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No. 8

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, January 15, 2021, at 10 a.m.

House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 2021

The House met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. BROWN).

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,
January 13, 2021.

I hereby appoint the Honorable ANTHONY G. BROWN to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

NANCY PELOSI,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Reverend Margaret Grun Kibben, offered the following prayer:

God, our judge, nothing is hidden from Your sight. Thus, we stand before You to give account for our role in today's momentous decisions. In our deepest desire to carry out our responsibilities to govern, protect, and preserve this Nation, while yet unsettled by the events of this past week, we find ourselves seizing the scales of justice from the jaws of mobocracy.

Almighty God, wield Your sword and penetrate the confusion and discontent of our country. Lay bare our attitudes of vengeance that You would show us how to serve as instruments of Your pure judgment and peace. Divide our rhetoric from the light of Your truth. Judge our partisan thoughts and convict us to attend to the common good.

We have taken our obligations freely, but we remain beholden to Your guidance. Hold us, then, accountable to Your powerful Word.

In the strength of Your holy name, we pray.
Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 5(a)(1)(A) of House Resolution 8, the Journal of the last day's proceedings is approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. MCGOVERN led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

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.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess for a period of less than 15 minutes.

Accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 2 minutes a.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 0916

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro

tempore (Mr. BROWN) at 9 o'clock and 16 minutes a.m.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H. RES. 24, IMPEACHING DONALD JOHN TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 41 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 41

Resolved, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order without intervention of any point of order to consider in the House the resolution (H. Res. 24) impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the resolution and on any amendment thereto to adoption without intervening motion or demand for division of the question except two hours of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary or their respective designees.

SEC. 2. Until completion of proceedings enabled by the first section of this resolution—

(a) the Chair may decline to entertain any intervening motion, resolution, question, or notice; and

(b) the Chair may decline to entertain the question of consideration.

SEC. 3. Upon adoption of House Resolution 24—

(a) House Resolution 40 is hereby adopted; and

(b) no other resolution incidental to impeachment relating to House Resolution 24

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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shall be privileged during the remainder of the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress.

SEC. 4. Section 5 of House Resolution 8, agreed to January 4, 2021, is amended by striking “January 28” each place that it appears and inserting “February 11”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. COLE), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members be given 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, the Rules Committee met and reported a closed rule, House Resolution 41, providing for consideration of H. Res. 24, impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

The rule provides 2 hours of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking member of the Committee on the Judiciary. The rule also provides that upon adoption of H. Res. 24, H. Res. 40 is hereby adopted.

Finally, the rule extends recess instructions, suspension authority, and same-day authority through February 11, 2021.

Mr. Speaker, we are debating this historic measure at an actual crime scene, and we wouldn't be here if it weren't for the President of the United States.

On Wednesday, January 6, Congress gathered here to fulfill our constitutional duty, tallying the electoral college victory of President-elect Biden and Vice-President-elect HARRIS after a free and fair election.

This is largely a ceremonial role for the Congress, one that sends the message to the world that democracy in the United States persists. But at a rally just a mile and a half down Pennsylvania Avenue, Donald Trump and his allies were stoking the anger of a violent mob.

A Member of this very body proclaimed on that stage: “Today is the day American patriots start taking down names and kicking ass.”

Trump's personal attorney, Rudy Giuliani, called for a “trial by combat.”

Then Donald Trump told the crowd: “We are going to have to fight much harder . . . you will never take back our country with weakness.”

Even though, according to his own administration that this election was the most secure in our history, Donald Trump repeated his big lie that this

election was an egregious assault on democracy.

He said Vice President PENCE “was going to have to come through for us.” Trump then told this mob to “walk down to the Capitol.”

The signal was unmistakable: These thugs should stage a coup so Donald Trump can hang on to power. The people's will be damned.

This beacon of democracy became the site of a vicious attack. Rioters chanted, “Hang Mike Pence,” as noose and gallows were built a stone's throw from the Capitol steps. Capitol police officers were beaten and sprayed with pepper spray. Attackers hunted down lawmakers to hold them hostage or worse. Staff barricaded doors. People sent text messages to their families to tell them they loved them. They thought they were saying good-bye, Mr. Speaker.

This was not a protest. This was an insurrection. This was a well-organized attack on our country that was incited by Donald Trump.

Domestic terrorists broke into the United States Capitol that day and it is a miracle more people didn't die. As my colleagues and I were being evacuated to safety, I never ever will forget what I saw when I looked into the eyes of those attackers right in the Speaker's lobby there. I saw evil, Mr. Speaker. Our country came under attack not from a foreign nation, but from within.

These were not protesters. These were not patriots. These were traitors. These were domestic terrorists, Mr. Speaker, and they were acting under the orders of Donald Trump.

Some of my colleagues on the other side have suggested that we just move on from this horror. But to gloss over it would be an abdication of our duty. Others on the Republican side have talked about unity. But we can't have unity without truth and without accountability. And I am not about to be lectured by people who just voted to overturn the results of a free and fair election.

America was attacked and we must respond, even when the cause of this violence resides at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Each of us took an oath last week. It wasn't to a party and it wasn't to a person. We vowed to defend the Constitution. The actions of Donald Trump have called each of us to fulfill that oath today. I pray that we rise to this responsibility because every moment Donald Trump is in the White House, our Nation and our freedom is in danger. He must be held to account for the attack on our Capitol that he organized and he incited.

I solemnly urge my colleagues to support this rule and the underlying article. The damage this building sustained can be repaired, Mr. Speaker; but if we don't hold Donald Trump accountable, the damage done to our Nation could be irreversible.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, before I begin my formal remarks, I want to ask for God's blessing and protection on you; on my friend, Mr. MCGOVERN; for all who come to this Chamber today to speak and to vote; for our wonderful staff that make this possible; and most especially for the men and women of the Capitol Police and the other affiliated law enforcement agencies that are here to protect everybody and to make sure that this proceeding can go forward.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Massachusetts, my very good friend, the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee, Mr. MCGOVERN, for yielding me the customary 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, today is a sad day for all of us, for me personally, for the Rules Committee, for the entire House of Representatives, and most certainly for the American people.

For the second time in 13 months, we are meeting to discuss the impeachment of the President of the United States. Our meeting today does not arise in a vacuum and comes at what I hope and pray is the end of a tumultuous period for our country.

Less than 1 week ago, Congress met to certify the results of the 2020 Presidential election. What started out as peaceful protests, turned into a riot as an untold number of individuals stormed the Capitol Building. Six people died as a result of this mob. It is only by the grace of God and the brave acts of the U.S. Capitol Police; the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police; the FBI; the ATF; and other responding agencies that there was not more bloodshed.

Violent acts such as these have no place in our Republic. These shocking and sobering events rest high on our minds today, as well they should. Certainly, January 6, 2021, will live in my memory as the darkest day during my time in service as a Member of this House.

After these grave events, we, as a nation and as an institution, have an opportunity to come together. President Trump has conceded the 2020 election. Congress has certified the results of the election, and next Wednesday, President-elect Biden will be sworn in as the President of the United States.

Congress and the Nation can move forward knowing that the political process was completed as designed and that the constitutional framework that has governed our Republic since 1789 held firm. But instead of moving forward as a unifying force, majority in the House is choosing to divide us further.

With only 1 week to go in his term, the majority is asking us to consider a resolution impeaching President Trump, and they do so knowing full well that even if the House passes this resolution, the Senate will not be able to begin considering these charges until after President Trump's term ends.

Mr. Speaker, I can think of no action the House can take that is more likely than the action we are contemplating today. Emotions are clearly running high and political divisions have never been more apparent in my lifetime.

We desperately need to seek a path forward, healing for the American people. So it is unfortunate that a path to support healing is not the path the majority has chosen today. Instead, the House is moving forward erratically with a truncated process that does not comport with the modern practice and that will give Members no time to contemplate the serious course of action before us.

In every modern impeachment inquiry, an investigation and committee action has preceded bringing an impeachment resolution to the floor. In part, this is to ensure that members have the full facts, the opportunity to engage expert witnesses, and have a chance to be heard. It also provides due process to the President of the United States. Again, in every modern impeachment inquiry, the President has been given an opportunity to be heard in some form or another.

This is necessary in order to ensure that the American people have confidence in the procedures the House is following. It is also necessary, not because of the President's inappropriate and reckless words are deserving of defense, but because the Presidency itself demands due process in the impeachment proceedings.

Unfortunately, the majority has chosen to race to the floor with a new Article of Impeachment, forgoing any investigation, any committee process or any chance for Members to fully contemplate this course of action before proceeding.

Professor Jonathan Turley is correct when he called this "a dangerous snap impeachment—an impeachment that effectively would go to a vote without the deliberation or inquiries of a traditional hearing."

Professor Turley also noted that "the damage caused by the rioters this week was enormous. However, it will pale in comparison to the damage from a new precedent of a snap impeachment. . . ."

Mr. Speaker, if the majority is seeking consensus, this is hardly the way to create it.

□ 0930

The majority is failing to provide the House with an opportunity to review all the facts—which are still coming to light—to discuss all the evidence, to listen to scholars, to examine the witnesses, and to consider precedence. This is not the type of robust process we have followed for every modern impeachment, and the failure to do so does a great disservice to this institution and to this country.

Mr. Speaker, I could think of nothing that will cause further division more than the path the majority is now taking. Rather than looking ahead to a

new administration, the majority is again seeking to settle scores against the old one. Rather than seeking to heal America, they are seeking to divide us more deeply, and rather than following the appropriate processes the House has used in every modern impeachment, the majority is rushing to the floor, tripping all over themselves in their rush to impeach the President a second time.

What is worse, though, is the majority seems to believe this course of action is self-evident, and that is simply not the case. I have to tell them: it is not. Members have reviewed the same conduct and have come to dramatically different conclusions. Legal scholars like Professor Turley and Professor Alan Dershowitz, both of whom condemn the President's statements, believe that his statements are not impeachable. I know other scholars have different points of view.

Given this difference of opinion, shouldn't we have a better process than this?

Shouldn't we have a chance to examine witnesses, discuss the matter with legal scholars, and consider this in committee?

On a matter as grave and consequential as impeachment, shouldn't we follow the same process we have used in every modern impeachment rather than rushing to the floor?

On behalf of generations of Americans to come, we need to think more clearly about the consequences of our actions today. The fact of the matter is, Mr. Speaker, there is no reason to rush forward like this, other than the very obvious fact that there are only 7 days left until the new President takes office. But what is worse, as Professor Dershowitz has pointed out, because of the Senate's rules, the case cannot come to trial in the Senate until 1 p.m. on January 20, 1 hour after President Trump leaves office.

This is an ill-advised course, in my opinion, Mr. Speaker. Even Senator JOE MANCHIN, a Democrat, agrees. Senator MANCHIN is quoted this week as having said, "I think this is so ill-advised for Joe Biden to be coming in, trying to heal the country, trying to be the President of all the people when we are going to be so divided and fighting again. Let the judicial system do its job."

So what, then, is the point of the rush to impeach?

We are coming off a horrific event that resulted in six deaths. We have an opportunity to move forward, but we cannot if the majority insists on bringing the country through the trauma of another impeachment. It will carry forward into the next President's term ensuring that he will struggle to organize his administration. What is worse, it will continue to generate the bitterness so many of us have opposed.

Why put us through that when we can't actually resolve this before the end of the President's term?

Mr. Speaker, I think my colleagues in the majority need to think about

this more soberly. We need to recognize we are following a flawed process. We need to recognize that people of goodwill can differ. We need to recognize that, while the House may be done with this matter after today's vote, it will not be done for the country. It will not be done for the Senate, and it will not be done for the incoming Biden administration. The House's action today will only extend the division longer than necessary.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would note that there are other remedies that can be pursued. The President is expected to face litigation over his role in last Wednesday's events. There will be criminal proceedings against the perpetrators, and I hope all of those who stormed the Capitol will be brought to justice. And some Members have proposed an alternative procedure—censuring the President—which could garner significant bipartisan support in the House.

I do not think impeachment is a wise course, Mr. Speaker. I would urge my friends in the majority to reconsider. There is still time to choose a different path, one that leads to reconciliation and hope for better and brighter days.

Mr. Speaker, I urge opposition to the rule, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the powerful statement by Congresswoman LIZ CHENEY, who is the chair of the House Republican Conference, titled "I will vote to impeach the President."

CHENEY: I WILL VOTE TO IMPEACH THE PRESIDENT

January 12, 2021.

WASHINGTON—Wyoming Congresswoman and House Republican Conference Chair Liz Cheney (R-WY) released the following statement ahead of votes in the House this week:

"On January 6, 2021 a violent mob attacked the United States Capitol to obstruct the process of our democracy and stop the counting of presidential electoral votes. This insurrection caused injury, death and destruction in the most sacred space in our Republic.

"Much more will become clear in coming days and weeks, but what we know now is enough. The President of the United States summoned this mob, assembled the mob, and lit the flame of this attack. Everything that followed was his doing. None of this would have happened without the President. The President could have immediately and forcefully intervened to stop the violence. He did not. There has never been a greater betrayal by a President of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution.

"I will vote to impeach the President."

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I want to be clear about just one thing: If we vote to impeach the President today and we send it over to the Senate, there is nothing to prevent the Senate from taking it up immediately if Senate Majority Leader MITCH MCCONNELL decides that he wants to proceed, number one.

Number two, we all want to talk about unity. I can't think of anything

that would unify this country more than if there was a big bipartisan vote in favor of impeachment. Every second that this President remains in office is a danger to this country and to the world. We have no idea what he is capable of doing, whether he will pardon these terrorists or whether he will go to war.

So I urge all my colleagues on both sides to support this rule and the impeachment resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. CHU).

Ms. CHU. Mr. Speaker, last week, I hid in an office for hours, terrified to open the door because I did not know if a rioter was on the other side ready to attack, kidnap, or murder me. But my experiences were just the tip of the iceberg. The U.S. Capitol was targeted, besieged, and ransacked on January 6 by a murderous mob holding a noose for Vice President PENCE and targeting Speaker PELOSI. Their rampage resulted in destruction and five people dead.

We were attacked by terrorists, but this time the terrorists were radicalized right here in the United States. Worse, they were radicalized by the President, who intentionally lied to his supporters that the election was stolen and then told them when to come to D.C., where to protest, and whom to direct their anger at.

The need to remove this President could not be more urgent. He is too dangerous to remain in office. Donald Trump must be held accountable. He must be impeached.

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

Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, I will offer an amendment to the rule to immediately bring up a resolution establishing a bipartisan national commission on the domestic terrorist attack on the United States Capitol. This proposed bipartisan commission will be tasked with examining and reporting upon the terror attack upon our Capitol that occurred last Wednesday. The commission will be bipartisan in nature, modeled after the 9/11 Commission, and will fully be empowered to undertake a full investigation and make recommendations to the President and to Congress.

I can think of no more appropriate path for Congress to follow than by ensuring a bipartisan commission reviews all evidence and reports back to us on this horrific event.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of my amendment in the RECORD, along with extraneous material, immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I urge a “no” vote on the previous question.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RODNEY

DAVIS), who is the ranking Republican member on the House Administration Committee, for a further explanation of this amendment.

Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I first want to thank the U.S. Police and the Sergeant at Arms employees who were here on the front lines protecting this Capitol last week during the unprecedented attack. It is imperative that we focus on ensuring a safe Inauguration Day, protecting Members and staff during this time of increased threats, and making sure that our Capitol Police officers have the support that they need. We need to ensure that what we saw happen a week ago today never happens again.

Yesterday, I introduced, along with Representatives KATKO and COMER, a bill that would create a national commission on the domestic terrorist attack upon the United States Capitol. The bipartisan commission would consist of 10 Members—5 Republicans, 5 Democrats—appointed by the next President and by House and Senate leadership. This commission would be tasked with investigating the domestic terrorist attack that occurred in this building just a week ago, and it will provide us recommendations to prevent similar attacks from happening in the future.

What we saw last week scared all of us who were here. But it also showed adversaries what it takes to take out a branch of government.

When this commission is done with its investigation, it will submit a report to the President and the Congress detailing its findings and recommendations to ensure that no foreign or domestic adversary could accomplish what was done on January 6. We need to ensure that we fully understand what took place last week and any and all issues that occurred during our response.

Republicans and Democrats need to work together. We must unite to prevent any attacks like this from happening in the future, and we must protect this institution, not just for us but for the American people. That is why we should defeat the previous question so that we can establish this bipartisan commission to equip us with the information that we need to support our Capitol Police and the men and women who work in these buildings.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman of the Rules Committee for yielding. I congratulate him for his efforts down at the Rules Committee in acting and acting swiftly.

I appreciate the remarks of Mr. COLE, for whom I have great respect, but I disagree with his sense of a lack of urgency in action. I do agree with him of the consequences of our action. There are consequences to actions, and the actions of the President of the United States demand urgent and clear action by the Congress of the United States.

The chairman of the committee introduced the remarks and put them in the RECORD, but I want to reference the remarks of the chair of the Republican Conference, which is the analog to the Democratic Caucus. It is all the Republicans elected to the Congress of the United States in the House of Representatives. And they elected LIZ CHENEY, the daughter of the Vice President of the United States, the former whip of this House, Dick Cheney, with whom I served in the eighties.

Representative CHENEY, from Wyoming, a conservative Republican, said this: “The President of the United States summoned this mob, assembled the mob, and lit the flame of this attack.”

That is not some irresponsible new Member of the Congress of the United States. This is the daughter of the former Republican whip and former Vice President of the United States of America. She knows of what she speaks.

She said this as well: “There has never been a greater betrayal by a President of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution.”

This is not, as LIZ CHENEY says, just some action. She characterized it as the biggest betrayal of any President of the United States in our history.

Mr. JOHN KATKO—not a backbench Republican who just got here and doesn’t know what is going on—Mr. JOHN KATKO, who is the ranking Republican on the Homeland Security Committee, says this: “To allow the President of the United States to incite this attack without consequence is a direct threat to the future of our democracy.”

This is not some backbencher on their side of the aisle, Mr. Speaker. It reflects the sense of outrage and the sense of historic dissimilarity from the actions of any previous President.

Then Mr. ADAM KINZINGER, a member of the Energy and Commerce Committee and a senior Member from Illinois—so we have a Member from Wyoming, a Member from Illinois, and a Member from New York. There will be others on this vote who will join them. Mr. KINZINGER said this: “If these actions”—he hasn’t had any hearings; he doesn’t need any long, drawn-out consideration—“If these actions are not worthy of impeachment, then what is an impeachable offense?”

There is no doubt in my mind that the President of the United States broke his oath and incited this insurrection.

I tell my friend, Mr. Speaker, a gentleman for whom I have great respect—he is my friend, and I say that honestly, not just as rhetoric that we say on this floor, because there are some that I don’t consider friends, whose values I do not share. That is not Mr. COLE. We have a difference. LIZ CHENEY, JOHN KATKO, ADAM KINZINGER, and other Republicans whom I have talked to within the last 24 hours believe this action is required.

□ 0945

Mr. Speaker, I see the gentleman from Ohio is on the floor. He likes to say that we Democrats were elected and the first thing we wanted to do was impeach this President. He is shaking his head in agreement because, like the President of the United States, he denies the facts. Trump-like. Fake news.

Mr. Speaker, December 6, 2017, Mr. GREEN, who I am going to refer to, offered a motion because he saw the danger that confronted our country, and he filed a resolution of impeachment. On December 6, 2017, we had a vote on that, and the majority of Democrats voted “no”—actually, they voted “yes” to table—so that we did not proceed in 2017.

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN) thought, however, the next year that there was still a danger to our country. Some of us shared that view, but we were not confident that the case could be made or that the transactions that preceded would lead to conviction. So, on January 19 of 2018, we had a motion to table Mr. GREEN’s resolution, and the majority of Democrats voted to table that resolution.

What a rush to judgment.

And then, on July 17, 2019, 9 days before the call to Ukraine to get the Ukrainian leader to act on the political behalf of the President of the United States and where he withheld money to defend the Ukrainian people from Russian involvement and offered that as a bribe, on July 17, the majority of Democrats voted to table that resolution.

Mr. Speaker, there was no rush to judgment.

Then that call to which I just referred was on July 26, 9 days later. I call that the “a-ha moment.” Yes, I knew what I thought, but that was proof.

Some gentlemen have lamented that we didn’t know the whistleblower, because, after all, if we knew the whistleblower, we could intimidate everybody else from coming forward. This President has done everything he can to intimidate whistleblowers, people who came forward and told the truth. And we had witness after witness after witness who confirmed what the whistleblower brought to our attention.

So, Mr. Speaker, the reason I rise today—and I am going to speak on the resolution itself at some later time—is to recognize the contributions that AL GREEN from Texas has made to getting us to this place.

I am not going to read all of the resolution, but I want to read some excerpts from the resolution he has introduced. We won’t be considering his resolution. We will be considering Mr. CICILLINE’s resolution which over 200 others have signed on to.

Mr. GREEN had a resolution be introduced: “Resolved, that Donald Trump, President of the United States” . . . “is impeached for high misdemeanors, and that the following Articles of Impeachment be exhibited to the Senate.”

Article I says, “In his capacity as President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his high office and the dignity and proprieties thereof, and of the harmony and courtesies necessary for stability”—to which my friend spoke, the gentleman from Oklahoma—Donald John Trump, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the Office of President “has harmed the society of the United States, brought shame and dishonor to the Office of President of the United States, sowing discord among the people of the United States” by weaponizing hate for political gain.

He went on to say, “On January 6, 2021, in a speech at the National Mall, President Donald Trump weaponized the hate that resulted in violence, the deaths of multiple people, an assault on democracy, and an insurrection against the Capitol of the United States of America by inciting a mob”—who said that? LIZ CHENEY said it, and AL GREEN said it—infected with white supremacists carrying a rebel flag, erecting a gallows structure with a noose, wearing shirts and hateful messages such as “Camp Auschwitz: Work Brings Freedom” and “MAGA Civil War, January 6, 2021.” “MAGA Civil War.”

They had the hats on of the army of MAGA, which I refer to as “Make America Grieve Again.” We grieved at Fort Sumter; we grieved on December 7, 1941; and we grieved on 9/11. And, yes, we grieved on January 6 of this year.

He goes on to say what the President told this mob that LIZ CHENEY said was recruited by the President of the United States. This is the President talking to this mob:

“All of us here today do not want to see our election victory stolen by bold and radical left Democrats”—like the Secretary of State in Georgia and the Governor of Georgia—“which is what they are doing, and stolen by the fake news media.”

Inciting, riling up, creating anger with the fake news and lies that the President of the United States said to these folks.

“That is what they have done and what they are doing,” the President continued. “We will never give up. We will never concede. It doesn’t happen. You don’t concede when there is theft involved.”

And so what did they do? Incited by this President, as LIZ CHENEY said, as JOHN KATKO said, as ADAM KINZINGER said, and, frankly, what Secretary Chao acted upon and what the Secretary of Homeland Security acted upon and what so many others in the administration have acted upon—disgusted, dismayed, and disheartened by what their President had done, they got out. They quit.

The President further emboldened them, saying—this is the Green resolution. We are not considering it, but it is the Green resolution. The President further emboldened them, saying, “You will never take back our country with weakness.”

We had a display of non-weakness, criminal insurrection-like conduct, recruited by and deployed by the President of the United States to come to this Capitol and “stop the steal.”

The “steal,” of course, was: We assembled, accepting what all the courts that considered it said was a fair and accurate election of Joe Biden and KAMALA HARRIS as President and Vice President of the United States.

After his National Mall speech, a mob of his supporters proceeded to the Capitol complex. We know that.

And so Mr. GREEN’s resolution ends with, “Wherefore, to prevent national harm to our society, Donald John Trump, by such conduct, warrants an immediate impeachment trial and removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States Constitution and the 14th Amendment.”

Mr. Speaker, Mr. GREEN is going to speak after me, but, in conclusion, let me tell my friend Mr. COLE: I have been here some time; he has as well. I served with Ronald Reagan, with George H.W. Bush, and George Bush. I had respect for all of those Presidents. They cared about our country, they honored our Constitution, and they executed the duties of their office consistent with the Constitution and laws of our country.

That is not true of this President, and, therefore, he ought to be removed. We have that opportunity to do so. Is there little time left? Yes. But it is never too late to do the right thing.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN), my good friend.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I had tears well in my eyes as I heard Mr. HOYER, and I know that hearts are hurting. This is a very sad time in the history of our country. No one is celebrating. No one wants to see this occur.

Mr. Speaker, I was at the Committee on Rules by way of Zoom. I was there for the entire hearing. Those Members on the other side, this is something that they understand and they take seriously. Regardless as to what is said, I could sense that they are hurting too.

I just want to thank everyone for all that has happened and the appreciation that has been shown.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, the healing that we talk about that has to begin, the healing has to start with some of these people who were there initially, who helped to lay this foundation, 110 people.

I want to recognize Congresswoman MAXINE WATERS. A lot of them were threatened. Their lives were disrupted.

Mr. Speaker, I include their names in the RECORD.

MEMBERS WHO VOTED FOR IMPEACHMENT

Total Number: 110

KEY

- 1 = H. Res. 646—First 58—Wednesday, December 6, 2017.
 2 = H. Res. 705—Historic 66—Friday, January 19, 2018.
 3 = H. Res. 498—Noble 95—Wednesday, July 17, 2019.

Member last name, first name, district, and which article:

Adams, Alma, NC-12, 1,2,3.
 Barragán, Nanette, CA-44, 1,2,3.
 Bass, Karen, CA-37, 1,2,3.
 Beatty, Joyce, OH-03, 1,2,3.
 Blumenauer, Earl, OR-03, 3.
 Bonamici, Suzanne, OR-01, 3.
 Boyle, Brendan, PA-02, 3.
 Brady, Robert, PA-01, 1,2.
 Brown, Anthony, MD-04, 3.
 Butterfield, G.K., NC-01, 2,3.
 Capuano, Mike, MA-7, 1,2.
 Cárdenas, Tony, CA-29, 3.
 Carson, André, IN-07, 2,3.
 Castro, Joaquin, TX-20, 3.
 Cicilline, David, RI-01, 3.
 Clark, Katherine, MA-05, 1,2,3.
 Clarke, Yvette, NY-09, 1,2,3.
 Clay, Wm. Lacy, MO-01, 1,2,3.
 Clyburn, James, SC-6, 1.
 Cohen, Steve, TN-09, 1,2,3.
 Davis, Danny, IL-07, 1,3.
 Dean, Madeleine, PA-04, 3.
 DeGette, Diana, CO-01, 3.
 DeSaulnier, Mark, CA-11, 1,2,3.
 Dingell, Debbie, MI-12, 3.
 Doggett, Lloyd, TX-35, 1,2,3.
 Doyle, Michael, PA-18, 3.
 Ellison, Keith, MN-05, 1,2.
 Engel, Eliot, NY-16, 1,2,3.
 Escobar, Veronica, TX-16, 3.
 Espallat, Adriano, NY-13, 1,2,3.
 Evans, Dwight, PA-03, 1,2,3.
 Frankel, Lois, FL-21, 1,2.
 Fudge, Marcia, OH-11, 1,3.
 Garamendi, John, CA-03, 2.
 García, Jesús G. "Chuy", IL-04, 3.
 García, Sylvia, TX-29, 3.
 Gomez, Jimmy, CA-34, 1,2,3.
 Green, Al, TX-09, 1,2,3.
 Grijalva, Raúl, AZ-03, 1,2,3.
 Gutiérrez, Luis, IL-04, 2.
 Hastings, Alcee, FL-20, 1,2.
 Higgins, Brian, NY-26, 1,2,3.
 Huffman, Jared, CA-02, 1,2,3.
 Jackson Lee, Sheila, TX-18, 1,2,3.
 Jayapal, Pramila, WA-07, 1,2,3.
 Jeffries, Hakeem, NY-08, 2.
 Johnson, Eddie Bernice, TX-30, 2,3.
 Kelly, Robin, IL-02, 1,3.
 Kennedy III, Joseph, MA-04, 3.
 Kildee, Daniel, MI-05, 3.
 Kirkpatrick, Ann, AZ-02, 3.
 Larsen, Rick, WA-02, 3.
 Lawrence, Brenda, MI-14, 1,2,3.
 Lee, Barbara, CA-13, 1,2,3.
 Levin, Mike, CA-49, 3.
 Levin, Andy, MI-09, 3.
 Lewis, John, GA-05, 1,2.
 Lieu, Ted, CA-33, 1,2,3.
 Lofgren, Zoe, CA-19, 3.
 Lowenthal, Alan, CA-47, 2,3.
 Lowey, Nita, NY-17, 3.
 Maloney, Carolyn, NY-12, 3.
 Matsui, Doris, CA-06, 3.
 McCollum, Betty, MN-04, 1,2,3.
 McGovern, James, MA-02, 1,2,3.
 McNerney, Jerry, CA-09, 1,2,3.
 Meng, Grace, NY-06, 3.
 Moore, Gwen, WI-04, 1,2,3.
 Moulton, Seth, MA-06, 1,2,3.
 Nadler, Jerrold, NY-10, 3.
 Napolitano, Grace, CA-32, 1,2,3.
 Neguse, Joe, CO-02, 3.
 Norcross, Donald, NJ-01, 1,2,3.
 Ocasio-Cortez, Alexandria, NY-14, 3.
 Omar, Ilhan, MN-05, 3.

Pallone, Frank, NJ-06, 1,2,3.
 Pascrell, Bill, NJ-09, 1,2,3.
 Payne, Donald, NJ-10, 2,3.
 Pingree, Chellie, ME-01, 1,2,3.
 Pocan, Mark, WI-02, 2,3.
 Polis, Jared, CO-02, 1,2.
 Pressley, Ayanna, MA-07, 3.
 Raskin, Jamie, MD-08, 1,2,3.
 Richmond, Cedric, LA-02, 1,2,3.
 Roybal-Allard, Lucille, CA-40, 3.
 Rush, Bobby, IL-01, 1,2.
 Scanlon, Mary, PA-05, 3.
 Schakowsky, Janice, IL-08, 1,2,3.
 Scott, David, GA-13, 2,3.
 Serrano, José, NY-15, 2.
 Sherman, Brad, CA-30, 1,2,3.
 Slaughter, Louise, NY-25, 1.
 Speier, Jackie, CA-14, 3.
 Swalwell, Eric, CA-15, 3.
 Thompson, Mike, CA-05, 3.
 Thompson, Bennie, MS-02, 1,2,3.
 Titus, Dina, NV-01, 1,2,3.
 Tlaib, Rashida, MI-13, 3.
 Tonko, Paul, NY-20, 3.
 Torres, Norma, CA-35, 3.
 Trahan, Lori, MA-03, 3.
 Vargas, Juan, CA-51, 1,2,3.
 Vela, Filemon, TX-34, 1,2,3.
 Velázquez, Nydia, NY-07, 2,3.
 Walz, Tim, MN-01, 1,2.
 Waters, Maxine, CA-43, 1,2,3.
 Watson Coleman, Bonnie, NJ-12, 1,2,3.
 Welch, Peter, VT-At Large, 3.
 Wilson, Frederica, FL-24, 1,2,3.

MEMBERS WHO VOTED FOR IMPEACHMENT

H. RES. 646—FIRST 58—WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 2017

Member last name, first name, district:

Adams, Alma, NC-12.
 Barragan, Nanette, CA-44.
 Bass, Karen, CA-37.
 Beatty, Joyce, OH-03.
 Brady, Robert, PA-01.
 Capuano, Mike, MA-7.
 Clark, Katherine, MA-05.
 Clarke, Yvette, NY-09.
 Clay, Wm. Lacy, MO-01.
 Clyburn, James, SC-6.
 Cohen, Steve, TN-09.
 Davis, Danny, IL-07.
 DeSaulnier, Mark, CA-11.
 Doggett, Lloyd, TX-35.
 Ellison, Keith, MN-05.
 Engel, Eliot, NY-16.
 Espallat, Adriano, NY-13.
 Evans, Dwight, PA-03.
 Frankel, Lois, FL-21.
 Fudge, Marcia, OH-11.
 Gomez, Jimmy, CA-34.
 Green, Al, TX-09.
 Grijalva, Raúl, AZ-03.
 Hastings, Alcee, FL-20.
 Higgins, Brian, NY-26.
 Huffman, Jared, CA-02.
 Jackson Lee, Sheila, TX-18.
 Jayapal, Pramila, WA-07.
 Kelly, Robin, IL-02.
 Lawrence, Brenda, MI-14.
 Lee, Barbara, CA-13.
 Lewis, John, GA-05.
 Lieu, Ted, CA-33.
 McCollum, Betty, MN-04.
 McGovern, James, MA-02.
 McNerney, Jerry, CA-09.
 Moore, Gwen, WI-04.
 Moulton, Seth, MA-06.
 Napolitano, Grace, CA-32.
 Norcross, Donald, NJ-01.
 Pallone, Frank, NJ-06.
 Pascrell, Bill, NJ-09.
 Pingree, Chellie, ME-01.
 Polis, Jared, CO-02.
 Raskin, Jamie, MD-08.
 Richmond, Cedric, LA-02.
 Rush, Bobby, IL-01.
 Schakowsky, Janice, IL-08.
 Sherman, Brad, CA-30.

Slaughter, Louise, NY-25.
 Thompson, Bennie, MS-02.
 Titus, Dina, NV-01.
 Vargas, Juan, CA-51.
 Vela, Filemon, TX-34.
 Walz, Tim, MN-01.
 Waters, Maxine, CA-43.
 Watson Coleman, Bonnie, NJ-12.
 Wilson, Frederica, FL-24.

MEMBERS WHO VOTED FOR IMPEACHMENT

H. RES. 705—HISTORIC 66—FRIDAY, JANUARY 19, 2018

Member last name first name, district:

Adams, Alma, NC-12.
 Barragán, Nanette, CA-44.
 Bass, Karen, CA-37.
 Beatty, Joyce, OH-03.
 Brady, Robert, PA-01.
 Butterfield, G.K., NC-01.
 Capuano, Mike, MA-7.
 Carson, André, IN-07.
 Clark, Katherine, MA-05.
 Clarke, Yvette, NY-09.
 Clay, Wm. Lacy, MO-01.
 Cohen, Steve, TN-09.
 Davis, Danny, IL-07.
 DeSaulnier, Mark, CA-11.
 Doggett, Lloyd, TX-35.
 Ellison, Keith, MN-05.
 Engel, Eliot, NY-16.
 Espallat, Adriano, NY-13.
 Evans, Dwight, PA-03.
 Frankel, Lois, FL-21.
 Garamendi, John, CA-03.
 Gomez, Jimmy, CA-34.
 Green, Al, TX-09.
 Grijalva, Raúl, AZ-03.
 Gutiérrez, Luis, IL-04.
 Hastings, Alcee, FL-20.
 Higgins, Brian, NY-26.
 Huffman, Jared, CA-02.
 Jackson Lee, Sheila, TX-18.
 Jayapal, Pramila, WA-07.
 Jeffries, Hakeem, NY-08.
 Johnson, Eddie Bernice, TX-30.
 Lawrence, Brenda, MI-14.
 Lee, Barbara, CA-13.
 Lewis, John, GA-05.
 Lieu, Ted, CA-33.
 Lowenthal, Alan, CA-47.
 McCollum, Betty, MN-04.
 McGovern, James, MA-02.
 McNerney, Jerry, CA-09.
 Moore, Gwen, WI-04.
 Moulton, Seth, MA-06.
 Napolitano, Grace, CA-32.
 Norcross, Donald, NJ-01.
 Pallone, Frank, NJ-06.
 Pascrell, Bill, NJ-09.
 Payne, Donald, NJ-10.
 Pingree, Chellie, ME-01.
 Pocan, Mark, WI-02.
 Polis, Jared, CO-02.
 Raskin, Jamie, MD-08.
 Richmond, Cedric, LA-02.
 Rush, Bobby, IL-01.
 Schakowsky, Janice, IL-08.
 Scott, David, GA-13.
 Serrano, José, NY-15.
 Sherman, Brad, CA-30.
 Thompson, Bennie, MS-02.
 Titus, Dina, NV-01.
 Vargas, Juan, CA-51.
 Vela, Filemon, TX-34.
 Velázquez, Nydia, NY-07.
 Walz, Tim, MN-01.
 Waters, Maxine, CA-43.
 Watson Coleman, Bonnie, NJ-12.
 Wilson, Frederica, FL-24.

MEMBERS WHO VOTED FOR IMPEACHMENT

H. RES. 498—NOBLE 95—WEDNESDAY, JULY 17, 2019

Member last name, first name, district:

Adams, Alma, NC-12.
 Barragán, Nanette, CA-44.
 Bass, Karen, CA-37.
 Beatty, Joyce, OH-03.

