’s contacts with Russians—is that Moscow is trying to divide our country.

Then, in October, came reports that Mr. Trump and his administration withheld congressionally approved military aid to Ukraine while asking for a foreign government to investigate one of his political rivals. An inspector general appointed by Mr. Trump found that there was a credible, urgent and potentially immediate threat to our national security.

No matter the party affiliation of the person occupying the White House or the party of the majority of our leaders, every American should respect our Constitution on a system of three equal branches of government, with very clear oversight responsibilities delegated to the Congress. The whistle-blower report required Congress to investigate the facts and follow the issue.

News outlets seem to assume that House Democrats and Republicans have been as obsessed with impeachment as they are, and that every single Democrat had her mind made up from Day 1. But the truth is that many of us on both sides have remained focused on kitchen-table issues that matter to everyone.

While the House Intelligence and Judiciary Committees undertook the job of gathering the facts, House leaders and other committees worked to lower prescription drug prices, protect the environment, restore voting rights to citizens and devise trade deals that level the playing field.

A vote as serious as impeaching the president of the United States deserves thoughtful, reflective attention. Each day, after attending my own committee hearings and markups, meetings and events with constituents, I would come home to start my own studies on the impeachment inquiry.

I read testimonies from firsthand witnesses, parsed the majority and dissenting opinions from the committees’ reports and listened to the voices on both sides. I spent weeks reading the Constitution, constitutional scholars, the Federalist Papers and papers from both the committees’ reports and listened to the conversations of both sides.

By the end, I was convinced: The facts showed that President Trump and his administration put politics over country by asking a foreign government to investigate a political rival while withholding military aid that affects our national security.

Further evidence showed a clear obstruction of Congress. Blocking key witnesses from the administration from testifying and even intimating that witnesses would be字第段

To describe these counts as “weak” overstates them. A partisan process, designed from the beginning to achieve a desired result, brings to the Floor two counts that do not begin to meet the constitutional standard for impeachment, even if all of the facts alleged are assumed true. It is a misuse—one might call it “abuse”—of the Constitution’s impeachment power.

One final concern: the partisan process used in this case degrades established boundaries of political competition that have helped this nation survive intense political differences for two hundred years. As a result, I fear that partisan impeachment efforts may well become just another tool in the political arsenal, expected to be pursued by whichever party loses a presidential election.

The damage done to our constitutional processes and to our institutions by this hyper-partisan, flawed process is greater than any alleged harm done by the President’s phone call. I hope and trust that the American people in their wisdom will see that appropriate boundaries and constitutional balance are restored.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Madam Speaker, impeaching a President is one of the most solemn and consequential decisions the United States Congress can make. It is not an action I or my fellow House colleagues take lightly. Impeachment exists to protect our democracy.

As Alexander Hamilton wrote in the Federalist Papers, the impeachment clause in the Constitution exists to address “the misconduct of public men,” which involves “the abuse or violation of some public trust.” Investigations and hearings conducted by the House Intelligence and Judiciary Committees provide overwhelming evidence that President Trump abused his power and endangered our national security when he coerced Ukraine into investigating his likely rival in the 2020 election by withholding $391 million in critical military aid and a White House meeting with the Ukrainian government. Withholding this military assistance to Ukraine as it enters the fifth year of its deadly war against Russia endangers Ukraine’s sovereignty and safety as well as the United States’ national security interests.

President Trump has also issued a blanket order prohibiting all executive office personnel from testifying in Congressional impeachment hearings, responding to subpoenas and turning over documents. Therefore, he has obstructed the legitimate and Constitutional obligation Congress has to conduct an impeachment inquiry when there is evidence of wrongdoing by the President.

No one is above the law. The President’s actions leave me no choice. President Trump has violated his oath to “faithfully execute the Office of the President of the United States,” and to, “preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign and domestic.” Now I will uphold my Oath of Office to preserve and protect the Constitution and my promise to my constituents to carefully analyze all issues before me. I will vote in favor of both articles of impeachment against President Donald John Trump.

Ms. MCSOULLUM. Madam Speaker, the articles of impeachment introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives fulfill an obligation incumbent upon every Member of Congress to defend the Constitution, protect our national security and restore our Constitution.
security, and ensure our democracy is not corrupted by a foreign power. For every Member of Congress, holding the President of the United States accountable to the Constitution and protecting our most fundamental democratic values is not a political decision based on loyalty or partisan affiliation. In fact, it is an inherent duty upon which we have sworn a sacred oath.

The sole person responsible for precipitating this impeachment process is President Donald J. Trump. President Trump’s willful, flagrant, and continuing misdeeds is a betrayal of the public trust. At this historic and sober moment, the American people understand that as a nation of laws there can be no person, not even the President of the United States, who is above the law. Let these articles of impeachment also serve as a clear and unambiguous message to all future presidents: Congress, as a co-equal branch of government, will never tolerate or appease an abusive, corrupt executive.

