

his word for it. He said, "Article II allows me to do whatever I want." Pulitzer Prize-winning Presidential historian Jon Meacham said the President is now, and this is his quote, "functionally a monarch." That is stunning.

Again, these are sad days for our Nation, but as I said at the outset, we cannot and will not concede our democracy. We cannot and will not concede the values and principles that make this Nation strong. We must restore the balance of power in our government. We must restore accountability. Most importantly, we must start doing the work the American people sent us here to do. Our institutions are not representing what the American people want. Senate Republicans' refusal to hold a fair impeachment trial, which is what 75 percent of the American people wanted, is just the latest example.

While the Senate and the Constitution took a terrible battering the last 2 weeks, I am even more committed to breathing life into our shared principles of representative government. I am going to continue the fight to take obscene amounts of secret money out of our elections, to make it easier to vote, and to bring power back to the American people and not hand it over to an imperial Presidency.

The Senate will have future opportunities to restore our constitutional system. The only question is whether Senators will rise to the occasion.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. GILLIBRAND. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mrs. GILLIBRAND. Colleagues, over the past few weeks, we have conducted the third impeachment trial in our entire Nation's history for a President.

Let's be perfectly clear about something: Democrats did not want to impeach President Trump. From the start, efforts to begin an impeachment inquiry in the House were met with resistance until the President's reckless behavior and unprecedented actions forced the Speaker's hand. The Speaker could not sit idly by after the President withheld congressionally approved military aid from a U.S. ally in order to orchestrate foreign interference in our upcoming election.

We have worked hard to find common ground with this President, and at times, Democrats have worked together to get good, bipartisan legislation accomplished. But President Trump's brazen misconduct forced this issue. His misdeeds posed a moral challenge to every single Member of Congress. How much corruption should we stomach? How much of our integrity should we sacrifice? How much malfeasance should we tolerate? Will we look the other way as the President flaunts our laws and ignores the Constitution?

Sometimes it can seem far easier to just stay silent. All of us know that it can be easier to avoid angry phone calls. But think about how much harder it would be to explain this moment in history to our children and our grandchildren. Think about how painful it will be to explain if you knew what President Trump did was wrong and you did nothing; if you knew what President Trump did was wrong under the Constitution that you swore to uphold; that you knew it was wrong, but you voted to acquit anyway because of your ambition, because of your political party.

Lest you think you can convince them otherwise, let me dispel this fiction. History's record of this time will be very clear. The American people can see through these lies. They recognize the inconsistencies and the double-speak. The American people are not naive. They are not stupid. They are not ignorant. They are not immoral.

My Republican colleagues are not naive or ignorant or immoral either. They are good men and women. They love their children, their neighbors, and our country. I consider many of them my friends. When we have dinner together, when we go to visit the troops overseas. We don't do it as Democrats and Republicans. We do it as colleagues, friends, and as peers in this body. We do so as elected Members of Congress, as Senators representing our States and our country.

It should be the very same when we judge President Trump. In I John 2:21, John writes to a group of believers who are in turmoil. He wrote: "I do not write to you because you do not know the truth, but because you do know it and because no lie comes from the truth."

This trial had the goal of accomplishing one thing—to discover the truth, to know what happened, to hold the President accountable. We pledged to listen to receive that evidence fairly and to judge honestly. We swore to defend the Constitution, not to defend a man or a political party, and we should all remember this when we cast our votes, because President Trump is not like you. He is not honest, kind, or compassionate. He doesn't have integrity or moral conviction. He is neither fair nor decent.

We, as Senators who swore to uphold the Constitution, should, based on the facts laid before us, vote to convict. Hold President Trump accountable for what he has done. We have to show the American people, ourselves, that President Trump does not represent our values, that we still believe that we must fight for what is right, for truth, for justice, for honesty, for integrity, and that laws mean something, and we don't put ourselves before the law.

For those who lack courage in this moment, those who are unwilling to do what they know in their heart of hearts, in their conscience and in their deepest thoughts to be right, if they do not do what they know they should,

they will be remembered as complicit. They will be remembered as not telling the truth. They will not be remembered well.

I urge you to vote your conscience.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### AUTHORIZING APPOINTMENT OF ESCORT COMMITTEE

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Presiding Officer of the Senate be authorized to appoint a committee on the part of the Senate to join with the like committee on the part of the House of Representatives to escort the President of the United States into the House Chamber for the joint session to be held at 9 p.m. on Tuesday, February 4, 2020.

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

#### UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—PRINTING OF STATEMENTS IN THE RECORD AND PRINTING OF SENATE DOCUMENT OF IMPEACHMENT PROCEEDINGS—MODIFIED

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to modify the order of January 31 to allow the Senators to have until Wednesday, February 26, 2020—that would be the Wednesday after we come back—to have printed statements and opinions in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, if they choose, explaining their votes and include those in the documentation of the impeachment proceedings; finally, I ask that the two-page rule be waived.

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

#### ORDERS FOR TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 2020

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 9:30 a.m., Tuesday, February 4; further, that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, and the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day; and that following leader remarks, the Senate be in a period of morning business under the previous order.

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

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the