Blumenauer, Earl, OR-03.
 Bonamici, Suzanne, OR-01.
 Boyle, Brendan, PA-02.
 Brown, Anthony, MD-04.
 Butterfield, G.K., NC-01.
 Cárdenas, Tony, CA-29.
 Carson, André, IN-07.
 Castro, Joaquin, TX-20.
 Cicilline, David, RI-01.
 Clark, Katherine, MA-05.
 Clarke, Yvette, NY-09.
 Clay, Wm. Lacy, MO-01.
 Cohen, Steve, TN-09.
 Davis, Danny, IL-07.
 Dean, Madeleine, PA-04.
 DeGette, Diana, CO-01.
 DeSaulnier, Mark, CA-11.
 Dingell, Debbie, MI-12.
 Doggett, Lloyd, TX-35.
 Doyle, Michael, PA-18.
 Engel, Eliot, NY-16.
 Escobar, Veronica, TX-16.
 Espaillat, Adriano, NY-13.
 Evans, Dwight, PA-03.
 Fudge, Marcia, OH-11.
 García, Jesús G. "Chuy", IL-04.
 García, Sylvia, TX-29.
 Gomez, Jimmy, CA-34.
 Green, Al, TX-09.
 Grijalva, Raúl, AZ-03.
 Higgins, Brian, NY-26.
 Huffman, Jared, CA-02.
 Jackson Lee, Sheila, TX-18.
 Jayapal, Pramila, WA-07.
 Johnson, Eddie Bernice, TX-30.
 Kelly, Robin, IL-02.
 Kennedy III, Joseph, MA-04.
 Kildee, Daniel, MI-05.
 Kirkpatrick, Ann, AZ-02.
 Larsen, Rick, WA-02.
 Lawrence, Brenda, MI-14.
 Lee, Barbara, CA-13.
 Levin, Mike, CA-49.
 Levin, Andy, MI-09.
 Lieu, Ted, CA-33.
 Lofgren, Zoe, CA-19.
 Lowenthal, Alan, CA-47.
 Lowey, Nita, NY-17.
 Maloney, Carolyn, NY-12.
 Matsui, Doris, CA-06.
 McCollum, Betty, MN-04.
 McGovern, James, MA-02.
 McNerney, Jerry, CA-09.
 Meng, Grace, NY-06.
 Moore, Gwen, WI-04.
 Moulton, Seth, MA-06.
 Nadler, Jerrold, NY-10.
 Napolitano, Grace, CA-32.
 Neguse, Joe, CO-02.
 Norcross, Donald, NJ-01.
 Ocasio-Cortez, Alexandria, NY-14.
 Omar, Ilhan, MN-05.
 Pallone, Frank, NJ-06.
 Pascarella, Bill, NJ-09.
 Payne, Donald, NJ-10.
 Pingree, Chellie, ME-01.
 Pocan, Mark, WI-02.
 Pressley, Ayanna, MA-07.
 Raskin, Jamie, MD-08.
 Richmond, Cedric, LA-02.
 Roybal-Allard, Lucille, CA-40.
 Scanlon, Mary, PA-05.
 Schakowsky, Janice, IL-08.
 Scott, David, GA-13.
 Sherman, Brad, CA-30.
 Speier, Jackie, CA-14.
 Swalwell, Eric, CA-15.
 Thompson, Mike, CA-05.
 Thompson, Bennie, MS-02.
 Titus, Dina, NV-01.
 Tlaib, Rashida, MI-13.
 Tonko, Paul, NY-20.
 Torres, Norma, CA-35.
 Trahan, Lori, MA-03.
 Vargas, Juan, CA-51.
 Vela, Filemon, TX-34.
 Velázquez, Nydia, NY-07.
 Waters, Maxine, CA-43.

Watson Coleman, Bonnie, NJ-12.

Welch, Peter, VT-At Large.

Wilson, Frederica, FL-24.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, may God bless our country as we go forward.

MR. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH), my good friend, distinguished Republican Member, our leader of the Budget Committee.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, we will amend the rule to immediately bring up the bill establishing a bipartisan national commission on the domestic terror attack of the United States Capitol.

This has been a devastating week for our Nation. Just last week, we stood right here in this very Chamber while a violent mob laid siege to the seat of American democracy. It is vital we get the facts on what went wrong last week, why the security apparatus failed, and how we can ensure it never—it never—happens again.

Mr. Speaker, less than 50 feet from where we stand in this room, a young lady lost her life through those doors—through those doors. I was in this Chamber when those gunshots rang. That is real stuff. That should never happen in the people's House.

For the first time, can the House Democrats and the Speaker of the House put the people before politics?

Please put the people before politics. At a time when our Nation is more divided than ever before, let's put people before politics.

President Trump will be leaving in 7 days. Let's try to heal this Nation. Let's listen to the American people. This is the people's House. Let's operate for the people.

This country is hurting. The people are hurting. Our colleagues are hurting.

This is a reckless impeachment. This will only bring up the hate and fire more than ever before.

Have a conscience. Put the people before politics. Unify this country.

□ 1000

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, let me remind all of my colleagues that what happened on Wednesday would not have happened if it weren't for the occupant in the White House. If we want to put the people first, we all ought to vote to impeach him and remove him from office as soon as possible.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. BROWNLEY).

Ms. BROWNLEY. Mr. Speaker, today is a defining moment in our history.

Congress was attacked by a mob directed by the President of the United States. It was a horrible, terrifying situation. But we all know, deep in our hearts, that it could have been much, much worse.

We simply cannot let it stand. We cannot let it stand for the very soul of our democracy. We cannot let the

President of the United States leave office without acting.

We are the oldest constitutional republic in the world, and our Capitol is a sacred symbol of our great democracy.

To my colleagues across the aisle, I appeal to your sense of service and duty to our Nation and to the oath we all swore to uphold. Before we are Democrats and Republicans, we are Americans. Let us come together to fulfill our oath by voting for the resolution before us and by defending, preserving, and honoring our democracy.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from South Carolina (Ms. MACE), one of our new Members, and note this is her first speech on the House floor.

Ms. MACE. Mr. Speaker, this is not the reason I wanted to give my first speech in our Chamber, in our hallowed Halls. This is not what I wanted to do in my first week in office. But after the violent events of last week, watching and witnessing how heartbreaking this was, thank God I sent my kids home on Monday morning because I was worried about the rhetoric leading up to the events and to the rally on January 6, the violence that could transpire.

Not only were our lives in danger but if my kids were here, their lives would have been in danger, too, the two most precious people in my life.

Mr. Speaker, the U.S. House of Representatives has every right to impeach the President of the United States. What we are doing today, rushing this impeachment in an hour- or 2-hour-long debate on the floor in this Chamber, bypassing Judiciary, poses great questions about the constitutionality of this process.

I believe we need to hold the President accountable. I hold him accountable for the events that transpired, for the attack on our Capitol last Wednesday. I also believe we need to hold accountable every single person, even Members of Congress, if they contributed to the violence that transpired here.

But, today, I am asking my colleagues to remember the words of the legendary, great leader in this country, Dr. Martin Luther King, who once said the time is always right to do what is right.

If we are serious about healing the division in this country, Republicans and Democrats need to acknowledge this is not the first day of violence we have seen. We have seen violence across our country for the last 9 months. We need to recognize, number one, that our words have consequences, that there is violence on both sides of the aisle. We have contributed to it. We need to take responsibility for our words and our actions. We need to acknowledge there is a problem, take responsibility for it, and stop being part of the problem and start being part of the solution.

God bless every Member in the Chamber today, and God bless the United States of America.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. WELCH).

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, our government is founded on the principle of all power flows from the people.

Donald Trump challenged this principle in two ways: Deceit and violence. The deceit is repeated in baseless assertions of an electoral fraud. The violence, the attack on the United States Capitol on January 6, the mob was assembled by Donald Trump, incited by Donald Trump, and in service of Donald Trump's effort to overturn, through violence, what he lost at the voting booth.

The violent mob reached the Capitol; killed and injured Capitol Police; destroyed property; threatened the Vice President, Members of Congress, and staff, all to obstruct the peaceful transfer of power.

If we want unity, we must have accountability. So the question before this Congress: Will Congress condone through acquiescence or condemn through impeachment Donald Trump's violent acts to overturn the election?

Congress must impeach.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JORDAN), the distinguished Republican leader of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. JORDAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, in his opening remarks, the Democrat chair of the Rules Committee said that Republicans last week voted to overturn the results of an election.

Guess who the first objector was on January 6, 2017, the first objector? The Democrat chair of the Rules Committee. And guess which State he objected to? Alabama. The very first State called, Alabama. President Trump, I think, won Alabama with 80 points. Actually, he won it by 30 points.

They can object. They can object to Alabama in 2017 but tell us we can't object to Pennsylvania in 2021, Pennsylvania where the State supreme court just unilaterally extended the election to Friday; Pennsylvania where the secretary of state unilaterally changed the rules, went around the legislature in an unconstitutional fashion; Pennsylvania where county clerks in some counties, and you can imagine which counties they were, let people fix their ballots against the law, cure their ballots, their mail-in ballots, a direct violation of law. And they tell us we tried to overturn the election?

Guess who the second objector was in 2017? The individual managing the impeachment for the Democrats.

Americans are tired of the double standard. They are so tired of it. Democrats objected to more States in 2017 than Republicans did last week, but somehow we are wrong.

Democrats can raise bail for rioters and looters this summer, but somehow when Republicans condemn all the vio-

lence, the violence this summer, the violence last week, somehow we are wrong. Democrats can investigate the President of the United States, as Mr. HOYER went through, tried to impeach him, investigate him for 4 years, but will not look at an election that 80 million Americans, half the electorate, 80 million, Republicans and Democrats, have their doubts about.

I said this last night. I do not know where all this goes, and this is frightening for the country. We should defeat this rule, and we should defeat the impeachment resolution when it comes up later this afternoon.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, some of us objected 4 years ago as a protest vote to raise concerns about what all of our intelligence agencies had stated clearly, which was that Russia had interfered in our election.

What the gentleman fails to acknowledge is that we all acknowledged that Donald Trump was the President the day after the election. Hillary Clinton conceded the day after the election.

And none of us push conspiracy theories like some of my friends on the other side of the aisle have been doing, and this President, that somehow the President won in a landslide. Give me a break.

Yesterday, in the Rules Committee, I asked the gentleman from Ohio if he would just say five simple words. Mr. Speaker, I will tell you that he was talking about healing. The five simple words that one could say that would help heal this Nation are that: "The election was not stolen." That is it, five simple words. He refused. He said he never said the election was stolen. Well, the evidence shows otherwise. Let me reference this Dana Milbank piece titled "Five pesky little words keep stumping Jim Jordan."

Mr. Speaker, the bottom line is this. This Capitol was stormed. People died because of the big lies that were being told by this President and by too many people on the other side of the aisle.

Enough. People should be outraged as to what happened. It was unforgivable, unconscionable. Coming up on this floor and talking about whataboutism and trying to make these false equivalencies, give me a break.

The President of the United States instigated an attempted coup in this country. People died. Everybody should be outraged, whether you are a Democrat or a Republican. If this is not an impeachable offense, I don't know what the hell is.

This President is not fit to remain in office.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO).

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, this was not a one-off. It was a long time coming. It was a part of a plan to perpetuate Trump in office.

Trump's campaign strategy was: The election, the only way we can lose is if it is stolen. It is stolen; it is fake. "It is stolen," repeated by many of his fellow travelers on that side, more

than 150 times by Trump over the summer.

Then, they litigated to disqualify voters. That didn't work.

Then, they litigated to throw out ballots. Well, that didn't work.

Then, they attempted to delay the count with State legislatures. Well, that didn't work.

Last ditch, the President called down to Georgia and said: Can't you find me more votes?

And then, one last desperate plea: Stop the January 6 certification. And the President talked about that on September 26. He said: You know, if it goes to Congress, there is one vote per State, and we have an advantage.

So, I think this was part of a plan to disrupt the electoral college of the United States.

Giuliani: "Trial by combat."

Trump: "You will never take back our country with weakness."

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. RESCHENTHALER), a new member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply troubled by last week's attack on our Capitol, and I pray for the families of Officer Sicknick and Officer Liebengood.

As I have been saying all summer long, violence and rioting has no place in America. The criminals responsible for last week's rioting must be brought to justice. At a time when our Nation is still healing, we must seek out issues to work on that unite us rather than issues that further divide us.

I was greatly encouraged to see our country unite in condemnation of last week's lawlessness and the rioting. I am further encouraged that, despite my Democrat colleagues' claims to the contrary, President Trump is committed to a peaceful and uninterrupted transfer of power.

But that is not good enough for my colleagues across the aisle. With just 7 days left in President Trump's term, they are fast-tracking impeachment proceedings, a move which will no doubt further divide an already fractured Nation.

Even House Democrats' last impeachment effort, which was rushed through in record time, at the very least, that had expert input, depositions, hearings, and deliberation. This latest attempt at impeachment ignores all precedent. It ignores all due process. It cannot be voted on in the Senate before Joe Biden is sworn into office.

I am also very concerned by the charge against the President of "incitement of insurrection." At his rally, President Trump urged attendees to "peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard." There was no mention of violence, let alone calls to action.

Look, I prosecuted terrorists in the Navy. I was a defense attorney in the Navy JAG Corps. I was a district judge. Pull up the criminal statute. Look at the criminal code. President Trump's

words would not even meet the definition of incitement under criminal statutes.

The measure before us today sets a dangerous precedent whereby political parties can justify impeachment simply because they do not agree with the President. I would, therefore, urge my colleagues across the aisle to just take a step back, let cooler heads prevail, and consider how the actions we are taking here today will alter the course of history, will lower an already low bar of impeachment for all future Presidencies.

□ 1015

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, when my friends talk about the President being committed to a peaceful transition, I just point to what happened on Wednesday when his words launched a violent attack against this Capitol where five people lost their lives and many more were injured. So give me a break.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Contrary to my good friend's words, the President of the United States is an insurrectionist. He led an insurrection against the United States of America.

Prior to the January 6 attack by violent domestic terrorists, the President spoke to the crowd for 1 hour, and these were his words. These were his words, which is that we cannot take the Nation back. We have to take the Nation back with strength, and you must go and do that. Those were the paraphrase of his words.

The President provoked these domestic terrorists with words, with actions and conduct that betray a contempt and hostility to the national value of equal justice under the law, telling domestic terrorists, nearly all of them white supremacists, many of them, who support him politically, who stormed the Capitol to derail Congress from completing its constitutionally required duty of counting and verifying the vote.

Mr. Speaker, as a senior member of the Committees on the Judiciary and on Homeland Security, I rise in strong support of the rule governing debate on H. Res. 24, a resolution impeaching the current President of the United States for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, warranting his conviction and removal from office and, in accordance with Article I, Section 3, clause 7, disqualification from ever again holding and enjoying an Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States."

I strongly support the rule and the underlying resolution calling for impeachment and removal of this President because after the horrifying events of Wednesday last, January 6, 2021, another day that will live in infamy, the continuance in office of this President for even one moment longer represents a clear and present threat to the security of the United States, its people, institutions, and democratic form of government.

To put it in the words of the Framers, the current President's conduct reflects and reveals a person "whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

To put it in contemporary terms, the current President can rightly be said to be perhaps the leading cause of state-sponsored domestic terrorism.

Every minute this President remains in office represents a minute of maximum peril to the American people and the American Experiment.

Unrepentant after his perfidious and treacherous conduct of Wednesday last, the President just yesterday went to Alamo, Texas, without giving any advance notice or consultation to the leaders of that community.

Does anyone really doubt that the President's true purpose in going to Alamo was to signal to his band of disloyalists his desire that they make a last stand and fight to the death in his name?

I do not, and neither does the majority of the American people, and I suspect that in their heart of hearts, neither do our colleagues on the Republican side.

Mr. Speaker, three facts demonstrate why immediate action to remove the President is essential.

First, the abject failure and refusal of the President to take care that the laws be faithfully executed puts lives at risk.

When the U.S. Capitol was besieged last week by domestic terrorists, the President obstructed and denied the request of the Mayor of the District of Columbia to call out the National Guard to protect life and property; it took the Vice-President, working with Speaker PELOSI and incoming Senate Majority Leader SCHUMER to prevail upon the Department of Defense to come to the defense of the Capitol and the people trapped inside.

Instead of acting in accordance with his sacred oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution and to take care that the people and property of the United States are protected against all enemies, foreign or domestic, the President did nothing but watch the mayhem on television, ebullient at the enthusiastic display of support from his lawless loyalists.

Second, the current President's conduct stands in stark and marked contrast to his conduct earlier this year when protests were sweeping the country in response to the murder of George Floyd, when the President dispatched law enforcement authorities to put down peaceful protests led by moms and veterans in Portland, Oregon and social justice activists in Washington, D.C.

Back then, the President mobilized a heavy police presence, many on horseback and others using tear gas, to clear Lafayette Square of peaceful protesters so he could walk across the street to have himself photographed clutching a bible upside down in front of a church.

Third, the President's words, actions, and conduct betray a contempt and hostility to the national value of equal justice under law, telling the domestic terrorists, many of whom were white supremacists who support him politically, who stormed the Capitol to derail Congress from completing its constitutionally required duty of counting and verifying the votes of presidential electors, that "we love you. You're very special," while referring to African

Americans and other persons of color protesting social injustice and inequalities in the criminal justice system as "animals," "thugs," and "anarchists."

Mr. Speaker, the President's actions inciting insurrection against the United States was the proximate cause of the horrifying siege of the U.S. Capitol, the destruction and desecration of the Citadel of Democracy, and the deaths of at least six persons, one of whom was a uniformed officer to the United States Capitol Police, whom was bludgeoned to death by the incited mob.

Abusing the powers and resources of his high office, Donald John Trump has actively and continuously endeavored to undermine the essential institutions and foundations of a democratic system of government in the United States, engaging in a long train of abuses and usurptions, pursuing invariably the same object, evincing a design to make himself an authoritarian ruler unaccountable to, and independent of, the people of the United States.

The utter unfitness of the President for the office he holds and his contempt for the sacred oath he took before the nation with God as his witness, was vividly on display on January 6, 2021.

But signs of his calumny were on display in plain sight, reflected by his misbehavior and malfeasance from the earliest days of his administration.

Abusing the powers and resources of his high office, this President has actively and continuously endeavored to undermine the essential institutions and foundations of a democratic system of government in the United States, engaging in a long train of abuses and usurptions, pursuing invariably the same object, evincing a design to make himself an authoritarian ruler unaccountable to, and independent of, the people of the United States by:

(1) Soliciting and welcoming the assistance of a hostile foreign power to aid him in securing election in 2016 as President of the United States;

(2) Refusing to acknowledge Russian interference in the internal affairs of the United States, and then opposing responses by Congress and the Executive Branch to protect the national security and interests of the United States against future Russian interference and aggression;

(3) Publicly conveying his interest and willingness to accept the assistance of foreign powers in his attempt win reelection as President of the United States;

(4) Refusing continuously to acknowledge to the American people that he would accept and be bound by the verdict rendered in the 2020 Presidential election, instead claiming that any outcome in which he was not declared the winner was fraudulent, rigged, and illegitimate;

(5) Taking active measures to impede and undermine the ability of American citizens to convey their disapproval of his continuance in office by exercising their rights as voters, including misusing the United States Postal Service to prevent the timely delivery of mail-in ballots;

(6) Instituting frivolous lawsuits to overturn the results of the 2020 Presidential election, falsely alleging wide-spread voting fraud but producing no evidence in support of his spurious allegations;

(7) Exhorting and inciting his supporters to believe falsely that victory in the 2020 Presidential election had been stolen from him and

that constitutionally required Joint Meeting of Congress for the purpose of counting the votes of electors and announcement of the result by the President of the Senate was illegitimate and intended to complete the theft of his victory; and

(8) Failing to take action to protect and defend Federal officers and personnel, property, buildings, and institutions on January 6, 2021, at the U.S. Capitol that was besieged by supporters of Donald John Trump, resulting in extensive damage to the property of the United States and the deaths of at least four persons.

This is why multiple Members of Congress, introduced resolutions of articles of impeachment; joined by dozens of original cosponsors, I introduced H. Res. 26, impeaching the President for the High Crimes and Misdemeanors of (1) Abuse of Power and (2) Willful Refusal And Failure To Protect And Defend The Constitution Of The United States.

Mr. Speaker, Donald John 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.

He must be impeached, convicted, removed from office, and disqualified from ever again holding and enjoying an Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States.

My love and reverence for the Constitution compels me to vote to impeach this President and I urge all my colleagues who revere the Constitution and our democracy, which has endured for more than 240 years, to join me in voting for the rule for H. Res. 24, so we can vote to impeach Donald John Trump for High Crimes and Misdemeanors against the United States.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CARTER), my very good friend.

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to this effort to move forward with impeachment proceedings.

What happened on Wednesday, January 6, was nothing short of pure anarchy. Those individuals who broke the law should be held accountable for their actions. They should be prosecuted to the highest extent of the law, and they should be put in jail.

This was one of the saddest days of my life, last Wednesday, Mr. Speaker. Our thoughts and our prayers are with the police officers and other law enforcement who carried out their duties on that tragic day, including Officers Sicknick and Liebengood.

Right now, our focus should be on healing, healing our Nation. With so many upset and dismayed at the actions of last week, it is our responsibility to chart a path forward, to subdue the growing animosity, and to find ways to heal our country.

Unfortunately, I don't believe this resolution will achieve those goals, especially 7 days ahead of the inauguration. This is a very serious and concerning effort during such a tense and fragile time in our country.

I urge my colleagues to consider how this would further entrench people during such a tense time. I cannot support this.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All Members are reminded to wear face coverings while on the floor. All Members and staff should be wearing face coverings while on the floor.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, for years Donald Trump has honored thugs worldwide who suppress democracy. For months, with a daily diet of lies, he has made clear his refusal to accept any election in which he was not the winner.

After failing completely in his repeated attempts to intimidate both Republican election officials into committing fraud and Republican-appointed judges into ignoring our Constitution, he made a desperate attempt last week to block the final election count and prevent the peaceful transition of power essential to democracy. Trump basically attempted to overthrow the government, to violently overthrow the first branch of government, this Congress.

Like his deadly reaction to the pandemic, he totally bungled the deadly attack. Both his frenzied riotous mob and his congressional enablers were defeated. America, we did "stop the steal." We stopped Donald Trump from stealing our democracy and imposing himself as a tyrant.

Today, we not only demand accountability for his gross misconduct, but more importantly, we declare to the next Trump-like aspiring tyrant, not in America, we love our democracy too much. Our Capitol is scarred, but our democracy survives. Violating his sworn duty to protect and defend our Constitution by seeking to violently overthrow the government by inciting violence, lighting the flames of a deadly insurrection. If this is not impeachable, nothing is.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I advise the Chair that I have additional speakers on the way, but they are having a difficult time. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. On November 3, the American people voted overwhelmingly for Joe Biden and KAMALA HARRIS to serve as President and Vice President of the United States.

The country was about to enter a new era, with great hope for change. Yet, with a decisive mandate and majority, the President used untruthful claims to end the completion of a constitutional process of collecting the electoral votes making Joe Biden President of the United States.

Not accepting the will of the American people, the President unleashed the most horrific violence that overwhelmed the security forces at this Capitol, which was overrun for the first time since 1812, putting the lives of so many at risk—indeed, a day of infamy.

This impeachment will be viewed as a transcendent vote, where all will be

judged. Vote to impeach the President of the United States, Donald J. Trump.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. CASTOR).

Ms. CASTOR of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

I rise today to urge the impeachment of Donald Trump because the attack on the Capitol and the Congress was the single most depraved betrayal of the U.S. Constitution ever committed by a President. The traitorous incitement of an insurrection demands not just impeachment but removal from office immediately.

Violence during the transfer of power, Confederate flags, anti-Semitic paraphernalia desecrated this Capitol. Accountability must come swiftly. We must act with the same resoluteness we showed in the early morning hours after the insurrection, where we ensured the will of the voters was effectuated.

Donald Trump's defilement of this Capitol will not stand. It demands impeachment now.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BISHOP), who is my very good friend.

Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

These articles charge incitement. Once before, the House impeached a President of the United States within a week of the alleged offense. That was President Andrew Johnson days after he removed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton in 1868. Over 50 years later, the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the Tenure of Office Act that President Johnson had refused to obey.

In other words, the House was not only hasty, it was wrong, punishing noncompliance with the unconstitutional law. At least when that occurred, the constitutionality of the law in question was unsettled. Here, however, an angry House majority races to impeachment in direct violation of settled constitutional law.

Again, the articles before the House charge incitement to insurrection. They do not specify inciting language. The law is well settled: "What is required, to forfeit constitutional protection, is incitement speech that 'specifically advocates' for listeners to take unlawful action."

The violence last Wednesday was abhorrent. Perpetrators should be prosecuted. Those responsible for security decisions held accountable. Congress can disapprove, revile, condemn, even censure. But Congress cannot, consistent with the rule of law, punish that which the Constitution's First Amendment declares protected. If my colleagues do it, the violators of the duty to this Constitution, however angry, will be those who vote for this Article of Impeachment. It is not Mr.

GREEN's Article of Impeachment. It is incitement, and the Constitution is settled on that point.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Minnesota (Ms. OMAR).

Ms. OMAR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Let us not mince words about what happened last week. It was a violent attempt to interrupt our democratic process. It was a targeted blow at the most essential process that makes us a democracy. It was directly and specifically incited by the President of the United States.

For years, we have been asked to turn a blind eye to the criminality, corruption, and blatant disregard to the rule of law by the tyrant President we have in the White House. We, as a nation, can no longer look away.

The President not only incited an insurrection against our government but has, in word and deed, led a rebellion.

We cannot simply move past this or turn the page. For us to be able to survive as a functioning democracy, there has to be accountability.

We must impeach and remove this President from office immediately so that he cannot be a threat to our democracy.

I stand ready to fulfill my oath of office. I challenge my colleagues on the other side of the aisle to do the same.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a New York Times article published January 9 titled "Our President Wants Us Here": The Mob That Stormed the Capitol." It is another example of why our country cannot risk even one more day of Donald Trump.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 9, 2021]

OUR PRESIDENT WANTS US HERE: THE MOB THAT STORMED THE CAPITOL

(By Dan Barry, Mike McIntire and Matthew Rosenberg)

It was the table setter for what would come, with nearly 2,000 people gathering in Washington on Tuesday evening for a "Rally to Save America." Speaker after angry speaker stoked stolen-election conspiracy theories and name-checked sworn enemies: Democrats and weak Republicans, Communists and Satanists.

Still, the crowd seemed a bit giddy at the prospect of helping President Trump reverse the result of the election—though at times the language evoked a call to arms. "It is time for war," one speaker declared.

As the audience thinned, groups of young men emerged in Kevlar vests and helmets, a number of them holding clubs and knives. Some were aligned with the neofascist Proud Boys; others with the Three Percenters, a far-right militia group.

"We're not backing down anymore," said a man with fresh stitches on his head. "This is our country."

That night reflected a disconcerting mix of free speech and certain menace; of everyday Americans supporting their president and extremists prepared to commit violence for him. All had assembled in answer to Mr. Trump's repeated appeals to attend a march to the Capitol the next day that he promised would be "wild."

It was. By Wednesday afternoon, a narrow group of Trump supporters—some exuberant, some hellbent—had been storm-tossed together into infamy. A mob overran the nation's Capitol, as lawmakers hid in fear. Wholesale vandalism. Tear gas. Gunfire. A woman dead; an officer dead; many injured. Chants of "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!"

But the insurrection failed.

It had been the culmination of a sustained assault by the president and his enablers on fact-based reality, one that began long before the November election but took on a fevered urgency as the certainty of Mr. Trump's defeat solidified. For years, he had demonized political opponents and the media and egged on thuggish behavior at his rallies.

Since losing to Joseph R. Biden Jr., he had mounted a campaign of lies that the presidency was being stolen from him, and that marching on the Capitol was the last chance to stop it. To many Americans, it looked like one more feel-good rally to salve Mr. Trump's wounded ego, but some of his supporters heard something altogether different—a battle cry.

Now, dozens of them have been arrested—including an armed Alabama man who had Molotov cocktails in his car and a West Virginia lawmaker charged with illegally entering the Capitol—and the Federal Bureau of Investigation is asking for help in identifying those who "actively instigated violence." Many participants in the march are frantically working to erase digital evidence of their presence for fear of losing a job or being harassed online.

Mr. Trump, meanwhile, has been broadly condemned and cut off from his social media megaphones, as a new administration prepares to take power.

Kevin Haag, 67, a retired landscaper from North Carolina who ascended the Capitol steps as the crowd surged forward, said he did not go inside and disapproved of those who did. Even so, he said he would never forget the sense of empowerment as he looked down over thousands of protesters. It felt so good, he said, to show people: "We are here. See us! Notice us! Pay attention!"

Now, back home after several days of reflection, Mr. Haag, an evangelical Christian, wonders whether he went too far. "Should I get down on my knees and ask for forgiveness?" he said in an interview. "I am asking myself that question."

But the experience seemed to have only hardened the resolve of others. Couy Griffin, 47, a Republican county commissioner from New Mexico, spoke of organizing another Capitol rally soon—one that could result in "blood running out of that building"—in a video he later posted to the Facebook page of his group, Cowboys for Trump.

Couy Griffin, a Republican county commissioner from New Mexico and organizer of the group Cowboys for Trump, said a future Capitol rally could have "blood running out of that building." "You want to say that that was a mob? You want to say that was a violence? No, sir, no, ma'am, no. We could have a Second Amendment rally on those same steps that we had that rally yesterday. You know, and if we do, then it's going to be a sad day, because there's going to be blood running out of that building. But at the end of the day, you mark my word, we will plant our flag on the desk of Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer and Donald J. Trump, if it boils down to it."

Couy Griffin, a Republican county commissioner from New Mexico and organizer of the group Cowboys for Trump, said a future Capitol rally could have "blood running out of that building." CreditCredit . . . Cowboys for Trump via YouTube. "At the end of the day, you mark my word, we will plant our flag on

the desk of Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer," he said. He paused before adding, "And Donald J. Trump if it boils down to it."

Plans take shape online: 'Pack a crowbar'. The advance publicity for the "March for America" had been robust. Beyond the repeated promotions in tweets by the president and his allies, the upcoming event was cheered on social media, including Twitter, Facebook and Instagram.

But woven through many of the messages to stand up for Mr. Trump—and, if possible, block the congressional certification of the election he claimed he had won—was language that flirted with aggression, even violence.

For example, the term "Storm the Capitol" was mentioned 100,000 times in the 30 days preceding Jan. 6, according to Zignal Labs, a media insights company. Many of these mentions appeared in viral tweet threads that discussed the possible storming of the Capitol and included details on how to enter the building.

To followers of QAnon, the convoluted collection of conspiracy theories that falsely claims the country is dominated by deep-state bureaucrats and Democrats who worship Satan, the word "storm" had particular resonance. Adherents have often referred to a coming storm, after which Mr. Trump would preside over a new government order.

In online discussions, some QAnon followers and militia groups explored which weapons and tools to bring. "Pack a crowbar," read one message posted on Gab, a social media refuge for the far right. In another discussion, someone asked, "Does anyone know if the windows on the second floor are reinforced?"

Still, the many waves of communication did not appear to result in a broadly organized plan to take action. It is also unclear if any big money or coordinated fund-raising was behind the mobilization, though some Trump supporters appear to have found funds through opaque online networks to help pay for transportation to the rally.

"Patriots, if you need financial help getting to DC to support President Trump on January 6th, please go to my website," a QAnon adherent who identified himself as Thad Williams, of Tampa, Fla., posted on Twitter three days before the event. He said he had raised more than \$27,000. (After the Capitol assault, the money transfer companies PayPal and Stripe shut down his accounts. Mr. Williams did not return a phone message, but the website for his organization, Joy In Liberty, said it had given out \$30,000 to fund transportation for "deserving patriots.")

Other rally goers set up fund-raising accounts through the online service GoFundMe; Buzzfeed News cited at least a dozen, and GoFundMe has since closed them.

One of the most conspicuous figures in the Capitol assault—a bare-chested man with a painted face, flag-draped spear and fur hat with horns—was linked to the online fund-raising. A familiar presence at pro-Trump rallies in Phoenix, Jacob Anthony Chansley, a 33-year-old voiceover actor, is known as the Q Shaman. He started a GoFundMe account in December to help pay for transportation to another Trump demonstration in Washington, but the effort reportedly netted him just \$10. Mr. Chansley retweeted Mr. Williams's funding offer on Jan. 3, but it is unclear whether he benefited from it.

On Tuesday, the eve of the march, a couple thousand people gathered at Freedom Plaza in Washington for "The Rally to Save America" event, permitted as "The Rally to Revival." The disparate interests of those attending were reflected by the speakers: well-known evangelists, alt-right celebrities (Alex Jones of Infowars) and Trump loyalists, including his former national security

adviser Michael Flynn and the self-described Republican dirty trickster Roger Stone, both of whom he had pardoned.

The speakers repeatedly encouraged the attendees to see themselves as foot soldiers fighting to save the country. Americans, Mr. Flynn said, were ready to “bleed” for freedom.

“The members of the House of Representatives, the members of the United States Senate, those of you who are feeling weak tonight, those of you that don’t have the moral fiber in your body, get some tonight,” he said. “Because tomorrow, we the people are going to be here and we want you to know we will not stand for a lie.”

Inside the Capitol descends into chaos. It was President Trump’s turn. At about noon on Wednesday, he emerged from a viewing party in a tent, strode onto a stage set up in a park just south of the White House and, for more than an hour, delivered a stream of inflammatory words.

He exhorted the crowd of more than 8,000 to march to the Capitol to pressure lawmakers: “Because you’ll never take back our country with weakness. You have to show strength and you have to be strong.”

Even before he had finished speaking, people started moving east toward the Capitol. The crowd included supporters who had come by caravan from across the country, Trump flags rippling in the wind, as well as people so moved by the president’s appeal for support that they had jumped into their cars and driven for hours.

They traveled from various corners of resentment in 21st-century America. Whether motivated by a sense of economic disenfranchisement or distrust of government, by bigotry, or conspiracy or a belief that Mr. Trump is God’s way of preparing for the Rapture, they shared a fealty to the president.

Now the moment had come, a moment that twinned the thrilling with the ominous.

“I’m happy, sad, afraid, excited,” said Scott Cyganiewicz, 56, a floor installer from Gardner, Mass., as he watched the throngs of Trump loyalists streaming through the streets. “It’s an emotional roller coaster.”

American flags and Trump paraphernalia mingled in the crowd. Credit . . . Pete Marovich for The New York Times. Mr. Cyganiewicz said he was on his way out of town. He did not want to be around if violence broke out. Only a portion of the broader crowd continued onto the Capitol grounds.

Soon word spread that Vice President Mike Pence—who would oversee the pro forma count by Congress of the electoral votes for certification—had announced he would not be complicit in the president’s efforts to overturn the election.

“You can imagine the emotion that ran through people when we get that word,” said Mr. Griffin, the county commissioner from New Mexico, in a video he posted on social media. “And then we get down to the Capitol and they have all the inauguration set up for Joe Biden.”

He added, “What do you think was going to happen?”

Many in the crowd spoke portentously of violence—or even of another Civil War. A man named Jeff, who said he was an off-duty police officer from York County, Pa., said he didn’t know what would happen after he and his wife Amy reached the Capitol. But he felt ready to participate if something were to erupt.

“There’s a lot of people here willing to take orders,” he said. “If the orders are given, the people will rise up.”

By the time the bulk of the crowd reached the building, its leading edge had metastasized into an angry mob. A man barked into a megaphone: “Keep moving forward! Fight for Trump, fight for Trump!”

“Military Tribunals! Hang them!” shouted someone wearing a cowboy hat.

Arrest Congress!” screamed a woman in a flag scarf.

People surged past a few Capitol Police officers to bang on the windows and doors. Many eyewitness accounts and videos have since emerged that convey the pandemonium as hundreds of people overwhelmed the inadequate law-enforcement presence. In several instances of role reversal, for example, rioters are seen firing what appeared to be pepper spray at police officers trying to prevent mobs from getting closer to the Capitol Building.

After a few minutes, the crowd broke through and began streaming into an empty office. Glass shards crunched under people’s feet, as the scene descended into chaos.

Some stood in awe, while others took action. As one group prepared to break through an entryway, a Trump supporter raised a wine bottle and shouted, “Whose way?” To which the crowd responded, “Our way!”

Confusion reigned. “Hey what’s the Senate side?” said a tall man in camouflage and sunglasses.

“Where’s the Senate? Can somebody Google it?”

All the while, members of The Oath Keepers, a self-proclaimed citizens’ militia, seemed to be standing guard—or the transgressors. They wore olive-drab shirts, helmets and patches on their upper-left sleeves that said, “Guardians of the Republic” and “Not on Our Watch.”

American flags flapped beside “Trump 2020” flags, and people wearing “Make America Great Again” regalia moved beside people wearing anti-Semitic slogans. Chants of “Hell No, Never Joe” and “Stop the Steal” broke out, as did strains of “God Bless America” and “The Star-Spangled Banner.”

Derrick Evans of West Virginia, who just two months before had been elected as a Republican state delegate, wandered the halls of the Capitol Building, filming himself and joining in the occasional chant. At one point he shouted, “Derrick Evans is in the Capitol!”

Outside the building, Mr. Griffin, who was once photographed wearing a 10-gallon hat and sitting across from President Trump in the Oval Office, was now gleefully addressing the camera from atop one of the crowded terraces, declaring it “a great day for America.” Asserting that “we came peacefully,” he was interrupted by a man wearing a jacket with a hand-grenade logo, who said, “Believe me, we are well armed if we need to be.”

Amid the cheers and whoops of excitement were questions of what to do next. Some can be heard hunting for specific members of congress, including House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, whose office was broken into by several people. She and other lawmakers were hiding for fear of their safety.

One image showed a trim man moving through the Senate chamber in full paramilitary regalia: camouflage uniform, Kevlar vest, a mask and baseball cap obscuring his face. He carried a stack of flex cuff—the plastic restraints used by police. The image raised a question yet to be answered: Why carry restraints if not to use them?

Several rioters wielded fire extinguishers. One stood on a balcony on the Capitol building’s west side, spraying down on police officers trying to fend off the crowd. Others carried them into the building itself, one into Statuary Hall and another onto the steps outside the Senate Chamber, spraying in the direction of journalists and police officers.

Our president wants us here,” a man can be heard saying during a livestream video that showed him standing within the Capitol building. “We wait and take orders from our president.”

Despite his followers’ hopes and expectations, President Trump was missing in action as rioters rampaged through the halls of Congress. It would be hours before he eventually surfaced in a somewhat subdued videotaped appeal for them to leave.

“We have to have peace,” he said. “So go home, we love you, you’re very special.”

Some of Mr. Trump’s supporters expressed frustration, even disbelief, that the president seemed to have given up after they had put themselves on the line for him.

Mr. Haag, the retired landscaper, was among the disappointed. Still, he said, the movement will continue even without Mr. Trump.

We are representing the 74 million people who got disenfranchised,” he said. “We are still out here. We are a force to be reckoned with. We are not going away.”

One man wandered away from the Capitol in the evening gloom, yelling angrily through a megaphone that Mr. Pence was a coward and, now, Mr. Trump had told everyone “to just go home.”