With the power granted to the U.S. House under Article I, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution (‘The House of Representatives . . . shall have the sole Power of Impeachment’), I intend to vote in favor of the resolution to impeach President Donald J. Trump for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, this is the fourth impeachment proceeding against a president of the United States, and the most serious.

President Trump committed numerous crimes. He conditioned two official acts, hundreds of millions of dollars in military aid and an Oval Office meeting, on getting help for his campaign in return. When his scheme was publicly exposed, he did everything possible to obstruct the investigation.

Congress voted to grant hundreds of millions of dollars in military aid to our ally Ukraine because it is both morally right and in our national interest to stand with them in their fight to preserve their independence against Russian aggression. I was one of the members of Congress who advocated and voted for this military aid. It was never intended to become a bargaining chip for the President to use to get foreign help for his re-election campaign.

The factual evidence is clear and convincing. It was reinforced by the testimonies of every single fact witness, all of whom are career, nonpartisan public servants or Trump appointees, no matter the party.

So, the matter before us, ultimately, is not a question of fact, for the evidence is undisputed. Nor is it a question of law, as the Constitution is clear. The heart of the matter is this: will Members of this House have the courage to choose fidelity to the Constitution over the political party?

The Constitution has endured for more than two centuries, not just because of the brilliance of our founders, but because of the commitment of generations of Americans to uphold it. For the sake of our Constitution, and the safety and dignity for Americans today and tomorrow, I urge all Members to have the courage to vote yes.

Mr. VICSLOSKY. I rise today in support of two articles of impeachment—one regarding abuse of power and one regarding obstruction of Congress against President Trump. I decided to support the President’s impeachment after a judicious consideration of the facts established by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI) and the House Committee on the Judiciary, as well as reflecting upon my constitutional responsibilities as a Member of Congress.

I would note that the constitutional remedy for high crimes and misdemeanors—such as abuse of power—is impeachment. Regrettably, the President’s severe misconduct with respect to Ukraine showed a complete disregard for our constitution, our democratic system of government, and the security of our nation and our allies. The President left the House with little choice but to faithfully discharge its duty.

As the Chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense, I believe that it is unconscionable that an American leader would use nearly $400 million in military aid appropriated by Congress—and signed into law by the President himself—as leverage for personal gains.

There are fundamental reasons why U.S. law provided these desperately needed funds to Ukraine. I would emphasize that, in 2014, Russia invaded Ukraine and illegally annexed the Crimean territory from Ukraine territory while Russian-backed separatist forces seized control of key cities in eastern Ukraine. The fighting in eastern Ukraine continues to this day and has killed more than 13,000 Ukrainians while withering away more than two million individuals.

Additionally, the impeachment reports issued by the HPSCI and the House Committee on the Judiciary present an irrefutable case that the President’s behavior constituted an ongoing threat to a free and fair presidential election in 2020.

Further, I believe that the President’s refusal to comply with the impeachment inquiry is representative of his broader contempt for Congress and its constitutional role as a separate and coequal branch of government. Congress must continue to work diligently to protect and fully exert its complete range of constitutional prerogatives and maintain the balance of power that has existed for 231 years.

Finally, I would highlight that the administration’s complete repudiation of constitutionally-proscribed legislative authorities stands in stark contrast to the durable patriotism demonstrated by the whistleblower who filed a formal complaint with the Intelligence Community’s Inspector General, as well as the public servants who testified before the House. These individuals deserve our utmost respect and gratitude.

As the Senate moves forward with a trial to determine whether to convict the President of impeachable offenses, be assured that I will continue to work hard to address the pressing needs of our nation’s citizens, from creating more opportunities for good-paying jobs to decreasing the cost of prescription drugs.
Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I demand a record vote.

A record vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 229, noes 198, answered "present" 1, not voting 3, as follows:

[Roll No. 696]

AYES—229

Babin, J.
Baird, D.
Balderson, B.
Bannister, J.
Barber, J.
Bates, J.
Benczkowski, J.
Bergh, J.
Bilirakis, G.
Biggs, G.
Bilirakis, R.
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Bipartisan, N.
Boggs, B.
Borgman, M.
Burg, J.
Butler, B.
Cassidy, P.
Cloud, J.
Coffman, T.
Collin, C.
Collins, J.
Conaway, C.
Cook, S.
Cornyn, C.
Corcoran, W.
Cox, G.
Crowley, J.
Crenshaw, M.
Crawford, F.
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Cullen, M.
Cuellar, R.
Curley, J.
Cunningham, K.
Davies, D.
DeLauro, B.
Degregorio, B.
DeSaulnier, J.
Dent, D.
Dingell, J.
Doggett, B.
Dodd, P.
Dorfman, A.
Drew, L.
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