

Using the powers of his high office, President Trump solicited the interference of a foreign government, Ukraine, in the 2020 United States Presidential election. He did so through a scheme or course of conduct that included soliciting the Government of Ukraine to publicly announce investigations that would benefit his reelection, harm the election prospects of a political opponent, and influence the 2020 United States Presidential election to his advantage. President Trump also sought to pressure the Government of Ukraine to take these steps by conditioning official United States Government acts of significant value to Ukraine on its public announcement of the investigations. President Trump engaged in this scheme or course of conduct for corrupt purposes in pursuit of personal political benefit. In so doing, President Trump used the powers of the Presidency in a manner that compromised the national security of the United States and undermined the integrity of the United States democratic process. He thus ignored and injured the interests of the Nation.

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

(1) President Trump—acting both directly and through his agents within and outside the United States Government—corruptly solicited the Government of Ukraine to publicly announce investigations into—

(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 within and outside 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 oppose Russian aggression 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) Faced 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 openly and corruptly urging and soliciting 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 corrupting democratic 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 pursuant 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 Trumps corrupt solicitation of the Government of Ukraine to interfere in the 2020 United States Presidential election. As part of this impeachment inquiry, the Committees undertaking 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 other Executive Branch agencies 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 Griffith, 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 into 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 nul-

lify a vital constitutional safeguard vested 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.

NANCY PELOSI,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Attest:

CHERYL L. JOHNSON,

Clerk.

[Seal Affixed]

Mr. President, that completes the exhibition of the Articles of Impeachment against Donald John Trump, President of the United States.

The managers request that the Senate take order for the trial, and the managers now request leave to withdraw.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Thank you, Mr. SCHIFF.

The Senate will duly notify the House of Representatives when it is ready to proceed to trial.

The majority leader.

PROGRAM

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, for the information of Senators, pursuant to yesterday's order, at 2 o'clock today, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the Articles of Impeachment. The Chief Justice of the United States will preside over the trial, as required in article I, section 3, clause 6, of the United States Constitution.

APPOINTMENT OF ESCORT COMMITTEE

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, also, under the previous order, the Presiding Officer has been authorized to appoint a committee of four Senators, two upon the recommendation of the majority leader and two upon the recommendation of the Democratic leader, to escort the Chief Justice into the Senate Chamber. I ask that the Presiding Officer do so now.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair, pursuant to order of January 15, 2020, on behalf of the majority leader and the Democratic leader, appoints Mr. BLUNT of Missouri, Mr. LEAHY of Vermont, Mr. GRAHAM of South Carolina, and Mrs. FEINSTEIN of California to escort the Chief Justice of the United States into the Senate Chamber.

PROGRAM

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, for the information of Senators, there will

be a live quorum call prior to the arrival of the Chief Justice at 2 p.m. today.

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Senate stands in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:21 p.m., recessed subject to the call of the Chair and reassembled at 2 p.m. when called to order by the President pro tempore.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I would like to ask all of our colleagues to take a seat.

Mr. President, I am about to suggest the absence of a quorum. For the information of all of our colleagues, this will be a live quorum. Following that, we will consider the Articles of Impeachment, which will commence with the swearing in of the Chief Justice of the United States and all Senators.

QUORUM CALL

Mr. McCONNELL. Accordingly, then, Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators entered the Chamber and answered to their name:

[Quorum No. 1]

Alexander	Gardner	Peters
Baldwin	Gillibrand	Portman
Barrasso	Graham	Reed
Bennet	Grassley	Risch
Blackburn	Harris	Roberts
Blumenthal	Hassan	Romney
Blunt	Hawley	Rosen
Booker	Heinrich	Rounds
Boozman	Hirono	Rubio
Braun	Hoeven	Sanders
Brown	Hyde-Smith	Sasse
Burr	Johnson	Schatz
Cantwell	Jones	Schumer
Capito	Kaine	Scott (FL)
Cardin	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Carper	King	Shaheen
Casey	Klobuchar	Shelby
Cassidy	Lankford	Sinema
Collins	Leahy	Smith
Coons	Lee	Stabenow
Cornyn	Loeffler	Sullivan
Cortez Masto	Manchin	Tester
Cotton	Markey	Thune
Cramer	McConnell	Tillis
Crapo	McSally	Toomey
Cruz	Menendez	Udall
Daines	Merkley	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Moran	Warner
Durbin	Murkowski	Warren
Enzi	Murphy	Whitehouse
Ernst	Murray	Wicker
Feinstein	Paul	Wyden
Fischer	Perdue	Young

TRIAL OF DONALD JOHN TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. A quorum is present.