Well, he can go home to his Mar-a-Lago estate,” the man shouted, adding, “We gotta go back to our businesses that are closed!”

As some rioters face fallout, others mull a repeat. In the aftermath of what Mitch McConnell, the Senate majority leader, called a “failed insurrection,” scores of those who responded to the incendiary words of the president now face a reckoning.

A chief target of investigators will be whoever struck Brian Sicknick of the Capitol Police with a fire extinguisher; the 42-year-old officer died Thursday after being injured in the riot. At the same time, authorities are investigating the fatal police shooting of Ashli Babbitt, 35, an Air Force veteran who had joined those breaching the Capitol.

Among those charged so far with federal crimes are Mr. Chansley, the so-called Q Shaman; Mr. Evans, the West Virginia lawmaker—who resigned on Saturday; and Richard Barnett, an Arkansas man who was depicted in a widely circulated photograph sitting with his foot on a desk in Ms. Pelosi’s office.

Meanwhile, Mr. Griffin, the commissioner from New Mexico who runs Cowboys for Trump, saw his group’s Twitter account suspended and calls for his resignation.

The anger, resentment and conspiracy-laced distrust that led to Wednesday’s mayhem did not dissipate with Thursday’s dawn. Along with the smashed furniture in the Capitol Building, there were smashed expectations of a continued Trump presidency, of lawmakers held to account, of holy prophecies fulfilled.

Signs of potential violence have already surfaced. Twitter, which terminated Mr. Trump’s account on Friday, noted that “plans for future armed protests have already begun proliferating” online, including “a proposed secondary attack on the U.S. Capitol and state capitol buildings on January 17.”

The urge for more civil unrest is being discussed in the usual squalid corners of the internet. Private chat groups on Gab and Parler are peppered with talk of a possible “Million Militia March” on Jan. 20 that would disrupt the presidential inauguration of Mr. Biden.

There is chatter about ride shares, where to find lodging in the Washington area—and what to bring. Baseball bats, perhaps, or assault rifles.

“We took the building once,” one commenter posted, “we can take it again.”

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. CORREA).

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

Mr. Speaker, last week, Congress was under siege by a mob motivated and directed by the President of the United States. Our Vice President was a target of that mob. Members of Congress, both Democrats and Republicans, were targets of this mob. And I witnessed, for the first time in my life, Americans fighting Americans, all at the behest of our own President of the United States. As Americans, we can do better.

I will vote for impeachment today for our Nation, for our children, and for our grandchildren. I will be voting for impeachment so that America will once again be the shining city upon the hill whose beacon light guides freedom-loving people everywhere.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me and vote for impeachment.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman how many more speakers he may have?

Mr. COLE. Whenever the gentleman is prepared to close, we will close. We were hopeful that one of our speakers would arrive, but they are having a difficult time getting here.

Mr. MCGOVERN. We have exhausted all of our speakers.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I thank you for presiding over these difficult proceedings today. I thank my good friend, the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee. And I thank everybody who came to the floor and had something to say at an important moment.

I think the debate, while spirited, reflected the civility and decency of the institution that we are all privileged to be part of. I am very proud to have been part of it. I am very proud of all the Members and the manner in which they participated.

I want, again, to thank the staff and thank those who kept us safe in the process, particularly the Capitol Police.

Mr. Speaker, I oppose this rule, and I oppose the majority's actions today. After the traumatic events of last week, the majority should be taking steps to unite us. Instead, they are only dividing us further.

They are rushing to judgment, in my opinion, and bringing up impeachment after failing to follow any meaningful process whatsoever. No hearings have been held, no witnesses heard, no process or opportunity to respond was provided to the President. No Members had an opportunity to review or amend this article before it came to the floor. This is hardly the way the House should undertake such a serious act.

□ 1030

Mr. Speaker, there is still a way to unite the country. Let us look forward, not backward. Let us come together, not apart. Let us celebrate the peaceful transition of power to a new President rather than impeaching an old President. And let us affirm and reaffirm with one united voice that the House

does not rush to judgment on the most consequential action we can take. Mr. Speaker, we deserve better than that and the American people deserve better than that.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues, as they reflect on this minute and we move into our next stage of debate, to remember that we are all privileged to represent a great and a good people. We have gone through a horrifying and tragic time, and we owe them the opportunity to reflect and we owe them our best efforts to bring everyone together.

I know people on this floor feel very passionately about this subject with different points of view. I honor each one of those points of view and I honor the people that voice them. Let's remember when we are through this that we are one people and that we have one purpose, that we are free through the grace of God and millions of brave Americans over centuries of time and we will remain that way, and we will move forward together once we settle this debate.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on the previous question, "no" on the rule, "no" on the underlying measure, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

I thank my friend, the ranking member of the Rules Committee, Mr. COLE, for his friendship and for the way he conducts himself in this Chamber. I know he has great respect for this institution.

Mr. Speaker, it is impossible for me to fully capture the reverence that I have for the United States Capitol. I worked on these grounds starting back when I was a college intern working for Senator George McGovern back in 1977. No relation. Great last name.

Since that time, I have done everything from working as a staffer for Congressman Joe Moakley of Massachusetts to being elected to the United States House of Representatives myself.

But that internship will always be a high point of my life: Coming here for the first time, walking these hallowed Halls, and seeing the glory of American democracy up close.

The idea that someone would incite an out-of-control mob of homegrown fascists and domestic terrorists to desecrate the people's House fills me with a deep sadness for our country. The contempt that these people had for our democracy and our freedom fills me with horror.

What Donald Trump did, encouraging them, fills me with rage not just on behalf of all of those serving here, but all of those who work in these Halls. And I am talking about the reporters, the cafeteria workers, the custodians, the Clerks, the Parliamentarians—I can go on and on and on—and the staff, the Democratic staff, the Republican staff, the nonpartisan support staff, who were terrorized, some hiding under

their desks and barricading in their offices.

I was in the Speaker's chair the day this unfolded, and many of the people who are sitting up there now were present at that time. What a horrifying thing for anybody to have to experience.

Now, some of my Republican friends have been trying to lecture us about unity here today after they voted to overturn a free and fair election of the United States of America, but also preaching unity and not acknowledging that, for 4 years, many of them gave oxygen to Donald Trump's conspiracy theories, to the big lies. They have turned the other way in the face of racism and bigotry and how he embraced some of the most intolerant voices in this country. They just let it go.

I will remind everybody here that words have consequences, and ignoring words that are wrong also have consequences. What happened would never have happened if everybody stood up in unity and called out the President when he was not telling the American people the truth, when he was pushing a big lie. We will never have unity without truth and also without accountability.

This week in Congress, we saw the best of us and the worst of us. Some of my colleagues have shown that they will defend this President no matter what he does. There is nothing that he could do that would dissuade them from all-out support. But some are standing up and doing the right thing under tremendous pressure, and I am proud of that and I honor them for their courage.

This impeachment resolution outlines the truth of what Trump did. It is time that this Congress now holds him accountable for his words and for their devastating impact.

Last week, we took an oath to protect this Nation. As history calls on us today, I pray that we all have the moral clarity to uphold it here today.

The material previously referred to by Mr. COLE is as follows:

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 41

At the end of the resolution, add the following:

SEC. 5. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution, the House shall proceed to the consideration in the House of the bill (H.R. 275) to establish the National Commission on the Domestic Terrorist Attack Upon the United States Capitol. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Homeland Security; and (2) one motion to recommit.

SEC. 6. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 275.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 221, nays 205, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 15]

YEAS—221

Adams, Gonzalez, Ocasio-Cortez
Aguilar, Vicente, Omar
Allred, Gottheimer, Pallone
Auchincloss, Green, Al (TX), Panetta
Axne, Grijalva, Pappas
Barragán, Haaland, Pascarell
Bass, Harder (CA), Payne
Beatty, Hastings, Perlmutter
Bera, Hayes, Peters
Beyer, Higgins (NY), Phillips
Bishop (GA), Himes, Pingree
Blumenauer, Horsford, Pocan
Blunt Rochester, Houlihan, Porter
Bonamici, Hoyer, Pressley
Bourdeaux, Huffman, Price (NC)
Bowman, Jackson Lee, Quigley
Boyle, Brendan F., Jacobs (CA), Raskin
Brown, Jayapal, Rice (NY)
Brownley, Jeffries, Richmond
Bush, Johnson (GA), Ross
Bustos, Johnson (TX), Roybal-Allard
Butterfield, Jones, Ruiz
Carbajal, Kahele, DesJarlais
Cárdenas, Kaptur, Diaz-Balart
Carson, Keating, Donalds
Cartwright, Kelly (IL), Duncan
Case, Khanna, Sánchez
Casten, Kildee, Sarbanes
Castor (FL), Kilmer, Scanlon
Castro (TX), Kim (NJ), Schakowsky
Chu, Kind, Schiff
Cicilline, Kirkpatrick, Schneider
Clark (MA), Krishnamoorthi, Fischbach
Clarke (NY), Kuster, Schrier
Cleaver, Lamb, Scott, David
Clyburn, Langevin, Fortenberry
Cohen, Larsen (WA), Sewell
Connolly, Larson (CT), Sherman
Cooper, Lawrence, Sherrill
Correa, Lawson (FL), Sires
Costa, Lee (CA), Slotkin
Courtney, Lee (NV), Smith (WA)
Craig, Leger Fernandez, Soto
Crist, Levin (CA), Spanberger
Crow, Crist, Levin (MI), Speier
Cuellar, Lieu, Stanton
Davids (KS), Lofgren, Stevens
Davis, Danny K., Lowenthal, Strickland
Dean, Lynch, Suozzi
DeFazio, Malinowski, Swaiwell
DeGette, Maloney, Takano
DeLauro, Carolyn B., Thompson (CA)
DelBene, Maloney, Sean, Thompson (MS)
Demings, Manning, Titus
DeSaulnier, Matsui, Tlaib
Deutch, McCollum, Torres (CA)
Dingell, McEachin, Torres (NY)
Doggett, McGovern, Trahan
Doyle, Michael F., McNerney, Trone
Escobar, Meeks, Underwood
Eshoo, Meng, Vargas
Español, Mfume, Veasey
Evans, Moore (WI), Vela
Fletcher, Morelle, Velázquez
Foster, Moulton, Wasserman
Frankel, Lois Mrvan, Schultz
Fudge, Murphy (FL), Waters
Gallego, Nadler, Watson Coleman
Garamendi, Napolitano, Welch
García (IL), Neal, Wexton
García (TX), Neguse, Wild
Golden, Newman, Williams (GA)
Gomez, Norcross, Wilson (FL)
O'Halleran, Yarmuth

NAYS—205

Aderholt, Gohmert, Moolenaar
Allen, Gonzales, Tony, Mooney
Amodei, Gonzalez (OH), Moore (AL)
Armstrong, Good (VA), Moore (UT)
Arrington, Gooden (TX), Mullin
Babin, Gosar, Nehls
Bacon, Graves (LA), Newhouse
Baird, Graves (MO), Norman
Balderson, Green (TN), Nunes
Banks, Greene (GA), Obernolte
Barr, Griffith, Owens
Bentz, Grothman, Palazzo
Bergman, Guest, Palmer
Bice (OK), Guthrie, Pence
Biggs, Hagedorn, Perry
Bilirakis, Harshbarger, Pfluger
Bishop (NC), Hartzler, Posey
Boebert, Hern, Reed
Bost, Herrell, Reschenthaler
Brady, Herrera Beutler, Rice (SC)
Brooks, Hice (GA), Rodgers (WA)
Buchanan, Higgins (LA), Rogers (AL)
Buck, Hill, Rogers (KY)
Bucshon, Hinson, Rose
Budd, Hollingsworth, Rosendale
Burchett, Hudson, Rouzer
Burgess, Huizenga, Roy
Calvert, Issa, Rutherford
Cammack, Jackson, Salazar
Carl, Jacobs (NY), Scalise
Carter (GA), Johnson (LA), Schweikert
Carter (TX), Johnson (OH), Scott, Austin
Cawthorn, Johnson (SD), Sessions
Chabot, Jordan, Simpson
Cheney, Joyce (OH), Smith (MO)
Cline, Joyce (PA), Smith (NE)
Cloud, Katko, Smith (NJ)
Clyde, Keller, Smucker
Cole, Kelly (MS), Spartz
Comer, Kelly (PA), Stauber
Crawford, Kim (CA), Stefanik
Curtis, Kinzinger, Stel
Davidson, Kustoff, Steube
Davis, Rodney, LaHood, Stewart
DesJarlais, LaMalfa, Stivers
Diaz-Balart, Lamborn, Taylor
Donalds, Latta, Thompson (PA)
Duncan, LaTurner, Tiffany
Dunn, Lesko, Timmons
Emmer, Long, Turner
Estes, Loudermilk, Upton
Fallon, Lucas, Valadao
Feenstra, Luetkemeyer, Van Drew
Ferguson, Mace, Van Duyne
Fischbach, Malliotakis, Wagner
Fitzgerald, Mann, Walberg
Fitzpatrick, Massie, Walorski
Fleischmann, Mast, Waltz
Fortenberry, McCarthy, Weber (TX)
Fox, McCaul, Wenstrup
Franklin, C., McClain, Westerman
Scott, McClintock, Williams (TX)
McHenry, McKinley, Wilson (SC)
McKinley, Wittman, Wright
Meuser, Meuser, Womack
Miller (IL), Miller (IL), Wright
Miller (WV), Miller (WV), Young
Miller-Meeks, Miller-Meeks, Zeldin

NOT VOTING—6

Harris, Steel
Murphy (NC), Webster (FL)

□ 1129

So the previous question was ordered. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Adams (Brown), Cárdenas, Fleischmann
Axne (Stevens), (Gallego), (Kustoff)
Baird (Bucshon), Carson, Fletcher (Allred)
Bergman, (Underwood), Frankel, Lois
(Walberg), Costa (Correa), (Clark (MA))
Bilirakis, DeSaulnier, Hastings
(Fortenberry), (Matsui), (Wasserman)
Blumenauer, DesJarlais, Schultz
(Beyer), (Kustoff), Jayapal (Raskin)
Bonamici (Clark), Deutch (Rice), Johnson (TX)
(MA), (NY), (Jeffries)
Boyle, Brendan F., Dingell (Stevens), Kaptur (Stevens)
F. (Jeffries), Doyle, Michael, Kirkpatrick
Buchanan, F. (Cartwright), (Gallego)
(Cammack), Dunn (Cammack), Kuster (Pingree)

Lamborn, Ocasio-Cortez, Strickland
(Walberg), (Tlaib), (Kilmer)
LaTurner (Mann), Pascarell, Titus (Connolly)
Lawson (FL), (Pallone), Tonko (Pallone)
(Evans), Payne, Trone (Beyer)
Lee (NV), (Wasserman), Vela (Gomez)
(Stevens), Schultz, Walorski (Banks)
Lieu (Beyer), Peters (Beyer), Watson Coleman
Lowenthal, Porter (Wexton), (Pallone)
(Beyer), Pressley (Garcia), Wilson (FL)
McEachin, (IL), (Hayes)
(Wexton), Schneider, Young
McNerney, (Sherrill), (Malliotakis)
(Huffman), Sires (Pallone)
Napolitano, Smith (WA),
(Correa), (Courtney)

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. CLARKE of New York). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. COLE. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 221, nays 203, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 16]

YEAS—221

Adams, Escobar, Luria
Aguilar, Eshoo, Lynch
Allred, Espaillat, Malinowski
Auchincloss, Evans, Maloney
Axne, Fletcher, Carolyn B.
Barragán, Foster, Maloney, Sean
Bass, Frankel, Lois, Manning
Beatty, Fudge, Matsui
Bera, Gallego, McBath
Beyer, Garamendi, McCollum
Bishop (GA), García (IL), McEachin
Blumenauer, García (TX), McGovern
Blunt Rochester, Golden, McNerney
Bonamici, Gomez, Meeks
Bourdeaux, Gonzalez, Meng
Bowman, Vicente, Mfume
Boyle, Brendan F., Gottheimer, Moore (WI)
Brown, Green, Al (TX), Morelle
Cicilline, Grijalva, Moulton
Clark (MA), Haaland, Mrvan
Clarke (NY), Harder (CA), Murphy (FL)
Cleaver, Hastings, Nadler
Clyburn, Kaptur, Napolitano
Cohen, Keating, Pingree
Connolly, Kelly (IL), Pocan
Cooper, Khanna, Porter
Correa, Kildee, Pressley
Costa, Kilmer, Price (NC)
Courtney, Kim (NJ), Quigley
Craig, Kind, Raskin
Crist, Kirkpatrick, Rice (NY)
Crow, Krishnamoorthi, Richmond
Cuellar, Kuster, Ross
Davids (KS), Lamb, Roybal-Allard
Davis, Danny K., Langevin, Ruiz
Dean, DeFazio, Larsen (WA), Ruppberger
DeGette, Larson (CT), Rush
DeLauro, Lawrence, Ryan
DelBene, Lawson (FL), Sánchez
Demings, Lee (CA), Sarbanes
DeSaulnier, Lee (NV), Scanlon
Deutch, Leger Fernandez, Schakowsky
Dingell, Levin (CA), Schiff
Doggett, Levin (MI), Schneider
Doyle, Michael, Lieu, Schrier
Doyle, Michael F., Lofgren, Schrier
F., Lowenthal, Scott (VA)

Scott, David
Sewell
Sherman
Sherrill
Sires
Slotkin
Smith (WA)
Soto
Spanberger
Speier
Stanton
Stevens
Strickland
Suozzi

Vela
Velázquez
Wasserman
Schultz
Waters
Watson Coleman
Welch
Wexton
Wild
Williams (GA)
Wilson (FL)
Yarmuth

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE
RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Adams (Brown)	Fleischmann	Ocasio-Cortez
Axne (Stevens)	(Kustoff)	(Tlaib)
Baird (Bucshon)	Fletcher (Allred)	Pascrell
Bergman	Frankel, Lois	(Pallone)
(Walberg)	(Clark (MA))	Payne
Bilirakis	Hastings	(Wasserman
(Fortenberry)	(Wasserman	Schultz)
Blumenauer	Schultz	Peters (Beyer)
(Beyer)	Jayapal (Raskin)	Porter (Wexton)
Bonamici (Clark	Johnson (TX)	Pressley (Garcia
(MA))	(Jeffries)	(IL))
Boyle, Brendan	Kaptur (Stevens)	Schneider
F. (Jeffries)	Kirkpatrick	(Sherrill)
Buchanan	(Gallego)	Sires (Pallone)
(Cammack)	Kuster (Pingree)	Smith (WA)
Cárdenas	Lamborn	(Courtney)
(Gallego)	(Walberg)	Strickland
Carson	LaTurner (Mann)	(Kilmer)
(Underwood)	Lawson (FL)	Titus (Connolly)
Costa (Correa)	(Evans)	Tonko (Pallone)
DeSaulnier	Lee (NV)	Trone (Beyer)
(Matsui)	(Stevens)	Vela (Gomez)
Lieu (Beyer)	DesJarlais	Walorski (Banks)
Lowenthal	Owens	Watson Coleman
(Beyer)	Palazzo	(Pallone)
Deutch (Rice	Palmer	Wilson (FL)
(NY))	Pence	(Hayes)
Dingell (Stevens)	Perry	Young
McNerney	Pflugler	(Malliotakis)
(Huffman)	Hern	
Doyle, Michael	Herrell	
F. (Cartwright)	Herrera Beutler	
Napolitano	Hice (GA)	
(Correa)	Higgins (LA)	
	Hill	
	Hinson	
	Hollingsworth	
	Hudson	
	Huizenga	
	Issa	
	Jackson	
	Jacobs (NY)	
	Johnson (LA)	
	Johnson (OH)	
	Johnson (SD)	
	Jordan	
	Joyce (OH)	
	Joyce (PA)	
	Katko	
	Keller	
	Kelly (MS)	
	Kelly (PA)	
	Kim (CA)	
	Kinzinger	
	Kustoff	
	LaHood	
	LaMalfa	
	Lamborn	
	Latta	
	LaTurner	
	Lesko	
	Long	
	Loudermilk	
	Lucas	
	Luetkemeyer	
	Mace	
	Malliotakis	
	Mann	
	Massie	
	Mast	
	McCarthy	
	McCaul	
	McClain	
	McClintock	
	McHenry	
	McKinley	
	Meijer	
	Meuser	
	Miller (IL)	
	Miller (WV)	
	Miller-Meeks	
	Zeldin	

United States, the Vice President of the United States, the House of Representatives, and the Senate met at the United States Capitol for a Joint Session of Congress to count the votes of the Electoral College. In the months preceding the Joint Session, President Trump repeatedly issued false statements asserting that the Presidential election results were the product of widespread fraud and should not be accepted by the American people or certified by State or Federal officials. Shortly before the Joint Session commenced, President Trump, addressed a crowd at the Ellipse in Washington, DC. There, he reiterated false claims that “we won this election, and we won it by a landslide”. He also willfully made statements that, in context, encouraged—and foreseeably resulted in—lawless action at the Capitol, such as: “if you don’t fight like hell you’re not going to have a country anymore”. Thus incited by President Trump, members of the crowd he had addressed, in an attempt to, among other objectives, interfere with the Joint Session’s solemn constitutional duty to certify the results of the 2020 Presidential election, unlawfully breached and vandalized the Capitol, injured and killed law enforcement personnel, menaced Members of Congress, the Vice President, and Congressional personnel, and engaged in other violent, deadly, destructive, and seditious acts.

NOT VOTING—203

Aderholt
Allen
Amodei
Armstrong
Arrington
Babin
Bacon
Baird
Balderson
Banks
Barr
Bentz
Bergman
Bice (OK)
Biggs
Bilirakis
Bishop (NC)
Boebert
Bost
Brady
Brooks
Buchanan
Buck
Bucshon
Budd
Burchett
Burgess
Calvert
Cammack
Carl
Carter (GA)
Carter (TX)
Cawthorn
Chabot
Cheney
Cline
Cloud
Clyde
Cole
Comer
Crawford
Curtis
Davidson
DesJarlais
Diaz-Balart
Donalds
Duncan
Dunn
Emmer
Estes
Fallon
Feenstra
Ferguson
Fischbach
Fitzgerald
Fitzpatrick
Fleischmann
Fortenberry
Foxy
Franklin, C.
Scott
Fulcher
Gaetz
Gallagher
Garbarino
Garcia (CA)
Gibbs
Gimenez

Moolenaar
Mooney
Moore (AL)
Moore (UT)
Mullin
Nehls
Newhouse
Norman
Nunes
Oberholte
Owens
Palazzo
Palmer
Pence
Perry
Pfluger
Posey
Reed
Reschenthaler
Rice (SC)
Rodgers (WA)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rose
Rosendale
Rouzer
Roy
Rutherford
Salazar
Scalise
Schweikert
Scott, Austin
Sessions
Simpson
Smith (MO)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smucker
Spartz
Staubert
Stefanik
Steil
Steube
Stewart
Stivers
Taylor
Thompson (PA)
Tiffany
Timmons
Turner
Upton
Valadao
Van Drew
Van Dwyne
Wagner
Walberg
Walorski
Waltz
Weber (TX)
Wenstrup
Westerman
Williams (TX)
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Womack
Wright
Young
Zeldin

NOT VOTING—8

Greene (GA)
Harris
Murphy (NC)

Steel
Webster (FL)

□ 1221

So the resolution was agreed to.
The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.
A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

IMPEACHING DONALD JOHN TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 41, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 24) impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 24

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

Article of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States of America in the name of itself and of the people of the United States of America, against Donald John Trump, President of the United States of America, in maintenance and support of its impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE I: INCITEMENT OF INSURRECTION

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”. Further, section 3 of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any person who has “engaged in insurrection or rebellion against” the United States from “hold[ing] any office . . . under the United States”. In his conduct while 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 John Trump engaged in high Crimes and Misdemeanors by inciting violence against the Government of the United States, in that:

On January 6, 2021, pursuant to the 12th Amendment to the Constitution of the

President Trump’s conduct on January 6, 2021, followed his prior efforts to subvert and obstruct the certification of the results of the 2020 Presidential election. Those prior efforts included a phone call on January 2, 2021, during which President Trump urged the secretary of state of Georgia, Brad Raffensperger, to “find” enough votes to overturn the Georgia Presidential election results and threatened Secretary Raffensperger if he failed to do so.

In all this, President Trump gravely endangered the security of the United States and its institutions of Government. He threatened the integrity of the democratic system, interfered with the peaceful transition of power, and imperiled a coequal branch of Government. He thereby betrayed his trust as President, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, Donald John Trump, by such conduct, has demonstrated that he will remain a threat to national security, democracy, 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. Donald John 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 (Ms. MCCOLLUM). The resolution shall be debatable for 2 hours, equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

The gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JORDAN) each will control 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

□ 1230

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and insert extraneous material on H. Res. 24.

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 gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the distinguished Speaker of the House.

Ms. PELOSI. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for his leadership.

Madam Speaker, in his annual address to our predecessors in Congress in 1862, President Abraham Lincoln spoke of the duty of the patriot in an hour of decisive crisis for the American people.

"Fellow citizens," he said, "we cannot escape history. We . . . will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. . . . We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility."

In the Bible, St. Paul wrote, "Think on these things." We must think on what Lincoln told us. We, even here, even us here, hold the power and bear the responsibility.

We, you and I, hold in trust the power that derives most directly from the people of the United States, and we bear the responsibility to fulfill the oath that we all swear before God and before one another: the oath to defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic, so help us God.

We know that we face enemies to that Constitution. We know. We experienced the insurrection that violated the sanctity of the people's Capitol and attempted to overturn the duly recorded will of the American people. And we know that the President of the United States incited this insurrection, this armed rebellion against our common country. He must go. He is a clear and present danger to the Nation that we all love.

Since the Presidential election in November, an election the President lost, he has repeatedly lied about the outcome, sowed self-serving doubt about democracy, and unconstitutionally sought to influence State officials to repeal reality. And then came that day of fire we all experienced.

The President must be impeached, and I believe the President must be convicted by the Senate, a constitutional remedy that will ensure that the Republic will be safe from this man who is so resolutely determined to tear down the things that we hold dear and that hold us together.

It gives me no pleasure to say this. It breaks my heart. It should break your heart. It should break all of our hearts, for your presence in this hallowed Chamber is testament to your love for our country, for America, and to your faith in the work of our Founders to create a more perfect Union.

Those insurrectionists were not patriots. They were not part of a political base to be catered to and managed. They were domestic terrorists, and justice must prevail.

But they did not appear out of a vacuum. They were sent here, sent here by

the President with words such as a cry to "fight like hell." Words matter. Truth matters. Accountability matters. In his public exhortations to them, the President saw the insurrectionists not as the foes of freedom, as they are, but as the means to a terrible goal: the goal of his personally clinging to power, the goal of thwarting the will of the people, the goal of ending in a fiery and bloody clash nearly two and a half centuries of our democracy.

This is not theoretical, and this is not motivated by partisanship. I stand before you today as an officer of the Constitution as Speaker of the House of Representatives. I stand before you as a wife, a mother, a grandmother, a daughter, a daughter whose father proudly served in this Congress, Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., from Maryland, one of the first Italian Americans to serve in the Congress. And I stand here before you today as that noblest of things: a citizen of the United States of America.

With my voice and my vote, with a plea to all of you, Democrats and Republicans, I ask you to search your souls and answer these questions: Is the President's war on democracy in keeping with the Constitution? Were his words and insurrectionary mob a high crime and misdemeanor? Do we not have the duty to our oath to do all we constitutionally can to protect our Nation and our democracy from the appetites and ambitions of a man who has self-evidently demonstrated that he is a vital threat to liberty, to self-government, and to the rule of law?

Our country is divided. We all know that. There are lies abroad in the land, spread by a desperate President who feels his power slipping away. We know that, too. But I know this as well: that we here in this House have a sacred obligation to stand for truth, to stand up for the Constitution, to stand as guardians of the Republic.

In a speech he was prepared to give in Dallas on Friday, November 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy was to say, "We in this country, in this generation, are—by destiny rather than choice—the watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and responsibility." That we may be worthy.

President Kennedy was assassinated before he could deliver those words to the Nation, but they resonate more even now, in our time and in this place.

Let us be worthy of our power and responsibility, that what Lincoln thought of the world's last best hope, the United States of America, may long survive.

My fellow Members, my fellow Americans, we cannot escape history. Let us embrace our duty, fulfill our oath, and honor the trust of our Nation. We pray that God will continue to bless America.

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

Nineteen minutes. Nineteen minutes. Four years ago on inauguration day,

January 20, 2017, 19 minutes into President Trump's administration, at 12:19 p.m., The Washington Post's headline was "Campaign to Impeach President Trump Has Begun." And now with just 1 week left, they are still trying.

In 7 days, there will be a peaceful transfer of power, just like there has been every other time in our country, but Democrats are going to impeach President Trump again. This doesn't unite the country. There is no way this helps the Nation deal with the tragic and terrible events of last week that we all condemn. Republicans have been consistent. We have condemned all the violence all the time. We condemned it last summer. We condemned it last week.

We should be focused on bringing the Nation together. Instead, Democrats are going to impeach the President for a second time, 1 week—1 week—before he leaves office. Why? Why?

Politics and the fact that they want to cancel the President—the President who cut taxes, the President who reduced regulations, the President who, prior to COVID, had the greatest economy, lowest unemployment in 50 years, the President who got us out of the Iran deal, put the Embassy in Jerusalem, brought hostages home from North Korea, put three great Justices on the Supreme Court, gave us a new NAFTA agreement, the Abraham Accords, the COVID vaccine, and who built the wall.

It is about politics. This is about getting the President of the United States. They spied on his campaign before he was elected. Nineteen minutes into his Presidency, they started the impeachment push: 3-year Mueller investigation, 19 lawyers, 40 agents, 500 witnesses, 2,500 subpoenas, \$40 million to find nothing—impeachment round one, based on an anonymous whistleblower with no firsthand knowledge, who was biased against the President and who worked for Joe Biden. Now it is impeachment round two.

It has always been about getting the President, no matter what. It is an obsession, an obsession that has now broadened. It is not just about impeachment anymore. It is about canceling, as I have said, canceling the President and anyone that disagrees with them. The Ayatollah can tweet; the President can't.

Democrats can object on January 6, 2017, but Republicans aren't allowed to object on January 6, 2021. Democrats say antifa is a myth; Republicans condemn all violence all the time. The double standard has to stop.

Frankly, the attack on the First Amendment has to stop. Stop and think about it. Do you have a functioning First Amendment when the cancel culture only allows one side to talk? When you can't even have a debate in this country, this great country, the greatest country ever? It needs to stop because if it continues, if it continues, it won't just be Republicans who get canceled; it won't just be the

President of the United States. The cancel culture will come for us all.

America is a great country, the greatest country ever. It seems to me that we need to think about how great the people of this Nation really are, think about what we have accomplished in the past, and begin to come together as leaders who represent so many great folks across our districts.

Think about this. Think about this: In 1903, Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, two guys fly this thing they called a plane 100 feet. Barely got off the ground. Barely got off the ground. Amazing thing. Forty-four years later, Chuck Yeager breaks the sound barrier. In 44 years, we go from two guys flying a contraption they called a plane a few hundred feet to Chuck Yeager breaking the sound barrier, and 22 years after that—22 years after that—another American steps on the Moon. Think about it. In one lifetime, in 66 years, two guys flying 100 feet to putting a man on the Moon. That is what this country is capable of. That is what we can do.

We, as the Congress who represents the people who did that, should start leading, should start understanding what really is going on here. So I hope—I hope—we defeat this. I hope we can begin to come together and recognize the greatness of the American people and focus on the things they want us to focus on.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Madam Speaker, we all saw it coming. Months in advance, President Trump was baselessly and deliberately whipping his supporters into a frenzy.

Weeks before the riot, he used his bully pulpit to spread lies about the election. He told his supporters that the results were fraudulent. He implored them again and again to help him stay in power, and he convinced them that accepting the outcome of the election posed an existential threat to their families and their freedoms.

We have a duty to observe, Madam Speaker, that racism played a direct role in this incitement. The President's violent rhetoric is always at its most fevered pitch when he is talking about the civil rights and civic aspirations of Black Americans and other minority communities.

On January 6, at a rally that was large, angry, and widely reported to be armed, the President's lies and violent rhetoric reached their crescendo. At that rally, the President took the stage. After reiterating the falsehood that "we won this election, and we won it by a landslide," he told the crowd that "if you don't fight like hell, you are not going to have a country anymore." And then he urged the mob to "walk down Pennsylvania Avenue" to prevent the Congress from confirming the election of "an illegitimate President."

On that day, President Trump unleashed the force of a mob on this, the

people's House. He encouraged that attack with the explicit intent to disrupt the joint session of Congress, an attack that threatened the safety of the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, and the President pro tempore of the Senate, the next three officers in the line of succession.

And look at what that violence has wrought: at least six dead, offices ransacked, the sanctity of our Capitol breached for the first time in two centuries, our hallways littered with broken glass, the battle flags of a long dead Confederacy, and the debris we have come to associate with the Trump campaign.

Madam Speaker, I have faith in the resiliency of our government. We will bring the rioters to justice. Their accomplices in this House will be held responsible.

But today we must focus on the gravest threat first: President Trump, who incited this riot and who remains a grave danger to the Nation.

As we warned the Senate when we tried him for his first impeachment: "President Trump has made clear in word and deed that he will persist in such conduct if he is not removed from power. He poses a continuing threat to our Nation, to the integrity of our elections, and to our democratic order. He must not remain in power one moment longer."

Not one moment longer. The danger is too great. We must impeach.

I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1245

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK).

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Madam Speaker, I didn't like the President's speech on January 6 either. I thought he was wrong to assert that the Vice President and Congress can pick and choose which electoral votes to count. He was wrong to set such a confrontational tone in a politically tense situation.

But what did he actually say? His exact words were: "I know that everyone here will soon be marching over to the Capitol Building to peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard." That is impeachable? That is called freedom of speech.

Now, he also threatened to oppose candidates in future elections. And, by the way, that was directed at Republicans like me who had resolved to uphold the constitutional process and protect the electoral college. Well, so what? That is called politics.

If we impeached every politician who gave a fiery speech to a crowd of partisans, this Capitol would be deserted. That is what the President did. That is all he did.

He specifically told the crowd to protest peacefully and patriotically, and the vast majority of them did. But every movement has a lunatic fringe. Suppressing free speech is not the answer. Holding rioters accountable for their actions is the answer, and we are.

If we prosecuted BLM and antifa rioters across the country with the same determination these last 6 months, this incident might not have happened at all.

Now, short of declaring war, the power of impeachment is the most solemn and consequential act that Congress can take. To use it in this manner, in the heat of the moment, with no hearings, no due process, many Members phoning in their votes after a hastily called debate, exactly 1 week before a new President is to take office, trivializes this power to the point of caricature.

The Democrats have won everything in sight—the House, the Senate, and the Presidency. In a republic, that calls for magnanimity by the victors. Only in a banana republic does it call for vengeance.

Benjamin Franklin warned us that "passion governs, and she never governs wisely." In our passions this week, we have set some dangerous new precedents that will haunt us for years to come. Yesterday, we redefined intemperate speech as a physical incapacity requiring removal from office. Today, we define it as a high crime and misdemeanor.

Well, the moment any Member of this body gives an impassioned speech and the lunatic fringe of their movement takes license from it, be prepared to answer to this new precedent that we establish today.

Now, I could cite plenty of provocative speeches made by Democrats that directly preceded violence this summer, but we have already had enough of that.

After 600,000 Americans had perished in the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln appealed to the better angels of our nature. He said: With malice toward none, with charity for all, let us bind up the Nation's wounds. Those words were so important to the unity of our Nation they are inscribed in marble at the Lincoln Memorial.

I cannot think of a more petty, vindictive, and gratuitous act than to impeach an already defeated President a week before he is to leave office. President-elect Biden's promise to heal the Nation becomes a hollow mockery in the harsh reality of this unconstitutional act.

God help our country.

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

Ms. LOFGREN. Madam Speaker, I am the only Member of Congress who has been involved in all three of the last Presidential impeachments. Those were long proceedings.

Today, we don't need a long investigation to know the President incited right-wing terrorists to attack the Congress to try to overturn constitutional government. The actions were in public, plain as day.

His actions are the most serious offense against our Constitution and our country. They are impeachable acts.

The Founders devised the Impeachment Clause to protect against a President who would threaten constitutional order. If we don't act now, the Impeachment Clause would essentially be meaningless.

Faced with these facts, if we don't impeach to protect our country, we will fail our own oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and, yes, domestic.

We have no choice. We must impeach. God bless America.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. BIGGS).

Mr. BIGGS. Madam Speaker, it is with wariness and a certain unhealthy, morbid curiosity that I watch the beast attempt to devour President Donald J. Trump again. The craving to crush President Trump has never been satisfied—not through investigations, not through false allegations, and not even through an impeachment that was wholly without merit.

And the timing of this impeachment makes little sense. Your candidate will take office in a few hours, and President Trump will relinquish the levers of power to President-elect Biden.

Your craving was never a Biden victory, nor was it even a Trump defeat. You believe that your hunger will be finally satiated by impeaching this President without completion of his full term of office. You don't merely seek victory, but you seek obliteration of your nemesis.

The thirst for Trump's destruction will not be slaked, however, even if you are successful today and were the Senate to convict President Trump. Yours will be a Pyrrhic victory, for, instead of stopping the Trump train, his movement will grow stronger, for you will have made him a martyr.

Surely you are aware of this, and that is why your allies in the media seek to censor conservative voices.

Your chums who sit on the boards of corporate America—yes, the same companies that the left vilifies—promise to starve Republicans from receiving their PAC donations.

But I bet that the groundswell of support for President Trump and his policies will not go away. You see, the movement he started is based on building an incredibly robust economy on a foundation of lower taxes and fewer regulations that has the wonderful effect of putting more people to work than ever. It is built upon a strong military that is extricated from endless wars. It provides border security, America-first trade agreements, Mid-east peace and stability. Those are the things the American people want.

Your 4-year appetite will be temporarily assuaged while you will, no doubt, continue to chase after leaders of this movement, but your appetite will be unfulfilled.

