

it travel in its illiberal direction, how many more freedoms will be extinguished before it turns back we cannot say. But what we do here, in this moment, will affect its course and its correction.

Every single vote, even a single vote by a single Member, can change the course of history. It is said that a single man or a woman of courage makes a majority. Is there one among you who will say "enough"?

America believes in a thing called truth. She does not believe we are entitled to our own alternate facts. She recoils at those who spread pernicious falsehoods. To her, truth matters. There is nothing more corrosive to a democracy than the idea that there is no truth.

America also believes there is a difference between right and wrong, and right matters here. But there is more. Truth matters. Right matters. But so does decency. Decency matters.

When the President smears a patriotic public servant like Marie Yovanovitch in pursuit of a corrupt aim, we recoil. When the President mocks the disabled, a war hero who was a prisoner of war, or a Gold Star father, we are appalled because decency matters here. And when the President tries to coerce an ally to help him cheat in our elections and then covers it up, we must say "enough." Enough.

He has betrayed our national security, and he will do so again. He has compromised our elections, and he will do so again. You will not change him. You cannot constrain him. He is who he is. Truth matters little to him. What is right matters even less. And decency matters not at all.

I do not ask you to convict him because truth or right or decency matters nothing to him but because we have proven our case and it matters to you. Truth matters to you. Right matters to you. You are decent. He is not who you are.

In Federalist 55, James Madison wrote that there were certain qualities in human nature—qualities I believe, like honesty, right, and decency—which should justify our confidence in self-government. He believed that we possessed sufficient virtue that the chains of despotism were not necessary to restrain ourselves "from destroying and devouring one another."

It may be midnight in Washington, but the sun will rise again. I put my faith in the optimism of the Founders. You should too. They gave us the tools to do the job, a remedy as powerful as the evil it was meant to constrain: impeachment. They meant it to be used rarely, but they put it in the Constitution for a reason—for a man who would sell out his country for a political favor, for a man who would threaten the integrity of our elections, for a man who would invite foreign interference in our affairs, for a man who would undermine our national security and that of our allies—for a man like Donald J. Trump.

They gave you a remedy, and they meant for you to use it. They gave you an oath, and they meant for you to observe it. We have proven Donald Trump guilty. Now do impartial justice and convict him.

I yield back.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. The majority leader is recognized.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE COURT OF IMPEACHMENT

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. Chief Justice, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate, sitting as a Court of Impeachment, stand adjourned under the previous order.

There being no objection, at 2:59 p.m., the Senate, sitting as a Court of Impeachment, adjourned.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senate will now resume legislative session.

#### THE JOURNAL

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of proceedings be approved to date.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAWLEY). Under the previous order, the Senate will be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HEINRICH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded and to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### IMPEACHMENT

Mr. HEINRICH. Mr. President, and all of my colleagues in the Senate, throughout this impeachment trial, I thought a lot about what this country stands for. For me, as the son of an immigrant whose family came to the United States from Germany in the 1930s, America stands as a beacon of liberty, equal justice, and democracy.

We are a nation forged by a revolution against a monarchy and its abso-

lute power. We are a nation founded by the ratification of the most radically democratic document in history, the Constitution of the United States of America.

Under the Constitution, we are governed not by monarchs—who act with impunity and without accountability—but by elected officers who answer to, and work for, "We the People."

Generations of Americans have struggled and sacrificed their lives to defend that audacious vision. The Senate has a duty and a moral responsibility to uphold that vision.

Over the last 2 weeks, I fear that the Senate has failed in that duty. I am deeply disappointed that nearly all of my Republican colleagues refused to allow for the kind of witness testimony and documentary evidence that any legitimate trial would include. You cannot conduct a fair trial without witnesses.

In my view, you also can't have a legitimate acquittal without a fair trial; that the Senate refused to shed more light on the facts is truly astonishing. Despite this, the facts as we know them are clear and plain. President Trump pressured the Government of Ukraine, an American ally, not for our national security interests but for his own selfish and corrupt political interests. When he was caught, he sought to cover it up by suppressing documents and preventing witnesses from testifying before Congress and the American people.

The President's defense team had every opportunity to present us with evidence that would explain his actions or give us reason to doubt this clear pattern of fact. Instead, they shifted their defense away from the damning facts and embraced an extreme legal philosophy that would allow any President to abuse their power and ignore the law.

This dangerous argument is not new. It was used by President Richard Nixon when he said: "Well, when the president does it, that means it is not illegal."

President Nixon also strayed far from his duties to our Nation for his own personal and political gain. It was only after courageous Members of the U.S. Senate, in his own political party, put their country first and stood up to him that President Nixon finally resigned.

We are now in yet another time when our Chief Executive has failed us, and our Nation requires more leadership and conscience from the U.S. Senate. Unfortunately, my Republican colleagues are unwilling to deliver that kind of moral leadership.

President Donald Trump has proven to be unfit for the office he occupies. He abused his powers and continues to engage in a coverup. He presents a clear and present danger to our national security and, more fundamentally, to our democracy itself.

That is why my conscience and my duty to defend our Constitution compel me to vote to convict Donald Trump. I