Under the previous order, the hour of 2 p.m. having arrived and a quorum having been established, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the Articles of Impeachment against Donald John Trump, President of the United States.

The majority leader.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, at this time, pursuant to rule IV of the Senate Rules on Impeachment and the United States Constitution, the Presiding Officer will now administer the oath to John G. Roberts, Chief Justice of the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the escort committee will now conduct the Chief Justice of the United States to the dais to be administered the oath.

(Senators rising.)

The Chief Justice was thereupon escorted into the Chamber by Senators BLUNT, LEAHY, GRAHAM, and FEINSTEIN.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. Senators, I attend the Senate in conformity with your notice, for the purpose of joining with you for the trial of the President of the United States. I am now prepared to take the oath.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Will you place your left hand on the Bible and raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that in all things appertaining to the trial of the impeachment of Donald John Trump, President of the United States, now pending, you will do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws, so help you God?

The CHIEF JUSTICE. I do.

At this time I will administer the oath to all Senators in the Chamber in conformance with article I, section 3, clause 6 of the Constitution and the Senate's impeachment rules.

Will all Senators now stand, remain standing, and raise their right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that in all things appertaining to the trial of the impeachment of Donald J. Trump, President of the United States, now pending, you will do impartial justice according to the Constitution and laws, so help you God?

SENATORS. I do.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. The clerk will call the names in groups of four. The Senators will present themselves at the desk to sign the Oath Book.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the Senators present answered "I do" and signed the Official Oath Book.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. Chief Justice, any Senator who was not in the Senate Chamber at the time the oath was administered to the other Senators will make that fact known to the Chair so that the oath may be administered as soon as possible.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. The Sergeant at Arms will make the proclamation.

The Sergeant at Arms, Michael C. Stenger, made proclamation as follows:

Hear ye! Hear ye! Hear ye! All persons are commanded to keep silent, on

pain of imprisonment, while the House of Representatives is exhibiting to the Senate of the United States Articles of Impeachment against Donald John Trump, President of the United States.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. The majority leader is recognized.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. Chief Justice, for the information of the Senate, on my behalf and that of the distinguished Democratic leader, I am about to propound several unanimous consent requests that will assist with the organization of the next steps of these proceedings. They deal largely with necessary paperwork incident to the trial.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—PROVIDING ISSUANCE OF A SUMMONS AND FOR RELATED PROCEDURES CONCERNING THE ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT AGAINST DONALD JOHN TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. Chief Justice, I ask unanimous consent that the summons be issued in the usual form provided that the President may have until 6 p.m. on Saturday, January 18, 2020, to file his answer with the Secretary of the Senate, which will be spread upon the Journal, and the House of Representatives have until 12 noon on Monday, January 20, 2020, to file its replication with the Secretary of the Senate; finally, I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to print as a Senate document those documents filed by the parties together, to be available to all parties.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—FILING TRIAL BRIEFS

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. Chief Justice, I ask unanimous consent that if the House of Representatives wishes to file a trial brief, it be filed with the Secretary of the Senate by 5 p.m. on Saturday, January 18, 2020; further, that if the President wishes to file a trial brief, it be filed with the Secretary of the Senate by 12 noon on Monday, January 20, 2020; further, that if the House wishes to file a rebuttal brief, it be filed with the Secretary of the Senate by 12 noon on Tuesday, January 21, 2020. Finally, I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to print as a Senate document all documents filed by the parties together, to be available for all parties.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. Without objection, it is so ordered.