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No. 4

House of Representatives

The House met at noon and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. SWALWELL).

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

WASHINGTON, DC,
 January 6, 2021.

I hereby appoint the Honorable ERIC SWALWELL 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:

O God, our refuge and our strength, a very present help in times of discord and trouble. Mountains crumble, waters rage, nations roar, and yet we need not be afraid, for even now You abide with us in these times of great discord, uncertainty, and unrest.

We, who have pledged to defend our Constitution against all enemies, we pray Your hedge of protection around this Nation. Defend us from those adversaries, both foreign and domestic, outside these walls and perhaps within these Chambers, who sow seeds of acrimony to divide colleagues and conspire to undermine trust in Your divine authority over all things.

The journey of this experiment in democracy is perilous and demanding, fraught with anger and discontent. But wise rulers still seek You.

So help us, God, to find You in the midst of us.

So help us, God, to see Your gracious plan even in the events of these days.

So help us, God, to serve You and this Nation with Godliness and dignity.

We lay before You the gifts of our hopes, our dreams, our deliberations,

and our debates, that You would be revealed and exalted among the people.

We pray these things in the strength of Your holy name.
 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 Kansas (Mr. MANN) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. MANN 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.

APPOINTMENT OF TELLERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE TO COUNT ELECTORAL VOTES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 1, and the order of the House of January 4, 2021, the Chair announces the Speaker's appointment of two Members as tellers on the part of the House to count the electoral votes:

The gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN); and

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RODNEY DAVIS).

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,
 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
 Washington, DC, January 5, 2021.

Hon. NANCY PELOSI,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
 Washington, DC.

DEAR MADAM SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 2(h) of Rule II of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, I have the honor to transmit a sealed envelope received from the White House on January 5, 2021 at 5:05 p.m., said to contain a message from the President regarding additional steps addressing the threat posed by applications and other software developed or controlled by Chinese companies.

With best wishes, I am,
 Sincerely,

CHERYL L. JOHNSON,
Clerk of the House.

ADDRESSING THE THREAT POSED BY APPLICATIONS AND OTHER SOFTWARE DEVELOPED OR CONTROLLED BY CHINESE COMPANIES—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 117-6)

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*) (IEEPA), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, I hereby report that I have issued an Executive Order declaring additional steps to be taken concerning the national emergency with respect to the information and communications technology and services supply chain declared in Executive Order 13873 of May 15, 2019 (Securing the Information and Communications Technology and Services Supply Chain) to deal with the threat posed by applications and other

☐ 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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software developed or controlled by Chinese companies.

The pace and pervasiveness of the spread in the United States of certain connected mobile and desktop applications and other software developed or controlled by persons in the People's Republic of China (PRC), to include Hong Kong and Macau (China), continue to threaten the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. By accessing personal electronic devices such as smartphones, tablets, and computers, Chinese connected software applications can access and capture vast swaths of information from users, including sensitive personally identifiable information and private information. The continuing activity of the PRC and the Chinese Communist Party to steal or otherwise obtain United States persons' data makes clear that there is an intent to use bulk data collection to advance China's economic and national security agenda. To deal with this threat, additional steps are required against those who develop or control certain Chinese connected software applications to protect our national security.

The Executive Order prohibits certain future transactions, as determined by the Secretary of Commerce (Secretary), involving the following Chinese connected software applications: Alipay, CamScanner, QQ Wallet, SHAREit, Tencent QQ, VMate, WeChat Pay, and WPS Office. The Secretary is also directed to:

(i) continue to evaluate Chinese connected software applications that may pose an unacceptable risk to the national security, foreign policy, or economy of the United States, and to take appropriate action in accordance with Executive Order 13873; and

(ii) in consultation with the Attorney General and the Director of National Intelligence, provide a report to the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs with recommendations to prevent the sale or transfer of United States user data to, or access of such data by, foreign adversaries, including through the establishment of regulations and policies to identify, control, and license the export of such data.

I have delegated to the Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General, the authority to take such actions, including adopting appropriate rules and regulations, and employing all other powers granted to the President by IEEPA, as may be necessary to implement the Executive Order. The heads of all executive departments and agencies are directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to implement the provisions of the Executive Order.

I am enclosing a copy of the Executive Order I have issued.

DONALD J. TRUMP.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 5, 2021.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until approximately 12:55 p.m. today.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 6 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1255

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 12 o'clock and 55 minutes p.m.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. As the House comes to order for this important, historic meeting, let us be reminded that each side, House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans, each have 11 Members allowed to be present on the floor. Others may be in the gallery. This is at the guidance of the Attending Physician and the Sergeant at Arms.

The gentlemen on the Republican side of the aisle will please observe social distancing and the agreement to have 11 Members on each side so that we can honor the responsibility to this Chamber of this House of Representatives.

Please exit the floor if you do not have an assigned role from your leadership. You can share with your staff if you want to have a few more, but you cannot be that close together on the floor of the House with that many people in here.

I thank the Senate, and the Democrats and Republicans, for following the rules.

COUNTING ELECTORAL VOTES— JOINT SESSION OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE HELD PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 1

At 12:59 p.m., the Sergeant at Arms, Paul D. Irving, announced the Vice President and the Senate of the United States.

The Senate entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, headed by the Vice President and the Secretary of the Senate, the Members and officers of the House rising to receive them.

The Vice President took his seat as the Presiding Officer of the joint convention of the two Houses, the Speaker of the House occupying the chair on his left. Senators took seats to the right of the rostrum as prescribed by law.

The joint session was called to order by the Vice President.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES

Mr. GRIFFITH. Mr. Vice President, parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Mr. Vice President, in order to follow the Speaker's instructions that only a limited number

of people be on the floor, may I ask how one would make an objection or make a parliamentary inquiry in the future if you are not on the floor but in the gallery.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under section 18 of title 3, United States Code, debate is not permitted in the joint session.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Further parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. Vice President, I am not attempting to debate. I am trying to find out how a parliamentary inquiry or a parliamentary point of order would be made in following with the Speaker's request that most of us not be on the floor. How do you make one of those points of order when you don't know what is going to happen later?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Respectfully, the gentleman's parliamentary inquiry constitutes debate, which is not permitted in the joint session under section 18 of title 3, United States Code.

Madam Speaker, Members of Congress, pursuant to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, the Senate and House of Representatives are meeting in joint session to verify the certificates and count the votes of the electors of the several States for President and Vice President of the United States.

After ascertainment has been had that the certificates are authentic and correct in form, the tellers will count and make a list of the votes cast by the electors of the several States.

The tellers on the part of the two Houses will take their places at the Clerk's desk.

The tellers, Mr. BLUNT and Ms. KLOBUCHAR on the part of the Senate, and Ms. LOFGREN and Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois on the part of the House, took their places at the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the tellers will dispense with the reading of the formal portions of the certificates.

There was no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. After ascertaining that the certificates are regular in form and authentic, the tellers will announce the votes cast by the electors for each State, beginning with Alabama, which the Parliamentarian has advised me is the only certificate of vote from that State, and purports to be a return from the State, and that has annexed to it a certificate from an authority of that State purporting to appoint or ascertain electors.

Senator BLUNT. Mr. President, the certificate of the electoral vote of the State of Alabama seems to be regular in form and authentic, and it appears therefrom that Donald J. Trump of the State of Florida received 9 votes for President and MICHAEL R. PENCE of the State of Indiana received 9 votes for Vice President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Are there any objections to counting the certificate of vote of the State of Alabama that the teller has verified appears to be regular in form and authentic?

There was no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Hearing none, this certificate from Alaska, the Parliamentarian has advised me, is the only certificate of vote from that State that purports to be a return from the State and that has annexed to it a certificate from an authority of the State purporting to appoint and ascertain electors.