I urge you, please, do not—and I am mixing metaphors here—attempt to douse the remaining burning embers of

this movement with gasoline. No one wants that. I urge you, please, to reconsider the reckless action in which you engage today.

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

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, 1 week ago, the President incited an insurrection against Congress to prevent the peaceful transition of power. It was the most dangerous moment for our democracy in a century.

Today, we invoke the remedy the Founders provided for just such a lawless President: impeachment.

More important, today, we begin the long road to restoration. America has been through a civil war, world wars, a Great Depression, pandemics, McCarthyism, and now a Trumpist and white nationalist insurrection. And yet our democracy endures. It endures because, at every juncture, every pivotal moment when evil threatened to overtake good, patriotic Americans stepped forward to say, "Enough."

This is one of those moments. To preserve this sacred place, this citadel of democracy, for ourselves and for posterity, let us say, "Enough." Enough.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT).

Mr. GOHMERT. Madam Speaker, here is a quote: "I just don't even know why there aren't uprisings all over the country. And maybe there will be."

Or, "Sadly, the domestic enemies of our voting system and honoring our Constitution are right at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue with their allies in Congress of the United States." We were called enemies of the state.

Those are all quotes from our Speaker.

Now, on our side, we didn't take those to be impeachable because we didn't believe she surely meant that. By the Democrats taking this action, you are telling me, no, when we say those words, we actually mean to incite violence. That is what this action is saying.

Look, I just looked on the History Channel. It says these words: "If the Judiciary Committee," talking about impeachment, "finds sufficient grounds, its members write and pass Articles of Impeachment, which then go to the full House for a vote."

Half of all of the impeachments ever conducted, ever voted for, occurred under this Speaker. You are setting a precedent that says very clearly—because this impeachment isn't going to work, but it is setting the precedent.

Unlike a year ago, when we said, look, it shouldn't go through the Intelligence Committee, it should go through the Judiciary Committee, forget that. Now the message is: If you have a whim and you want to just go after a President, just go straight to the floor—no investigation, no Judiciary Committee. Go straight to the floor. Use it as a political weapon as you wish.

This is so dangerous, what you are doing, forgetting all the precedents. Yes, we can argue back and forth, but you are using this as a weapon, and you are destroying this little experiment in self-government in a year's time. It needs to stop.

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

Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts. Madam Speaker, suffragist and abolitionist Lucy Stone stated, "If we speak the truth fearlessly, we shall add to our number those who will turn the scale to the side of equal and full justice in all things."

The truth is, President Trump incited a violent attack against the United States Government.

The truth is, President Trump spent his Presidency inflaming hate, white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and violence.

The truth is, he was enabled by all those who perpetuated the lie that the most secure election in our Nation's history was stolen.

The truth is that these seditious actions left five dead, our Capitol besieged, our security threatened, and our democracy hanging in the balance.

And the truth is, a vote to impeach is our resounding declaration that the government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish.

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

Mr. ISSA. Madam Speaker, the last speaker said that for 4 years the President did all these terrible, inciteful things, including anti-Semitism. I take exception with that.

But I think it is important that we embrace one thing that was said. Yes, the President has been consistent for the last 4 years. During his campaign, I even, while representing another candidate, said that the President had political Tourette's; he said what was on his mind without a filter.

I don't think that is being debated here today. We all know that is true. What is being debated is whether, with 167 hours left until he leaves office, he is a clear and present danger. He clearly isn't.

The President has acted substantially the same for 4 years. He has rallied his base, and he has, in fact, called for peaceful protest, as he did just a few days ago.

The fact is, today, we are trying to punish the President—at least some are—for 4 years of what he did, not for what happened last week. What happened last week was the result of anarchists who came loaded, prepared, and with weapons.

□ 1300

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. RICHMOND).

Mr. RICHMOND. Madam Speaker, I rise today in my last floor speech in

this body to do what I was sworn to do on the first date: To protect and defend the Constitution.

President Trump put the domestic terrorists on notice by saying, "Stand back and stand by." He then summoned them to D.C., directed them to march on the Capitol, and then he sat back and watched the insurrection.

Some of my colleagues—some of which may well be coconspirators—in their latest attempt to placate and please this unfit President, suggests that we shouldn't punish Trump for his actions in order to unify the country. That is the climax of foolishness.

Let me suggest to them: Stand up. Man up. Woman up. And defend this Constitution from all enemies, foreign and domestic, including Donald J. Trump.

In the first impeachment, Republicans said we didn't need to impeach him because he learned his lesson, so no need to remove him.

Well, we said, if we didn't remove him, he would do it again. Simply put, we told you so.

Richmond out.

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

Mrs. LESKO. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the resolution. At a time when our country needs unity, it is concerning that my Democratic colleagues have chosen to begin impeachment proceedings against a President with just 7 days left in office. All legal challenges have been exhausted. Congress has certified electors over objectors, and Joe Biden will be the next President of the United States.

President Trump has indicated he will peacefully transfer power to President-elect Biden next week.

So why pursue impeachment just 1 week before he leaves office?

I have heard my colleagues on the other side of the aisle say they have to impeach the President because he is too dangerous to stay in power, yet they know that it is impossible for the Senate to remove him before his term expires.

So what is the point?

Madam Speaker, this move sets a dangerous precedent for our Nation. If Congress is going to impeach a President, it must only be done after intense debate and deliberation, not rushed through in the 11th hour to make a political point. This impeachment attempt is dangerous for our country and has far-reaching implications for our future.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES).

Mr. JEFFRIES. Madam Speaker, I did not come to Congress to impeach Donald Trump, but the constitutional crimes by an out-of-control President inspired by his hatred and the big lie that he told cannot be ignored. Donald Trump is a living, breathing, impeachable offense. It is what it is.

The violent attack on the U.S. Capitol was an act of insurrection incited by Donald Trump. He is a clear and present danger to the health, safety, and well-being of the American people. That is why this impeachment is necessary on the House floor for a second time with a bipartisan majority.

Violence will not win. Insurrection will not win. Sedition will not win. Terror will not win. Lawlessness will not win. Mob rule will not win. Not today, not tomorrow, not ever.

Democracy will prevail.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. AGUILAR. Madam Speaker, on January 3, we stood here on this floor and swore an oath to defend our Constitution against enemies, foreign and domestic. Three days later, that oath was put to the test when a violent mob tried to break down those doors to stop us from performing our constitutional duty. This mob was not without a leader.

On that day, the President told them to walk to this Capitol, 16 blocks from where he stood. They were radicalized by his lies and conspiracy theories he spent months fueling, many of which I have heard on this floor the last week. He needed to say only two words to end the violence: "I concede." Because that is what leaders do in a democracy. Because that is what we do in the United States. They put politics aside and put country first.

Madam Speaker, as I look to our colleagues over on the other side, I wonder how many of them will demonstrate that leadership and join us in holding President Trump accountable for inciting this deadly attack, and I wonder how many will uphold our oath and put our country first to defend this Constitution from the threat in the White House. To do anything less, is to turn your back on the oath altogether.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. CICILLINE).

Mr. CICILLINE. Madam Speaker, for more than 220 years since George Washington yielded the Presidency to John Adams, the peaceful transfer of power has been a hallmark of our democracy.

In this country, the will of the American people reigns supreme over the ambitions of any individual. Every single President has honored and upheld these principles until now.

Donald Trump lost his bid for reelection last November. It was a free and fair election. In fact, President Trump's own election security director called it "the most secure election in U.S. history." But for 2 months now, Donald Trump has refused to accept the will of the American people. Over

and over again, he has told his supporters he didn't really lose; the election was stolen from him and from them. And as they grew angrier and angrier over this perceived injustice, he told them there was still a way to keep him in power.

As Congress prepared to meet for the sacred ritual of certifying the results of the President's election, the President made his move. He directed his supporters to travel to Washington for a rally to "stop the steal."

They did.

Then, once assembled, he had one final request: March on the U.S. Capitol. Do what it takes to help me hold on to power. "We will never give up. We will never concede," he told them. "If you don't fight like hell," he warned, "you are not going to have a country anymore."

The people on the Ellipse that day heard his message loud and clear. They answered his call for insurrection.

As the third-ranking Republican in this Chamber put it, he "summoned the mob, assembled the mob, and lit the flame of this attack."

Armed with guns, pipe bombs, bats, shields, zip ties, and more, they set their sights on the U.S. Capitol. They stormed the citadel of our democracy. Hundreds of domestic terrorists did what Donald Trump wanted them to do. They seized the Capitol and tried to end our country's 234-year experiment in democracy, as the Trump family and White House aides watched gleefully on television.

They searched the Halls of this building for the Vice President, who they came to hang for treason. They overran the Office of the Speaker, who they came to assassinate. They sought, above all else, to seize control of our government in the name of Donald Trump.

Let that sink in: The terrorists who stormed this building planned to hang the Vice President, kill the Speaker, and topple our government.

They took down the American flag and replaced it with a Trump flag.

Madam Speaker, I ask my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who are not planning to vote for this article: Is this the kind of country you want to live in? What are you going to tell your children and grandchildren when they ask what you did in this moment? Did you stand for the Republic or for this President?

Heed the words of Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President, who told our country that "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

This great House of which Abraham Lincoln served cannot and will not endure if we do not stand together now.

The President and the terrorists who stormed these Halls last Wednesday did not succeed in toppling our Republic. We must ensure they never do. I implore you to join us in supporting this article.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. VAN DREW).

Mr. VAN DREW. Madam Speaker, we have been here before. We have done this before. This has failed before. We fractured our Nation using the same process before. Congress must be the glue that starts unifying everyone.

By the time this process would conclude, the man they want out of office will no longer even be the President. If we want unity, this is not the way.

America was and is the leading light in the world. This proceeding has continued to cloak our Nation in darkness.

Nearly half the country supports our current President. This takes their voice away. We must be bigger and better than the most base of instincts that have been driving our political discourse. It is destroying us. Let's link arms with one another and begin to heal. Let's stop this impeachment.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Colorado (Mr. NEGUSE).

Mr. NEGUSE. Madam Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

President Trump's actions—encouraging, inciting a mob that stormed the United States Capitol for the sole purpose of stopping the constitutionally mandated counting of electoral votes—cannot go unanswered by this body. He must be impeached.

If Congress does not act, if we shrink from our constitutional responsibilities to defend our Republic, it will undoubtedly undermine the vision of America as “the last best hope of earth,” as Abraham Lincoln so eloquently said so many years ago.

To the millions of Americans watching today: I hope that you understand that we are proceeding on this path out of love for our country.

I will honor my oath today. I will vote for impeachment, and I pray that my colleagues will muster the courage to do the same.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN).

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

Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the Article of Impeachment.

Last Wednesday, we gathered to follow the Constitution's simple instruction: To count the electoral votes that have been tallied by the States and submitted to us.

This President refused to accept those results. Instead, he sought to overturn them by inciting a violent insurrection. But we were not deterred from doing our constitutional duty. Today, we must do our constitutional duty once again.

While the President failed in his attempt to upend our democracy, last Wednesday's events declared that if we do not hold him accountable and remove him from power, a future attempt could very well be successful.

The survival of our democracy depends on defeated candidates accepting

their defeats, as has been the case in every President's election since 1864.

Our January 6 joint session is a vital part of the transfer of power, not the contest for power. Vice President Gore understood this, accepting and certifying the 2000 election result in which he was defeated. Vice President Biden understood this, accepting and certifying this President's victory in the 2016 election.

This President's refusal to participate in the peaceful transfer of power and his role in the incitement of last week's violence posed an existential threat to our constitution of democracy.

This threat must be extinguished immediately. This President must be impeached and convicted, and he must be prevented from ever attempting to seize power again.

□ 1315

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. BUCK).

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

Madam Speaker, I have heard that President Trump radicalized the group of the rioters who stormed this Capitol. I would say that we need to look no further than ourselves to find out what happened and to look at history.

Americans were frustrated when they learned that the FBI was investigating the Trump campaign. They were frustrated to learn that the Obama administration and the DNC had created this false campaign against the Trump administration. They were frustrated, Madam Speaker, when the inauguration of the President was boycotted by over 40 Democrat Members of this House.

They were frustrated to read in *The Washington Post* the day after the inauguration: Let the impeachment begin.

They were frustrated when Members of this House spoke over and over about impeaching the President days into his administration. And then the Socialists in Hollywood joined their allies in Congress. Robert De Niro said that he wanted to punch the President in the face. Madonna thought about blowing up the White House. Kathy Lee Griffin held up a likeness of the President's beheaded head, and nothing was said by my colleagues at that point in time.

In fact, one Democrat colleague said that Trump supporters should be harassed wherever they are, in restaurants, on the street, and in supermarkets.

During this time, the President was under investigation by a special counsel who found no collusion and no conspiracy with Russia.

The President's supporters were harassed. Ajit Pai, the head of the FCC, was called a dirty, sneaky Indian. His children were harassed in school. The press secretary, Sarah Sanders, was kicked out of a restaurant for being a

Trump employee. The DHS Secretary, Kirstjen Nielsen, was harassed by her home, and Trump donors were publicly shamed.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN).

Mr. RASKIN. Madam Speaker, smashing windows and beating police officers over the head with fire extinguishers, a bloodthirsty mob attacked the Capitol and invaded this Congress last Wednesday. They erected a gallows and repeatedly chanted: Hang Mike Pence.

They stormed Speaker PELOSI's office yelling: Where is Nancy?

They brandished the Confederate battle flag and occupied the Senate Chamber. They wounded dozens of people, hospitalized dozens of people, and killed five of our people. For 6 hours, they shut down the counting of electoral college votes—our sacred process under the Constitution for peaceful transfer of power in the United States.

They may have been hunting for PENCE and PELOSI to stage their coup, but every one of us in this room right now could have died. As Senator LINDSEY GRAHAM said: The mob could have blown the building up. They could have killed us all.

And now the far right is calling for a return engagement from January 17 to January 20. They are asking the President to pardon the conspirators in last week's rampage as they prepare for a race war again next week. It is a bit much to be hearing that these people would not be trying to destroy our government and kill us if we just weren't so mean to them.

Despite the floor leader's desperate effort to polarize this body and this Nation along party lines, it is the chair of the Republican Conference who best articulated what happened in a statement yesterday, and I recommend every American read this. LIZ CHENEY of Wyoming, the elected chair of the Republican Conference, wrote that “the President summoned this mob, assembled this mob, and lit the flame of this attack. Everything that followed was his doing. None of this would have happened without the President. The President could have immediately and forcibly intervened to stop the violence. He did not. There has never been a greater betrayal by a President of the United States.”

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

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield the gentleman from Maryland an additional 10 seconds.

Mr. RASKIN. Ms. CHENEY says that “there has never been a greater betrayal by a President of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution.”

Read Ms. CHENEY's statement. Let's come together and impeach the President for this high crime against the Republic. We don't have a minute to spare. He is a clear and present danger to the people.

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

Mr. GAETZ. Madam Speaker, it seems to me that impeachment is an itch that doesn't go away with just one scratch. It also seems that President Trump may be most likely to be impeached when he is correct.

Before the last Presidential impeachment, President Trump rightly pointed out the improper activities of the Biden crime family, and subsequently he has been proven right. And don't think for a moment, Madam Speaker, that we are going to drop that or stop our pursuit for the truth.

Before that, Madam Speaker, we had the Russia hoax, where you had the President rightfully making claims that Hillary Clinton and the DNC were colluding with Russians to disorient our democracy. How right he turned out to be.

And then we have the 2020 Presidential election where the President correctly pointed out unconstitutional behavior, voting irregularities, concerns over tabulations, dead people voting, and now impeachment again. "When they go low, we kick them," Eric Holder, former Attorney General under Barack Obama.

Breaching the Capitol was as low as low can be. We all denounce it.

But who is it that they are kicking?

The President, who created soaring highs for our economy, rising wages before the pandemic, and 400 miles of wall to stop the caravans. He drew down troops in the Middle East and showed empathy for the forgotten men and women of our country. It is why so many people love him so much, and it is why they are kicking all of us.

This President has faced unprecedented hatred and resistance from Big Media, Big Tech, and big egos from congressional leaders on both sides of the aisle.

Before the rioters tore through that glass, Speaker PELOSI stood at that rostrum and tore through the President's State of the Union speech, inciting anger, resentment, and division. Some believe that truly these true colors are being shown now through this divisive bipartisan impeachment.

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

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield the gentleman from Florida an additional 40 seconds.

Mr. GAETZ. Madam Speaker, the Speaker said to us just moments ago that words matter. But apparently those words don't matter when they are uttered by Democrats, when the gentlewoman from Massachusetts calls for unrest in the streets, and when the gentlewoman from California brazenly brags that she called for people to get in the faces of those who serve and support the President.

I denounce political violence from all ends of the spectrum. But make no mistake: the left in America has incited far more political violence than

the right. For months our cities burned, police stations burned, and our businesses were shattered; and they said nothing or they cheer-led for it, they fundraised for it, and they allowed it to happen in the greatest country in the world.

Now, some have cited the metaphor that the President lit the flame. They lit actual flames and actual fires. We put them out, and we intend to keep this President.

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

Mr. SWALWELL. Madam Speaker, America has been attacked before, but not like this. On January 6, Donald Trump incited thousands of radicalized terrorists to attack the Capitol to stop a transition of power. Let that sink in. Our President incited our citizens to attack our Capitol. America was not attacked in the past tense. This President has inspired future plots. America is still under attack, and that is why Donald Trump must be impeached.

I have read that many of my GOP colleagues know what the President did was wrong but are afraid for their lives if they cross the President. I am sorry that they are living in fear, but now is the time to summon their courage to guide them.

Madam Speaker, we have all seen the images of the courageous officers who have risked their lives so that you could flee this floor and see your families. That was almost a week ago right now.

Officers engaged in hand-to-hand combat for hours with these terrorists. Capitol Police were spit on, beaten, stampeded, and one of them lost his life.

Madam Speaker, I am not asking you to summon the courage that they did; I am just asking you to do your job and hold this President accountable.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. CASTRO of Texas. Madam Speaker, Donald Trump is the most dangerous man to ever occupy the Oval Office.

Madam Speaker, I want to take you back 1 week ago today when people were barging through these doors and breaking the windows with weapons, armed, pipe bombs, coming here to harm all of you, to harm the Speaker, and to harm the Senate.

Madam Speaker, let me ask you a question: What do you think they would have done if they had gotten in?

What do you think they would have done to you, and who do you think sent them here? The most dangerous man to ever occupy the Oval Office.

If inciting a deadly insurrection is not enough to get a President impeached, then what is?

All of us must answer that question today.

The Constitution requires us to impeach and remove Donald John Trump.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Pennsylvania (Ms. DEAN).

Ms. DEAN. Madam Speaker, 1 week ago today, I was trapped in this House Chamber as the banging on the doors began. I feared for colleagues, reporters, and staff. I feared for myself. The attack on the Capitol will never be forgotten.

The President and many in this Chamber have shamelessly peddled dangerous untruths about the election, despite the warnings of where those lies would lead. Last Wednesday, those lies and dangers found themselves inside this Capitol.

This hateful rhetoric is another deadly virus. It is time to remove it from its host. To heal, we need accountability and truth. That begins by acknowledging the President's dangerous lies and their deadly consequences. Removing Donald Trump is the beginning of restoring decency and democracy. What happened last week will not be forgotten, and what we do this week will long be remembered. Vote "yes" on impeachment.

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

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

Madam Speaker, let me be clear: Last week's violent attack on the Capitol was undemocratic, un-American, and criminal. Violence is never a legitimate form of protest. Freedom of speech and assembly under the Constitution is rooted in nonviolence. Yet the violent mob that descended upon this body was neither peaceful nor democratic. It acted to disrupt Congress' constitutional responsibility. It was also an attack on the people who work in this institution: Members, staff, and the hundreds who work behind the scenes so that we can serve the American people.

The greatest statesman in the history of our country understood that the most dangerous threat to freedom is lawlessness. A young lawyer named Abraham Lincoln famously said, "There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law."

Yet, for several hours last week, mob law tried to interfere with constitutional law.

Some say the riots were caused by antifa. There is absolutely no evidence of that, and Conservatives should be the first to say so.

Conservatives also know that the only thing that stops mob violence is to meet it with force rooted in justice and backed by moral courage. Last week, we saw mob violence met by courage, sacrifice, and heroism from the brave men and women who protect this institution every day. But for the bravery of the Capitol Police, the destruction and loss could have been

much greater. We owe them a tremendous debt of gratitude.

□ 1330

The loss of Officer Brian Sicknick and Officer Howard Liebengood was tragic and heartbreaking. We mourn their loss, remember their lives, and continue to pray for their families and loved ones.

The officers of the Capitol Police deserve our eternal thanks. We will never forget the dangers they faced, the determination they showed, or the sacrifices they made.

Make no mistake, those who are responsible for Wednesday's chaos will be brought to justice, which brings me to today's debate. I believe impeaching the President in such a short timeframe would be a mistake.

No investigations have been completed. No hearings have been held. What is more, the Senate has confirmed that no trial will begin until after President-elect Biden is sworn in.

But here is what a vote to impeach would do. A vote to impeach would further divide this Nation. A vote to impeach will further fan the flames of partisan division.

Most Americans want neither inaction nor retribution. They want durable, bipartisan justice. That path is still available, but it is not the path we are on today.

That doesn't mean the President is free from fault. The President bears responsibility for Wednesday's attack on Congress by mob rioters. He should have immediately denounced the mob when he saw what was unfolding.

These facts require immediate action by President Trump: accept his share of responsibility, quell the brewing unrest, and ensure President-elect Biden is able to successfully begin his term.

And the President's immediate action also deserves congressional action, which is why I think a factfinding commission and a censure resolution would be prudent. Unfortunately, that is not where we are today.

Truly, this past week was one of the most difficult for Congress and our Nation. Of all the days here, last Wednesday was the worst day I have ever seen in Congress. Our country is deeply hurt.

So, where do we go from here? After all the violence and chaos of the last week, it is important to remember that we are still here to deliver a better future for all Americans. It does not matter if you are liberal, moderate, or conservative; all of us must resist the temptations of further polarization. Instead, we must unite once again as Americans.

I understand, for some, this call for unity may ring hollow, but times like these are when we must remember who we are as Americans and what we, as a nation, stand for.

As history shows, unity is not an option; it is a necessity. It is as necessary today as it was at the start of our country. I want us all to think back to

how John Adams and the Federalist Party handed power over to Thomas Jefferson and his party after the election of 1800.

That election and, indeed, that era was one of the most divisive ever. Partisans used every dirty trick in the book. They demonized each other, dismissed reasonable dissent, and described their opponents as seditious. Sound familiar?

The election of 1800 could have destroyed our young Nation, but instead of breaking us, it helped bring us together, thereby preserving the world's last best hope of freedom. After a hard-fought battle over the electoral college in Congress, Adams conceded. A peaceful transfer of power, the first in American history, took place.

Jefferson, for his part, put aside the division of the era and preached forgiveness and, yes, unity. In his first inaugural address, he famously said: "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle."

Jefferson and Adams did not end every difference of opinion that existed in America, nor did they try. In a free country as big and diverse as ours, that would be impossible. What they did was more important. They recognized the deeper unity, a unity rooted in the famous proposition both men helped to write. At a critical moment in history, our Founders chose peace, liberty, and partnership over tension, division, and partisanship.

For the sake of our country, we must make the exact same choice. We have already begun.

Last week, despite the lingering shock and amid the windows still broken, we did what all healthy democracies do. We debated, and we voted. In this country, we solve our disputes at the ballot box and through debates and votes on the floor of this exact Chamber. We did our duty then, and we must do more.

The eyes of the Nation and the world are upon us. We must seize this opportunity and heal and grow stronger. As leaders, our place in history depends on whether we call on our better angels and refocus our efforts to work directly for the American people.

United, we can deliver the peace, strength, and prosperity our country desperately needs. Divided, we will fail.

What we saw last week was not the American way. Neither is the continued rhetoric that Joe Biden is not the legitimate President.

Let's be clear: Joe Biden will be sworn in as President of the United States in 1 week because he won the election.

And his Presidency and this Congress will face immediate challenges that must be addressed. I stand ready to assist in that effort with good faith, goodwill, and an open hand.

The United States remains exceptional. We remain extraordinary. In the coming weeks and months, we must work together, all of us, to recharge the light of our shining city on the hill.

History has shown us a way. History has given us a path. Just as Adams and Jefferson have shown, now is the moment that we should do the exact same.

In these trying times, may God continue to bless America. Let's chart a course that history will repeat but not what is happening today.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Colorado (Ms. DEGETTE).

Ms. DEGETTE. Madam Speaker, just over a year ago, I stood right there where you are standing today as we took the solemn step of impeaching the President of the United States for pressuring a foreign leader to take unlawful actions to help him in his reelection.

Just 1 week ago, almost to the hour, I laid right there on the floor of the gallery above us. I heard gunshots in the Speaker's lobby. I heard the mob pounding on the door. They were an angry mob, incited by the President, trying to stop certification of a legitimate election.

It is clear the President learned nothing in the last year. Yesterday, the President said again he did nothing wrong.

This man is dangerous. He has defied the Constitution. He has incited sedition. And he must be removed.

We all took a pledge on January 3 to uphold the Constitution. We must honor that oath. We must vote "yes" on this Article of Impeachment.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Colorado (Mrs. BOEBERT).

Mrs. BOEBERT. Glory to God.

Madam Speaker, I rise today to oppose this impeachment and denounce the recent violence on the Capitol, just as I opposed the previous impeachment and the violence we have all witnessed all summer long across our great country.

Make no mistake here, the hypocrisy of the left is on full display.

Go to the Hill. Get in the face of some Congresspeople. We have got to fight in Congress, fight in the courts, fight in the streets. Take him behind the gym and beat the hell out of him. Go and take Trump out tonight.

Sound familiar? What about the gentlewoman from New York who defended the looting by saying looters just want loaves of bread? The last I checked, Best Buy and Tesla and stores of the like do not produce baked goods.

Where is the accountability for the left after encouraging and normalizing violence? Rather than actually helping American people in this time, we start impeachments that further divide our country.

I call bull crap when I hear the Democrats demanding unity. Sadly, they are only unified in hate.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

Ms. WATERS. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of impeaching again the

worst President in the history of the United States.

Since his first day in office, this President has spent 4 years abusing his power, lying, embracing authoritarianism, and radicalizing his supporters against democracy.

This corruption poisoned the minds of his supporters, inciting them to willingly join with white supremacists, neo-Nazis, and paramilitary extremists in a siege of the United States Capitol Building, the very seat of American democracy.

The Republican Party is now the Trump party. And I want you to know that this is a Trump power grab that will not stop. It will not stop with attacking the Capitol and our State legislatures. This President intends to exercise power long after he is out of office.

It is reported that the President of the United States watched the invasion of our Capitol from the Oval Office and seemingly enjoyed it. I want you to know we should be concerned that the Republicans will defend him, and he is capable of starting a civil war.

He must be impeached. He must be stopped now.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. NEWHOUSE).

Mr. NEWHOUSE. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio for yielding me the time.

Madam Speaker, this is a sad day in our Republic, but not as sad or disheartening as the violence we witnessed in the Capitol last Wednesday.

We are all responsible. My colleagues are responsible for not condemning rioters this past year, like those who barricaded the doors of the Seattle Police Department and attempted to murder the officers inside. Others, including myself, are responsible for not speaking out sooner, before the President misinformed and inflamed a violent mob who tore down the American flag and brutally beat Capitol Police officers.

Madam Speaker, we must all do better. These Articles of Impeachment are flawed, but I will not use process as an excuse. There is no excuse for President Trump's actions.

The President took an oath to defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Last week, there was a domestic threat at the door of the Capitol, and he did nothing to stop it.

That is why, with a heavy heart and clear resolve, I will vote "yes" on these Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, could I ask how much time each side has remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio has 36¼ minutes remaining. The gentleman from New York has 36¼ minutes remaining.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. AUCHINCLOSS).

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Madam Speaker, a mob desecrated our Capitol, killed a police officer, and attempted to overthrow our government on the orders of the President of the United States. Immediate impeachment is our duty under the Constitution that compels us to defend against enemies, foreign and domestic.

As a Marine officer, I defended our democracy from foreign enemies. As a Member of Congress, I am solemnly resolved to defend it from domestic ones.

With this vote, we strike a blow for moral leadership.

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

□ 1345

Mr. CHABOT. Madam Speaker, America is at a crossroads. As the violent riots at the Capitol last week so painfully and shockingly reminded us, the unhinged partisan rhetoric that too often consumes the political dialogue in this country has become toxic and is tearing us apart. If we continue down this path, there is no telling how much damage to our Union there may be.

Sadly, that is what is happening here today. The majority is rushing through yet a second impeachment of President Trump, who has but 7 days remaining in office. As prominent constitutional law professor Jonathan Turley has cautioned: Today a dangerous precedent is being set that could lead to the normalization of snap impeachments without any hearings or any meaningful discussion or debate.

The majority is ramming through this House the most potent tool at our disposal without a single hearing, turning a process that usually takes months into a few short hours.

We haven't heard testimony from a single witness. We haven't heard from any experts on the nature of these charges, nor the damage this effort could inflict on our Republic. We didn't know even how this debate would unfold until 9 a.m. this morning.

This is truly an unprecedented situation and one which could cause irrevocable harm to our Nation.

Madam Speaker, it doesn't have to be this way. We don't have to continue down this misguided path. We could instead follow the wisdom provided by none other than Abraham Lincoln during another divisive time in our Nation's history and listen to the better angels of our nature. We could choose a more positive, constructive path and vote down this ill-conceived effort.

We should tone down the political rhetoric. We should work together to solve the problems that face our Nation. We should put aside our differences and find common ground.

We should bring Americans back together because there is no crisis we can't overcome if we stand united.

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

Ms. HERRERA BEUTLER. Madam Speaker, I rise today to stand against our enemy. To clarify, our enemy isn't the President or the President-elect.

Fear is our enemy. Fear tells us what we want to hear. It incites anger and violence and fire, but it also haunts us into silence and inaction.

What are you afraid of? I am afraid of what people will say or think. I am afraid of being devalued. I am not afraid of losing my job, but I am afraid that my country will fail. I am afraid patriots of this country have died in vain. I am afraid my children won't grow up in a free country. I am afraid injustice will prevail.

But truth, truth sets us free from fear. Truth doesn't guarantee bad things won't happen, but it does promise to always prevail in the end. It has no shadows where darkness can hide. With truth comes love, and we could use that right now.

My vote to impeach our sitting President is not a fear-based decision. I am not choosing a side; I am choosing truth. It is the only way to defeat fear.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. VAN DUYNE).

Ms. VAN DUYNE. Today, I should be in my district working for my constituents. Instead, I am back here in Washington because the majority could not resist another made-for-TV impeachment.

American workers are losing their jobs and struggling to feed their families. Small businesses are being forced to lay off workers and close their doors. Families are, tragically, losing loved ones to the coronavirus.

Instead of creating or even saving American jobs, or negotiating additional COVID relief, we are debating an impeachment that has been preceded by no inquiry, no meaningful debate, and no due process.

In 1 week's time, Joe Biden will be the President. The American people need us to rise above the heat of the moment, to focus on their needs, and to deliver real solutions.

Because the majority decided we should debate whether or not to remove a sitting President in just 2 hours, I will be brief: I oppose this Article of Impeachment.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. BOURDEAUX).

Ms. BOURDEAUX. Madam Speaker, I teach a civics class where I point out that our democracy is not self-executing. It requires people of good faith and ethics to make it work.

The President has repeatedly challenged Georgia's election results. But, despite three recounts and many investigations, the results are clear: Joe Biden won Georgia.

The idea that our election was fraudulent is a lie. Our President used this lie to incite a violent mob to attack the Capitol.

I ask my colleagues to act with ethics and good faith, to reject these lies,

and, in this case, to support the Article of Impeachment.

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

Mr. POSEY. In our campaigns, we may be adversaries, but usually, after campaign season is over, we have traditionally come together for the good of our Nation.

Now more than ever in our lifetimes, we are a divided Nation. One of the reasons? The resist movement, which has harassed, harangued, and otherwise denigrated the President since the second he became the nominee.

While his sins may be different than yours or mine, they are clearly not treasonous. Let our men and women in blue, who suffered a lot more stress than the Members of Congress they protected, have the time they deserve to recuperate, and do the same for millions of Americans who feel they have been disenfranchised.

I beseech my colleagues on both sides of the aisle: If you truly want our Nation to heal, vote "no" on this resolution.

It reeks of nothing more than revenge and sets a dangerous precedent. May God continue to bless the United States of America.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BROWN).

Mr. BROWN. Madam Speaker, a week ago, Americans and this Chamber lived through one of our darkest days. The Commander in Chief incited a mob of insurrectionists to overturn the results of a free and fair election through terror and intimidation.

They failed, but this violence took its toll. People died; our country's temple of democracy was vandalized; and our image as the world's leading democracy was shaken.

President Trump represents a real threat to our national security, our democratic institutions, and the people of this country.

We cannot let Donald Trump, who actively orchestrated sedition, lead our Nation's government for another 7 days. We cannot wait until January 20. Donald Trump must be removed.

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

Mr. GOODEN of Texas. Madam Speaker, I also want to thank my Democratic colleagues for finally joining Republicans in condemning mob violence after 6 months of refusing to acknowledge it.

But I am really tired of sanctimonious sermons on being a sore loser from some of the same Democrats who opposed accepting results in elections past. Democrats have objected to certifying every Republican victory of the 21st century. In 2000, 2004, and in 2016, Democrats objected every time.

When they objected, it was patriotic. But when Republicans do it, we are inciting a mob; we are liars; and we are

traitors. This is the double standard we should expect under total Democrat control.

They have called for unrest in the streets. They have called for harassing Cabinet officials. They have objected to certifying election results time and time again. Even the Judiciary chairman secured clemency for a domestic terrorist who detonated a bomb right here in this building. But we are the extremists? I don't think so.

We have been silenced by Big Tech on social media, by corporate America. Now the other side wants to silence us on the House floor.

This is a sad day in America. I urge my colleagues to vote "no."

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Missouri (Ms. BUSH), a new Member of the House and a new member of the Judiciary Committee.

Ms. BUSH. Madam Speaker, St. Louis and I rise in support of the Article of Impeachment against Donald J. Trump.

If we fail to remove a white supremacist President who incited a white supremacist insurrection, it is communities like Missouri's First District that suffer the most.

The 117th Congress must understand that we have a mandate to legislate in defense of Black lives. The first step in that process is to root out white supremacy, starting with impeaching the white supremacist in chief.

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

Mr. JACKSON. I rise in opposition to the Article of Impeachment.

Let me be clear, what happened last Wednesday was a stain on our Nation, and the criminals and the rioters responsible should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

It is clear now more than ever that our country needs to come together, and Congress, this Congress, needs to lead by example and begin the process of healing the deep division that exists among us as Americans.

The article before us today will not accomplish that. In fact, the sham Article of Impeachment will only serve to further fan the flames of unrest and to appease the radical left's appetite for division.

We should be focusing on restoring communities devastated by lockdowns, working on America's vaccine rollout, aiding a bipartisan investigation into these attacks, and ensuring election integrity, not impeaching a President who has promised a peaceful transition and who has less than 7 days left in office.

It is time to focus on the unprecedented challenges we face, and it is time to focus on unity. For these reasons, I urge my colleagues to oppose the Article of Impeachment.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from New York (Ms. CLARKE).

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Madam Speaker, today, I rise to support H. Res. 24, the Article of Impeachment against Donald Trump for high crimes and misdemeanors for a second time.

Let us be very clear, what took place on January 6, 2021, was an act of domestic terrorism by rightwing sycophantic white supremacists, promoted, instigated, and advanced by the man in the White House, Donald Trump.

Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., once said: "The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil, it multiplies it."

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. TIFFANY).

Mr. TIFFANY. Madam Speaker, my father once said to me: Just because you can do something doesn't mean you should.

In the short time I have served in this body, one thing is clear: This is not a serious place.

Last year, we watched as the other side delayed COVID relief for months to inflict maximum pain and sway the outcome of the election. The Speaker said as much.

Yet, these last 2 days, we have seen just how fast they can move when they want to exact political retribution on their opponent.

My friends on the other side now have complete control of both Houses of Congress. In a few days, they will control the entire executive branch as well.

Madam Speaker, Joe Biden has talked unity and healing. Is that what this is today? Is accusing Republican lawmakers of sedition and calling for their expulsion the plan for healing? Is working with Silicon Valley to digitally disappear those with whom they disagree with the plan for reconciliation?

I was among the first to condemn the riots in Madison months ago, and I condemn what happened last week. But where were the swift accusations of incitement and insurrection from the other side last year? Is today's political theater a preview of what the American people can expect from single-party rule, 2 years of double standards, of punishing those who voted for someone else?

Madam Speaker, I hope Mr. Biden is watching today and that he will rise to the moment and call off this effort to rub salt in the wounds of millions of Americans.

It is now time for all of us, Democrats and Republicans alike, to turn down the temperature.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri (Mr. CLEAVER).

Mr. CLEAVER. Madam Speaker, it would be an error to suppose that men and women can be courageous every day. It would be unfair to anticipate that I or any Member of this body

could be a lion every day. No one is expected to be a lion day after day after day. But on this day, lions are required.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1400

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. COHEN).

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

After President Trump was not impeached, SUSAN COLLINS said he has learned a pretty big lesson; he was impeached.

Then he brought his "It will be wild," riotous television show that he produced for one person, individual one.

Intelligence reports indicate that the people he said he loves and are special are going to attack this city and attack this Capitol next week. He has not asked them not to do it. He has not told them to stand down. I most fear January 20 because I think he will try to go out with a bang.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, the statement from the President: I urge that there must be no violence, no law breaking, no vandalism of any kind. This is not what I stand for, is not what America stands for. I call on all Americans to help ease tensions and calm down.

I just put out that statement by the President of the United States.

Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CLINE).

Mr. CLINE. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time, and I thank the President for his words. Above the entrance to the House of Representatives is a sculpture called the Apotheosis of Democracy. It depicts allegorical peace dressed in armor and protecting the genius of America.