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. President, the certificate of the electoral vote of the State of Alaska seems to be regular in form and authentic, and it appears therefrom that Donald J. Trump of the State of Florida received 3 votes for President and MICHAEL R. PENCE of the State of Indiana received 3 votes for Vice President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Are there any objections to counting the certificate of vote of the State of Alaska that the teller has verified appears to be regular in form and authentic?

There was no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Hearing none, this certificate from Arizona, the Parliamentarian has advised me, is the only certificate of vote that the State purports to be a return from the State and that has annexed to it a certificate from an authority of that State purporting to appoint or ascertain electors.

Senator KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, the certificate of the electoral vote of the State of Arizona seems to be regular in form and authentic, and it appears therefrom that Joseph R. Biden, Jr., of the State of Delaware received 11 votes for President and KAMALA D. HARRIS of the State of California received 11 votes for Vice President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Are there any objections to counting the certificate of vote of the State of Arizona that the teller has verified appears to be regular in form and authentic?

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Vice President, I, PAUL GOSAR from Arizona, rise for myself and 60 of my colleagues to object to the counting of the electoral ballots from Arizona.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is the objection in writing and signed by a Senator?

Mr. GOSAR. Yes, it is.

Senator CRUZ. It is.

The VICE PRESIDENT. An objection presented in writing and signed by both a Representative and a Senator complies with the law, chapter 1 of title 3, United States Code.

The Clerk will report the objection.

The Clerk read the objection as follows:

OBJECTION TO COUNTING THE ELECTORAL
VOTES OF THE STATE OF ARIZONA

We, a Member of the House of Representatives and a United States Senator, object to the counting of the electoral votes of the State of Arizona on the ground that they were not, under all of the known circumstances, regularly given.

PAUL GOSAR,
Representative, State of Arizona.
TED CRUZ,
Senator, State of Texas.

SENATORS

Mike Braun, John Kennedy, Ron Johnson, Steve Daines, James Lankford, Bill Hagerty, Marsha Blackburn.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Mo Brooks AL-5, Andy Biggs AZ-5, Jim Jordan OH-4, Madison Cawthorn NC-11, Scott Perry PA-10, Mike Kelly PA-16, Clay Higgins LA-3, John W. Rose TN-6, Bill Posey FL-8, Jeff Duncan SC-3, Brian Babin TX-36, Louie Gohmert TX-1, Brian J. Mast FL-18, Warren Davidson OH-8, Andy Harris MD-1, Steven Palazzo MS-4, Doug Lamborn CO-5, Kat Cammack FL-3.

Tracey Mann KS-1, Bob Good VA-5, Adrian Smith NE-3, Billy Long MO-7, Jack Bergman MI-1, Michael Cloud TX-27, Rick Crawford AR-1, Roger Williams TX-25, Bob Gibbs OH-7, Russ Fulcher ID-1, Ted Budd NC-13, Barry Moore AL-2, Lee Zeldin NY-1, Jake LaTurner KS-2, David Rouzer NC-7, Jason Smith MO-8, Lauren Boebert CO-3, Chuck Fleischmann TN-3, Tim Burchett TN-2, Chris Jacobs NY-27.

Andrew S. Clyde GA-9, Lance Gooden TX-5, Diana Harshbarger TN-1, Mary E. Miller IL-15, Mark E. Green TN-7, Ron Estes KS-4, Neal Dunn FL-2, Ronny Jackson TX-13, Ralph Norman SC-5, Joe Wilson SC-2, Vicky Hartzler MO-4, Scott DesJarlais TN-4, Marjorie Taylor Greene GA-14, Doug LaMalfa CA-1, Jeff Van Drew NJ-2, Ben Cline VA-6, Michael D. Rogers AL-3, Markwayne Mullin OK-2, Pat Fallon TX-4, Randy K. Weber TX-14.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Are there further objections to the certificate from the State of Arizona?

There was no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The two Houses will withdraw from joint session. Each House will deliberate separately on the pending objection and report its decision back to the joint session.

The Senate will now retire to its Chamber.

The Senate retired to its Chamber.

□ 1315

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair will remind Members of the need to adhere to the decorum requirements of the Chamber as laid out in the Speaker's announced policies of January 4, 2021, in accordance with the guidance of the Attending Physician.

Members are advised to remain in the Chamber only if they are participating in debate and must wear a mask at all times, even when under recognition for debate.

Members must also practice proper social distancing while present in the Chamber.

Please, in the interests of your own health and as an example to the American people, abide by the numbers, now up to 25 on each side of the aisle, to participate in this stage of the debate.

Pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 1 and 3 U.S.C. 17 governing the procedure for counting the electoral votes, when the two Houses withdraw from the joint session to count the electoral vote for separate consideration of objection, a Representative may speak to the objection for 5 minutes, and not more than once. Debate shall not exceed 2 hours, after which

the Chair will put the question, Shall the objection be agreed to?

The Clerk will report the objection made in the joint session.

The Clerk read the objection as follows:

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VOTES OF THE STATE OF ARIZONA

We, a Member of the House of Representatives and a United States Senator, object to the counting of the electoral votes of the State of Arizona on the ground that they were not, under all of the known circumstances, regularly given.

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The SPEAKER. The Chair will endeavor to alternate recognition between Members speaking in support of the objection and Members speaking in opposition to the objection.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE) for 5 minutes.

Mr. SCALISE. Madam Speaker, I rise today to object to a number of States that did not follow the constitutional requirement for selecting electors.

Madam Speaker, this is something that is clear that our Founding Fathers debated about as a fundamental decision of how we choose our President. There was a lot of back and forth, if anyone reads the founding documents of our country, about the different versions they went through to ultimately come up with a process where each State has elections; each State has a process for selecting their electors and sending them to Washington.

Madam Speaker, in a number of those States, that constitutional process was not followed, and that is why we are here to object.

If you look at what the requirement says, nowhere in Article II, Section 1

does it give the secretary of state of a State that ability; nowhere does it give the Governor that ability; nowhere does it give a court that ability. It exclusively gives that ability to the legislatures. In fact, in most States, that is the process that was followed. But for those States, this wasn't followed.

Unfortunately, this is not new. We have seen over and over again more States where the Democratic Party has gone in and selectively gone around this process. That has to end, Madam Speaker. We have to follow the constitutional process.

Now, there might be reasons why some people don't like the process laid out by a legislative body.

Madam Speaker, I served on one of those legislative bodies when I was in the State legislature for 12 years. I served on the House and Governmental Affairs Committee, where we wrote the laws for our State's elections. And I can tell you, when we had to make changes, those were extensively negotiated. We would have people on both sides come.

Republicans and Democrats, Madam Speaker, would get together to work through those changes, any minute change to how a precinct would function, to how a change would be made in the time of an election, signature requirements, all the many things that involve a clerk carrying out the duties in each parish, in our case.

You would see people come and give testimony, Madam Speaker. Both sides could come. Clerks of court were there in the hearing rooms.

It was an open process, by the way, not behind closed doors in a smoke-filled room where somebody might want to bully a secretary of state to get a different version that might benefit them or their party or their candidate. That is not what our Founding Fathers said is the process. Maybe it is how some people wanted to carry it out. But they laid out that process.

So when we would have to make those changes, they were in public view; they were heavily debated; and then, ultimately, those laws were changed in advance of the election so everybody knew what the rules were. People on both sides knew how to play by the rules before the game started, not getting somewhere in the process and saying, well, you don't think it is going to benefit you, so you try to go around the Constitution.

That is not how our system works. It has gotten out of hand. So President Trump has called this out, and President Trump has stood up to it. So many of us have stood up to it.

In fact, over 100 of my colleagues, Madam Speaker, asked the Supreme Court to address this problem just a few weeks ago, and, unfortunately, the Court chose to punt. They didn't answer it one way or the other. They didn't want to get in the middle of this discussion.

We don't have that luxury today. We have to discuss this. We have to fix this.

In fact, on our first full day of this Congress, many of us brought legislation onto the House floor to start fixing the problems with our elections, to restore integrity to the election process, which has been lost by so many millions of Americans. And we had a vote. Every single Republican voted to reform the process. Every single Democrat voted against it. They don't want to fix this problem.

But the Constitution is our guide, and it is time we start following the Constitution. It is time we get back to what our Founding Fathers said is the process for selecting electors: that is the legislatures in public view, not behind closed doors, not smoke-filled rooms, not bullying somebody that might give you a better ruling.

Let's get back to rule of law and follow the Constitution, Madam Speaker.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN) seek recognition?

Ms. LOFGREN. Madam Speaker, I rise to strike the last word.

The SPEAKER. The gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. LOFGREN. Madam Speaker, this day marks a crossroads for American democracy. Those who object to the counting of the electoral college votes, which reflect the votes of the American people, want to substitute their preferences for the voters' choice. That is not what our Constitution requires, and it is at odds with our American democratic Republic.

If Congress selects the next President instead of the American voters, we would have no need for an electoral college. In fact, we would have no need for Presidential elections at all. We would be moving from a government elected by the people to a government selected by those already governing.

That is not America. In the United States, we abide by the choices of the people, not by an elite few.

The Framers of our Constitution considered to have Congress select the President and specifically rejected it. Instead, they wrote Article II and the 12th Amendment.

Article II creates the electoral college, where each State appoints electors. Laws of all 50 States and D.C. require electors to vote for the winner of the State's popular election. Each State provides for the orderly conduct of elections, including lawful challenges, recounts, and the like.

The 12th Amendment is what brings us to today. It says the electors meet in their States. That happened December 14.

The amendment says the electors shall cast their votes, sign and certify them, and transmit them to us, sealed. That has been done. The sealed envelopes containing the signed and certified ballots from each State's electors reflecting the votes of the people are in those mahogany boxes.

The 12th Amendment directs the Vice President, as the President of the Sen-

ate, to do only this: open the sealed envelopes and then the votes shall be counted. Simple. It doesn't say counted in a manner that some Members of Congress or the Vice President might prefer. No. The votes are simply to be counted as certified and transmitted by the States.

□ 1130

During reconstruction after the Civil War, more than one slate of electors were appointed by States. Dueling lists were sent and protracted processes were undertaken in Presidential elections. And, as a result, to make an orderly process, Congress enacted the Electoral Count Act of 1887. This law governs our proceedings today. The act provides dispute resolution mechanisms.

Under the ECA, if a Governor certifies a slate of electors and there are no competing slates in that State, the Governor-certified must be counted. Today, every single slate of electors won by Joe Biden, or won by Donald Trump, got their Governor's certification. Not a single State submitted a competing slate. There is no dispute to resolve.

The 2020 election was the most secure election conducted in modern history. Challenges were resolved by lawful recounts and audits.

The result?

Vice President Biden won the 2020 election.

More than 60 lawsuits were filed contesting elements of the election process. None of these lawsuits prevailed.

Why?

As even President Trump's own judicial appointees ruled, there was no evidence of any wrongdoing that would change the outcome.

The people spoke. It was not a close election. The margin of victory for Biden in 2020 was larger than Trump's margin in 2016. In fact, the Biden victory is one of the most decisive in modern times, exceeding the margin enjoyed by Reagan when he defeated Carter in 1980.

Congress has gathered in a joint session to count electoral votes every four years since 1789. I understand the disappointment people feel when their candidate for President loses. I have felt the same several times in my voting life.

When that happens, it is not an invitation to upend the Constitution and the laws of the United States. It is an invitation to work with the new President for the good of the country and to wait for the next election in 4 years if you are dissatisfied.

In that spirit, I urge my colleagues to uphold the American democracy and reject the objection.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, I rise to support the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, Americans instinctively know there was something wrong with this election. During the campaign, Vice President Biden would do an event and he

would get 50 people at the event. President Trump, at just one rally, gets 50,000 people. President Trump increases votes with African Americans; increases votes with Hispanic Americans; won 19 of 20 bellwether counties; won Ohio by 8; Iowa by 8; and Florida by 3. President Trump got 11 million more votes than he did in 2016, and House Republicans won 27 of 27 toss-up races.

But somehow the guy who never left his house wins the election?

Eighty million Americans, 80 million of our fellow citizens, Republicans and Democrats, have doubts about this election; and 60 million people, 60 million Americans think it was stolen.

But Democrats say: No problem. No worries. Everything is fine.

We asked for an investigation. We asked Chairman NADLER, Chairwoman MALONEY for an investigation. They said no. They wouldn't want to investigate something that half the electorate has doubts about. It is just the Presidency of the United States.

Why? Why not one single investigation? Why not even one single hearing over the last 9 weeks in the United States House of Representatives? Why?

Because all the Democrats care about is making sure President Trump isn't President. For 4½ years that is all they have cared about.

July 31, 2016, before he was elected the first time, Jim Comey's FBI takes out the insurance policy; opens an investigation on the President based on nothing.

May 17, 2017, Bob Mueller was named special counsel. Two years they investigate the Russia hoax. Nineteen lawyers, 40 agents and \$40 million of taxpayer money for nothing.

December 18, 2019, Democrat House Members vote to impeach President Trump based on an anonymous whistleblower with no firsthand knowledge, who was biased against the President and who worked for Joe Biden.

But none of that worked. As hard as they tried, none of that worked. They threw everything they had at him.

So what did they do next?

They changed the rules. They changed the election law and they did it in an unconstitutional fashion, and that is what we are going to show over the next several hours of debate.

The Constitution is clear, as Whip SCALISE just said. State legislatures and only State legislatures set election law.

In Arizona, the law says voter registration ends on October 5.

Democrats said: We don't care what the law says.

They went to a court, got an Obama-appointed judge to extend it 18 days. No debate, as Steve talked about. No debate. No discussion. They just did it.

Pennsylvania, same thing. Pennsylvania laws says mail-in ballots have to be in by 8 p.m. election day.

Democrat Supreme Court said: Nope. We are going to extend it.

Election day doesn't end on Tuesday now. They took it to Friday. Extended

the election 3 days; not the legislature, the partisan Supreme Court.

Pennsylvania law says mail-in ballots require signature verification.

Democrat secretary of state said: Nope. I am going to decide by myself that it doesn't, for 2.6 million ballots.

Pennsylvania law says mail-in ballots can't be processed until election day. Some counties said no. And you can imagine which counties they were. Democrat-run counties said no and allowed ballots to be cured and fixed before election day.

They did an end-run around the Constitution in every State that Republicans will object to today. Every single one. It was a pattern. It was their template. They did it in Arizona. They did it in Georgia. They did it in Michigan. They did it in Pennsylvania. They did it in Nevada. They did it in Wisconsin.

Yet, some of our Members say: Don't worry about it. We shouldn't do anything. Just let it go. It was just six States who violated the Constitution.

What if it is 10 States next time? What if it is 15? What if, in 2024, 2028, it is 26 States? What if it is half the States that do an end-run around what the Constitution clearly spells out?

We are the final check and balance. The authority rests with us, the United States Congress, the body closest to the American people, right where the Founders wanted it. We should do our duty. We should object to and vote for this objection to the Arizona electors.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, a little more than 2 months ago, America performed an extraordinary feat. Under some of the most trying circumstances in our history, our fellow citizens conducted a free and fair election, vindicating our Founders' belief once again, that we were capable of self government and a peaceful transition of power.

On November 3, the American people chose Joe Biden to be their next President by an enormous margin. The successful conduct of that election, among the most secure in American history, was not an accident. It was the result of the dedicated work of thousands of volunteers, canvassers, poll workers, electors, and State and local election officials.

When the conduct of any State election was challenged, the courts, through judges appointed by Democrats and those appointed by Republicans, heard unsubstantiated claims of fraud, found they had no merit, and said so.

But most important, the American people persevered. In the midst of the worst pandemic in a century, America had one of the most impressive elections in a century, with historic voter turnout.

Our fellow citizens did their civic duty. The question we face today is: Will we do ours?