Last week, that peace was tragically torn apart as our U.S. Capitol was invaded for the first time since the War of 1812. A violent mob, including many with the most hostile of intentions, broke past security barriers and unleashed destruction and chaos throughout the Capitol. When it was over, six individuals were dead, including two Capitol police officers.

I have always supported the rights of citizens to peaceably assemble, but those who breached the Capitol and assaulted and killed Capitol police should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. If their intent was to stop the constitutional requirement of this body to count electoral votes, they should be charged and prosecuted for insurrection against the government.

But we are a Nation of laws, not of men, and the legal standard for incitement to violence has not been met.

Now, a week since the riots threatened the people's House and a week

until a new President takes office, we are rushing through an impeachment without all of the facts and evidence and without due process.

We don't know what kind of information the offenders have, what evidence will come out during their trials, whether it bolsters the majority's claims or the minority's views, or whether it implicates other individuals, groups, or other officials in the attack on this hallowed institution. We just don't know, and that is why we must treat the power of impeachment and our responsibility as holders of this power with the seriousness and solemnity it deserves.

Let us gather the evidence. Let us hear the judiciary, make an informed decision together. This action will only further fuel the political divide among our citizens and will be detrimental to the long-term efforts to unify our country.

I reiterate my call from last night. Let us work together. Both President Trump and President-elect Biden have called for a peaceful transition of power. I humbly beseech my colleagues to work toward this end to unify our country and not go down this dangerous path.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. LANGEVIN).

Mr. LANGEVIN. Madam Speaker, January 6 was a horrific day for our country, for our democracy. The Capitol was breached, the blood of our defenders spilled, all because of a lie that the elections were stolen, a lie that has infected this Nation as perniciously as the pandemic.

President Trump is the source of that lie. He has perverted and betrayed his oath to defend the Constitution, attacking the foundation of our democracy by inciting his supporters to violence. He is not fit to serve and is a danger to our country while he does.

I too pledged to support and defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. I will uphold that oath.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PERRY).

Mr. PERRY. Madam Speaker, what did the Speaker know, and what did other legislative leaders know, and when did they know it? Maybe that is a rush to impeach the President so we will never know what legislative leaders here knew.

The FBI knew about a number of individuals that were planning a war on the Capitol, including killing police officers, and they shared the information. But nothing happened.

The chief Federal prosecutor in Washington stated he is pursuing conspiracy charges. The fact that IEDs were constructed and placed informs me that there was preplanning for portions of the tragic events last week.

How does the President incite an attack that was preplanned and already underway before his speech concluded?

Now, I know my colleagues on the left want America to believe that the President incited a spontaneous riot that they would like to call an insurrection, but the facts are stubborn things, even if you choose to ignore them.

The truth is the multiple lawless and violent events last summer, including a months-long siege of a Federal courthouse, burning, looting, physical violence in so-called sanctuary cities, more closely fits the definition of insurrection than anything the President said last week.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CONNOLLY).

Mr. CONNOLLY. Madam Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding.

The American people are asking: Is there any depravity too low? Is there any outrage too far? Is there any blood and violence too much to turn hearts and minds in this body instead of the usual justification, rationalization, and enabling in false equivalence we have to hear?

This is a moment of truth, my friends. Are you on the side of chaos and the mob, or on the side of constitutional democracy and our freedom? It is that simple. That is what this vote for impeachment represents.

Madam Speaker, I will not turn a blind eye to the President inciting an armed insurrection against Congress.

In the leadup to the election and in its aftermath, the President peddled outrageous lies to overturn a free and fair election.

When that didn't work, he launched an armed attack on a coequal branch of government.

As the mob closed in, I will never forget it, the banging got louder. (BANG)

The President watched the violence unfold on television. (BANG)

Republicans begged him to call off the mob. (BANG)

Instead, the President attacked his own Vice President whose life was already in danger. (BANG)

Now five people are dead, and some of my colleagues are calling for unity.

I support unity, but unity cannot be a subterfuge for avoiding accountability.

And today, I vote for accountability.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, could I inquire how much time each side has remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio has 25 minutes remaining. The gentleman from New York has 31¼ minutes remaining.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. CROW).

Mr. CROW. Madam Speaker, last week, I stood in that gallery to defend this Chamber against the violent mob called here by Donald Trump. I have dedicated my life to the defense of our Nation, and Donald Trump is a risk to all that I love.

Some of my Republican colleagues are afraid of the consequences of an impeachment vote, but this Congress

sends our young men and women to war every day. I am not asking you to storm the beaches of Normandy but only show a fraction of the courage we ask of our troops every day.

Leadership is hard. It is time to impeach.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS).

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

I heard a few minutes ago that there had been no hearings. Well, I have heard from the people of the Seventh District of Illinois. They have told me what to do. They have said: Impeach this President. Impeach this President, and do it now.

I will follow their instructions and vote "yes" to impeach this President.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. ESCOBAR).

Ms. ESCOBAR. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

On January 6, terrorists attacked the United States of America. It was an attempted coup and an insurrection. But what I hope Americans understand is that it was a terrorist attack against our country.

Those who came and participated must be found and prosecuted. Those who aided and abetted must be found and prosecuted. And the man who incited it, President Donald J. Trump, our greatest national security threat, must be impeached, held accountable, and never be allowed to hold office again.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I now yield 30 seconds to distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. ESHOO).

Ms. ESHOO. Madam Speaker, future generations are not going to know the names of each Member in the Chamber today and voting, but they will know what we did and why. We must impeach the President because he incited the mob that attacked the Capitol of the United States, the tabernacle of our democracy. He is incapable of honoring his oath and our Constitution, and he has proven to be unfit and dangerous.

I will vote to impeach this traitor to our country.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I now yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. ESPAILLAT).

Mr. ESPAILLAT. Madam Speaker, today I cast my vote for the second time to impeach Donald J. Trump. He is unfit to hold office. He summonsed

and dispatched his mob to kidnap and hurt many of us. He is unfit to hold office.

He summonsed and dispatched his mob to assassinate Vice President PENCE, to assassinate Speaker PELOSI. He is unfit to hold office.

He summonsed and dispatched a mob that waved the racist Confederate flag and assaulted this Capitol, resulting in the death of five Americans, including two Capitol Police officers. He is unfit to hold office. We must impeach now.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. GARCIA).

Mr. GARCIA of Illinois. Madam Speaker, I rise today in the strongest possible support for the impeachment of Donald J. Trump. When Trump made a last desperate attempt to steal the Presidency, to reject the will of the people by encouraging insurrection, he became the first President to incite an attempted overthrow of the institutions he is sworn to protect.

That is a horrifying first, and his actions necessitate another. He should be the first President impeached and removed from office in the history of our country. I voted to impeach him once, and I am willing to do it again.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I now yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. GARCIA).

Ms. GARCIA of Texas. Madam Speaker, this President took an oath to protect and defend the Constitution. Instead, he has chosen to betray and attack our sacred democracy.

This President violated his oath. He abused the power of his office, attempted to betray the will of the American people, and incited insurrection against this very House.

During the last impeachment trial, I reminded all Americans that democracy is a gift that each generation gives to the next. We must do all to protect it for our children and our future.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. STEUBE).

Mr. STEUBE. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. For 3 years, Democratic Members of this body and the mainstream media lied to the American people that the Trump campaign colluded and conspired with Russia—for years—after an exhaustive investigation was found that there was no evidence that the Trump campaign colluded with Russia.

Should Democratic Members of this body resign for lying to the American people repeatedly and sowing division and dissension all across America? And it was all a lie.

Madam Speaker, you have brought one Article of Impeachment to the floor, and your one allegation alleges: "Donald John Trump engaged in high crimes and misdemeanors by inciting

violence against the Government of United States."

In D.C., it is a crime to "intentionally or recklessly act in such a manner to cause another person to be in reasonable fear and to incite or provoke violence when there is a likelihood that such violence will ensue."

There was no language in the President's speech that incited or provoked violence. In fact, at around the 18-minute mark, he stated: "Peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard."

You may think that he is inciting violence because he believes there was election fraud. That is his opinion, and he is entitled to that opinion, just like all of you were entitled to your false and fraudulent opinion that the Trump campaign colluded with Russia.

The legal elements of incitement are based on the Supreme Court case Brandenburg v. Ohio, in which the Supreme Court set the standard for speech that could be prosecuted without violating the First Amendment. Brandenburg's speech called for violence against groups of Americans, and the Court found that Brandenburg's comments were not directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action.

The Court found that it was protected speech, and he was calling for violence. That is the current law of the land.

The President didn't even mention violence last Wednesday, much less provoke or incite it. There was no crime committed; therefore, no basis for impeachment, as you need a high crime or misdemeanor for a basis.

You have created a mockery out of the impeachment process, and I urge all my colleagues to stand against it and fight the latest fraud being perpetrated against the American people by the radical left.

□ 1415

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Nevada (Mr. HORSFORD).

Mr. HORSFORD. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the Article of Impeachment. Last Wednesday's events were not just a breach of a building, but a breach of our democracy, a threat to our Republic and to who we are as Americans.

Donald Trump incited insurrection against America and attempted to overturn the will of the people. We must send a clear message that committing sedition disqualifies a President from serving another day in office. I urge this body to vote for impeachment. I will.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Pennsylvania (Ms. HOULAHAN).

Ms. HOULAHAN. Madam Speaker, last evening, an 11-year-old girl joined our telephone townhall. Her question

shook me to my core. She was worried about the future of this great Nation, and I am, too. That is why I must move forward with impeachment of this President. He has endangered this Nation. He has betrayed his oath.

I do this now for all of us, for our Constitution, and for this Republic. I do this to tell the world that this great democracy will stand and no one is above the law. I do this for our future generations.

I urge us all to unite and to vote “yes” on impeachment.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. HUFFMAN).

Mr. HUFFMAN. Madam Speaker, history is watching and saving the receipts. Today, my colleagues across the aisle must choose which side of a very bright line they want to be recorded on for all time.

On one side: Lies, sedition, inciting and supporting insurrection and domestic terrorism.

The other side: Your oath of office, the Constitution, democracy, decency.

There is no middle ground. Today, we make history forever. So choose well.

A vote to impeach Donald Trump means, years from now, you can look your grandchildren in the eye and say, “I did the right thing.”

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. JACOBS).

Ms. JACOBS of California. Madam Speaker, the response to political violence must always be accountability. Without accountability, more violence will follow. I learned that working at the United Nations and the State Department in conflict settings around the world, and the United States Congress is now a conflict setting.

A violent mob threatened our lives in this Chamber and almost succeeded, incited by the President, who broadcasted live about the outcome of our election. We must hold this President accountable. It is the only way to protect our democracy.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. JOHNSON).

Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I am certain that every Member of Congress would say, if they had been in Congress when John Lewis walked across that Edmund Pettus Bridge and the Civil Rights Act was passed, they would have stood on the right side of history.

Well, Madam Speaker, today, we are going to see exactly what side of history Members are going to be on.

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

Mr. CAWTHORN. Madam Speaker, today represents a unique opportunity in our Nation’s history, an opportunity to put America first, to put her people first. Today is a moment for Members of Congress to put aside partisan politicking and place people over power.

I urge my colleagues to vote against this divisive impeachment and realize that dividing America will not save this Republic. I urge my colleagues to not simply vote for what feels good.

Of course, it feels good for the Democrats to have a united constituency for a few more days, but I was elected to come here and vote for things that actually do good, to bring much-needed help to the American people.

I am willing to take the first step and extend my hand across the aisle to say: Vote against impeachment; vote in favor of a unified nation; and I will forsake partisanship and work with you, no matter who you are or what party you come from.

Madam Speaker, I urge that we all vote to finally put America first.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from New York (Mr. JONES), a new Member of the House and a new member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. JONES. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the impeachment of Donald J. Trump, the disgraced, defeated President of the United States. There must be consequences for last week’s treason and sedition. Hundreds, if not thousands, of Donald Trumps in today’s Republican Party aim to run for higher office; and we must send a message that no one in the United States of America is above the law. The world is watching, Madam Speaker.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KILDEE).

Mr. KILDEE. Madam Speaker, 1 week ago, the President of the United States incited a deadly attack on the United States Capitol, while a couple of dozen Members of this House and I covered ourselves in that Gallery, away from the Trump mob. Five dead, including Capitol Police. If inciting an insurrection does not warrant impeachment, nothing does.

I took an oath to uphold the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

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

Mr. KILDEE. Today, I uphold my oath.

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

Mr. GROTHMAN. Madam Speaker, I rise today to strongly object to the Article of Impeachment proposed against President Trump, which makes the preposterous claim that President Trump wanted or expected the riots that took place last week. He clearly said he wanted a peaceful and patriotic dem-

onstration. He did say he wanted people to “fight like hell or we are not going to have a country anymore,” but that is obviously standard hyperbole and was not meant to aim at physical fights.

But what is offensive is what you are saying—and is inflammatory—about the tens of thousands of peaceful protesters who were there last week, as well as the tens of millions of people they represent. You don’t understand why they are here.

They are scared to death we are going to go back to the days without Donald Trump, of hundreds of thousands of people crossing the border every month. They are scared to death nobody is going to keep our manufacturing here. They are scared to death that nobody else will fight the cancel culture as we head toward an era when some things can’t be said. They are scared to death that the majority party got here by teaming up with Black Lives Matter, a bunch founded by Marxists and the dislike of family.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from California (Mr. GARAMENDI).

Mr. GARAMENDI. Madam Speaker, I rise today determined to fulfill our sacred oath to protect and defend the Constitution from all enemies, foreign and domestic. Last week’s violent insurrection on the Capitol was a stain on our democracy. A riotous mob incited by the President stormed these very Halls, beat and murdered police officers, planted pipe bombs, and left our Nation shocked and in mourning.

The President’s rhetoric, actions, and refusal to accept responsibilities are an imminent threat to our Nation. I vote to impeach the President. I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY).

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY. Madam Speaker, my parents brought me as an infant to America because they knew it is the land of democracy. It is the beacon of hope for all the world. We called it the American Dream.

When Donald Trump told rioters to go to the Capitol and, quote, unquote, “fight like hell,” he incited an attack on the Capitol and the ideals comprising the American Dream.

I am voting for impeachment because I know we are still the country my parents believed in, and I will fight like hell for it.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. LAWRENCE).

Mrs. LAWRENCE. Madam Speaker, on Wednesday, the 6th, Democrats and Republicans hid on the floor, put on gas masks, and were ushered out of this room.

We, in this country, cannot begin healing and unity without accountability and justice. The President of the United States incited a violent insurrection against Congress—you, me—and the Vice President of the United States. This cannot be ignored. Impeach now.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE of California. Madam Speaker, on January 6, Donald Trump incited his white nationalist supporters to initiate an attempted coup against the heart of our democracy, the United States Capitol. This heinous act of domestic terrorism demands that Congress act to remove this President.

Donald Trump has been, and remains, a threat to our national security and our democracy, and he is wholly unfit to serve as President. He and his supporters must be held accountable for inciting violence against the Government of the United States. Congress must act immediately to remove this clear and present danger from our country.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Mrs. GREENE).

Mrs. GREENE of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I am against the impeachment effort by the Democrats.

President Trump has held over 600 rallies in the last 4 years. None of them included assaulting police, destroying businesses, or burning down cities.

Democrats have spent all this time endorsing and enabling violent riots that left billions in property damage and 47 dead across the United States.

Democrats are on record supporting violence when it serves their cause, in their own words on social media, on interviews, and on the fundraising platform ActBlue.

Democrats support defunding the police when it is someone else's city, someone else's home, and someone else's business. Democrats will take away everyone's guns, just as long as they have guards with guns.

Democrats' impeachment of President Trump today has now set the standard that they should be removed for their support of violence against the American people.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN).

Mr. LEVIN of Michigan. Madam Speaker, for 2 months, Donald Trump used the biggest megaphone in the world to organize a campaign of outright lies to overturn a free and fair election. On January 6, he summoned and incited a mob of domestic terrorists to fight like hell and sent them to ransack this Capitol in order to prevent us from formalizing his election loss. It was a grotesque orgy of deadly white supremacism, anti-Semitism, and strongman rule.

Today, we will do our duty and vote to remove the author of this horrifying chapter and banish him from public service.

□ 1430

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, can I inquire how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio has 20 minutes remaining. The gentleman from New York has 21¾ minutes remaining.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. LEVIN).

Mr. LEVIN of California. Madam Speaker, what each of us chooses to do today, whether we vote to hold this President to account or look the other way, we will be remembered by history, by our children and their children.

The facts are clear, the evidence of Trump's insurrection overwhelming. History calls on us to do what is right rather than just politically expedient. Let us look back on this day with honor, not disgrace, knowing we were up to the oath we all took.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Virginia (Mrs. LURIA).

Mrs. LURIA. Madam Speaker, the perpetrators of this heinous attack on our Nation's democracy were Americans encouraged and emboldened by President Trump because he could not accept the outcome of a free and fair election.

His actions are seditious, and the President has proven that he is not fit to serve. History will look back on this moment to see who stood strong in support of American democracy.

As my colleagues have said, we must come together, but our Nation cannot begin to heal until there is accountability for the atrocity we witnessed last week.

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

Mr. CLYDE. Madam Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the effort to impeach President Trump. This course of action will only increase dissent and disunity across our country, and it flies in the face of all efforts to heal our Nation.

Quite simply, it is a shameful final act of political retribution, retribution this President has weathered since day one.

I have no doubt that those who breached the Capitol will have due process and their day in court. However, there will be no investigation in the people's House into whether the allegation against the President meets the criteria for a crime worthy of impeachment. No evidence was presented. No witness testified. No cross-examination was conducted. No due process was afforded. That sets an extremely dangerous precedent for the future.

If my Democratic colleagues were serious in their efforts to get to the truth, they would convene the House Judiciary Committee and investigate, but they are not.

And so I am proud to stand before you today to defend our President from the injustices my Democratic colleagues are so giddy to pursue. I oppose this effort to impeach the President and ask all Members of the House to do the same.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Mrs. MCBATH).

Mrs. MCBATH. Madam Speaker, I rise with a heavy heart for what our Nation has endured.

All those who have incited an attack on these Halls of freedom must never forget that, in every generation, Americans of all colors and creeds have laid down their lives in the struggles against tyranny, the fight against fascism, and the defense against those who would betray the values upon which this Nation was founded.

It is our duty to shoulder that defense of our democracy here today. The President's actions have laid bare his contempt for our Constitution, and he must be removed.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS).

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, the armed insurrectionists who stormed the Capitol did not emerge out of a vacuum. They were lied to by Republican Senators and Republican Congressmen and -women. But they were incited to violence by one man above all else: Donald J. Trump, who tried to be the ultimate ruler of our democracy.

The world is watching. Our allies are watching, and our adversaries are watching. We must show them that no one will rule this country and be above the law. The cameras of history are rolling. We must act. We must impeach Donald J. Trump and show the world what we stand for.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Utah (Mr. MOORE).

Mr. MOORE of Utah. Madam Speaker, last Wednesday, on my third day, I realized that I can make hard and seemingly unpopular decisions. Voting to strip electoral college votes from States is a dangerous precedent set by Democrats many years ago and perpetuated by my party as well. I heard nothing in those debates that justified such a high bar.

A rushed impeachment will set a similar precedent. Without a single hearing or investigation, I simply cannot reach the high bar of impeachment.

To my district, I commit to constantly being objective in all of my decision-making.

And, as I abandon the remainder of my remarks, as I listen to this debate, it is no wonder our Nation is divided. We are on an absolute race to the bottom. I was hoping that last week we could have hit rock bottom.

I commit to doing better, and I hope that we all can dig in and find a way.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. BEATTY).

Mrs. BEATTY. Madam Speaker, domestic terrorists attacked our democracy, urged on by a sitting President. These insurrectionists believe Donald Trump's lies about the stolen election. They obeyed his call to attack. They literally carried his banner while storming the Capitol.

Last week's insurrection was shocking and tragic. It was the culmination of 4 years of assaults on our democracy.

We must impeach this President. And the Congressional Black Caucus stands ready to join in a bipartisan message to the likes of Donald Trump.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Wisconsin (Ms. MOORE).

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Madam Speaker, the President radicalized American citizens. As his Vice President fled from a lynch mob and the Speaker cowered and while people died, he watched with glee.

That is why, even though it is only 7 days before the end of his term, we have the fierce urgency of now. Seven days is too long for him to be in power. He could declassify state secrets. He could monetize national secrets to foreign adversaries.

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

Mr. ARRINGTON. Madam Speaker, I rise with great sorrow to oppose this second attempt at a baseless impeachment from my Democrat colleagues.

This week's attack on the U.S. Capitol was completely unacceptable, and the people involved should be met with swift accountability.

The President didn't incite a riot. The President didn't lead an insurrection. There are no high crimes and misdemeanors requisite of an impeachment.

I am not saying the President didn't exercise poor judgment, but to criminalize political speech by blaming lawless acts on the President's rhetoric is wrong, Madam Speaker, and a very dangerous precedent.

The criminals who stormed the Capitol that day acted on their own volition. They are responsible for their actions.

This is an important moment, Madam Speaker, for our Nation. We have the opportunity to come together and do what is right for our country. The votes are certified; President Trump has conceded. Let's focus on the future and get back to the people's business.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. NEWMAN).

Ms. NEWMAN. Madam Speaker, it is an honor to speak today. So, today, I

stand with this body to impeach this President.

I agree with my Democratic colleagues. I also agree with my Republican colleagues: Let's unite.

Let's unite to address this pandemic and start by simply wearing a mask. Let's unite to bring back the economy and start by putting \$2,000 checks in people's pockets. And let's unite to hold these domestic terrorists accountable and impeach this President.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, how much time do I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York has 18¼ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Ohio has 17 minutes remaining.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. NORCROSS).

Mr. NORCROSS. Madam Speaker, I rise today at a time of historical concern: Last week, on this very House floor, an attack on democracy, that symbol. But it was an attack from within on this very floor.

Let's be clear. Cause and effect: rally at the White House, march down Pennsylvania Avenue—a parade in reverse—and an attack on this Chamber.

A police officer was killed, and what I hear is, "Time to heal." He is not even buried yet.

It is clear and present danger. No one is above the law—not the President, if he has 4 years or 4 days. We must do the right thing for all Americans because he must be held accountable.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Indiana (Mrs. SPARTZ).

Mrs. SPARTZ. Madam Speaker, I appreciate a variety of opinions, but any accusations must go through the proper due process, whether it is election fraud or an impeachable offense.

As someone who did not support the objection to certification last week, I will not support this political charade today.

The rule of law and due process is vital to what our constitutional Republic stands for. Congress should stop playing divisive politics and start working on delivering real, good policies for the American people.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from California (Mr. PANETTA).

Mr. PANETTA. Madam Speaker, a week ago was the culmination of carnage caused to our country by this President. Four years ago, he said he would stop such devastation. Instead, the President has continued to debase our democracy with assaults on our elections and incitement at the Ellipse and the battery at our Capitol.

American exceptionalism is not guaranteed; we must always work to grow it. That includes our work today to hold President Trump accountable. American carnage started with this President. A vote for impeachment will stop it for our posterity.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. POCAN).

Mr. POCAN. Madam Speaker, the U.S. Capitol has not been breached for over 200 years, since the War of 1812—that is, until last week, when it wasn't another country that attacked us but our own President.

President Donald Trump asked his supporters to march on the Capitol, inciting domestic terrorism that cost five lives, including a Capitol Police officer.

We all know, whether you say it aloud or not, Donald Trump is responsible for inciting the attacks on our democracy, while he should have been the one person protecting it the most. For that, he is unfit to be President, and we must impeach him.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY).

Mr. ROY. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio for yielding.

The President of the United States deserves universal condemnation for what was clearly, in my opinion, impeachable conduct, pressuring the Vice President to violate his oath to the Constitution to count the electors.

His open and public pressure, courageously rejected by the Vice President, purposefully seeded the false belief among the President's supporters, including those assembled on January 6, that there was a legal path for the President to stay in power. It was foreseeable and reckless to sow such a false belief that could lead to violence and rioting by loyal supporters whipped into a frenzy.

□ 1445

Unfortunately, my Democratic colleagues drafted an article that I believe is flawed and unsupportable, focusing on the legal terms of incitement and insurrection.

Even noting impeachment does not require meeting a certain legal standard—the danger for open speech and debate in this body and for the Republic is high—if the House approves the article as written.

The language will be used to target Members of this body under Section 3 of the 14th Amendment. It will be used to suggest that any statements we make are subject to review by our colleagues and to send us down a perilous path of cleansing political speech in the public square.

Madam Speaker, we must end this. Let us condemn that which must be condemned, and do so loudly. But let us do it the right way, with deliberation and without disastrous side effects. We must end tearing apart our Nation by social media and sound bites. Let us stop. Let us debate. Let us sit down and lead this Nation together.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY).

Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York. Madam Speaker, this vote is not one man, one party, or even one day. It is about protecting our Nation, preserving democracy and the rule of law.

The facts are clear and undisputed: President Trump used a litany of lies about a stolen election and willfully incited an armed insurrection with the intent of stopping the peaceful transfer of power. He attacked not just the Capitol, not just Congress, he even attacked democracy itself. That is why he must be impeached.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Madam Speaker, the President has engaged in conduct that is criminal, impeachable, and profoundly threatening to our democracy.

He pressed State officials and Members of this body to overturn a legitimate election and to keep him in power. He then invited and activated a violent mob to invade the Capitol and achieve his desired result by insurrection.

If that is not impeachable conduct, I don't know what is. The President must be removed from office immediately and never allowed to hold office again. Our democracy requires it.

Madam Speaker, the president has engaged in conduct that is criminal, impeachable, and profoundly threatening to our democracy.

He has sought to overturn an election to keep himself in office and to prevent the peaceful transfer of power.

He has done this by perpetrating a big lie, despite counts and recounts and dozens of judicial rulings, and has pressed state officials and members of this body to reject and reverse popular and electoral vote outcomes.

He then invited and activated a violent mob of right-wing extremists, domestic terrorists, and white nationalists to invade the Capitol and achieve his desired result by insurrection.

If that is not impeachable conduct, I don't know what is.

The President must be removed from office immediately and must never be allowed to seek office again, and a marker must be laid down for all time as to what the Constitution and our democracy require.

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

Mr. FALLON. Madam Speaker, last summer, the antifa and BLM riots swept all over our country. Cities were burned, businesses destroyed, and lives violently stolen. And it wasn't just for an afternoon, like those horrible hours we had on January 6; but rather, they went for weeks and, in some cases, even months.

So if there is any silver lining in this dark cloud, it is that our friends from across the aisle have come to realize that riots are bad. We conservatives have known this all along.

This snap impeachment is a sham and it didn't go through the Committee

on the Judiciary. It is not even about the President's actual words, but it is about how our Democratic colleagues want to interpret his words and fashion a particular meaning to them.

Now, this is just political grandstanding at its worst. The American people desperately want us to move on and tackle the issues and find solutions to them forthwith.

Madam Speaker, let's end this obsession and charade and let's get to work.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. QUIGLEY).

Mr. QUIGLEY. Madam Speaker, now we hear talk of the President's notion of a peaceful transfer of power.

Which apparently means what? Minimal casualties?

Now we hear talk of healing after the criminal acts are completed.

Never, as a criminal defense attorney, did I say: Judge, yeah, my guy completed the armed robbery, but let's heal now.

No. There was accountability. There was accountability then, there should be accountability now, and there should be impeachment now.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina (Ms. ROSS), a new member of the committee.

Ms. ROSS. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of the Article of Impeachment. The President's responsibility for the violence and insurrection that occurred last Wednesday cannot go unanswered. The President has had multiple opportunities to modify his behavior to bring this country together. Instead, he uses his power to further divide us. He is unrepentant.

Congress must act for the good of this country.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GOOD).

Mr. GOOD of Virginia. Madam Speaker, I stand today in support of President Trump and against this sham impeachment proceeding with literally 1 week—7 days—remaining in his term. This is merely the culmination of a 4-year effort to overturn the will of the people and the results for the 2016 election.

This is simply a political action intended to tarnish the legacy of a highly successful President who led us to an incredible economy, energy independence, reduction of taxes for millions, regulatory relief for businesses, renewed peace in the Middle East, and stronger border security.

This action will only serve to further offend the 75 million people who voted for President Trump, and further deepen the division within our Nation as we try to move forward with the peaceful transition of power.

However, the Democrat majority has determined he is already guilty and there is no need of a trial; and they,

therefore, move forward quickly with this phony impeachment charge.

Today, I join my Republican colleagues in standing against this further effort to divide our Nation.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. CUELLAR).

Mr. CUELLAR. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the impeachment.

It is very simple. What we saw on January 6 was a person, the President of the United States, incite a crowd to come and attack the Capitol. We have to make sure that we stand up for democracy.

If we don't do this, then what are we going to stand for?

We stand for democracy. We stand for American values. And I stand for the impeachment of Donald Trump.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Ms. SCANLON).

Ms. SCANLON. Madam Speaker, on January 6, President Trump launched an attack against the United States Capitol. I, too, urge my colleagues to unite, but to unite in love of country, and to hold this President accountable.

What unites our country is respect for the rule of law. Without accountability for those who would shatter the rule of law by overturning a Presidential election, we cannot take seriously the cries of being a united people.

This President remains a serious threat to our country and he must be held accountable.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. DAVID SCOTT).

Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia. Madam Speaker, let me make everybody aware that on those just sun-bleached bones of history of many great nations are written those poetic words: Too late, they move too late to save their great nations.

Madam Speaker, let us not this day move too late to save our great Nation.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. NORMAN).

Mr. NORMAN. Madam Speaker, I rise today for two reasons: One, to voice my strong opposition for the impeachment of this President with 7 days left. Two, to also voice my support for the strong police department many of you want to defund.

Where were your cries to defund when you were leaving this office, this very room, on January 6?

Height of hypocrisy.

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

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN).

Mr. SHERMAN. Madam Speaker, how ironic. An administration begins by building an unnecessary wall on our southern border, it ends by making necessary, a new wall around this Capitol.

Madam Speaker, I introduced Articles of Impeachment in July of 2017 with one cosponsor, AL GREEN, and again in January of 2019. And on Monday night, I joined with so many of us in introducing these articles. I have introduced Articles of Impeachment in the 115th, 116th, and 117th Congress because Donald Trump has continuously posed a danger to this republic.

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

Mr. MAST. Madam Speaker, I rise with a very simple question. On January 6, thousands broke the law by taking siege of our Capitol here with us inside.

Has any one of those individuals who brought violence on this Capitol been brought here to answer whether they did that because of our President?

It appears I will receive no answer.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Arizona (Mr. STANTON).

Mr. STANTON. Madam Speaker, Donald Trump is the first President in the history of this Republic to incite a violent insurrection against our own government, against our own people. It is a shocking betrayal of his oath of office and our American values. We don't know yet if the President will face criminal charges, but we do know he must be held to account.

Each one of us in this House took an oath to protect and defend our Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic, even if that enemy is the President.

We must move forward as a nation from these darkest days, but we can't move forward without accountability. We must impeach this President.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. STEVENS).

Ms. STEVENS. Madam Speaker, insurrection. A violent mob. A week ago today, five people were killed, many injured, and everyone in this building forced to hide for their very life.

The President was called for help, but he did not answer our call while our government was being taken over. He failed to lead and, therefore, proved himself incapable of doing so.

Some may say impeachment is political. Some may cry it is divisive. Madam Speaker, our obligation to our Constitution is to protect this Nation.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1500

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from California (Mr. TAKANO).

Mr. TAKANO. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of the impeachment of President Donald Trump. The gravity of the moment demands it, and the fate of our Republic depends on it.

He committed an impeachable offense by inciting a violent and deadly insurrection at the U.S. Capitol. For this, Congress must hold him accountable to preserve our democracy, our Constitution, and the rule of law.

He should serve not 1 minute more and be barred forever from public office. He is toxic to our Republic and toxic to our democracy.

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

So Democrats can say, "I just don't even know why there aren't uprisings all over the country," while there are uprisings happening around the country, but they impeach the President of the United States for saying, "Peacefully and patriotically, make your voices heard."

Democrats can say, "You know, there needs to be unrest in the streets," while there is unrest in the streets, but they are going to impeach the President for saying, "Peacefully and patriotically, make your voices heard."

Let's be consistent, all of us. All of us need to be consistent and condemn the violence all the time.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New Mexico (Ms. HERRELL).

Ms. HERRELL. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to these Articles of Impeachment.

Political violence has no place in our constitutional Republic, and those who assaulted police officers and forced their way into the Capitol are responsible for their criminal actions.

Leaders in both parties have a responsibility to condemn such violence, whether in the Halls of Congress or on the streets of America.

I don't believe, Madam Speaker, that the American people have an appetite for this. They are expecting us to do the will of those who sent us from each State around the Nation.

Right now, Madam Speaker, we are seeing this body that has impeached once before trying to do it a second time. Two wrongs do not make a right.

We have got to stand for the American people, because we will not get a second chance to get this right the first time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. TORRES), who is a new Member.

Mr. TORRES of New York. Madam Speaker, the dangerous mob that Donald Trump unleashed on the United States Capitol represents a violent assault on the separation of powers and on the peaceful transfer of power that we have long taken for granted.

The impeachment of Donald Trump is not politics but law, not passion but reason, not vengeance but justice. And we, as the people's Representatives, must rise to the challenge of defending democracy in the face of its gravest threat, and we will.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Massachusetts (Mrs. TRAHAN).

Mrs. TRAHAN. Madam Speaker, I stand before you today in disbelief—disbelief that, after the President incited a violent mob to commit an act of insurrection and remained silent as police officers were assaulted, the Capitol was ransacked, and Members of this body fled for their lives, that there are still members of his party who refuse to hold him accountable.

It is because of that inaction that there is only one path forward to put an end to this Presidency. Donald Trump must be impeached, removed from office, and barred from ever holding the Office of the Presidency again.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ).

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution because, in America, we hold power to account. In America, we do not succumb to violent insurrections incited by a head of state. In America, we do not turn a blind eye to high crimes and misdemeanors. No. That is not who we are.

So, today, as a sworn defender of this Nation's Constitution, I will vote in favor of impeaching Donald J. Trump.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, may I inquire of the time remaining for each side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio has 10 minutes remaining. The gentleman from New York has 9¾ minutes remaining.

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

Mr. LAMALFA. Madam Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the second annual impeachment show extravaganza, brought to you by the censors in left-wing media, the fact-check ministers of shutdown in Big Tech, and the Democrat Party.

Today, the second annual impeachment of President Trump isn't really about actual words spoken at a rally. No. This is all about, Madam Speaker, the unbridled hatred of this President.

You use any extreme language and any process to oppose the core of what he has really fought for. You hate him because he is pro-life, the strongest ever. You hate him for fighting for the freedom of religion, to not be persecuted by unfair mandates and limitations on speech.

You hate him for not subscribing to and shackling us with the religion of

climate change and one-sided Paris accords. You hate him for Israel. You hate him for defending our borders.

You hate him for letting families and small businesses keep what they earn, for trying to keep the agents of government off their back.

You hate him for putting America first, which is what I thought we do when we swear the oath.

No, this shabby show isn't about a threat to our Republic. This is the impeachment and muting of at least half of the American people. This is a shameful abuse of a process.

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

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield the gentleman from California an additional 30 seconds.

Mr. LAMALFA. Madam Speaker, I pray people of all stripes wake up to the spectacle and exercise their rights to put a stop to it through free speech and through fair elections.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ).

Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ. Madam Speaker, I rise to support the impeachment of President Donald J. Trump for seditious acts against America.

To overturn the 2020 Presidential election, Trump incited a violent assault on Congress—a treasonous betrayal of our Nation. This criminal incitement left us with five dead, including a police officer; a desecrated Capitol; and a second constitutional crisis.

His acts show contempt for the rule of law, the Constitution, and the foundation of any democracy: a peaceful transition of power.

President Trump is a clear and present danger to American lives and democracy, and he leaves us no choice but to immediately remove him from office.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 90 seconds to the gentlewoman from Tennessee (Mrs. HARSHBARGER).

Mrs. HARSHBARGER. Madam Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote against impeachment of our sitting President, Donald J. Trump.

You can tell the American people that this is a vote to impeach upon the grounds of inciting violence and insurrection, but the American people see a double standard. They see a standard applied to those on the left who commit violence, and they see a standard applied to those on the right who commit violence. The American people see this, and they understand it.

I have been here all of 1 week, and what I see instead of lawmakers who are truth-seekers, I see lawmakers who are power-seekers. That is never good—never good. What a shame. What a shame.

The American people are watching to see how their elected officials respond at this moment in history. Will you vote to mend or will you vote to further divide this country?

I am urging you to use this opportunity to be the leaders the American people are seeking for such a time as this.

God help us as a nation, and I pray that God will keep His hand upon on the greatest nation that the world has ever seen.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, how much time is remaining, please?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York has 9¼ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Ohio has 8 minutes remaining.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BUTTERFIELD).

Mr. BUTTERFIELD. Madam Speaker, President Trump's incitement to violently overturn the results of a free and fair election is an attack on our rule of law.

Any President, any Member of Congress who obstructs the electoral college or attacks judges and the court system when there is no evidence to support their contentions undermines the public's trust and confidence in the judicial process.

How do my Republican colleagues expect ordinary citizens to respect and trust the courts in civil and criminal matters all across this country? Think about that as you make this decision.

Vote "yes" on the Articles of Impeachment.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD.)

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Madam Speaker, I take no joy in voting to impeach President Trump, but this President has blood on his hands in the wake of this attempted coup.

The fact remains, no President of the United States is above the law, and this President has sadly violated his oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

As Members of Congress who have taken that same pledge, it is our duty to take this action and impeach this unfit and dangerous President.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. KHANNA).

Mr. KHANNA. Madam Speaker, I am voting to impeach because, as Lincoln said, no grievance is a fit object of redress by mob law.

But we must recognize that our hard work begins when we address the real grievances and despair in left-behind communities. To be worthy of this Capitol that we hold sacred, to fix our broken windows and broken communities, let's finally commit to investing trillions in creating good jobs in healthcare, in education, and in infrastructure for communities and places that are hurting.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Alabama (Ms. SEWELL).

Ms. SEWELL. Madam Speaker, I rise today to support impeachment.

I do so with a heavy heart and a lasting and searing memory of being in this gallery, the people's House, right up there, fearing for my life. And why? Because the President of the United States incited others to be violent—a mob of insurgents in this House.

It is unacceptable. It led to the killing of five Americans. Blood is on this House. We must do something about it.

I ask that we move from "stopping the steal" to healing. But healing requires accountability, and everyone must be accountable.

I will be voting to impeach, and I urge others to vote for impeachment.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. MOORE).

Mr. MOORE of Alabama. Madam Speaker, I am fairly new here. Actually, this is my first floor speech. But I rise to oppose this impeachment.

I asked my staff this morning, how many times in our Nation's history have we impeached a President? Well, they said, up until this President, only two times in our Nation's history.

So here we are, 7 days left in his first term, and we are going to impeach a President. For what reasons? For what reasons? There have been no hearings. There have been no committees.

We must defend the right and protect the process of impeachment. If we pursue this, from now on, from this day forward, impeachment will always be a political process.

I ask my friends across the aisle—they always talk about healing—healing. How do we come together as a nation?

Since 2016, there have been hashtags going around in our Nation that said, "Not our President," "Resist, resist." Members across the aisle have said things in public to have supporters of this President attacked and demeaned.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY).

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Madam Speaker, last Friday, I sent a letter to my constituents telling the story about the violent attack on our Capitol Building, which is really like the temple of our democracy.

I have now taken the oath of office, the same oath of office that the President of the United States has taken, that all of us here have taken, and he has been the orchestrator of this attack.

It is time to hold this President accountable. It is time, and history demands that we impeach Donald Trump a second time.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1515

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. HIMES).

Mr. HIMES. The words have almost all been said. Search your soul. Consider your oath. And I add four more words: Reflect on your legacy.

My friends, which way is history flowing right now? Will Donald Trump join the pantheon of Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Reagan? Will his 33 percent approval ratings and the condemnation of principled Republicans consign him to the heap of reviled demigods with Joseph McCarthy and Andrew Johnson?

Where he goes in history, you go in history, unless, today, you make a stand.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. I would like to remind Members to please address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Hawaii (Mr. KAHELE).

Mr. KAHELE. Madam Speaker, as a member of our Armed Forces, now a Member of Congress, I have taken and given the oath of office many times. I will support and defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

On January 6, the President violated his oath, inciting violent and deadly insurrection. Our sacred oaths are hollow without accountability. We must hold this President accountable, remove him from office, and ensure he can never hold public office again.

I urge my colleagues to do the same. This oath has to matter. Mahalo.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. SARBANES).

Mr. SARBANES. Madam Speaker, this beautiful Capitol dome is a symbol of freedom and democracy, not just for Americans but for people the world over. The action we take today, this impeachment, is a declaration to the world that when there is an attack on our democracy, whether it comes from without or whether, tragically, in this instance, it comes from within, we will respond to that threat and attack, and we will do what is necessary to strengthen our democracy.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. ZELDIN).

Mr. ZELDIN. Madam Speaker, I am sickened and angered by what we all had to witness last Wednesday and call for the investigation and prosecution, to the fullest extent of the law, of every single person who participated in the violence and loss of life in this Capitol Building last Wednesday.

I, as a Member sitting here, listening to the entire debate, desperately need to better understand the two standards that are at play in this House. Why is

it okay if a House Democrat calls for violence in the streets but not if you are a Republican? Why can a House Democrat be rewarded with a gavel and a chairmanship if they are calling for physical confrontation of a Trump administration official, but they will be punished if they are a Republican?

The double standards that we have seen time and time again, I need to better understand what the rules are of this House. Why is it that a committee chairman can lie to the American public about having more than circumstantial evidence that the President colluded with the Russians in order to win the 2016 election? But, of course, the Republicans can't and wouldn't lie to the American public about something like that.

We need to better understand what these two standards are that are at play and to complete the record because the House Democrats are here to make President Trump the first President to be impeached twice. So, I will complete the record.

First off, in the Article of Impeachment, it is written that the President gave a speech and told his supporters to come here, and he incited this riot. One speaker after another after another here on the other side of the aisle repeated that in the Article of Impeachment.

We all know that this was their preplanned attack. We all know that there were pipe bombs being discovered while the President was speaking. We all know that the Capitol perimeter was being breached during the President's speech.

We know that this was preplanned, and it started while the President was speaking. Why is that not in the Article of Impeachment? Why is that not being incorporated into my colleagues' remarks to complete the record, if you want to make the President the first President to be impeached twice?

Well, we will add something else to that. Thank you to the President for his efforts to defeat MS-13 in my district. Thank you to the President for his efforts to move the Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem and recognize Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights, to take out Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and Qasem Soleimani, to eliminate the ISIS caliphate, to enter into the historic Abraham Accords, to have an economy this time last year that was stronger than I ever remember in my entire lifetime.

Yes, we will complete the record, and in all fairness, as the President leaves 1 week from today, let's be honest about the double standards that exist inside this Chamber. Let's also be honest that this President did a lot to make America greater than ever.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CASTEN).

Mr. CASTEN. What happens if we get this wrong is written in Lincoln's second inaugural, when one party would "make war rather than let the Nation survive."

On September 11, we came together against an enemy without. On January 6, we were attacked by an enemy from within, the President who would make war with malice for all and charity for none.

We must come together in unity today against that domestic threat to our Constitution. The alternative is too unbearable to contemplate.

We must impeach bipartisanly, unanimously if you have the soul.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Texas (Mrs. FLETCHER).

Mrs. FLETCHER. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of the Article of Impeachment and in opposition to the gaslighting that is masquerading as debate in this Chamber today.

I was in this Chamber when the President assembled and unleashed a mob to attack the United States Capitol and the United States Congress, the elected representatives of the people. By doing so, he incited an insurrection against our representative democracy itself.

If that is not an impeachable offense, then what is?

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. TLAIB).

Ms. TLAIB. Madam Speaker, in Michigan's 13th, we proudly speak truth to power, even in the face of a racist in chief.

Those who incited an attack on the people's House do not get to talk about healing and unity. They have torn this country apart. They have stoked the fire and then handed the gasoline to Donald Trump.

Dr. King once said: "True peace is not merely the absence of tension; it is the presence of justice."

Today, we must embody those words, and we must understand that peace must be centered in truth and action.

We cannot, Madam Speaker, sit idly by after a violent attempted coup and allow lies and hate to continue. Today, we stand up for our constituents, who continue to be harmed by Donald Trump.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York has ¾ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Ohio has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. ARMSTRONG).

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Madam Speaker, what happened last Wednesday is an absolute tragedy. Not only are we part of dealing with it now, we were part of it then.

When emotions are frayed and tensions are this high, process matters more. It matters more now than it did

before, and the reality is this. There are serious constitutional questions about these articles.

Donald Trump is going to be President until January 20, and on January 20, Joe Biden is going to become President.

But I am going to vote against impeachment, and that is going to give me credibility at home with my base. You are going to vote for impeachment, and that is going to give you credibility at home with your base. It is easy to point at me and blame me. It is easy for me to point at you and blame you.

But on January 21, we are all going to be back here. So use that credibility. Go back and talk some hard truths to your people. I am going to do it.

And we need to do a better job.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Ms. MANNING).

Ms. MANNING. Madam Speaker, this President has repeatedly lied to the American people about his election loss. He incited his followers to attack our democracy, resulting in five deaths. His dangerous efforts to derail the peaceful transition of power were a violation of his oath of office. This President is unfit to lead our Nation and unable to discharge his duties of office.

I call upon my Republican colleagues to speak the truth to their supporters and join me in holding President Trump accountable by voting to impeach.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. MRVAN).

Mr. MRVAN. Madam Speaker, since the events on January 6, I spoke with a group of ministers from Gary, Indiana. They told me how they are praying for unity and justice in our Nation.

It reminded me of the moment when those of us who were on the House floor on January 6 were huddled together in a secure room after the attack. House Chaplain Kibben led us all in prayer.

Let us remember that moment. Let us rekindle that prayer for those 3 minutes when we were all united to preserve our democracy and justice.

I support the Article of Impeachment so that we can move forward to do the work that our constituents sent us here to do.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, how much time do we have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York has 2¾ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Ohio has 3 minutes remaining.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOULTON).

Mr. MOULTON. Madam Speaker, there are more troops right now in Washington, D.C., than in Afghanistan.

They are here to defend us against the Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, and his mob.

I would ask my colleagues to look at the faces of those young Americans defending democracy, defending us, and find an ounce of their courage to do the right thing, as several Republicans have, and take a tough vote for the future of democracy, for the future of our country.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. VEASEY).

Mr. VEASEY. Madam Speaker, let's be clear about one thing. If we were on the eve of a Republican President being sworn in and his Democratic predecessor had said the same thing that this President said and incited his followers, his mob, to descend upon the Capitol, we would be joining them, not making comparisons. Because guess what? I don't care about no base.

I care about this democracy and this country, and what happened the other day should never happen again. We need to stand up and do the right thing.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, the Republican whip is prepared to close for us whenever that is appropriate. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

□ 1530

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Madam Speaker, I was on that floor just 1 week ago. So, today, the insurrectionist in chief will be impeached for insurrection.

It is because he failed to defend this Nation against all enemies, domestic and foreign. And he stood down near the White House and told a mob of domestic terrorists to go and show your strength, be strong, you can't gain anything because of weakness.

We must hold him accountable. We can heal this Nation, but he must be impeached today. We must impeach Donald J. Trump as an insurrectionist.

Madam Speaker, as a senior member of the Committees on the Judiciary and on Homeland Security, as the descendant of patriotic and heroic veterans who risked their lives to defend our nation and our freedoms, as a parent with the fervent hope and determination to pass on this great democracy to the next generation, and as a citizen of the greatest republic in world history, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 24, a resolution impeaching the current President of the United States for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, warranting his conviction and removal from office and, in accordance with Article I, Section 3, clause 7, disqualification from ever again holding and enjoying an Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States."

I strongly support the impeachment and removal of this President because after the horrifying events of Wednesday last, January 6, 2021, another day that will live in infamy, the continuance in office of this President for even one moment longer represents a clear and

present threat to the security of the United States, its people, institutions, and democratic form of government.

To put it in the words of the Framers, the current President's conduct reflects and reveals a person "whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

To put it in contemporary terms, the current President can rightly be said to be perhaps the leading cause of state-sponsored domestic terrorism.

Every minute this President remains in office represents a minute of maximum peril to the American people and the American Experiment.

Unrepentant after his perfidious and treacherous conduct of Wednesday last, the President just yesterday went to Alamo, Texas, without giving any advance notice or consultation to the leaders of that community.

Does anyone really doubt that the President's true purpose in going to Alamo was to signal to his band of disloyalists his desire that they make a last stand and fight to the death in his name?

I do not, and neither does the majority of the American people, and I suspect that in their heart of hearts, neither do our colleagues on the Republican side.

Madam Speaker, three facts demonstrate why immediate action to remove the President is essential.

First, the abject failure and refusal of the President to take care that the laws be faithfully executed puts lives at risk.

When the U.S. Capitol was besieged last week by domestic terrorists, the President obstructed and denied the request of the Mayor of the District Columbia to call out the National Guard to protect life and property; it took the Vice-President, working with Speaker PELOSI and incoming Senate Majority Leader SCHUMER to prevail upon the Department of Defense to come to the defense of Capitol and the people trapped inside.

Instead of acting in accordance with his sacred oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution and to take care that the people and property of the United States are protected against all enemies, foreign or domestic, the President did nothing but watch the mayhem on television, ebullient at the display of support from his lawless loyalists.

Second, the current President's conduct stands in stark and marked contrast to his conduct earlier this year when protests were sweeping the country in response to the murder of George Floyd, when the President dispatched law enforcement authorities to put down peaceful protests led by moms and veterans in Portland, Oregon and social justice activists in Washington, D.C.

Back then, the President mobilized a heavy police presence, many on horseback and others using tear gas, to clear Lafayette Square of peaceful protesters so he could walk across the street to have himself photographed clutching a bible upside down in front of a church.

Third, the President's words, actions, and conduct betray a contempt and hostility to the national value of equal justice under law, telling the domestic terrorists, nearly all of whom were white and who support him politically, who stormed the Capitol to derail Congress from completing its constitutionally required duty of counting and verifying the votes of

presidential electors, that “we love you. You’re very special,” while referring to African Americans and other persons of color protesting social injustice and inequalities in the criminal justice system as “animals,” “thugs,” and “anarchists.”

Madam Speaker, the President’s actions inciting insurrection against the United States was the proximate cause of the horrifying siege of the U.S. Capitol, the destruction and desecration of the Citadel of Democracy, and the deaths of at least six persons, one of whom was a uniformed officer to the United States Capitol Police, who was bludgeoned to death by the incited mob.

Abusing the powers and resources of his high office, Donald John Trump has actively and continuously endeavored to undermine the essential institutions and foundations of a democratic system of government in the United States, engaging in a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evincing a design to make himself an authoritarian ruler unaccountable to, and independent of, the people of the United States.

The utter unfitness of the President for the office he holds and his contempt for the sacred oath he took before the nation with God as his witness, was vividly on display on January 6, 2021.

But signs of his calumny were on display in plain sight, reflected by his misbehavior and malfeasance from the earliest days of his administration.

Abusing the powers and resources of his high office, this President has actively and continuously endeavored to undermine the essential institutions and foundations of a democratic system of government in the United States, engaging in a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evincing a design to make himself an authoritarian ruler unaccountable to, and independent of, the people of the United States by:

(1) Soliciting and welcoming the assistance of a hostile foreign power to aid him in securing election in 2016 as President of the United States;

(2) Refusing to acknowledge Russian interference in the internal affairs of the United States, and then opposing responses by Congress and the Executive Branch to protect the national security and interests of the United States against future Russian interference and aggression. (3) Publicly conveying his interest and willingness to accept the assistance of foreign powers in his attempt win reelection as President of the United States;

(4) Refusing continuously to acknowledge to the American people that he would accept and be bound by the verdict rendered in the 2020 Presidential election, instead claiming that any outcome in which he was not declared the winner was fraudulent, rigged, and illegitimate;

(5) Taking active measures to impede and undermine the ability of American citizens to convey their disapproval of his continuance in office by exercising their rights as voters, including misusing the United States Postal Service to prevent the timely delivery of mail-in ballots;

(6) Instituting frivolous lawsuits to overturn the results of the 2020 Presidential election, falsely alleging wide-spread voting fraud but producing no evidence in support of his spurious allegations;

(7) Exhorting and inciting his supporters to believe falsely that victory in the 2020 Presidential election had been stolen from him and that constitutionally required Joint Meeting of Congress for the purpose of counting the votes of electors and announcement of the result by the President of the Senate was illegitimate and intended to complete the theft of his victory; and

(8) Failing to take action to protect and defend Federal officers and personnel, property, buildings, and institutions on January 6, 2021, at the U.S. Capitol that was besieged by supporters of Donald John Trump, resulting in extensive damage to the property of the United States and the deaths of at least four persons.

This is why multiple Members of Congress, introduced resolutions of articles of impeachment; joined by dozens of original cosponsors, I introduced H. Res. 26, impeaching the President for the High Crimes and Misdemeanors of (1) Abuse of Power and (2) Willful Refusal And Failure To Protect And Defend The Constitution Of The United States.

Madam Speaker, Donald John 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.

He must be impeached, convicted, removed from office, and disqualified from ever again holding and enjoying an Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States.

My love and reverence for the Constitution compels me to vote to impeach this President and I urge all my colleagues who revere the Constitution and our democracy, which has endured for more than 240 years, to join me in voting for H. Res. 24, impeaching Donald John Trump again for High Crimes and Misdemeanors against the United States.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE), the Republican whip.

Mr. SCALISE. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio for yielding.

Madam Speaker, our Nation still mourns the unacceptable violence and anarchy that took place in this Capitol last week. As we speak, arrests are still being made, and the anarchists who stormed our Capitol are being brought to justice, as should be the case.

Emotions are still high, but in this moment, we need to be focused on toning down the rhetoric and helping heal this Nation as we move toward a peaceful transition of power to President-elect Joe Biden next week.

My prayers, Madam Speaker, are still with Capitol Police Officers Sicknick and Liebgood, who we lost, as well as all the Capitol Police officers who risked their lives to keep us safe. They are true heroes, and they deserve all of our applause today.

Madam Speaker, I have seen the dark evil of political violence firsthand, and it needs to stop. But all of us need to be unequivocal in calling it out every single time we see it, not just when it comes from the other side of the aisle.

I oppose this rushed impeachment brought forward without a single hearing. By the way, the Senate will not

even take this up until President Trump is out of office, so let’s keep that in mind. It will only serve to further divide a Nation that is calling out for healing.

Madam Speaker, many speakers today have invoked one of our Nation’s greatest leaders, President Abraham Lincoln. Maybe we should follow some of Lincoln’s wisdom that he has imparted upon us in moments like this.

As Abraham Lincoln was giving his second inaugural address in March 1865, Lincoln issued us a challenge. This is what he said: “With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation’s wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”

Madam Speaker, in times like these, let us not reach out to our darkest demons, but instead, like Lincoln, seek the higher ground. May God bless this great United States of America.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, we can have all of this, but we have to have accountability, too.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), our distinguished majority leader of the House.

Mr. HOYER. Madam Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

This is a troubled time, a sad time. It is a time where all of us have stood almost to a person and lamented the violence and the assault on this Capitol and the assault on democracy itself.

It was right to do that. But this impeachment ought to be put in the perspective of what the Republican chair of the Republican Conference said it was. She said the President of the United States summoned the mob, assembled the mob, and lit the flame of that attack. There has never been, she said, a greater betrayal by a President of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution.

That is why we are here today. That is why we are here today just a week before that President, at the request of the American people, will leave office.

The issue is, what do we, the 433 of us, I believe, who are here, do on behalf of the American people to respond to what Representative CHENEY described that happened on the 6th of January: a mob assembled by, summoned by, and then spoken to, to light the flame of the attack.

To “stop the steal,” as we sat here, exercising our constitutional duty. And to his great credit, the Vice President of the United States followed the Constitution of the United States of America, notwithstanding the fact that he was opportunely by the President not to do so. That mob sent by the President to “stop the steal” did so for a few hours, not the “steal” but the constitutional duty that we had.

So, we ask ourselves, what do we do? What is our responsibility? What should we say in light of only the Civil War as an analogy?

That doesn't mean there haven't been demonstrations in Washington before and demonstrations throughout this country before. But it is the first and only physical presence, other than the 9/11 attack, on this Nation, which came from abroad and had a plane aimed at our Capitol dome.

This attack was not from abroad. It was, as LIZ CHENEY said, summoned, assembled, and inflamed by the President of the United States of America. In LIZ CHENEY's words, there has never been a greater betrayal by a President of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution.

I pride myself as a Member of this Congress who for 40 years has worked in a bipartisan fashion with many of your leaders and do to this day. But are we to remain silent in the face of LIZ CHENEY saying this was the greatest betrayal of the duty of the President of the United States in history? Are we to stand silent? Will we stand silent? Will we not stand up and say this is not acceptable?

Madam Speaker, for 4 years, Donald Trump has made no efforts to hide his ambitions or his lacking of Republican principles—not our principles, but the principles that Abraham Lincoln was just quoted as having said. Your President, our President, has never displayed those in the 4 years he has been President of the United States.

He has allowed little constraint on his worst inclinations. His desire for autocracy and his glorification of violence have not been tempered but rationalized by those who sought to profit financially and politically from their proximity to power.

Upon the foundations of virtue, reason, and patient wisdom laid down by George Washington as our first President, Donald Trump has constructed a glass palace of lies, fearmongering, and sedition. Last Wednesday, on January 6, the Nation and the world watched it shatter to pieces.

There can be no mistaking any longer the kind of man sitting in the Oval Office or his intentions and capabilities. The curtain has been pulled back. The office to which he was elected could not temper or reform him.

Washington's legacy was passed down to us, not as written decrees but understood norms, how we ought to act, how we ought to conduct ourselves.

Term after term, each occupant has observed those norms out of a recognition that our Constitution's Articles are not the only preservative of our democracy. For more than two centuries, Madam Speaker, whenever those norms were tested and strained, good and virtuous citizens on both sides of the aisle found common purpose in reaffirming those norms. But memory fades, and from time to time, it must be refreshed.

Madam Speaker, as the Framers emerged from the Constitutional Con-

vention, Benjamin Franklin was asked whether they had made America a monarchy or a republic. Probably all of us know his response. A republic, he answered, if you can keep it.

That is the question today, if we can keep it. And the way we keep it is to say no to actions and words that do not promote the keeping of that republic.

For millennia, people have understood that a republic is only as stable and lasting as the citizens and leaders who commit themselves to its upkeep. This President has shown us he is not committed to that project. His tweets every day have shown he is not committed to that project. Indeed, he openly disdains it and appears to prefer the alternative.

□ 1545

But what of the rest of us, those of us who have the honor and the great privilege and the weighty responsibility to represent the views of 750,000 of our fellow citizens?

We, in this Congress, have an opportunity—no—a duty to demonstrate our commitment both as leaders and as citizens to keeping America a republic that resolves its differences, not through being ordered to come to the Capitol to prevent them from stealing the election, which was an absurd assertion from the very first day it was made.

We cannot erase the last 4 years, Madam Speaker. We cannot turn back the clock, but we can look to the ideals and principles inherited from great Presidents like Washington; like Jefferson; and, yes, certainly like Abraham Lincoln; and like Franklin Roosevelt. And from outstanding Americans like Frederick Douglass; Harriet Tubman; Susan Anthony; Cesar Chavez; Martin Luther King; Thurgood Marshall; our beloved John Lewis; and, yes, RBG, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who all taught us a lot about equality and inclusion.

Madam Speaker, it is up to us to restore the vibrancy of our democracy by reaffirming our commitment to the norms they passed onto us and entrusted to our care. But to make that possible, Madam Speaker, we must rise to this moment and not only affirm the virtues we cherish, but reject the vices we abhor. That is what I am asking my fellow Representatives on both sides of the aisle to do today.

We all stood and we abhorred the violence that occurred and the threat to the very democracy that we hold so dear and that we swore an oath to protect and uphold. Reject deceit. Reject fear-mongering. Reject sedition, tyranny, and insurrection. Reject the demand for fealty to one man over fidelity to one's country.

When I addressed the House during the debate over the Articles of Impeachment in December of 2019, I said the following: We need not ask who will be the first to show our courage by standing up to President Trump. The question we must ask: Who will be the last to find it?

Senator MCCONNELL, Representative CHENEY, and a number of other Representatives who have spoken on this floor with great courage, Madam Speaker, because there is much fear of Donald Trump. There is much fear of Donald Trump's tweets. There is much fear of Donald Trump's retribution for opposition. In my view, Donald Trump demands absolute loyalty and gives none in return.

I hope others will join LIZ CHENEY. I hope others will be honest with themselves and with their constituents as LIZ CHENEY was, saying, "There has never been a greater betrayal of a President of the United States to his office and to his oath to the Constitution."

Don't dismiss that. She is the daughter of a Vice President of the United States, who was the whip when I came to Congress. As she has taken a stand, I hope others will as well, Madam Speaker.

Soon, the Clerk will call the roll and ask for our votes. Make no mistake, this will be no ordinary roll call. This is about our country, our Constitution, and our democracy. These votes will be inscribed on the roll of history, a record of courage and of our commitment to country and Constitution, of our commitment to the rule of law and renewal of that which we inherited and hope to pass on unbroken, unshattered.

With just 7 days left in the President's term, this vote is not about timing. It is about principle and fidelity to our Constitution. It concerns the clear and present danger facing our country not only in these final days of the Trump administration, but in the weeks, months, and years that will follow. It is about the necessity to demonstrate to this generation and to future generations the duty we share to protect our democracy every single day.

Do not pretend, my friends, that it was simply those who came into the Capitol, encouraged by our President to "stop the steal" at any cost.

By the way, if the Vice President doesn't do my bidding and follows the Constitution, sweep him away.

We know that this President would never emulate George Washington and give up his power for the good of our Republic, even after losing an election.

Somebody talked about a peaceful transition. There has not been a peaceful transition. I don't know what you are talking about. You are not living in the same country I am. It was just days ago that the President, after committing this terrible act, thought he had to admit that Joe Biden might, yes, be President of the United States.

We know that this President neither recognizes norms, nor reflects the rule of law. We know that this President is not a patriot.

Madam Speaker, so I ask this House: Who among us will be recorded on the roll of history for their courage, their commitment to the Constitution, and their country?

We do this today not for politics. We don't need this for politics. Georgia showed that. There was no mistake in this election. We do this today to preserve and protect this great democracy. We do it for the America we love, our America the beautiful, whose Founders' sacrifices we praise in song: "O beautiful for heroes proved in liberating strife, who more than self their country loved and mercy more than life."

Sadly, Madam Speaker, as our current President, the appropriate words would be: Who less than self his country loved and victory more than truth.

Vote for this, for America, for our Constitution, for democracy, for history.

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of impeaching President Donald Trump for the second time. This is not an action I take lightly, but an action I am compelled to take in order to uphold my oath as a Member of Congress. President Trump is a threat to our nation and in full public view violated his duties to the Constitution, to our democracy, and to the American people.

For months, the president and his enablers lied about the election, whipping up misplaced anger among his followers. He then encouraged his followers to come to Washington for a "wild" rally to support overthrowing the election results. At the rally, the president continued to incite his followers, further encouraging their anger. Then he pointed down Constitution Avenue and told his followers to march to the U.S. Capitol and unleash their anger on Congress. They did, and five people died.

Make no mistake, the president set the stage, invited the audience, and lit the match that sparked the deadly insurrection at the Capitol. Just as disturbing was his lack of response while Congress Members were begging for him to help, while Capitol Police were being beaten and killed, and while his followers hunted through the Capitol seeking to do harm to Members of Congress and even his own Vice President. President Trump has abrogated the responsibilities of his office and violated his oath to the Constitution.

Every day he remains in office is another chance for him to foment further violence. He must be removed now. The House must do its duty to protect our nation from the president by impeaching him and the Senate must act quickly to convict the president and remove him from office.

Mrs. DEMINGS. Madam Speaker, five people died last week, one of them a Capitol Police Officer who lost his life trying to protect us. The attack and the loss of life were the culmination of the President's calls for violence over the last five years and my colleagues' refusal to hold him accountable.

I was in the Gallery, and after reflecting on the violent attack as a Member of Congress and as a former law enforcement officer, it baffles me that some of my colleagues on the other side would say that today's vote is a "rush to judgement."

Well, I think it's the only appropriate response to Members of Congress having to rush for the doors to escape the violence incited by the President and encouraged by the Members of this body.

Madam Speaker, what happened to Congress? For we now behold mere shadows where great men and women once stood. I remember my oath and I intend to uphold it. I encourage my colleagues to vote in favor of this resolution.

Mr. DESJARLAIS. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to today's impeachment resolution, H. Res. 24, against President Trump.

First, it is a tragedy that we are here once again with this body, the United States House of Representatives, moving forward with impeaching President Trump.

This body impeached the president during the 116th Congress which resulted in his acquittal in the Senate. Before President Trump, there have only been two presidents impeached by the House of Representatives.

Now, after the majority party in the House did not get what they wanted the first time with impeachment, they are at it again a second time.

Their blind hatred of the President and four years of denying the results of the election have led them to one final moment of doing this again.

This impeachment is being held in the court of public opinion. I have found no constitutional grounding for President Trump's impeachment.

If Democratic leadership wanted us to take their stunt seriously, the least they could have done was attempted to present some sort of evidence in a formal trial.

Make no mistake, this is not the way the House should be conducting business.

The nation and world have been through a global pandemic this past year which has destroyed many small businesses and jobs across our country.

Yet, the House majority leadership could not be bothered to compromise on much-needed relief. They focused on playing politics with people's lives and making sure the president had one less accomplishment on his record ahead of the November 2020 election.

So why is the House spending its time on impeachment with H. Res. 24? Simply there are many who never liked President Trump, never gave him a chance, and have only sought to remove him from office since day one.

With just days left before the president leaves office, House Democrats have decided to implement their double standard yet again.

Many of my House colleagues from the other side of the aisle have spent an incredible amount of energy on fanning the flames of political unrest. They have called for riots and said peaceful protests are not enough.

President Trump called for his supporters to protest peacefully. When things got out of hand, he called on them to stand down and listen to law enforcement officials.

When violent protests got out of hand across the country this past summer you did not see the same type of condemnation from the Democratic Party.

President Trump has already said there will be an orderly transition on January 20, 2021. We need to move forward and help to ensure that the incoming Biden-Harris administration has everything they need to assume office on day one.

We are deeply divided in this country right now. Impeachment without constitutional grounding does nothing but disenfranchise the 74 million people that voted for President Trump.

I strongly oppose these impeachment efforts in the House and do not wish to create a further divide in our country.

Mr. RUIZ. Madam Speaker, Donald Trump is an immediate threat to our Constitution and to our Democracy. He must be removed.

It has now been a week since rampaging criminals incited by Mr. Trump invaded and vandalized the Capitol—the heart of American Democracy and government. The attack resulted in six deaths—including that of two police officers—and left an indelible stain on our nation. With each passing day, we learn more about the extent to which this attack was planned and orchestrated.

This was a violent insurrection—not a peaceful protest. The criminals who perpetrated this attack were inspired, directed, and encouraged by Donald Trump and his lies and incited by several members of Congress, all of whom have refused to acknowledge—let alone take responsibility for—their roles in this shameful episode.

No action we take today can undo the desecration caused by Donald Trump, the members of Congress who aided and abetted him, and those dangerous insurrectionists. This was not merely a criminal conspiracy; it was an attack on our nation's Capitol to deliberately and violently overthrow the duly elected Government of the United States.

Regardless of our actions today, Donald Trump will be removed from office in just over a week. But that does not mean we shouldn't act. If we let an insurgence against our government go without consequence, what will we be saying to future generations?

We must send the permanent message that in January of 2021, Congress refused to condone, pardon, or ignore this crime against the Constitution and the American people, and further, that Congress refused the possibility that Donald Trump could ever hold office again.

Some have said that this should be a time for unity, not for divisiveness. I agree. We must be united and unequivocal in our declaration: The desecration of our Democracy will not be tolerated. The divisiveness over this issue is not being caused by those of us who insist on upholding the Constitution and rule of law; the responsibility for discord belongs solely at the feet of those who refuse to do so.

Therefore, I must call out those in this body who continue to perpetuate the lies that led to this deadly chain of events. American Democracy was and remains threatened by their actions and words. Over the last four years, we have learned that the guardrails constructed by our Founders to protect the Constitution are only as strong as the leaders who take the oath to defend them. When our elected officials take steps to undermine democracy—as far too many here today have done—the fabric and future of our great nation is endangered.

All of us have sworn an oath to protect America from its enemies, both foreign and domestic. Today, that oath requires each and every one of us to support the immediate impeachment of Donald Trump. History will judge us all for our decision today.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Madam Speaker, just over a year ago, I stood on the House floor as we did our jobs and voted to impeach the President of the United States. The facts were clear then: Donald Trump abused the power of the Office of the Presidency to pursue his own personal, political gain. My vote was a vote for the Constitution and for "We, the People" because America is so deeply worth it.

Six months later, we saw Donald Trump's radically disparate treatment of a violent mob taking over the Michigan state capitol while threatening to lynch a governor and the harsh crackdown on Black, Indigenous, and people of color demonstrating for civil and human rights in the wake of yet another Black person being murdered by law enforcement. On the one hand, we saw armed white men with swastikas and Confederate flags threatening lawmakers, damaging the statehouse, and seeking to lynch, shoot, and behead the Governor of Michigan with no federal response. In fact, Attorney General Bill Barr told me under oath that he wasn't even aware it occurred. In sharp contrast, we saw Black people and people of color forcibly removed by armed federal officials using pepper bombs and tear gas. This time, the Attorney General was on the scene himself.

All of these events brought us to January 6, 2021. On that day, I was trapped in the House gallery for nearly two hours as a mob of insurrectionists launched a deadly attack on our Capitol, our country, and our democracy. My colleagues and I took cover as domestic terrorists waved the confederate flag in the People's House; as the temple of our democracy was ransacked in the most deadly and destructive assault on the U.S. Capitol since the War of 1812. The events of January 6 were horrific. We know now that January 6 could have ended in even more violence, harm, and loss of life. We know the mob came ready for combat with nooses, zip ties, bats, bulletproof vests, and pipes. We know they came within seconds of breaching the United States Senate and ran around the inside of this building chanting "Hang Mike Pence" and looking for our Speaker, NANCY PELOSI. And we know that they had placed bombs at the Capitol, the Democratic National Committee, and the Republican National Committee.

Why did they do all of this? Because for months, the man who sits in the White House has refused to accept the will of the American people; has refused to recognize that he lost a free and fair election—decisively. And then he—and some Republican members of this Congress—called on his followers to "be wild." They told them to "stand by." Then, they told them to "fight like hell." Next, they proclaimed "we are going to the Capitol." The insurrectionists followed those orders from the President of the United States. They went to the Capitol and fought like hell. They tried to subvert our democracy, but they failed.

Donald Trump is the smoking gun. That gun is reloaded and whether or not it goes off once more is up to us. We must send a clear message to the President that the United States Congress will not stand by and allow one man to turn our democracy into an autocracy; will not stand by while that man incites insurrectionists to launch a deadly assault on the United States Capitol.

I call on my colleagues to join me in voting to immediately impeach, convict, and remove Donald J. Trump from office; to ensure he can never run for elected office again; to fight for justice; to send a signal to those across America and throughout the world who—incited and fueled by this president—want to do us further harm; and to hold him fully accountable for this attack on Congress, the United States of America, and our democracy.

Ms. UNDERWOOD. Madam Speaker, it is the honor of my life to walk into the Capitol

and onto this House floor to carry the voices and values of the people of Illinois' 14th Congressional District to this hallowed institution. The Capitol itself is the global symbol of democracy, and the Congress that meets here is charged with upholding the very first Article of our Constitution, written 233 years ago. The Capitol is where democratically elected Americans from across the country convene to represent their communities. It truly is—and must remain—the People's House. Last week, the People's House was invaded by people who committed acts of terror and desecrated this sacred space.

In the days since the January 6 attack on the Congress, hundreds of concerned Illinoisans have reached out to my office to share messages of disbelief that such an attack was plotted openly yet not prevented; messages of anger at the violence and the hate that was on display that day, and at the elected leaders who capitalized on those sentiments; messages of fear for the fragility of our democracy. I also received many messages of support and concern for the safety of myself and my staff, which was a great comfort to us all, and for which we are immensely grateful.

One of my constituents wrote to me about feeling "disheartened, deeply saddened, shocked, and angry" about the events of January 6 and all that led up to them, and another wrote about "uncertainty and fear." Another wrote simply that "there are no words to describe my horror." I, too, felt all of those emotions as I watched the attack unfold just beyond my office, and moved heavy furniture to barricade my office doors.

One constituent wrote to ask me a question: "What will our future look like if we continue to allow future U.S. leaders to lead and support these types of attacks on our democracy?" It's a question that I am asking myself today, and that we are all here to answer: "What will our future look like?" She wrote about the need for consequences, not only as justice for the perpetrators of this attack, but also as a message for posterity.

Over the past week, we in Congress have solemnly considered the most appropriate response to the President's incitement of insurrection—an attack that not only cost several people their lives, but also threatened a cornerstone of our democracy: the peaceful transition of power. It is our duty to ensure that the perpetrators are held accountable, and that no historical sanctuary is granted to those who have ignited this fire. We have had to face the ugly truth that this attack was incited by a President seeking to violently overturn the results of a democratic election and reject the will of the American people.

That is why today, we must impeach this President. This is an act toward preserving the integrity of our democracy. This is a message to future Americans about who we are as a nation, and who we ought to be.

Each of us took an oath just days ago, pledging to uphold the United States Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Today I will fulfill that promise by voting in favor of the impeachment of President Donald J. Trump.

Ms. BONAMICI. Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the resolution offering articles of impeachment against President Donald J. Trump. Our country and our Capitol have suffered a devastating attack in the past

week, and the President's role in inciting the violence we experienced has left us no choice but to impeach him.

President Trump, through his words and actions, encouraged and incited the insurrection that occurred on January 6, 2021, when Congress was gathered to certify the results of the 2020 Presidential election. In the days and weeks preceding the deadly attack, President Trump made statements, both on social media and directly to his supporters, repeating false claims that he had won the election and urging supporters to come to Washington, D.C. and "fight like hell." The morning of January 6, he led a rally and sent his supporters to the Capitol with the goal of stopping the certification of the Electoral College, thwarting the will of millions of Americans who voted for Joe Biden, and overturning the 2020 Presidential election. The events that unfolded that afternoon were dangerous, terrifying, unprecedented, and un-American. Armed domestic terrorists stormed the Capitol, leading to several deaths, countless injuries, untold property damage, and a democracy in crisis. Pipe bombs and zip ties were found on and around the Capitol grounds. Videos show Capitol Police officers being beaten by White supremacists. Elected officials in the line of presidential succession, including the Vice President and the Speaker of the House, were essentially hunted by terrorists and forced into hiding. The President did not quell the mob; nor did he offer any empathy whatsoever to his own Vice President or to the hundreds of Senators, Representatives, and staff who were at the Capitol and traumatized. In the following days, Donald Trump failed to take responsibility for the direct attack on the country he is responsible for leading and protecting and continued to incite insurrection by continuing to perpetuate the lie that he won the election.

We are now forced to reckon with the grave reality that the President of the United States directly incited an attack on our government and country, and he must be held accountable. He is wholly unfit for office and must never be able to serve in government again. I commend my colleagues, Representatives CICILLINE, LIEU, and RASKIN, for drafting this resolution of impeachment. For the sake of democracy, the Senate must now follow our lead, rise to the occasion, and swiftly convict the President of the high crimes and misdemeanors he has committed.