That we are here, with a substantial number of our Members seeking to overturn an election is remarkable, tragic, and all too predictable, for it is the natural result of a locomotive set in motion months ago with a myth. For weeks and weeks, before, during, and after our election, a dangerous falsehood was propagated: That our election would be marred by massive fraud.

Never mind it was the same election which brought the very men and women to this Chamber who would challenge its results. What value has consistency when measured against ambition?

A former Senator from Georgia, remarking on a contested election over a century ago, said: "Able men, learned men, distinguished men, great men in the eyes of the nation, seemed intent only on accomplishing a party triumph, without regard to the consequences to the country. That is human nature. That is," he said, "unfortunately, party nature."

Was he right?

We stand in a House which was once the place of giants. Have we become so small? Does our oath to uphold the Constitution, taken just days ago, mean so very little?

I think not. I believe, to quote our dear departed friend, Elijah Cummings, that we are better than that. I think Elijah would be proud that the debate here today is not between Democrats and Republicans, and that some Republicans, including the Republican leader of the Senate, remain devoted to the principle that we are a nation of laws, not individuals, let alone a single individual.

It may seem unfair to the new Members who have only just taken the oath for the first time, that they should be so soon tested with one of the most consequential votes they may cast, no matter how long they serve. But it is so, and none of us can shrink from that responsibility. Nor can we console ourselves with the intoxicating fiction that we can break that oath without consequence because doing so will not succeed in overturning the election. An oath is no less broken when the breaking fails to achieve its end.

We must be mindful that any who seek to overturn an election will do injury to our Constitution, whatever the result. For just as the propagation of that dangerous myth about this election made this moment inevitable, our actions today will put another train in motion. This election will not be overturned.

But what about the next? Or the one after that?

What shall we say when our democratic legacy is no more substantial than the air, except that we brought trouble to our own house and inherited the wind?

This isn't the first time we have had a contentious election, and it won't be the last. In 1800, John Adams lost a closely contested election to Thomas

Jefferson, in the first peaceful transition of power from one party to another in our history. Adams was hardly pleased with the result, choosing to skip the inaugural activities, but he did what leaders are required to do in a democratic government when they lose. He went home. He went home.

Jefferson would later refer to his victory as the Revolution of 1800, but marveled that the Revolution had occurred "by the rational and peaceful instruments of reform, the suffrage of the people."

It has never been our place to overturn an election, and if we hope to remain a democracy, it never will be.

Mr. BIGGS. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arizona is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BIGGS. Madam Speaker, I join the objection to counting votes of electors from my home State of Arizona, as well as Georgia, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Nevada, because election integrity is the heart of our American constitutional republic?

In a representative form of government, we must be able to trust that our elections accurately represent the will of the American voter. This is the appropriate forum anticipated and provided for by our Founders to debate whether this election complied with the Constitution that we have all sworn to protect.

Every particular of the Constitution is to be protected, including Article II, Section 1. The debate as to the legitimacy of the 2020 Presidential election has been suppressed by the left and its propagandists in the media until today.

State legislatures are required to determine the manner in which electors are chosen. Arizona names its electors on the general election ballot and identifies what candidate those electors are required to vote for should that candidate obtain the majority of votes in the general election.

As part of the manner for determining electors, Arizona also establishes deadlines for voter registration. The deadline has been in place for 30 years.

□ 1345

This year, that voter registration deadline was October 5. Early voting commenced 2 days later. Five days before the deadline, a group filed a lawsuit demanding that Arizona election officials not enforce the deadline.

The Federal District Court decided that since other States have a deadline later than Arizona's and some even allow for registration when voting, that Arizona's new deadline would be a time he chose, not the legislature's timeline.

The appellate court effectively overturned the lower court ruling and noted that the Arizona deadline established by the State legislature was sound and appropriate and complied with the Constitution. But the appellate court merely shortened the exten-

sion, the bypassing of the deadline to 10 days.

The appellate court, without legal justification, also decided that everyone who registered after the legal deadline, but before the deadline created by judicial fiat, could still vote.

Note that the Arizona legislature was no longer in control of determining the manner of appointing Presidential electors because the court had set a new deadline, even though the appellate court found the legislature's deadline was constitutionally sound.

During that window, more than 32,000 voters registered in Maricopa County alone. Here are copies of those voter registration records. In going around the deadline set by the legislature, the court ignored the Arizona legislature's obligation and right to direct the manner of choosing Presidential electors as set forth in Article II, Section 1.

As a consequence of that judicial usurpation, more than 32,000 people were allowed to unlawfully cast ballots in Arizona's Presidential election in 2020.

The Arizona legislature seeks an independent audit of the election. The Governor refuses now to call them into a special session. The Maricopa County Board of Supervisors has refused to comply with legislative subpoenas. In Arizona, the people who control the evidence related to the election have done everything possible to prevent an independent audit directed by the legislature.

Arizonans have used the limited amount of records available to investigate the 2020 Presidential election. Of a limited sample of 1,000 addresses of voters, they found 539 voters did not live at the addresses on the voter rolls. Here is a stack of 1,000 declaration of affidavits supporting that.

I object to counting the votes of Arizona electors because the Federal courts went around the legislatively constructed mechanism for choosing Arizona's Presidential electors, allowing tens of thousands of voters to unlawfully cast votes. The court usurped a key component of the Arizona legislature's manner of selecting Presidential electors, thus violating Article II, Section 1. The legislature is being obstructed in its efforts. And what little evidence we have and what little information we have has produced this kind of evidence, which indicates a significant problem with the integrity of the Presidential election.

Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD my written comments, together with the voter registration records that reflect the 32,000 registrations permitted in contravention of State law; letters and resolutions from Arizona legislators pertaining to the count of votes from electors; along with approximately 1,000 affidavits and declarations pertaining to potential voter fraud in Arizona in the 2020 Presidential election; and the statement of Congressman RANDY WEBER of Texas.

DECEMBER 31, 2020.

DEAR VICE PRESIDENT PENCE: As the Chairwoman of the Arizona House Elections Com-

mittee, I write to you with utmost urgency to communicate to you several occurrences that thwart our ability as legislators to investigate legitimate and concerning allegations of election fraud in the most recent general election. On December 14, 2020, Arizona sent an alternate slate of electors, along with a resolution from 21 current and 8 newly elected legislators asking you to refrain from accepting the Biden electors until we could adequately investigate these claims of fraud.

Soon after the election, I requested an Elections Committee discovery hearing in order to use subpoena power to acquire the voting machines and ballots in order to do a comprehensive and forensic audit. I was told that it was not a good idea and was denied the ability. I continued to request the hearing with the Speaker of the House, asked publicly, and tried every avenue to no avail. A full month later on December 9th, the Senate President authorized a hearing via the Judiciary committee, and that did result in subpoenas to the Maricopa County Supervisors (who oversee the elections process) that have yet, as of the writing of this letter, been complied with.

Court cases have been dismissed due to not having evidence, however our efforts to do an audit to obtain such evidence have been suppressed. We held a hearing on 11/30/2020 with Rudy Giuliani to at least hear testimony from citizens who experienced irregularities, along with subject matter experts who reported severe irregularities and probable tampering with the machine apparatus. On 11/30/2020, a group of Arizona citizens reported publicly that they had uncovered with great confidence a minimum estimation of 160,000 fraudulent voters, based on over 1000 declarations/affidavits collected. This supports an earlier document submitted to the Attorney General and would largely impact the outcome of the election.

We have experienced obstruction at every turn. For your reference, I have itemized, in Exhibit A, many of the various ways we have been stopped from investigating claims of fraud and gross irregularities. It is my hope that you will see that the Arizona Presidential election is still in dispute and unresolved. We call on you to take this into consideration as you perform your duties on January 6th, and not accept the electors until we have resolution to these matters.

With utmost respect,

KELLY J. TOWNSEND,
Senator-Elect.

EXHIBIT A

1. Requests from the House Elections Chairwoman (myself) and the House Federal Relations Chairman (Mark Finchem) to hold an evidentiary hearing were repeatedly denied and have yet to be honored. Multiple Chairmen of various committees requested a hearing in order to investigate claims, to no avail. We were forced to hold an unofficial hearing on November 30th where many came forward with very concerning evidence and claims.

2. The Senate Judiciary Committee hearing was not held until 41 days after the election on 12/14/2020, the same day as the Electors were to cast their votes. This delay rendered the hearing of little effect regarding having confidence in the correct votes cast. The Chairman thus issued a subpoena for the equipment and ballots, but the Maricopa Board of Supervisors has countersued and refuse to comply. They will not release any machine or ballot info, even though within the RFP for the Dominion machines, it is stated that their key features are their ability to conduct hand counts, perform risk limiting audits, and publish ballot images and adjudication records with markings on a

public website, calling it their open data initiative. Now that they are being asked for it, they are refusing to make it available, citing voter confidentiality. There is no voter information contained in the machine or on a ballot, however, so that reasoning is insufficient. Their inaction and nonfeasance prevent us from proper discovery.

3. I, along with several others, requested the Governor to call us in for special session to be able to deal with the issue. It is our understanding that we cannot enforce the subpoena for equipment and ballots unless we are in session. His ongoing unwillingness to call us into session to address these issues had kept us from adequate discovery. On 12/02/2020, Governor Doug Ducey was asked by the media if he was going to honor the Legislator's request for a special session. He proceeded to incorrectly name Monday January 13th as our first day back in regular session. In response, the reporter asked, "So you see no need for a special session to look at any of these issues or the issue of Presidential electors..." to which the Governor interrupted and said, "I'll see the Legislature in January."

4. The House leadership attempted to deter Representative Bret Roberts from sending a letter to Attorney General Brnovich and the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors regarding the accurate performance of a hand count based on the statutory requirement to do so by precinct, versus vote center. By doing a hand count based on voting centers, it renders it impossible to tell if there was a rogue precinct involved in fraud. Nevertheless, Rep. Robert's efforts to enforce statute were thwarted by House leadership.

5. One week prior to the Electors voting, on December 7th, the House and Senate leadership closed the buildings in the name of COVID-19, preventing any in-person hearings or work to be performed. This greatly hindered our ability to push for discovery regarding election integrity during the last days before the Elector's votes were cast.

6. The Maricopa County Board of Supervisors held a closed meeting on 11/20/2020 in order to certify the election results, where the public was not allowed to participate and ask questions. Prior to that meeting, on 12/08/2020, Merissa Hamilton (a data integrity expert) delivered to the Attorney General a statistically significant listing of deceased voters that received a ballot and those deceased who actually returned a ballot. At the aforementioned meeting, the Maricopa County Elections Director Ray Valenzuela stated that the list of deceased voters casting a ballot was mere folklore and dismissed it as a nonissue. This accusation is still pending an investigation.

7. After submitting a public records request for the Federal only voters who cast a ballot in the 2020 General election, I was told by a staff member that the Elections Director was "vetting the list" before he gave it to me. I did not request a cleaned-up list of voters, but the list in its entirety. This diminished my confidence in that list, that I have a true representation of persons who cast a ballot that cannot establish their identity or citizenship.

8. Arizona State House leadership prevented Legislators from issuing press releases having to do with the election that did not conform to their own opinion. This diminished our ability to communicate to the public our concerns about how the election and post procedures were being handled.

9. On 12/01/2020, I requested the Attorney General's Elections Integrity office to investigate the claims made at the November 30th Giuliani hearing and provided them the link. I was told that none of the items listed at the Giuliani hearing would be investigated by that office.

10. The Maricopa County Recorder attended more than one DefCon conference that focused on the ability to hack voting machines. The Legislature was never informed that the outcome of these conferences recommended that elected officials be notified due to unprotected ports on the machines, passwords left unset or left in default configurations and security features of the underlying commercial hardware were left unused or even disabled. It was recommended that to improve election security, paper ballots should be used, and a rigorous post-election audit be performed. We learned about this issue via social media, and it was obfuscated by the Election officials.

11. Arizona Republican State Chair Kelli Ward reports the following malfeasance and obstruction:

a. No allowed review of the digitally adjudicated ballots—over 200,000.

b. Only 100 of the duplicated ballots reviewed—3% error rate in favor of President Trump. Maricopa County refused to look at the other 28,000 ballots.

c. No meaningful signature verification. County employees doing signature verification offsite, over the internet, without oversight, and at times at a rate of 30 signatures or more per minute.

12. The Secretary of State took 24 days to answer a public records request by Merissa Hamilton, asking them to deliver the meeting minutes from their technical committee to certify the Dominion voting equipment. Only after four requests and the involvement of the Ombudsman did she obtain the information. The results of that request showed that despite the voting equipment not being able to calculate the votes properly, which was never addressed, the machines were still certified. The Maricopa County RFP for the Dominion equipment did not give the public a chance to give input on the procurement. There was never any discussion or an offer of various options to choose from. The Board of Supervisors went straight to a vote with no discussion and approved the machines unanimously.

13. There are multiple/numerous examples of how on election day observers and poll workers were prevented from overseeing the various procedures, thereby undermining confidence that there was no illegal activity and violating Arizona's statutes regarding election integrity. We have had no formal investigation into the vast majority of these accusations.

SUMMARY

Arizona has many unresolved issues that we would like to have investigated in order to confidently say our electors voted for the true victor in the 2020 Presidential election. We still have outstanding issues left unresolved and are being stopped at nearly every turn from investigating. For example, the Maricopa County Recorder's office started counting early ballots 14 days before election day. During that time, the backup server was removed each night by a Dominion employee. This is of significant concern because the information on those servers could have been manipulated and/or provided to nefarious people as to how many ballots/votes were needed to change the results of the election as time went on.

Many in the Legislature believe that if we are able to do a forensic audit, we could investigate these and other serious claims brought forward to us. However, as you can see by the list above (not exhaustive but brief for your benefit) we have many entities who appear to be blocking our efforts to get to the bottom of the issue. One can only ask, in a supposedly secure and fair election, why discovery is being quashed.

CONCLUSION

It is asked that all of these issues be considered when contemplating the eleven Ari-

zona electoral votes. Our election is still in dispute, and we have obfuscation and attempts at running out the clock to prevent discovery of the facts. We believe it is impossible to conclusively declare a winner in Arizona and pray that you would refrain from counting the electoral votes from our state, and consider the alternate slate should we be able to establish validity to the various claims of election fraud on such a scale that would change the outcome.

Thank you, kindly, for your attention to these matters.

A RESOLUTION TO CONGRESS

Whereas, it is the constitutional and legal obligation of the Legislature of the State of Arizona to ensure that the state's presidential electors truly represent the will of the voters of Arizona; and

Whereas, pursuant to the direction of Congress as set forth in United States Code, title 3, section 1 as authorized by Article II, section 1, clause 4 of the Constitution of the United States, and state law adopted pursuant thereto, Arizona conducted an election for presidential electors on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November of 2020—that is, on November 3, 2020; and

Whereas, that election was marred by irregularities so significant as to render it highly doubtful whether the certified results accurately represent the will of the voters; and

Whereas, Congress has further directed in U.S. Code, title 3, section 2 that when a state "has held an election for the purpose of choosing electors, and has failed to make a choice on the day prescribed by law, the electors may be appointed on a subsequent day in such manner as the legislature of such State may direct"; and

Whereas, that provision implicitly recognizes that Article II, Section 1, Clause 2 of the U.S. Constitution grants to each state legislature, with stated limitations, the sole authority to prescribe the manner of appointing electors for that state; and