Mr. MICHAEL F. DOYLE of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, I rise today to express my support for the resolution to impeach President Trump.

This is an open and shut case. The facts are clear to all who wish to see them.

In his January 6 speech, Donald Trump incited a vicious assault on the U.S. Capitol with the intention of pressuring Vice President PENCE and a joint session of Congress into overturning the results of the Electoral College vote that made Joe Biden president. It's clear he wanted Congress and the Vice President to declare him president for a second term despite his losing the election.

I believe that this was the final act in what was a months-long effort to overturn the 2020 presidential election results so that he could remain in office.

I believe that Donald Trump's actions on January 6 constituted high crimes and misdemeanors under the Constitution and therefore justify his impeachment. He is clearly

guilty of sedition, and his actions led to the loss of five lives that day, including that of a Capitol Police officer who was mortally injured defending the Capitol, the Congress, and the Vice President.

I also support impeaching him now, even though he has just a few days left in office, in order to define a standard of acceptable conduct for future Presidents—and a precedent to deter future presidents from attempting to defy the will of the American people.

Finally, I believe that President Trump should be impeached and immediately removed from office because I am concerned that, given what he has done to illegally remain in office, it is possible, if not highly probable, that he would take further undemocratic and criminal actions in the days he has left in a desperate bid to thwart the voters' will.

Those are the reasons why I cosponsored the article of impeachment and why I will vote for it today.

Ms. MCCOLLUM. Madam Speaker, last week's violent attack on Congress was an act of domestic terrorism. The U.S. Capitol building was desecrated and vandalized. Members of Congress, their staff members, and those who work in this temple of American democracy were terrorized. The women and men of the Capitol Police who work every day to protect us were beaten. Two officers lost their lives as a result of this tragedy.

Make no mistake, this was a terrorist plot to disrupt Congress; to prevent Congress from performing its duty under the Constitution to certify the results of the Electoral College that Joseph R. Biden and KAMALA D. HARRIS will be sworn in as President and Vice President of the United States on January 20, 2021.

This domestic terrorist attack was an attempted coup against the United States of America by attacking the U.S. Congress and the Vice President of the United States MICHAEL R. PENCE. And this coup was inspired, encouraged, and supported by Donald J. Trump—the deranged and dangerous man who currently occupies the White House.

Today, I will vote to impeach Mr. Trump—for the second time—for high crimes and misdemeanors. If his actions in inciting the insurrection of January 6, 2021 do not warrant impeachment and removal by the Congress, then truly nothing is worthy of impeachment. Congress must protect this nation from Mr. Trump and from future Presidents who may seek to follow in his dangerous footsteps. We must impeach.

When Mr. Trump leaves the White House and is again a private citizen, I strongly urge the U.S. Department of Justice to investigate and prosecute Mr. Trump for crimes committed against our democracy and the people of the United States.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, with just 7 days remaining in his term, today's highly partisan rush to impeach the President is being done without knowing the whole truth which takes time, effort and serious scrutiny to establish.

Today's snap impeachment vote alleging President Trump's "incitement of insurrection" lacks an objective and thorough investigation of the facts.

Astonishingly, there have been no congressional hearings on H. Res. 24—the impeachment resolution—which was only introduced two days ago on January 11th.

The fact that the U.S. Senate won't even consider the impeachment resolution passed

by the House until after the January 20th inauguration begs the question as to why the debate and vote isn't postponed until we have all the facts.

Our Nation is in desperate need of unity and civility as it prepares for the inauguration of President-elect Biden.

Impeachment of President Trump—without a thorough analysis of the facts which takes time, effort and serious scrutiny to establish—will not in any way help to heal a divided America.

Let me state again that I unequivocally condemn the assault on the Capitol last week and those who committed murder, violence, vandalism and other crimes should be prosecuted to the greatest extent of the law.

We must be committed to zero-tolerance towards violence in any form.

I strongly support and have cosponsored H.R. 275 to create a national bipartisan commission to comprehensively investigate the January 6th deadly attack on the Capitol.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Res. 24, impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

When we consider impeachment, the first question to consider is not "what is an impeachable offense?" but "why is impeachment in the Constitution?" If it is necessary to have an elected official removed from office, the normal process is to vote him out of office at his next election and have him leave when his term expires. But there are times when it is absolutely not feasible to wait until a term expires. That is why impeachment is in the Constitution.

The Constitution says the President "shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." When a President is committing treason, it is obviously not feasible to wait until the next election and the expiration of his term. If a President is seeking, taking or giving bribes, it is not feasible to wait. As for "other high crimes or misdemeanors," the important word is "other," because it suggests offenses that have the same effect on the nation as treason or bribery. The phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" is intentionally vague, but the meaning is clear—behavior that creates a situation, as in cases of treason and bribery, where it is not feasible to wait until the next election and the expiration of the President's term. Impeachment is not in the Constitution primarily as a punishment, but as a mechanism to protect our democracy when it is not feasible to wait until January 20th.

In that light, we evaluate the President's recent behavior.

Shortly before noon on Wednesday, January 6, 2021, President Trump addressed thousands of his supporters, who specifically came to Washington at his urging. This event was called the "March to Save America." The President's words and actions at this rally, and arguably the lies he spread weeks before, incited a violent insurrection. Soon after the President's speech, a violent mob overwhelmed the U.S. Capitol with the intent of disrupting the counting of the Electoral College votes—the final official step in the election of the next President of the United States. These individuals harbored delusions fostered by the President that, but for the grace of God, could

have resulted in the death or injury of the Vice President and many members of Congress. During most of this insurrection, the absence of the National Guard and other military units was conspicuous, especially when compared to the overwhelming police and military presence last summer during racial justice protests in the nation's capital.

The facts are not in dispute. According to Rep. LIZ CHENEY, the third highest ranking Republican in the House of Representatives, "The President of the United States summoned this mob, assembled the mob, and lit the flame of this attack. Everything that followed was his doing. None of this would have happened without the President . . . There has never been a greater betrayal by a President of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution."

Last weekend, the Washington Post published audio recordings revealing a conversation in which the President encourages and attempts to pressure Georgia election officials to "find" over 11,780 votes to reverse the certified results of the November 3rd election. This hour long recording further supports previous reports of the President actively attempting to overturn the will of the voters in other states he clearly and fairly lost.

Additionally, the President has used presidential powers to pardon numerous criminals, many of whom were convicted of offenses that could have been part of coverups to protect the President himself. He should not continue to hold this power while insurrectionists are being arrested and charged across the country. And it is also being reported that he is actively considering additional questionable pardons, including for himself and his immediate family.

Notwithstanding his oath to faithfully execute the laws, the President is doing nothing to address the COVID-19 pandemic, even though more than 125,000 deaths have occurred since the election. There has been a complete abdication of responsibility demonstrated by his failure to develop a testing and contact tracing strategy, his refusal to encourage the use of masks to stop the spread of this deadly virus, and now a complete mismanagement of vaccine distribution. Furthermore, his execution of the laws has been compromised by the wholesale resignations of senior federal officials across the executive branch.

The President has gone to extraordinary lengths to disrupt the transition from his administration to President-elect Biden, undermining our national security. Our nation is facing economic distress, a raging pandemic, the disastrous consequences of climate change, a reckoning with racial injustice, and a historic cyber intrusion. While our country is facing these challenges, the President has chosen to jeopardize our national security by refusing the incoming administration customary intelligence briefings, refusing to concede the election, and falsely claiming election fraud ultimately disrupting the peaceful transition of power and undermining the incoming administration's ability to manage these crises.

And there have been ongoing violations of the Constitution's emoluments clause, as foreign governments have paid money to Trump businesses since his inauguration four years ago.

Each of these behaviors alone would constitute impeachable offenses, so the analysis moves to whether or not any or all of them

create the crisis envisioned in the impeachment clause where it is not feasible to wait until January 20th to have him removed from office. I believe the evidence is overwhelming and that we have no choice but to act expeditiously to impeach.

The attack on the Capitol clearly puts us in a situation where it is not feasible to wait until the President's term expires at noon on January 20, 2021. He has shown no remorse for the loss of life and the blatant attack he incited on one of the greatest symbols of our democracy. There has also been no credible explanation why the Capitol Police were left stranded without the support of the National Guard or other law enforcement agencies nor any credible explanation why the Attorney General nor the Director of the F.B.I. have attended any public briefings on what happened on January 6, 2021 or what is being done to make sure that it does not happen again under the President's leadership. And when a person is found unfit to control a Twitter account, it is hard to imagine how he is fit to control the nuclear codes. He is also not fit to control the security of the Capitol for the upcoming inauguration or from other attacks at the Capitol that, according to some public reports, are being planned.

Tragically, tens of thousands of people will continue to die unnecessarily because of his incompetence and inaction in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic. This self-serving use of the presidential pardon power cannot continue, and if he is removed from office, a process can be put in place to seamlessly transition powers to the Biden Administration without gaps in National Security.

For these reasons it is imperative that he be removed from office now.

Once impeached, it is true that he may not be convicted in the Senate. In fact, an impeachment trial may never take place. But the fact that a quick trial and conviction could take place should deter problematic behavior by the President during his last few days in office. For example, if Majority Leader McCONNELL received a distressed call from the Secretary of Defense explaining that the President had issued a bizarre military order, Leader McCONNELL could quickly summon the Chief Justice, reconvene the Senate and vote to remove the President within hours of the call. Knowing that this could take place would hopefully deter the President from issuing such an order or granting inappropriate pardons.

The President will be encouraged to resign, and the Vice President and a majority of the cabinet secretaries could activate the 25th amendment. But all the House of Representatives can control is impeachment. The House has an obligation to do just that. Our action should not be guided by politics or grievance, but should reflect the fact that the future of our Democracy is our first priority.

Madam Speaker, we do not want to look up on January 20th and see that security at the inauguration was mismanaged with disastrous results; or witness a blanket pardon to all of those involved in the insurrection; or suffer as tens of thousands die unnecessarily due to the President's continued mismanagement of the pandemic; or witness any other disastrous situation resulting from the abusive use of presidential powers. And if any of that happens because he was not impeached by the House and convicted and removed by the Senate, we cannot say we did not see it coming.

Mr. FORTENBERRY. Madam Speaker, in his speech and subsequent hesitation to swiftly react to the violence, the President wrongly amplified an emotionally charged environment—emboldening persons predetermined to do violence, adding to a mob frenzy, and overshadowing the important policy work of four years and those who peacefully stood by him.

Our objective should be this: Restore peace in our country. Restore confidence in our government. Restore decency and decorum.

In just seven days, Joe Biden will be President. I voted to certify his election. In order to begin the process of healing our nation after this traumatic moment, we must choose wisely. If we use the blunt instrument of impeachment, we will punish the President but deepen the trauma of an America already wracked by political violence. The call for accountability ought now to be found in the hard slog to rebuild.

I will vote against impeachment.

Miss GONZALEZ-COLON. Madam Speaker, respect for the will of the people, which has been expressed through their votes in a valid democratic process and the peaceful transfer of power between administrations, is the foundation of our Nation.

Seeing the President incite groups to interrupt that very democratic process, leading them to take the U.S. Capitol by force, where two members of the Capitol Police died in the line of duty, is deeply outrageous. Using force as the mechanism to achieve change or access to power has no place in the constitutional transfer of office. I have never validated that resource to enforce anyone's opinion. All those who perpetrated these acts must be held accountable to the fullest extent of the law, including the President.

This Nation needs to heal the deep wound created by the acts of domestic terrorism on January 6, where at the end of the day democracy prevailed, Congress continued with the processes in which the Vice President validated the result of the elections in favor of a new administration.

That healing will come in less than a week with the transfer of power in an orderly and peaceful manner, as mandated by our legal system, but past events have caused many, including myself, to withdraw our trust in this President.

On past occasions I have rejected the President's conduct, while on other occasions I have recognized the great resources that he helped me bring to the Island in a time of need. In the same way, my priority continues to be defending the interests of the people of Puerto Rico and I will always work with anyone to achieve the betterment of the people I represent.

I swore to defend the Constitution against all foreign and domestic enemies. The acts of January 6 were an attack on our Constitution, they were acts of sedition perpetrated by domestic terrorists and that is why I join my colleagues from both parties in supporting an impeachment process against the President, even though as a Resident Commissioner I cannot vote in that process. This will serve as an example of the power of our Nation's democracy, where no one, including the President, is above the law.

Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia. Madam Speaker, in the words of the late Congressman John Lewis, "When you see something that is not right, not just, not fair, you have a moral obligation to say something, to do something."

Today we must do something and vote to impeach President Donald J. Trump.

Mr. KIND. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of impeachment in order to defend our democracy and protect our country from a President who poses a clear and present danger to our republic. Last week, as I was preparing to defend Wisconsin's election results on the House floor during the certification of the Electoral College votes, the Nation experienced an attack on our Capitol and democratic process. What should have been a day of celebration as we witnessed the peaceful transfer of power—something that makes America exceptional in the eyes of the world—was marred by a lawless assault on our democracy.

It's of the utmost importance in the coming weeks to bring those who perpetrated this violence to justice. They must be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. However, we also need to address those that fostered and even amplified the toxic climate that allowed this to happen in the first place. Undoubtedly, this includes the President, who openly encouraged a mob to march to the Capitol to disrupt Congress's Constitutional role in certifying the presidential election and later went so far as to say that the rioters were "very special" and that he "loves" them.

Words and actions have consequences. For months now, the President and Members of Congress have spread lies and unfounded accusations about the integrity of our election. In doing so, they unleashed dark forces in our society and even incited a violent mob that attacked the United States Capitol. Lives were lost as a result of this insurrection, including those of U.S. Capitol Police Officers Brian Sicknick and Howard Liebengood. My prayers are with these brave officers' families as they mourn these devastating losses—their heroic actions in defense of their country will never be forgotten.

It's time to stop perpetuating the dangerous lies that this election wasn't legitimate—it was. It's time to stop weaponizing calls for unity as an attempt to downplay a violent insurrection and avoid ramifications, as if healing can take place without accountability—it can't.

For too long, too many have treated our democracy as if it's a football, something to kick around without consequence. It's not a football, it's more like a fragile egg. If you break it, good luck trying to put it back together. Failing to seek accountability now sends a dangerous signal to the future because the next time an authoritarian wannabe takes a run at our Constitution, all bets are off.

At this time in our Nation's history, our party divisions have never seemed smaller. It doesn't matter whether you are a Democrat or a Republican, the choice now is between Constitutionalists and Insurrectionists. Constitutionalists believe in the Constitution, the rule of law, due process, human rights, and civil rights for all our citizens. Insurrectionists believe in conspiracy theories, an alternate reality, and putting a person or a party above the rule of law.

I can work with anyone that's a Constitutionalist, regardless of what side of the aisle they're on. But as a Member of Congress, I swore an oath not to any one individual or one party, but to the Constitution, and I cannot work with anyone who is against it.

I have repeatedly called on the President to step down for the sake of our Nation. I have

asked Vice President Pence to invoke the 25th Amendment to ensure the peaceful transfer of power. Unfortunately, these calls have gone unheeded, leaving us no other option than to vote to impeach President Trump. We must guard against any potential future danger the President poses, send a clear message that this type of unconstitutional behavior will not be tolerated, and restore the sanity and sense of calm the American people deserve before the inauguration of President-Elect Biden.

Ms. KAPTUR. Madam Speaker, the decision to impeach a President is a grave one—it is a vote that no Member wishes to cast in their lifetime. In my nearly four decades of service in the House of Representatives, I have voted to impeach a President only twice—both times during President Trump’s term in office. The criminal invasion of the U.S. Capitol last week created this unprecedented moment in U.S. history when liberty lovers must respond in the strongest legal manner.

Members of Congress take an oath to defend our Constitution against all enemies foreign and domestic. During my service, U.S. Presidents of both parties understood their duty to our Constitution, until now. I frequently reflect on the incalculable bravery and sacrifice of those Americans who came before us, who, from the battlefields of Antietam to the beaches of Normandy, fought and died to ensure that not only would freedom and liberty live on in these lands, but so too would our Union itself.

During these last four years, our beloved country has become divided to an extent not seen since Reconstruction—a division so powerful that the daily business of our Congress has ground to a near halt, at severe expense to the People’s work. This is occurring because of the severe breakdown, political divisions, and incitement exacerbated by lies and conspiracy theories recited at length by the President himself. He has belligerently refused to accept the results of this past election. With a clenched fist, he and his allies continue to spew divisive vitriol claiming no institution in this country, from the free press to independent election officials, can be trusted—that the only person worthy of the American people’s confidence is Donald Trump himself.

A week ago today, that division boiled over, culminating in a vicious attack by a mob on the U.S. Capitol, a place that holds national and international significance as the temple of liberty and representational democracy. Members, staff, and the Vice President, who were working to certify the election results of the 2020 Presidential Election, were forced to flee for their lives as a mob of violent insurrectionists broke through the doors and windows of the Capitol, desecrated the halls, and violently attacked Capitol Police, killing one and injuring over 50. The invaders, many in paramilitary attire, called for the execution of the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, and other Members. Some carried law-enforcement style handcuffs, bear spray, and firearms, while others erected gallows outside and placed pipe-bombs nearby. All the while, President Trump failed to take any meaningful steps to call off the attack, despite calls imploring him to do so as the events played out on live television. The attack was explicitly incited by Donald Trump as he dispatched marchers to the Capitol ‘to fight.’ His incitement of the attack represents quite possibly the most significant ex-

ample of complete moral failing by any President in American history.

To impeach a President is a weighty decision. Today, the decision was clear. President Trump is guilty of inciting a violent insurrection against the United States in its most sacred home of liberty. He should thus be immediately removed from office and prevented from ever holding federal office again.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 41, the previous question is ordered on the resolution.

The question is on adoption of the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 232, nays 197, not voting 4, as follows:

[Roll No. 17]

YEAS—232

Adams	Doyle, Michael	Lee (NV)
Aguilar	F.	Leger Fernandez
Allred	Escobar	Levin (CA)
Auchincloss	Eshoo	Levin (MI)
Axne	Españalat	Lieu
Barragán	Evans	Lofgren
Bass	Fletcher	Lowenthal
Beatty	Poster	Luria
Bera	Frankel, Lois	Lynch
Beyer	Fudge	Malinowski
Bishop (GA)	Gallego	Maloney,
Blumenauer	Garamendi	Carolyn B.
Blunt Rochester	García (IL)	Maloney, Sean
Bonamici	García (TX)	Manning
Bourdeaux	Golden	Matsui
Bowman	Gomez	McBath
Boyle, Brendan	Gonzalez (OH)	McCollum
F.	Gonzalez,	McEachin
Brown	Vicente	McGovern
Brownley	Gottheimer	McNerney
Bush	Green, Al (TX)	Meeks
Bustos	Grijalva	Mejler
Butterfield	Haaland	Meng
Carbajal	Harder (CA)	Mfume
Cárdenas	Hastings	Moore (WI)
Carson	Hayes	Morelle
Cartwright	Herrera Beutler	Moulton
Case	Higgins (NY)	Mrvan
Casten	Himes	Murphy (FL)
Castor (FL)	Horsford	Nadler
Castro (TX)	Houlahan	Napolitano
Cheney	Hoyer	Neal
Chu	Huffman	Neguse
Cicilline	Jackson Lee	Newhouse
Clark (MA)	Jacobs (CA)	Newman
Clarke (NY)	Jayapal	Norcross
Cleaver	Jeffries	O’Halloran
Clyburn	Johnson (GA)	Ocasio-Cortez
Cohen	Johnson (TX)	Omar
Connolly	Jones	Pallone
Cooper	Kabele	Panetta
Correa	Kaptur	Pappas
Costa	Katko	Pascrell
Courtney	Keating	Payne
Craig	Kelly (IL)	Pelosi
Crist	Khanna	Perlmutter
Crow	Kildee	Peters
Cuellar	Kilmer	Phillips
Davids (KS)	Kim (NJ)	Pingree
Davis, Danny K.	Kind	Pocan
Dean	Kinzinger	Porter
DeFazio	Kirkpatrick	Pressley
DeGette	Krishnamoorthi	Price (NC)
DeLauro	Kuster	Quigley
DelBene	Lamb	Raskin
Delgado	Langevin	Rice (NY)
Demings	Larsen (WA)	Rice (SC)
DeSaulnier	Larson (CT)	Richmond
Deutch	Lawrence	Ross
Dingell	Lawson (FL)	Roybal-Allard
Doggett	Lee (CA)	Ruiz

Ruppersberger	Smith (WA)	Trone
Rush	Soto	Underwood
Ryan	Spanberger	Upton
Sánchez	Speier	Valadao
Sarbanes	Stanton	Vargas
Scanlon	Stevens	Veasey
Schakowsky	Strickland	Vela
Schiff	Suoizzi	Velázquez
Schneider	Swalwell	Wasserman
Schrader	Takano	Schultz
Schrier	Thompson (CA)	Waters
Scott (VA)	Thompson (MS)	Watson Coleman
Scott, David	Titus	Welch
Sewell	Tlaib	Weston
Sherman	Tonko	Wild
Sherrill	Torres (CA)	Williams (GA)
Sires	Torres (NY)	Wilson (FL)
Slotkin	Trahan	Yarmuth

NAYS—197

Aderholt	García (CA)	Miller-Meeks
Allen	Gibbs	Moolenaar
Amodei	Gimenez	Mooney
Armstrong	Gohmert	Moore (AL)
Arrington	Gonzales, Tony	Moore (UT)
Babin	Good (VA)	Mullin
Bacon	Gooden (TX)	Nehls
Baird	Gosar	Norman
Balderson	Graves (LA)	Nunes
Banks	Graves (MO)	Obernolte
Barr	Green (TN)	Owens
Bentz	Greene (GA)	Palazzo
Bergman	Griffith	Palmer
Bice (OK)	Grothman	Pence
Biggs	Guest	Perry
Bilirakis	Guthrie	Pfuger
Bishop (NC)	Hagedorn	Posey
Boebert	Harshbarger	Reed
Bost	Hartzler	Reschenthaler
Brady	Hern	Rodgers (WA)
Brooks	Herrell	Rogers (AL)
Buchanan	Hice (GA)	Rogers (KY)
Buck	Higgins (LA)	Rose
Bucshon	Hill	Rosendale
Budd	Hinson	Rouzer
Burchett	Hollingsworth	Roy
Burgess	Hudson	Rutherford
Calvert	Huizenga	Salazar
Cammack	Issa	Scalise
Carl	Jackson	Schweikert
Carter (GA)	Jacobs (NY)	Scott, Austin
Carter (TX)	Johnson (LA)	Sessions
Cawthorn	Johnson (OH)	Simpson
Chabot	Johnson (SD)	Smith (MO)
Cline	Jordan	Smith (NE)
Cloud	Joyce (OH)	Smith (NJ)
Clyde	Joyce (PA)	Smucker
Cole	Keller	Spartz
Comer	Kelly (MS)	Stauber
Crawford	Kelly (PA)	Steel
Crenshaw	Kim (CA)	Stefanik
Curtis	Kustoff	Steil
Davidson	LaHood	Steube
Davis, Rodney	LaMalfa	Stewart
DesJarlais	Lamborn	Stivers
Diaz-Balart	Latta	Taylor
Donalds	LaTurner	Thompson (PA)
Duncan	Lesko	Tiffany
Dunn	Long	Timmons
Emmer	Loudermilk	Turner
Estes	Lucas	Van Drey
Fallon	Luetkemeyer	Van Dyne
Feenstra	Mace	Wagner
Ferguson	Malliotakis	Walberg
Mann	Fischbach	Walorski
Fitzgerald	Massie	Waltz
Fitzpatrick	Mast	Weber (TX)
Fleischmann	McCarthy	Wenstrup
Fortenberry	McCaul	Westerman
Fox	McClain	Williams (TX)
Franklin, C.	McClintock	Wilson (SC)
Scott	McHenry	Wittman
Fulcher	McKinley	Womack
Gaetz	Meuser	Wright
Gallagher	Miller (IL)	Young
Garbarino	Miller (WV)	Zeldin

NOT VOTING—4

□ 1633

So the resolution was agreed to. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded. A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE
RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Adams (Brown)	Doyle, Michael	McNerney
Axne (Stevens)	F. (Cartwright)	(Huffman)
Baird (Bucshon)	Dunn (Cammack)	Napolitano
Bergman	Fleischmann	(Correa)
(Walberg)	(Kustoff)	Ocasio-Cortez
Bilirakis	Frankel, Lois	(Tlaib)
(Portenberry)	(Clark (MA))	Peters (Beyer)
Blumenauer	Hastings	Porter (Wexton)
(Beyer)	(Wasserman	Pressley (Garcia
Bonamici (Clark	Schultz)	(IL))
(MA))	Jayapal (Raskin)	Schneider
Boyle, Brendan	Johnson (TX)	(Sherrill)
F. (Jeffries)	(Jeffries)	Sires (Pallone)
Buchanan	Kaptur (Stevens)	Smith (WA)
(Cammack)	Kirkpatrick	(Courtney)
Cárdenas	(Gallego)	Steel (Calvert)
(Gallego)	Kuster (Pingree)	Strickland
Carson	Lamborn	(Kilmer)
(Underwood)	(Walberg)	Titus (Connolly)
Costa (Correa)	LaTurner (Mann)	Tonko (Pallone)
Crenshaw (Nehls)	Lawson (FL)	Vela (Gomez)
DeSaunier	(Evans)	Walorski (Banks)
(Matsui)	Lee (NV)	Watson Coleman
DesJarlais	(Stevens)	(Pallone)
(Kustoff)	Lieu (Beyer)	Wilson (FL)
Deutch (Rice	Lowenthal	(Hayes)
(NY))	(Beyer)	Young
Dingell (Stevens)	McEachin	(Malliotakis)
	(Wexton)	

APPOINTING AND AUTHORIZING
MANAGERS FOR THE IMPEACH-
MENT TRIAL OF DONALD JOHN
TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. MCCOLLUM). The Chair announces that, pursuant to section 3(a) of House Resolution 41, House Resolution 40 is hereby adopted.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 40

Resolved, That Mr. Raskin, Ms. DeGette, Mr. Cicilline, Mr. Castro of Texas, Mr. Swalwell, Mr. Lieu, Ms. Plaskett, Mr. Neguse, and Ms. Dean are appointed managers to conduct the impeachment trial against Donald John Trump, President of the United States, that a message be sent to the Senate to inform the Senate of these appointments, and that the managers so appointed may, in connection with the preparation and the conduct of the trial, exhibit the articles of impeachment to the Senate and take all other actions necessary, which may include the following:

(1) Employing legal, clerical, and other necessary assistants and incurring such other expenses as may be necessary, to be paid from amounts available to the Committee on the Judiciary under applicable expense resolutions or from the applicable accounts of the House of Representatives.

(2) Sending for persons and papers, and filing with the Secretary of the Senate, on the part of the House of Representatives, any pleadings, in conjunction with or subsequent to, the exhibition of the articles of impeachment that the managers consider necessary.

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO
THE PERMANENT SELECT COM-
MITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair announces the Speaker's appointment, pursuant to clause 11 of rule X, clause 11 of rule I, and the order of the House of January 4, 2021, of the following Members of the House to the Permanent Select Committee on Intel-

Mr. SCHIFF, California, Chair

Mr. NUNES, California

ADJOURNMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 5(a)(1)(B) of House Resolution 8, the House stands adjourned until 11 a.m. on Friday, January 15, 2021.

Thereupon (at 4 o'clock and 38 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Friday, January 15, 2021, at 11 a.m.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Ms. SALAZAR (for herself, Ms. MALLIOTAKIS, Mr. DIAZ-BALART, Mr. GIMENEZ, Mr. DUNN, Mr. MOONEY, Mr. WALTZ, Mrs. BICE of Oklahoma, and Mrs. CAMMACK):

H.R. 287. A bill to prohibit the removal of Cuba from the list of state sponsors of terrorism until Cuba satisfies certain conditions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BANKS (for himself and Mr. STEUBE):

H.R. 288. A bill to amend the Revised Statute to codify the defense of qualified immunity in the case of any action under section 1979, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BANKS (for himself, Mr. ARRINGTON, Mr. HAGEDORN, Mr. MURPHY of North Carolina, Mr. BUDD, and Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina):

H.R. 289. A bill to hold individuals convicted of Federal offenses during the course of protests financially liable for the cost of Federal policing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. BOST:

H.R. 290. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to render an individual, who transfers certain educational assistance, to which the individual is entitled because of an agreement by such individual to serve in the Armed Forces, to a dependent of that individual, and who fails to complete such agreement, solely liable for the overpayment of such educational assistance; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BOST:

H.R. 291. A bill to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to use on-site regulated medical waste treatment systems at certain Department of Veterans Affairs facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BOST:

H.R. 292. A bill to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to develop and implement a plan to hire directors of the medical centers of the Department of Veterans Affairs; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BOST:

H.R. 293. A bill to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to establish qualifications for the human resources positions within the Veterans Health Administration of the Department of Veterans Affairs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BUDD:

H.R. 294. A bill to amend the Securities Act of 1933 to expand the ability to use test-

ing the waters and confidential draft registration submissions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. BUDD (for himself, Mr. ROY, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. POSEY, Mr. VAN DREW, Mr. GAETZ, Mr. WEBER of Texas, Mr. CLINE, Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina, Mr. KELLER, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. STEWART, Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas, Mr. MOONEY, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. COLE, Mr. GOODEN of Texas, Mr. GOHMERT, and Mr. BABIN):

H.R. 295. A bill to waive high deductible health plan requirements for health savings accounts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BUDD (for himself, Mr. DAVIDSON, Mr. LYNCH, Mr. DONALDS, and Mr. SOTO):

H.R. 296. A bill to establish an Independent Financial Technology Task Force to Combat Terrorism and Illicit Financing, to provide rewards for information leading to convictions related to terrorist use of digital currencies, to establish a Fintech Leadership in Innovation and Financial Intelligence Program to encourage the development of tools and programs to combat terrorist and illicit use of digital currencies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services, and in addition to the Committee on the Budget, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. CASE (for himself and Mr. KAHELE):

H.R. 297. A bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct a study on the establishment of, and the potential land that could be included in, a unit of the National Forest System in the State of Hawaii, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

By Mr. CASE:

H.R. 298. A bill to amend title 46, United States Code, to exempt certain noncontiguous trade from the coastwise laws; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. CASE:

H.R. 299. A bill to provide a definition of reasonable rate for noncontiguous domestic ocean trade, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. CASE:

H.R. 300. A bill to amend title 46, United States Code, to allow transportation of merchandise in noncontiguous trade on foreign-flag vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, and in addition to the Committee on Education and Labor, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. CLYBURN (for himself, Mr. LAWSON of Florida, Mr. AGUILAR, Ms. WILSON of Florida, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Ms. BASS, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. TORRES of New York, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. HORSFORD, Mr. RUSH, Ms. JACOBS of California, Ms. TLAIB, Mrs. LURIA, Ms. JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. VEASEY, Mr. SUOZZI, Mr. EVANS, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. STANTON, Ms. STEVENS, Mr. LIEU, Mr. KHANNA, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. CARSON, Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, Ms. DAVIDS of Kansas, Mr. KILMER, Mr. COHEN, Ms. ROSS, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. SOTO, Mr. NORCROSS, Ms. NORTON, Ms. SEWELL, Mr. BISHOP

of Georgia, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Ms. MENG, and Ms. SLOTKIN):

H.R. 301. A bill to amend title 36, United States Code, to establish the composition known as "Lift Every Voice and Sing" as the national hymn of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONNOLLY (for himself and Mr. FITZPATRICK):

H.R. 302. A bill to impose limits on excepting competitive service positions from the competitive service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

By Mr. BILIRAKIS:

H.R. 303. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to permit additional retired members of the Armed Forces who have a service-connected disability to receive both disability compensation from the Department of Veterans Affairs for their disability and either retired pay by reason of their years of military service or combat-related special compensation; to the Committee on Armed Services, and in addition to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. CONNOLLY:

H.R. 304. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to achieve parity between the cost of living adjustment with respect to an annuity under the Federal Employees Retirement System and an annuity under the Civil Service Retirement System, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

By Mr. CRIST (for himself, Mr. CLEAVER, and Ms. MACE):

H.R. 305. A bill to award a Congressional Gold Medal to Officer Eugene Goodman; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. EMMER:

H.R. 306. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to temporarily increase the educator expense deduction to facilitate the purchase of personal protective equipment and cleaning supplies during the COVID-19 pandemic, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KELLY of Mississippi:

H.R. 307. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to include the KIA, MIA, and POW acronyms on headstones and markers furnished by the Department of Veterans Affairs; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. LEVIN of Michigan (for himself, Mr. FITZPATRICK, Mrs. AXNE, Mr. BACON, Mr. BISHOP of Georgia, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER, Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania, Ms. BROWNLEY, Mr. CARSON, Mr. CASE, Mr. CICILLINE, Mr. COHEN, Mr. COURTNEY, Mrs. DEMINGS, Mr. DESAULNIER, Mr. DEUTCH, Mr. MICHAEL F. DOYLE of Pennsylvania, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. FOSTER, Mr. GALLEGO, Mr. GARAMENDI, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. HASTINGS, Mrs. HAYES, Mr. HIGGINS of New York, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Ms. JAYAPAL, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. KEATING, Mr. KHANNA, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. KILMER, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. LIEU, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Mr. LYNCH, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Mr. MCKINLEY, Mr. MOULTON, Mr. MRVAN, Ms. NEWMAN, Mr. NORCROSS, Ms. NORTON, Mr. PALONE, Mr. POCAN, Mr. RYAN, Ms. SÁNCHEZ, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. SIREN, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. SOTO, Ms. SPANBERGER, Ms. STEVENS, Mr. SUOZZI, Mr. SWALWELL, Mr.

TAKANO, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mrs. TRAHAN, Mr. VARGAS, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, and Ms. WILSON of Florida):

H.R. 308. A bill to direct the National Labor Relations Board to implement a system and procedures to conduct representation elections remotely using an electronic voting system, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. LYNCH:

H.R. 309. A bill to require the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to revoke a certificate of public convenience and necessity issued under section 7 of the Natural Gas Act as such certificate applies to the Weymouth Compressor Station, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. LYNCH (for himself and Mr. MAST):

H.R. 310. A bill to posthumously award the Congressional Gold Medal, collectively, to Glen Doherty, Tyrone Woods, J. Christopher Stevens, and Sean Smith, in recognition of their contributions to the Nation; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. POSEY:

H.R. 311. A bill to provide for quality assurance of COVID-19 reimbursements and reporting; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. POSEY:

H.R. 312. A bill to provide a Federal income tax credit for State income taxes paid by individuals temporarily providing certain health or emergency services in the State, and to provide a corresponding reduction in Federal highway funds to the State; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. RICHMOND:

H.R. 313. A bill to provide increased funding for States and communities in need, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

By Mr. RICHMOND:

H.R. 314. A bill to authorize the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to enter into cooperative agreements with States to carry out grant programs to assist in remediation and relocation efforts relating to hazardous air pollution, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committees on Energy and Commerce, and Transportation and Infrastructure, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. SCHNEIDER (for himself and Mr. MCKINLEY):

H.R. 315. A bill to amend the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act to extend the temporary suspension of Medicare sequestration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Budget.

By Mr. SCHNEIDER (for himself and Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts):

H.R. 316. A bill to direct the President to appoint a Medical Supplies Response Coordinator to coordinate the efforts of the Federal Government regarding the supply and distribution of certain supplies and equipment relating to COVID-19; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Financial Services, for a

period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. SCHWEIKERT (for himself and Mr. FORTENBERRY):

H.R. 317. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish a health insurance Federal Invisible Risk Sharing Program; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. SCHWEIKERT (for himself, Mr. RUSH, and Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania):

H.R. 318. A bill to amend title XVIII to provide coverage and payment for certain tests and assistive telehealth consultations during the COVID-19 emergency period, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. SIMPSON (for himself and Mr. FULCHER):

H.R. 319. A bill to authorize an additional district judgeship for the district of Idaho; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SIMPSON (for himself and Mr. FULCHER):

H.R. 320. A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to provide for the appointment of additional Federal circuit judges, to divide the Ninth Judicial Circuit of the United States into two judicial circuits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMPSON of California (for himself, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. KHANNA, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Mr. BERA, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. CARBAJAL, Mr. RUSH, Ms. MENG, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. COSTA, Mr. CÁRDENAS, Mr. COOPER, Mr. GARAMENDI, Mrs. HAYES, Ms. NORTON, Ms. KUSTER, Mr. MCNERNEY, Ms. PINGREE, Mr. RYAN, Ms. SÁNCHEZ, Ms. TITUS, Mr. HUFFMAN, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. FOSTER, Mr. LAMB, Ms. JAYAPAL, Mr. WELCH, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, and Mrs. LURIA):

H.R. 321. A bill to authorize the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency to approve State, local, and Indian tribal government plans to partner with small and mid-size restaurants and nonprofit organizations to provide nutritious meals to individuals in need, to waive certain matching fund requirements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia:

H. Con. Res. 6. Concurrent resolution directing the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives, the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate, and the United States Capitol Police to prohibit President Donald John Trump from entering the United States Capitol at any time after the expiration of his term as President; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania:

H. Res. 44. A resolution directing the Department of Justice to open a criminal investigation into President Donald J. Trump for his involvement in and incitement of the violent attacks at the United States Capitol on January 6, 2021; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GOMEZ (for himself, Mrs. KIM of California, Ms. CHU, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Mr. CONNOLLY, Mr. KHANNA, Ms. MENG, Mr. PETERS, Ms. NORTON, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. LIEU, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Ms. LEE of California, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms.