Whereas, the United States Supreme Court and other courts have explained that when a state legislature directs the manner of appointing electors, it does so pursuant to a grant of authority from the U.S. Constitution rather than by reason of any state constitutional or other legal provision; that this authority may be exercised by the legislature alone without other aspects of the normal lawmaking process; and that the state legislature's authority over the appointment of presidential electors is plenary and may be resumed at any time; and

Whereas, because U.S. Code, title 3, section 7 mandates that all presidential electors vote for President and Vice President of the United States on December 14, 2020, it is impossible to pursue the Legislature's preferred course of action, which would be for Arizona's voters to participate in a new and fair and free presidential election before that date; and

Whereas, in view of the facts heretofore recited, the Legislature is required to exercise its best judgment as to which slate of electors the voters prefer; and

Whereas, legal precedent exists where in 1960 the State of Hawaii sent an alternate slate of electors while the Presidential election was still in question in order to meet the deadline of selecting electors, and upon recount the alternate slate of electors' ballots were ultimately counted; and

Whereas, the undersigned have an obligation to find the truth. For this reason, on several occasions since November 3, we state lawmakers have requested fact-finding hearings to include a comprehensive and independent forensic audit. At this time, no such

audit has been authorized. This leaves the uncertainty of the election results in a state that requires further investigation and resolution; and

Whereas, ongoing election irregularity litigation is currently active, and there are unresolved disputes by both the Legislature and at least one Presidential campaign, rendering the election inconclusive as of date of signing of this letter,

Therefore, be it

Resolved by the undersigned Legislators, members of the Arizona House and Senate, request that the alternate 11 electoral votes be accepted for to Donald J. Trump or to have all electoral votes nullified completely until a full forensic audit can be conducted. Be it further resolved that the United States Congress is not to consider a slate of electors from the State of Arizona until the Legislature deems the election to be final and all irregularities resolved.

Signed this day, 14 December, 2020.

Senator Elect Kelly Townsend, Legislative District 16; Representative Kevin Payne, Legislative District 21; Representative Mark Finchem, Legislative District 11; Senator Sonny Borrelli, Legislative District 5; Representative Bret Roberts, Legislative District 11; Representative Bob Thorpe, Legislative District 6; Senator David Farnsworth, Legislative District 16; Representative Leo Biasucci, Legislative District 5; Representative Anthony Kern, Legislative District 20; Senator Sylvia Allen, Legislative District 15; Senator Elect Nancy Barto, Legislative District 15; Majority Leader Warren Petersen, Legislative District 12; Representative Steve Pierce, Legislative District 1; Representative Tony Rivero, Legislative District 21; Senator David Gowan, Legislative District 14; Representative David Cook, Legislative District 8; Representative John Fillmore, Legislative District 16; Representative Travis Grantham, Legislative District 12; Representative Walter Blackman, Legislative District 6; Representative Shawwna Bolick, Legislative District 20; Representative Noel Campbell, Legislative District 1; Representative Elect Jacqueline Parker, Legislative District 16; Representative Elect Beverly Pingerelli, Legislative District 21; Representative Elect Jake Hoffman, Legislative District 12; Senator Elect Wendy Rogers, Lt Col, USAF (ret), Legislative District 6; Representative Elect Steve Kaiser, Legislative District 15; Representative Elect Brenda Barton, Legislative District 6; Representative Elect Joseph Chaplik, Legislative District 23; Representative Elect Judy Burges, Legislative District 1; Representative Elect Quang Nguyen, Legislative District 1.

Mr. RASKIN. Madam Speaker, I claim the time in opposition to the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RASKIN. Madam Speaker, I thank you first and all my dear beloved colleagues for your love and tenderness, which my family and I will never forget.

Abraham Lincoln, whose name is a comfort to us all, said: "We have got the best government the world ever knew."

It is best because the first three words of the Constitution tell us who governs here: We the People.

Watch this proceeding today and tell the world with pride, as Lincoln did, about the brilliant meaning and promise of our country. Our Government belongs to the people.

As President Ford said: Here the people rule.

Today we are in the people's House to complete the people's process for choosing the people's President. We assemble into joint session for a solemn purpose that we have all sworn a sacred oath to faithfully discharge. The 12th Amendment obligates each and every one of us to count the electoral votes to recognize the will of the people in the 2020 Presidential election.

We are not here, Madam Speaker, to vote for the candidate we want. We are here to recognize the candidate the people actually voted for in the States.

Madam Speaker, the 2020 election is over and the people have spoken. Joe Biden received more than 80 million votes. Seven million more than President Trump. A number larger than any other President has received in U.S. history. The sweeping popular victory translated into an electoral college victory of 306-232, a margin which President Trump pronounced a landslide when he won by those exact same numbers in 2016.

So now we count the electoral votes that were just delivered to us in the beautiful mahogany cases brought by those hardworking Senate pages. These mahogany cases contain only the 538 electoral votes that were sent in by the States, not the 159 million ballots that were cast by our constituents. Those were counted 2 months ago by hundreds of thousands of election officials and poll workers across America who risked their health and even their lives in the time of COVID to deliver what our Department of Homeland Security called the most secure election in American history. Many of these officials have endured threats of retribution, violence, and even death just for doing their jobs.

Just as the popular vote was for Biden, so was the electoral vote. On December 15, Senate Majority Leader MITCH MCCONNELL recognized it. "The electoral college has spoken," the Senator said from the Senate floor. "Today I want to congratulate President-elect Joe Biden."

Yet, we have seen escalating attacks on our election with unfounded claims of fraud and corruption. More than 60 lawsuits have been brought to date seeking to overturn the results. They have failed repeatedly and they have failed spectacularly.

Every objection we hear today maligning our States and their officials—both Republican and Democrat—has been litigated, adjudicated, and obliterated in both Federal and State Courts. The President has not just had his day in court, Madam Speaker, he has had more than 2 months in court looking for a judge to embrace these arguments. In more than 50 cases, Madam Speaker, at least 88 different judges, including many appointed by the President himself, have meticulously rejected the President's claims of fraud and corruption.

Take Georgia U.S. District Court Judge Steven Grimberg, who was named to the bench by President

Trump last year. He rejected President Trump's prayer to block certification of Biden's victory in Georgia, saying it "has no basis in fact or law."

Take U.S. District Judge Brett Ludwig, another Trump nominee who took the bench in September. He dismissed a lawsuit seeking to overturn the results in Wisconsin, calling it "extraordinary."

He said: "A sitting President who did not prevail in his bid for reelection has asked for Federal Court help in setting aside the popular vote based on . . . issues he plainly could have raised before the vote occurred."

"This court allowed the plaintiff the chance to make his case, and he has lost on the merits."

Trump has asked for the rule of law to be followed, Judge Ludwig observed, and he said definitively: It has been.

I have been a constitutional law professor for 30 years, and if I were to test my students on these decisions, it would be the easiest test in the world because the plaintiffs have lost nearly every case and every issue in the most sweeping terms. That is all they would have to remember. There is no basis in fact or law to justify the unprecedented relief that is being requested of nullifying these elections.

We are here to count the votes. Let us do our job.

Mrs. BOEBERT. Madam Speaker, I rise to support the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentlewoman from Colorado is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. BOEBERT. Madam Speaker, to ease everyone's nerve, I want Members to all know that I am not here to challenge anyone to a duel like Alexander Hamilton or Aaron Burr.

Madam Speaker, my primary objection to the counting of the electoral votes of the State of Arizona is based on the Constitution and the direction of State legislatures through State law, as spelled out in the following two clauses of Article II, Section 1, Clause 2: "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors."

And the election clause of the Constitution provides State legislatures with explicit authority to prescribe "the times, places, and manner of holding elections."

For more than three decades, Arizona law, set by the State legislature, has required that voter registration end no later than 29 days before an election.

This is clear. It is law, unless amended by the State legislature. This is the way it needs to be carried out.

In Arizona, the deadline for voter registration for the 2020 Presidential election was October 5, 2020. Using COVID as a reasoning, Democrats filed a lawsuit to extend this deadline by 18 days. An injunction was made by an Obama-appointed judge preventing the Arizona secretary of state from enforcing the constitutional deadline set by the State legislature.

As a result of this frivolous, partisan lawsuit, 10 extra days were added via

judicial fiat to allow voter registration. These 10 days were added after voting had already begun. This is completely indefensible. You cannot change the rules of an election while it is underway and expect the American people to trust it.

Now, in this 10-day period, at least 30,000 new voters were registered to vote in Arizona. All of these votes are unconstitutional. It does not matter if they voted for President Trump or if they voted for Vice President Biden. They did not register in time for the election. The law states October 5. Either we have laws or we do not.

If we allow State election laws as set forth by the State legislatures to be ignored and manipulated on the whims of partisan lawsuits, unelected bureaucrats, unlawful procedures, and arbitrary rules, then our constitutional Republic will cease to exist.

The oath I took this past Sunday to defend and support the Constitution makes it necessary for me to object to this travesty. Otherwise, the laws passed by the legislative branch merely become suggestions to be accepted, rejected, or manipulated by those who did not pass them.

Madam Speaker, I have constituents outside of this building right now. I promised my voters to be their voice. In this branch of government in which I now serve, it is my separate but equal obligation to weigh in on this election and object.

Are we not a government of, by, and for the people?

They know that this election is not right; and as their Representative, I am sent here to represent them. I will not allow the people to be ignored.

Madam Speaker, it is my duty under the U.S. Constitution to object to the counting of the electoral votes of the State of Arizona. The Members who stand here today and accept the results of this concentrated, coordinated, partisan effort by Democrats, where every fraudulent vote cancels out the vote of an honest America, has sided with extremists on the left.

The United States Congress needs to make an informed decision, and that starts with this objection.

Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MAST).

Mr. MAST. Madam Speaker, I rise as well to support the objection, and I rise with the simple question: Can the Chair honestly tell Americans, with a pending Supreme Court case over legal observers not being allowed to observe and inspect signatures, that the laws and the Constitution of that State were not violated to change voting outcomes?

Madam Speaker, I will wait for a response.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. MAST) has 25 seconds remaining.

Mr. MAST. Madam Speaker, I will repeat my question.

Can you honestly tell Americans, with a pending Supreme Court case

over legal observers not being able to observe and inspect signatures, that the laws and Constitution of Arizona were not violated to change voting outcomes?

And I will wait for a response.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

□ 1400

Mr. NEGUSE. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. NEGUSE. Madam Speaker, today is an important day. In 1862, during the depths of the Civil War, President Lincoln submitted his annual message to Congress, to this body, and in it, he wrote the following: "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We, of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. . . . The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. . . . We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of Earth."

Madam Speaker, we gather today to ensure the survival of our grand American experiment, the greatest democracy this world has ever known, and there are millions of people watching today's proceedings. The eyes of the world are on us now, my colleagues, wondering if we will keep the faith, wondering if our constitutional Republic will hold.

Will we adhere to our Constitution, that solemn visionary document that has guided us so well for so long and enabled the peaceful transfer of power for the last 230 years?

Will we continue to be a country premised on the consent of the governed, a Congress that respects the will of the people, and a Republic that will endure?

Madam Speaker, those are the questions before us today. With respect to my new colleague from Colorado, the question is not whether Joe Biden was elected the 46th President of the United States. He clearly was. The people of Arizona, like so much of the country, spoke clearly and resoundingly. They voted in record numbers, and over 81 million Americans selected Joe Biden as the next President.

Now, today, we hear from some in this Chamber—not all, but some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle—vague claims of fraud.

No substance.

No evidence.

No facts.

No explanation for why over 88 judges across this land have rejected the very same claims.

Madam Speaker, the bottom line is this. As my colleague, Representative RASKIN, so eloquently put it, the people have spoken, and that is why, on December 14, the electoral college met to certify the election of a duly elected President, just as they have done for centuries during terrible world wars, recessions, depressions, plagues, and pandemics.

They met their duty, and they once again rose to the occasion and certified the election. And the question now is, will we do ours?

Now, I know there are many textualists among us, many of my colleagues who would understand that the Constitution must guide our work today. And the Constitution is crystal clear: Our duty today is a narrow one.

Article II, Section 1, Clause 3 reads: "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President."

That is it, period. Our job is not to replace the judgment made by the American people with our own. Yet, that is precisely what so many of my House and Senate Republican colleagues ask this body to do, to substitute their judgment for the expressed will of the American people.

In America, we don't do that. In the United States, we accept the results of free and fair elections.

Madam Speaker, we don't ignore the will of the voters and attempt to install a preferred candidate into power. That doesn't happen here.

Madam Speaker, I will close with this. Our duty, our task, is a very simple one: to honor the voice of the people, to honor our Constitution, to count the votes, to certify this election, and begin to heal this great country of ours.

I pray each of us may find the courage to do so.

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. Madam Speaker, we have a solemn responsibility today. We must vote to sustain objections to slates of electors submitted by States that we genuinely believe clearly violated the Constitution in the Presidential election of 2020.

This is the threshold legal question before us, and it is an issue before us for the State of Arizona. We have to repeat this for emphasis because a lot of people seem to be confused.

Because judges and not the State legislature changed the rules of the election, Arizona clearly violated the plain language of Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution in its selection of Presidential electors.

The Framers of our Constitution recognized that elections were susceptible to corruption. We all know that. So, how did they fix it? How did they provide for that? They created the electoral college as a safeguard, and they expressly empowered State legislatures to ensure the integrity of our unique election system.

Only the State legislatures, because they are a full body of representatives and not rogue officials, were given the authority to direct the manner of appointing Presidential electors because it was so important.

The Supreme Court has acknowledged this over and over. They previously affirmed in Article II, Section 1, Clause 2: “The appointment of these electors is thus placed absolutely and wholly with the legislatures of the several States.” That authority can never be taken away or abdicated.

The Arizona Legislature did enact detailed rules and procedures that the State was supposed to follow to choose its electors. But in the months preceding the 2020 election, as we have heard—and by the way, a thousand pages of evidence have just been submitted on the facts on this—those well-established rules and procedures were deliberately changed.

They weren’t changed by the legislature, friends. They were changed by judges. And those actions taken by the judiciary were not limited to mere interpretations of existing law. No, they were substantive, wholesale changes to those statutes.

Madam Speaker, that is a usurpation of the authority that the legislature had. That usurpation was repeated across the country this year. It is the primary reason—it is one of the reasons why the election of 2020 became riddled with an unprecedented number of serious allegations of fraud and irregularities all over the country.

National polls, it has been said, indicate that a huge percentage of Americans now have serious doubts about not just the outcome of this Presidential contest but also the future reliability of our election system itself.

Since we are convinced that the election laws in Arizona and some other key States were changed in this unconstitutional manner, we have a responsibility today. The slates of electors produced under those modified laws are thus unconstitutional. They are not “regularly given” or “lawfully certified,” as required by the Electoral Count Act, and they are invalid on their face. That is just the conclusion that you have to reach.

Madam Speaker, given these inescapable facts, we believe we have no choice today but to vote to sustain objections to those slates of electors.

Mr. RASKIN and others today have cited the 12th Amendment, and they cite Article II, Section 1, Clause 3—remember that, Clause 3. And they have asserted that Congress has only one narrow role today; we are just supposed to count the electoral votes that have been submitted. But those advocates have overlooked a critical first principle.

Their assertion is only true so long as Congress first is convinced that the electoral votes were not produced by a process that violated the Constitution is there. We have to get through Clause 2 of Article II, Section 1, before we get to Clause 3 is the point.

Look, in our unique system, Congress is positioned as the last bulwark in a Presidential election to ensure the Constitution has been followed. Indeed, just two decades ago, the Supreme

Court spoke to this. They plainly acknowledged this important deliberative role of Congress. It was the famous *Bush v. Gore* litigation that everybody remembers from 2000.