SÁNCHEZ, Mr. TAKANO, Ms. PORTER, Mr. SAN NICOLAS, Mr. CASE, Mr. KIM of New Jersey, Mrs. LEE of Nevada, Ms. JAYAPAL, Mr. SABLÁN, Mrs. TORRES of California, Mr. BEYER, Mr. MEEKS, Mr. GALLEGO, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Ms. GARCIA of Texas, Mr. COSTA, Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. DOGGETT, Mr. BERA, Mr. CARSON, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Ms. WATERS, Mr. RASKIN, Mrs. STEEL, Ms. BOURDEAUX, Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania, Ms. STRICKLAND, Ms. BASS, Ms. SEWELL, Mr. MFUME, Mr. SOTO, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. LARSEN of Washington, Mr. BROWN, Mr. FITZPATRICK, Mr. VARGAS, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. DEUTCH, and Mr. SUOZZI):

H. Res. 45. A resolution supporting the goals and ideals of Korean American Day; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia (for himself, Mr. AUCHINCLOSS, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Ms. CHU, Mr. CICILLINE, Mr. COOPER, Mr. ESPAILLAT, Mr. HORSFORD, Mr. HUFFMAN, Ms. JAYAPAL, Mr. MCNERNEY, Mr. JONES, Ms. NORTON, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. SPEIER, Mr. SWALWELL, Mr. TORRES of New York, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Ms. ESCOBAR, Ms. BUSH, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, and Mr. HASTINGS):

H. Res. 46. A resolution removing Representative Mo Brooks from the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Ethics.

By Mr. LYNCH (for himself and Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois):

H. Res. 47. A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that Congress should take all appropriate measures to ensure that the United States Postal Service remains an independent establishment of the Federal Government and is not subject to privatization; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY STATEMENT

Pursuant to clause 7 of rule XII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the following statements are submitted regarding the specific powers granted to Congress in the Constitution to enact the accompanying bill or joint resolution.

By Ms. SALAZAR:

H.R. 287.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8

By Mr. BANKS:

H.R. 288.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The constitutional authority of Congress to enact this legislation is provided by Article I, section 8 of the United States Constitution, specifically clause 18 (relating to the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying out the powers vested in Congress).

By Mr. BANKS:

H.R. 289.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The constitutional authority of Congress to enact this legislation is provided by Article I, section 8 of the United States Constitution, specifically clause 18 (relating to the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying out the powers vested in Congress).

By Mr. BOST:

H.R. 290.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution, which states “[t]he Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States”.

By Mr. BOST:

H.R. 291.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution, which states “[t]he Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States”.

By Mr. BOST:

H.R. 292.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution, which states “[t]he Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States”.

By Mr. BOST:

H.R. 293.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution, which states “[t]he Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States”.

By Mr. BUDD:

H.R. 294.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. BUDD:

H.R. 295.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution.

By Mr. BUDD:

H.R. 296.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. CASE:

H.R. 297.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8

By Mr. CASE:

H.R. 298.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Section 8, Article I of the Constitution

By Mr. CASE:

H.R. 299.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Section 8, Article I of the Constitution

By Mr. CASE:

H.R. 300.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Section 8, Article I of the Constitution

By Mr. CLYBURN:

H.R. 301.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8

By Mr. CONNOLLY:

H.R. 302.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. BILIRAKIS:

H.R. 303.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

This bill is enacted pursuant to Article I, Section 8, Clause 1 of the Constitution of the United States and Article I, Section 8, Clause 7 of the Constitution of the United States.

Article I, section 8 of the United States Constitution, which grants Congress the power to raise and support an Army; to provide and maintain a Navy; to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces; and provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia.

By Mr. CONNOLLY:

H.R. 304.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. CRIST:

H.R. 305.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The constitutional authority of Congress to enact this legislation is provided by Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. EMMER:

H.R. 306.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. KELLY of Mississippi:

H.R. 307.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The Congress enacts this bill pursuant to Article I, Section 8, clause 14 providing Congress with the power to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

By Mr. LEVIN of Michigan:

H.R. 308.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 1 of the Constitution.

By Mr. LYNCH:

H.R. 309.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 18.

By Mr. LYNCH:

H.R. 310.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I Section 8, Clause 18

By Mr. POSEY:

H.R. 311.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8. To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

By Mr. POSEY:

H.R. 312.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, clause 18 allows Congress to make all laws “which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution” any of Congress’s enumerated powers, including Congress’s powers over appropriations.

Sixteenth Amendment, provides Congress the power to “lay and collect taxes on incomes.”

By Mr. RICHMOND:
 H.R. 313.
 Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
 This bill is introduced pursuant to the powers granted to Congress under the General Welfare Clause (Art. 1 Sec. 8 Cl. 1), the Commerce Clause (Art. 1 Sec. 8 Cl. 3), and the Necessary and Proper Clause (Art. 1 Sec. 8 Cl. 18).

Further, this statement of constitutional authority is made for the sole purpose of compliance with clause 7 of Rule XII of the Rules of the House of Representatives and shall have no bearing on judicial review of the accompanying bill.

By Mr. RICHMOND:
 H.R. 314.
 Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
 This bill is introduced pursuant to the powers granted to Congress under the General Welfare Clause (Art. 1 Sec. 8 Cl. 1), the Commerce Clause (Art. 1 Sec. 8 Cl. 3), and the Necessary and Proper Clause (Art. 1 Sec. 8 Cl. 18).

Further, this statement of constitutional authority is made for the sole purpose of compliance with clause 7 of Rule XII of the Rules of the House of Representatives and shall have no bearing on judicial review of the accompanying bill.

By Mr. SCHNEIDER:
 H.R. 315.
 Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
 Article 1, Section 8

By Mr. SCHNEIDER:
 H.R. 316.
 Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
 Article I, Section 8

By Mr. SCHWEIKERT:
 H.R. 317.
 Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following: Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18 of the U.S. Constitution: The Congress shall have Power to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

By Mr. SCHWEIKERT:
 H.R. 318.
 Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
 Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following: Article 1,

Section 8, Clause 18 of the U.S. Constitution: The Congress shall have Power to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

By Mr. SIMPSON:
 H.R. 319.
 Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The constitutional authority of Congress to enact this legislation is provided by Article I, section 8 of the United States Constitution, specifically clause 9, which states "The Congress shall have Power . . . To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court."

In addition, Article III, Section 1 states that "The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish."

By Mr. SIMPSON:
 H.R. 320.
 Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The constitutional authority of Congress to enact this legislation is provided by Article I, section 8 of the United States Constitution, specifically clause 9, which states "The Congress shall have Power . . . To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court."

In addition, Article III, Section 1 states that "The judicial Powers of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish."

By Mr. THOMPSON of California:
 H.R. 321.
 Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
 Article 1

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions, as follows:

- H.R. 24: Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania, Mr. SCHWEIKERT, and Mr. EMMER.
- H.R. 28: Mr. CARL, Mr. HICE of Georgia, Mr. SESSIONS, and Mr. STEUBE.
- H.R. 73: Mr. HASTINGS.
- H.R. 74: Mr. HASTINGS.
- H.R. 82: Mr. STAUBER.
- H.R. 85: Mr. POSEY.
- H.R. 86: Mr. POSEY.

H.R. 87: Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. BACON, Mr. RUTHERFORD, and Mr. BANKS.

H.R. 88: Mr. POSEY.
 H.R. 89: Mr. POSEY.
 H.R. 90: Mr. POSEY.
 H.R. 93: Mr. POSEY.
 H.R. 94: Mr. POSEY.

H.R. 95: Mr. PERRY, Ms. CHENEY, Mr. BACON, and Mrs. RODGERS of Washington.

H.R. 151: Mr. MCNERNEY, Ms. BROWNLEY, Mr. TONKO, Mr. VARGAS, Mr. LEVIN of California, Mrs. DEMINGS, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. MCGOVERN, and Mrs. HAYES.

H.R. 175: Ms. NORTON.

H.R. 243: Mr. HICE of Georgia.

H.R. 255: Mr. THOMPSON of California, Ms. PINGREE, and Ms. OMAR.

H.R. 256: Mr. THOMPSON of California, Ms. PINGREE, Ms. BASS, Ms. OMAR, and Mr. ROY.

H.R. 263: Mr. CASTEN, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Ms. PINGREE, Ms. BONAMICI, Ms. CASTOR of Florida, Ms. BROWNLEY, Mr. WELCH, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mr. RUPPERSBERGER, and Mr. LOWENTHAL.

H.R. 265: Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois.

H.R. 275: Mr. STIVERS, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and Mr. BUDD.

H.J. Res. 11: Mr. BACON, Mr. TIFFANY, Mr. CALVERT, Mrs. FISCHBACH, Mr. STEWART, Mr. POSEY, Mr. RUTHERFORD, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. BAIRD, Mr. CLINE, Mrs. HINSON, and Mr. TIMMONS.

H. Res. 25: Ms. NORTON, Mr. HIGGINS of New York, Ms. MENG, Mr. SWALWELL, Mr. GRIMALVA, Mr. BLUMENAUER, and Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York.

H. Res. 39: Mr. LUETKEMEYER, Mrs. HINSON, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. JOYCE of Pennsylvania, Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina, Mr. CARTER of Georgia, Mr. BURGESS, Mr. ARRINGTON, Mr. MURPHY of North Carolina, Mr. SCALISE, Mr. SUOZZI, Mrs. BOEBERT, Ms. WILD, Mr. RICE of South Carolina, Mr. BALDERSON, Mr. GIBBS, Mr. CHABOT, Mr. MCKINLEY, Mr. ROSE, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. JORDAN, Mrs. BUSTOS, Ms. SCHRIER, Mr. AMODEI, Mrs. HARTZLER, Mr. SWALWELL, Mr. ZELDIN, Mr. FULCHER, Mr. JOYCE of Ohio, Mr. LAWSON of Florida, Mr. KUSTOFF, Mr. FERGUSON, Mrs. WAGNER, Mr. HORSFORD, Mr. BUCK, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. KELLY of Mississippi, Mr. SCHWEIKERT, Mr. FEENSTRA, Mr. WOMACK, Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana, Mrs. DEMINGS, Mrs. CAMMACK, Mr. MANN, Ms. ROSS, Mr. MORELLE, Mr. MOOLENAAR, and Mr. SMUCKER.

H. Res. 42: Mr. HORSFORD, Ms. NORTON, and Ms. PRESSLEY.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

TRIBUTE TO DANIEL SCHWARZ

HON. JERROLD NADLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 2021

Mr. NADLER. Madam Speaker. I rise to thank Daniel Schwarz for nearly six years of service in my personal office and on the Judiciary Committee. Throughout his time on my staff, he has provided key advice across a range of issues, and he has crafted effective strategies for communicating my office's vision and accomplishments to my constituents and to the American people.

Growing up in the Washington, D.C. area, it is perhaps no surprise that Danny has a keen understanding and appreciation of government and politics. After graduating from Indiana University, he earned a master's degree in politics and communication in the media from the London School of Economics and Political Science. He then worked in a variety of communications roles in both domestic and international politics.

Danny began working in my personal office as Communications Director in April 2015. He added the role of Director of Strategic Communications for the Judiciary Committee in January 2018, skillfully handling two high-profile and high-pressure positions at once. He also ensured that the need to keep my constituents informed never got lost among a sea of national press requests.

In addition to his responsibilities as Communications Director, he has been a key advisor on issues relating to the Jewish community and Israel in my personal office. When President Obama negotiated a controversial and highly technical agreement preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, Danny's strategic thinking and advice was essential to evaluating the agreement and navigating the complicated political challenges that the deal presented.

Once I decided to support the deal, Danny helped craft a lengthy statement describing my decision and why I believed it was in the public interest, which he helped present to the public in a way that was nothing short of masterful. This statement was vital to building confidence with my constituents and with the broader public that I had arrived at this difficult decision with great thought and care. Danny's knowledge and keen analysis on issues relating to Israel has also made him an invaluable asset to staff from other offices who rely on his expertise in advising their Members.

Danny's work has always been integral to the office, but we needed his effort more than ever when President Trump came to office and it became necessary to hold him and his Administration accountable. As I became involved in more and more high-profile events—from rushing to the airport on the day the Muslim Ban was enacted, to introducing a Resolution of Inquiry about the President's connection to Russia, to calling out the racism and anti-Semitism coming out of Charlottes-

ville with a powerful censure resolution. Danny was there every step of the way to ensure that my work was visible and understandable to the public.

He also helped guide the communications strategy during the impeachment proceeding of 2019. At a time when the eyes of the world were on the Judiciary Committee, Danny had the difficult task of helping to shape our message and working with all of the Committee Members as well as House Leadership and the broader Democratic Caucus to ensure that we spoke with one voice to make the case to the American public.

At the same time, Danny helped me navigate a local and national press corps hungry for information about our work. He developed strong relationships with journalists, skillfully balanced the needs of different news outlets, and he worked hard to keep me on message with clear and concise talking points.

Long before I became Chairman, Danny worked tirelessly to ensure that coverage of my work would put me and the positions I advocated in the best light. Danny's hard work behind the scenes also helped me rise to Ranking Member and, later, to become Chairman, and I am grateful for everything he did to get me where I am today.

Danny's skill as a writer and as a strategic thinker, combined with his good judgment, have been invaluable. His thoughtful advice, his deep understanding of how our words and deeds will be interpreted by the public, and his skill in shaping a clear, direct message to effectively communicate my work will be greatly missed.

Danny enjoys the respect, admiration, and friendship of many staffers on the Hill who will miss his keen insights, his sense of humor, and his unique perspective on many of the most pressing issues of the day.

He is moving on to new challenges in the private sector, but we wish him all the best in his future endeavors.

I thank him for his service to my office, to the Congress, and to the country.

HONORING COL. MARIA A. JUAREZ
ON HER PROMOTION TO BRIGADIER
GENERAL

HON. JENNIFFER GONZÁLEZ-COLÓN

OF PUERTO RICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 2021

Miss GONZÁLEZ-COLÓN. Madam Speaker, I rise today in recognition of U.S. Army Reserve Colonel Maria A. Juarez on the occasion of her promotion to Brigadier General.

Colonel Juarez entered the U.S. Army through the R.O.T.C. program at the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras campus in 1992, with honors as distinguished military graduate. Specializing in logistics she has served in the Quartermaster corps as a Regular Army and Army Reserve Officer for over 28 years, serving in multiple staff positions at

all levels including Office of the Chief of Army Reserves, divisional and major Subordinate Command levels; with deployments and postings in the Continental States, Germany, the Balkans, Korea, and the Middle East.

Since 2017, she has been the commander of the 166th Regional Support Group in Puerto Rico, part of the Army Reserve Caribbean Geographical Command under 1st Mission Support Command. She took command of the RSG in July 2017 and within two months was faced with the largest domestic relief operation of the Army Reserve in Puerto Rico's history. During the Hurricane Maria Relief Effort the 166th carried out over 700 logistical support missions to remote locations throughout Puerto Rico.

From January to September 2019, she deployed with the 166th Group to Afghanistan, where she served as the Commander for the Regional Support Group in Kabul, Afghanistan, after which she was selected to serve with the U.S. Central Command as the Deputy Plans Chief for Iran Branch. So, she has been tested both at home and abroad, facing threats both foreign and domestic with distinction.

During her career, our newest Brigadier General has achieved two Masters degrees, in Strategic Studies and in Information Systems from the Army War College and Central Michigan University, and earned military awards and decorations including the Bronze Star, Defense Meritorious Service Medal, six Meritorious Service Medals and Army Commendation Medal, among many others.

Maria Juarez represents thousands of our Army Reserve soldiers in Puerto Rico, serving in our home front as part the largest U.S. Army command in the Caribbean, in the best tradition of service of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. military for more than a century. She also represents the high achievement of our women in uniform, breaking barriers and proving they are a priceless resource for the preparedness of our Armed Forces.

As she enters the next stage in her military career as a Brigadier General, I congratulate Maria A. Juarez and I know she will continue to reach great achievements. As the Representative from Puerto Rico and Co-Chair of the Congressional Women's Caucus, I am especially proud to be able to offer this recognition and to hold forth her example for young women at home and across the nation of what is possible with commitment, effort and dedication.

HONORING MEREDITH ANDING, JR.

HON. BENNIE G. THOMPSON

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 2021

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Mr. Meredith Anding, Jr., a native of Myles, Mississippi. Mr. Anding and eight other undergraduate students at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, MS

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

were on a mission to desegregate the library system in Jackson, Mississippi. As part of their effort they courageously staged a sit-in on March 27, 1961 at the Jackson Public Library in Jackson, MS. This sit-in was initiated after the students recognized the lack of books at the George Washington Branch Library (colored). Prior to their "read-in" the students had been trained by the president of the Jackson Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The nine students were all members of the Jackson Council of the NAACP. As a result of their historic impact in integrating the public library system in Mississippi, they will be forever known as "The Tougaloo Nine".

The nine students were arrested and after being released from jail Mr. Anding joined the Air Force, due to losing his private loan to continue his studies at Tougaloo College. Mr. Anding would serve four years in the Air Force and later return to Tougaloo in 1969 to finish his degree. Mr. Anding moved to Buffalo, New York, to attend the University of Buffalo and earned his master's degree in Mathematics. He met his wife of 50 years, Mrs. Maurice Anding. He taught at the State University of New York and Niagara University until his retirement in 2007.

Mr. Anding and his wife eventually moved back to Mississippi to be close to family. Anding was involved in the Tougaloo community and he also attended the 50th anniversary of the protest in 2017.

Madam Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in recognizing the late Mr. Meredith Anding Jr.

FEDERAL RISK AND AUTHORIZATION MANAGEMENT PROGRAM AUTHORIZATION ACT OF 2021

SPEECH OF

HON. JODY B. HICE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 5, 2021

Mr. HICE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 21, the FedRAMP Authorization Act.

As Ranking Member of the Government Operations Subcommittee, it's my focus to ensure the American taxpayer enjoys the benefit of efficient, effective, user-friendly I.T. systems.

We all know the appropriate use of cloud computing technologies can help achieve all of those goals, and I thank Subcommittee Chairman CONNOLLY for his work on this legislation.

As we work to understand and respond to the recently discovered SUNBURST cyberattack, the underlying purpose of the FedRAMP program—the security of cloud operations—has never been more important.

But as we also continue to respond to the ongoing pandemic, the demand for constituents and federal employees to interact remotely has never been greater. Thus, the flexibility that comes with cloud technologies has also never been more important.

I am pleased the FedRAMP authorization includes provisions that will reduce the time required for companies to be certified as FedRAMP compliant at a given agency after they have already been certified elsewhere in the federal government. This provision will go

a long way towards giving agencies the cloud-based tools they need in these trying times.

Codifying FedRAMP is an important step in realizing the savings offered by cloud adoption and the savings offered by a more efficient security authorization process.

I urge my colleagues to support the bill and look forward to continuing to work to improve government services for the American people.

IN MEMORY OF HAZEL F. WILSON

HON. MARC A. VEASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 2021

Mr. VEASEY. Madam Speaker, Hazel F. Wilson taught school in Houston Independent School District from 1954 until 1968 and in Fort Worth from 1969 until 1990. She earned two degrees from Texas Southern and remained an active alumna of both TSU and Jack Yates High School. She was a board member of the South East Areas Churches (S.E.A.R.C.H) and volunteered for Sickle Cell Anemia Association, Cook Children's Medical Center and the Susan G. Kamen Cancer Center. Most of her time was divided between St. Mark Cumberland Presbyterian Church, NAACP, Greater Fort Worth Area Negro Business and Professional Women's Club and Zeta Phi Sorority, Psi Zeta Chapter.

She was an ordained Elder of her church since 1984, a Southern Region Director for Zeta Phi Beta from 1965 to 1972, President of the Greater Fort Worth Area Negro Business and Professional Women's Club and has won countless honors and awards which include 1000 Volunteer Hours Pin from Cook Children's Medical Center. She was recognized as Outstanding Women of Zeta in 1980 and African American Legislative Summit Public Service Award in 2017.

Hazel F. Wilson was founder of the Zeta Amicae Auxiliary of Fort Worth, Texas (Friends of Zeta Phi Beta Sorority) and Sponsor of the Amicae Auxiliary since its inception in 1975. She was also the Co-Founder of the Greater Fort Worth Area Negro BPW Club which started in August 1975. She worked within her community through several organizations, held many offices and received numerous awards and recognitions for her volunteerism, community involvement and activism.

Her favorite quote was "Do all the good you can, by all the means you can, in all the ways you can, in all the places you can, at all the times you can, to all the people you can, as long as ever you can."—John Wesley

HONORING THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE KIWANIS CLUB OF FAYETTEVILLE

HON. RICHARD HUDSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 2021

Mr. HUDSON. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor the 100th anniversary of the Kiwanis Club of Fayetteville, located in North Carolina's Eighth Congressional District. Since a small group of businessmen met with Kiwanis

International on November 10, 1920, the Kiwanis Club of Fayetteville has made countless contributions to our community.

Over the years, the Kiwanis Club of Fayetteville has embodied its motto of "Serving the Children of the World." As a fierce advocate for our children and youth, the organization has supported clinics for disabled infants, driving instruction for teenagers, and the construction of an athletic facility at Fayetteville High School, now Terry Sanford High School.

I know I speak for our entire community in offering my most heartfelt gratitude to the Kiwanis Club of Fayetteville for their century of service. These exemplary men and women are the heart and soul of our community and I wish them continued success as they serve our community.

Madam Speaker, please join me today in honoring the 100th anniversary of the Kiwanis Club of Fayetteville.

HONORING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM DAY

HON. JARED HUFFMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 2021

Mr. HUFFMAN. Madam Speaker, since 1993, every year on January 16th, our nation commemorates the 1786 passage of the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, authored by Thomas Jefferson. That landmark statute would go on to serve as the framework of the establishment clause of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, providing the foundation for religious freedom here in our great nation.

The past four years have made clear that there are those who would choose to distort the true definition of religious freedom, in order to allow the proliferation of discrimination under the guise of what they refer to as "religious liberty". The result of this callous and malignant effort culminated a week and a half ago with the storming of the United States Capitol building by White Christian Nationalist groups allied with the President, and the deaths of five Americans. The evidence of this fact is made clear by the thousands of "Jesus" signs, banners, and flags that flew beside those bearing the President's name, and those representing the White Supremacist movement.

From the erosion of the Johnson Amendment, to the numerous executive orders issued which have served to undermine the rights of women and workers, the damage done to true religious freedom by a malicious administration, is drastic and undeniable. However, I stand before you today to pledge that with the aid of this body, my colleagues and I in the Congressional Freethought Caucus will do everything within our Constitutional powers to correct this distortion of America's "first freedom".

It is a new day for our nation. The discriminating policies of the last four years are no more. I look forward to working with President-elect Biden, Vice President-elect HARRIS to correct the harmful policies enacted by the Trump administration. On this Religious Freedom Day, I call upon my colleagues in the House and Senate to pass the Do No Harm

Act, end discrimination under the guise of “religious liberty” once and for all, and reestablish our “first freedom” to its Constitutional founding.

SHELDON ADELSON APPRECIATED

HON. JOE WILSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 2021

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Madam Speaker, my wife Roxanne and I will always be appreciative of Sheldon and Miriam Adelson who hosted us on a visit to Israel with a boat ride on a first century replica fishing boat on the Sea of Galilee. I am grateful to serve as a co-chair of the Israel Caucus, Sheldon Adelson was a valued Friend of Israel.

He is honored by Jonathan Garber of Fox Business with an obituary upon his death and our family extends our deepest sympathy to the Adelson Family.

Sheldon Adelson, [Las Vegas Sands CEO] . . . has died following a battle with cancer. He was 87.

Adelson was diagnosed with non-Hodgkin's lymphoma in 2019 and recently stepped away from the company to resume his treatment, the company said on Jan 7.

‘Mr. Adelson was the first employee of Las Vegas Sands—“Team Member Number One” he liked to say. Today, more than 50,000 Sands team members have Dr. Adelson and the entire Adelson family in their thoughts and prayers and are grateful to have had their lives touched by a true force of nature,’ according to a statement from Las Vegas Sands.

Adelson, who is survived by his wife Dr. Miriam Adelson and five children, had a net worth of \$35.6 billion as of Jan. 11, according to Forbes.

A funeral will be held in Israel, the birthplace of Miriam Adelson, with plans for a memorial service held in Las Vegas to be announced at a later date, according to the company.

He entered the casino business in 1989 when he purchased the Sands Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas for \$128 million and is credited with helping transform Las Vegas into the top U.S. destination for conventions and exhibitions.

Adelson in 2007 opened Venetian Macao on the Cotai Strip, helping recreate the Las Vegas Strip in an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China. Three years later, he opened the \$6 billion Marina Bay Sands resort in Singapore.

In conclusion, God Bless our Troops and we will never forget September 11th in the Global War on Terrorism.

INTRODUCTION OF JONES ACT
MODERNIZATION BILLS

HON. ED CASE

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 2021

Mr. CASE. Madam Speaker, today I introduce three bills to end a century of monopolistic closed market domestic cargo shipping to and from my isolated home state of Hawaii as well as the other island and separated jurisdictions of our country not part of the continental United States. In doing so, we will break the

stranglehold on the peoples and economies of these exposed communities and their resulting sky-high costs of living which results from just a few domestic shipping companies controlling the lifeline of commerce upon which we absolutely depend.

These bills all amend the Merchant Marine Act of 1920, also known as the Jones Act. That federal law mandates that all cargo shipping between U.S. ports occur exclusively on U.S., not foreign, flagged vessels. Additionally, the law requires that these vessels be built in the U.S. and owned and crewed by U.S. citizens.

The Jones Act was enacted in a protectionist era under the guise of preserving a strong national merchant marine. But today it is just an anachronism: most of the world's shipping is by way of an international merchant marine functioning in an open, competitive market. And those few U.S. flag cargo lines that remain have maneuvered the Jones Act to develop virtual monopolies over domestic cargo shipping to, from and within our most isolated and exposed locales—our island and offshore states and territories—that have no alternative modes of transportation such as trucking or rail.

My Hawaii is a classic example. Located almost 2,500 miles off the West Coast, we import well over 90 percent of our life necessities by ocean cargo. There are plenty of international cargo lines who could and would compete for a share of that market. Yet only two U.S. flag domestic cargo lines—Matson Navigation and Pasha Hawaii—operate a virtual duopoly over our lifeline.

While they are nominally subject to federal regulation, the fact of the matter is that cargo prices have gone in only one direction—up, fast and repeatedly, despite a surplus of international shipping—and it is indisputable that there is no downward market pressure which would otherwise result from meaningful competition. These accelerating cargo prices are not absorbed by the shipping lines, but passed through all the way down the chain, to the transporters, wholesalers, retailers, small businesses, mom-n-pops and ultimately consumers, of all of the elementals of life, from food to medical supplies, clothes, housing and virtually all other goods. The result is a crippling drag on an already-challenged economy and the very quality of life in Hawaii.

The broadest, deepest effects of the Jones Act on Hawaii result from its impact on west-bound imports from the continental United States to Hawaii. But Hawaii is an export location as well, in key products such as agriculture and livestock. Here the Jones Act also effectively stifles meaningful competition in getting those products to their primary markets on the U.S. Mainland. Because the producers of these products and all that rely for their own livelihood on their successful export have to eat inflated shipping costs, these export industries, which any economist knows are the ultimate key to any economy's prosperity, are also crippled.

Let's take a concrete example: Hawaii's once-prosperous ranching/cattle industry, which is so key to the economic health and the very lifestyle of so much of areas like the rural Big Island, where I was born and raised. That industry depends on getting its product, young cattle, to West Coast pens and transportation hubs in a cost-efficient manner.

There are foreign cargo carriers that specialize, through custom cattle ships and overall

sensitivity and adjustment to rancher time-tables and needs, in such transport, but the Jones Act outright excludes them from the Hawaii-Mainland market. As a result, Hawaii's ranchers are reduced to two crippling, cost magnifying options.

The first is to ship their cargo by foreign carriers to Canada, where they have to go through a myriad of bureaucratic, cost-magnifying gyrations to get their product eventually to their U.S. markets. The second is to beg for the goodwill of the domestic carriers, to whom this is simply a hindrance rather than a major commitment, to ship directly to the West Coast.

And it shows: most of the cattle are first shipped from Hawaii's Neighbor Islands, where the bulk of the cattle industry is located, to O'ahu, in small “cow-tainers,” where they sit for days in Honolulu Harbor awaiting the return to the Mainland of one of the massive cargo ships designed and utilized for quite another purpose. The result (besides associated higher costs) is in-harbor cattle waste disposal challenges, higher in-transit cattle mortality and lower-weight cattle delivery to market. That's what happens when you try to squeeze a square peg into a round hole.

More broadly, there is much evidence about the direct impact of the Jones Act on shipping prices to noncontiguous areas. At a basic level, the everyday goods that we rely on in Hawaii cost much more than on the Mainland, a difference which largely cannot be attributed to anything other than shipping costs.

Last year, the Grassroot Institute of Hawaii published a thorough and first-of-its-kind report, “Quantifying the Cost of the Jones Act to Hawaii.” The report found that:

The median annual cost of the Jones Act to the Hawaii economy is \$1.2 billion.

The annual cost of shipping to Hawaii is estimated to be \$654 million higher and prices \$916 million higher.

The Jones Act annually costs each Hawaii resident more than \$645.

Thanks to the Jones Act, Hawaii has approximately 9,100 fewer jobs, representing \$404 million in wages.

Hawaii families across all income groups would benefit from Jones Act reform. In the absence of Jones Act restrictions, those making between \$15,000 and \$70,000 annually would see an annual across-the-board economic benefit ranging from \$78 million to \$154 million.

Annual tax revenues would be \$148.2 million higher.

Focusing solely on the Jones Act requirement that vessels be built in the United States, they found that the build provision results in a 1.2 percent shipping cost increase for Hawaii. This translates annually to an added cost of \$531.7 million to the state's economy, or about \$296 per resident. It also means a loss of 3,860 jobs, and \$30.8 million less in state and local tax revenues.

In 2012, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York studied Puerto Rico's economy and found that “the high cost of shipping is a substantial burden on the Island's productivity.” The New York Fed found that, “[i]t costs an estimated \$3,063 to ship a twenty-foot container of household and commercial goods from the East Coast of the United States to Puerto Rico; the same shipment costs \$1,504 to nearby Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic) and \$1,687 to Kingston (Jamaica)—destinations that are not subject to Jones Act restrictions.” There is only one reason why costs

are double to ship from the continental United States to a domestic port in Puerto Rico as compared to foreign ports in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica: there is international competition on the latter routes, none on the domestic route and the shipping companies take full advantage of that lack of competition.

The three bills I introduce today say: enough is enough. If the continental U.S., wants to continue the Jones Act as to shipping between their locations, that's their business. But don't penalize us island and other non-contiguous locations by throwing us to the monopoly wolves you've created.

The first bill, the Noncontiguous Shipping Relief Act, exempts all noncontiguous U.S. locations, including Hawaii, from the Jones Act. The second, the Noncontiguous Shipping Reasonable Rate Act, benchmarks the definition of a "reasonable rate" that Jones Act shipping can charge to within ten percent of analogous international shipping rates. And the third, the Noncontiguous Shipping Competition Act, prevents monopolies or duopolies in noncontiguous Jones Act shipping. Essentially, the bills are intended to lay out options for providing relief for our U.S. noncontiguous areas. We can resolve the issue in many ways, but we must change the status quo which has had such a deep, broad and negative impact on my state and the other jurisdictions beholden to the Jones Act.

The Noncontiguous Shipping Relief Act would allow the noncontiguous jurisdictions to be serviced by non-Jones Act vessels and increase, or in some cases create any, competition in these critical shipping lanes. Again, this is a small portion of the total national Jones Act shipping where it is particularly destructive in application.

Let me address directly the argument offered up by the domestic shippers in defense of the Jones Act: that it contains important labor and environmental protections that would be lost upon repeal. My bill would retain these important protections. Specifically, it provides that all foreign shippers operating under the bill's Jones Act exemptions must comply with the same labor, environmental, tax, documentation, U.S. locus and other laws as are applicable to non-U.S. flag ships and shippers transiting U.S. waters today.

The Noncontiguous Shipping Reasonable Rate Act would define a "reasonable rate" for the noncontiguous domestic ocean trade as no more than ten percent above the rate set by a comparable international rate recognized by the Federal Maritime Commission. Currently, the Surface Transportation Board technically has the authority to adjudicate and set precedent on what a "reasonable rate" is for Jones Act shipping, but it has almost never been used and never to a clear conclusion on what is a reasonable rate. My bill would define

reasonable to remove uncertainty. Current Jones Act shipping rates vary widely and there is no central compilation of these rates. The ten percent benchmark would allow for variance but also ensure that Americans in our noncontiguous areas are not forced to pay exorbitant rates way above shipping rates which would otherwise be provided through international competition were the Jones Act not applicable.

The Noncontiguous Shipping Competition Act would exempt shipping routes to non-contiguous jurisdictions from the Jones Act requirements if a monopoly or duopoly exists on those routes. The Jones Act has resulted in the blossoming of monopolies and duopolies in our noncontiguous jurisdictions. To ensure that these communities, which are the most reliant in the country on shipping to receive necessities, are not held hostage to these dominant companies, my bill would give Jones Act exemptions to routes that are not serviced by at least three companies with separate ownership. In short, if a domestic route is in fact in a competitive environment, the Jones Act is less of a problem, but if there is no competition, then the route should be opened up to international competition by rescinding the Jones Act.

Madam Speaker, these long-overdue bills are of the utmost importance to the localities which have long borne the unfair brunt of the Jones Act. It is often difficult to pierce the veil of longstanding custom and understanding to see the real negative impacts of a law and what should instead be. It is even more difficult to change a law which provides a federally-created and endorsed monopoly under which no competition exists to hold down prices. Yet clearly the time for these measures is overdue. I urge their passage.

HONORING THE UNITED STATES
CAPITOL POLICE

HON. J. FRENCH HILL

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 13, 2021

Mr. HILL. Madam Speaker, as we recover from the January 6th attack on the U.S. Capitol, I am humbled and honored to recognize, along with my friend and colleague, Congressman PERLMUTTER, our deep admiration and gratitude for the heroic actions of the men and women of the United States Capitol Police and to remember the two officers lost, Office Sicknick and Officer Liebengood.

H. Res. 39 will ensure that the legacies of Officer Sicknick and Officer Liebengood will never be forgotten.

I extend my sincere condolences to the families of Officer Sicknick and Officer Liebengood

and am proud to recognize the selfless dedication and service that the men and women of the United States Capitol Police alongside all other involved federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies displayed on that day as they do every day.

H. Res. 39—Honoring the bravery and self-sacrifice by officers of the United States Capitol Police and other Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies during the January 6, 2021 attack on the United States Capitol.

Whereas on Wednesday, January 6, 2021, during a joint session of Congress, an attack occurred on the United States Capitol, gravely threatening the physical wellbeing of the Vice President, members of the House of Representatives and the Senate along with hundreds of civilians located within and on the grounds of the Capitol Complex and the security of the Capitol Complex itself;

Whereas United States Capitol Police officers and other law enforcement officers directly engaged the attackers, who were armed with explosives, metal pipes, chemical irritants, and other weapons;

Whereas Officer Brian D. Sicknick of the United States Capitol Police sustained fatal injuries while engaging with the attackers and defending the United States Capitol;

Whereas Officer Howard Liebengood of the United States Capitol Police died while off-duty after the attacks on the United States Capitol;

Whereas more than 50 United States Capitol Police officers and Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia officers sustained injuries during the attack on the United States Capitol; and

Whereas no members of the House of Representatives or the Senate were injured during the attack due to the swift and courageous actions taken by members of the United States Capitol Police, the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia, and other Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) commends the examples of bravery and service-above-self demonstrated by officers of the United States Capitol Police, the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia, and the multiple Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies and protective entities that joined alongside of them during the January 6, 2021 attack on the United States Capitol; and

(2) honors the example of service and devotion to duty displayed by Officer Brian D. Sicknick and Officer Howard Liebengood of the United States Capitol Police.

Daily Digest

Senate

Chamber Action

The Senate was not in session and stands adjourned until 10 a.m., on Friday, January 15, 2021.

Committee Meetings

No committee meetings were held.

House of Representatives

Chamber Action

Public Bills and Resolutions Introduced: 35 public bills, H.R. 287–321; and 5 resolutions, H. Con. Res. 6; and H. Res. 44–47, were introduced.

Pages H192–94

Additional Cosponsors:

Page H195

Reports Filed: There were no reports filed today.

Speaker: Read a letter from the Speaker wherein she appointed Representative Brown to act as Speaker pro tempore for today.

Page H151

Recess: The House recessed at 9:02 a.m. and reconvened at 9:16 a.m.

Page H151

Impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors: The House agreed to H. Res. 24, impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors, by a yea-and-nay vote of 232 yeas to 197 nays, Roll No. 17.

Pages H165–92

H. Res. 41, the rule providing for consideration of the resolution (H. Res. 24) was agreed to by a yea-and-nay vote of 221 yeas to 203 nays, Roll No. 16, after the previous question was ordered by a yea-and-nay vote of 221 yeas to 205 nays, Roll No. 15. Pursuant to section 3(a) of H. Res. 41, upon adoption of H. Res. 24, H. Res. 40 was considered adopted.

Pages H151–65

Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence—Appointment: The Chair announced the Speaker's

appointment of the following Members of the House to the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence: Representative Schiff, Chair; and Representative Nunes. **Page H192**

Quorum Calls—Votes: Three yea-and-nay votes developed during the proceedings of today and appear on pages H164, H164–65, and H191–92.

Adjournment: The House met at 9 a.m. and adjourned at 4:38 p.m.

Committee Meetings

No hearings were held.

Joint Meetings

No joint committee meetings were held.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS FOR FRIDAY, JANUARY 15, 2021

(Committee meetings are open unless otherwise indicated)

Senate

Select Committee on Intelligence: to hold hearings to examine the expected nomination of Avril Haines, to be Director of National Intelligence, 12 noon, WEBEX.

House

No hearings are scheduled.

Next Meeting of the SENATE

10 a.m., Friday, January 15

Next Meeting of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

11 a.m., Friday, January 15

Senate Chamber

Program for Friday: Senate will meet in a pro forma session.

House Chamber

Program for Friday: House will meet in Pro Forma session at 11 a.m.

Extensions of Remarks, as inserted in this issue

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