In a *per curiam* opinion—meaning all nine Justices, that it was unanimous—they noted strict adherence to the provisions of the Electoral Count Act may create “a ‘safe harbor’ for a State insofar as congressional consideration of its electoral votes is concerned.”

However, unanimously, the Court said since title 3, section 5 contains a principle of Federal law that would assure finality of the State’s determination if they followed all the proscriptions there, if the will of the legislature is attempted to be changed by a State court, that is a problem. That, they said, Congress might deem to be a change in the law.

That is precisely why we are here right now. Go read *Bush v. Gore*, and you will see this.

Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justice Scalia and Thomas joined in a concurring opinion 8 days later, and they reiterated this point.

A significant departure from the legislature’s scheme for appointing Presidential electors presents a Federal question. It is a big problem for us, and it is one we cannot get around. That is why we are here.

Madam Speaker, I urge my colleagues today to look at the facts, to follow the law, and to follow our congressional oath. We are supposed to support and defend the Constitution. That is what we do here today. I urge everyone to do the right thing.

Mr. GRIJALVA. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arizona is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GRIJALVA. Madam Speaker, this exercise in futility that Congress is undertaking is at the behest of Republican Members of Congress. The effort to overturn the Presidential election and grant Donald Trump 4 more years is the motivation behind it. And to continue a baseless conspiracy-fueled threat to our democracy makes no sense because there is no viable constitutional or legal path to overturn the election that will make Vice President Biden and Senator HARRIS President and Vice President of the United States after January 20.

One certain outcome of this whole process is the weakening of our democracy and the threatening of our democracy. Beginning with Arizona, Congress is being asked to chase down a rabbit hole baseless, discredited, and judicially discarded fringe conspiracy theories.

Madam Speaker, for the record, let’s talk a little bit about Arizona. Arizona and State and local officials did an unbelievable job to ensure that the 2020 elections ran smoothly. Mr. Hickman, the Republican chairman of the Maricopa County board, the largest county in the State of Arizona, said: “No matter how you voted, this election was

administered with integrity, transparency, and in accordance with State laws.”

Arizonans showed up to the polls in record numbers. More than 3.4 million people voted, with increases in every county, and 65 percent of all eligible voters in Arizona voted in the 2020 election. Arizonans cast their ballots up and down for Republicans and Democrats, and 11 electoral votes were granted to Joe Biden and KAMALA HARRIS based on their victory in Arizona. That is the story.

Arizonans voted in hundreds of races this year. In addition to the Presidency, these races include nine members of the State’s congressional delegation that are with you—four of them, my Republican colleagues. These Members have already been seated in the 117th Congress. They do not question the accuracy of Arizona’s 2020 elections to select the congressional delegation, yet my four Republican colleagues question the Presidential election.

Our colleagues may say they are only asking questions and seeking to reassure voters, but let us be clear: These questions have been answered by the voters and by the courts. Rather than accepting the answers and the results of the election, they are fanning the flames of unfounded suspicion and once again creating a threat, a very real and dangerous threat to our democracy.

Again, our friends do not question the outcomes of their own elections. That is because they have no reason to, just as they have no legitimate reason to question the results of the Presidential election in Arizona.

Madam Speaker, I ask my colleagues to reject this objection, to respect the will of the voters in the State of Arizona and throughout this country, and to fundamentally add some preservation to our democracy from any future damage, that this effort that we are undertaking in this House and in the Senate today does not further damage our democracy.

Mr. GOSAR. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of my objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arizona is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GOSAR. Madam Speaker, I filed my challenge on the slate of electors from the State of Arizona that was actually put forward by Governor Ducey of Arizona.

My ask to you, the Speaker, through the Vice President, is simple. Do not count these electors until and unless the secretary of state allows a forensic audit of the election, a request she has denied repeatedly.

We have been told over and over that even though this was a public election using public money and public machines utilizing public employees, the public today has no ability to simply double-check the veracity of these results.

□ 1415

If the Presidential election was a football game, we would get a slow-motion review from multiple angles and a

correction of a controversial decision. But not so, we are told by our secretary of state, for the Presidential election, no review for you.

No access to the Dominion voting machines with a documented history of enabling fraud through its now discredited adjudication system, a system that literally allows one person to change tens of thousands of votes in mere minutes.

In the only audit done in Arizona, a court found 3 percent error rate against President Trump. Vice President Biden's margin of error was one-tenth of that, at 0.03 percent. By the way, a 3 percent error rate at minimum is 90,000 ballots. After finding the 3 percent error rate, the court stopped the audit and refused to go further.

In Arizona, as my attachments make clear, mail-in ballots were altered on the first day of counting as shown in data graphs we have provided, as concluded by data analysts. Over 400,000 mail-in ballots were altered, switched from President Trump to Vice President Biden, or completely erased from President Trump's totals.

The proof is in the counting curves, the curves that cannot occur except with odds so rare and unlikely that winning the Mega Millions lottery is more probable.

Mr. Speaker, can I have order in the Chamber?

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MCGOVERN). Without objection, pursuant to clause 12(b) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

There was no objection.

Accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 18 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1426

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. MCGOVERN) at 2 o'clock and 29 minutes p.m.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR) has 2¾ minutes remaining.

The gentleman may proceed.

Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Speaker, as I was saying, the probability of these ectopic curves, you have a better likelihood of winning the Mega Millions lottery than you do having statistical issues here.

Over 30,000 illegal aliens voted in Arizona using the Federal ballot, yet our secretary of state refused the public access to review the ballots.

Over a thousand residences were visited for proof of residency and address; 456 failed that test. They were vacant lots. Even the Recorder's office was used as an address.

What are they hiding? If the process was fair, these would be improbable. These would be once-in-a-lifetime-type applications.

So let's look at the ballots, the signatures, and the adjudicated records. Until this is done, Mr. Speaker, we should not count this slate.

You have a letter from the Arizona Legislature stating its intent to review the issue on January 11. Our Governor has refused to allow the State to properly convene to do its proper oversight.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you one question today: Are you a ceremonial figurehead in your current role, or did the drafters of the 12th Amendment and Congress, in the Electoral Count Act of 1887, envision a role where you made discretionary decisions about ballot fraud and fair elections?

If you are merely ceremonial, then let's be done with this. Let's eat our tea and crumpets and witness our national decline.

But if you are not merely ceremonial but vested with discernment, rationality, and legal authority to not just count from 1 to 270, then do not accept Arizona's electors as certified. Remand the slate back to the secretary of state, back to the Governor, with the following instructions: Until a full, complete electoral forensic audit is allowed by the secretary of state, the electors currently certified will not be counted.

It will then fall on the State of Arizona to decide are its electors in the game or not. Anything less is an abdication of our constitutional Republic and our ethos: one man, one vote.

We ask: Why? What is there to hide? Shouldn't the lawful victor of an election be proud, open, and transparent about an election audit? I would. Instead, we are met with denials, cover-ups, and contempt of subpoenas.

There is too much evidence of fraud, demonstrated by statistical anomalies that experts have determined cannot happen in the absence of fraud, to accept such a slate. I am not asking these electors never be counted; it is just that they need to be certified the proper way.

Our beloved Constitution is but a mere piece of paper if we do not follow the law, upholding the law. But now, alas, we find ourselves lawless, destroying the very thread that binds us together. But we need to get back to the rule of law. That is what has been violated, truly, by the actions in these States.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, pursuant to clause 12(b) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

There was no objection.

Accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 29 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 2102

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 9 o'clock and 2 minutes p.m.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair will address the Chamber.

Today, a shameful assault was made on our democracy. It cannot, however, deter us from our responsibility to validate the election of Joe Biden and KAMALA HARRIS. For that reason, Congress has returned to the Capitol.

We always knew that this responsibility would take us into the night, and we will stay as long as it takes. Our purpose will be accomplished. We must, and we will, show to the country, and indeed to the world, that we will not be diverted from our duty, that we will respect our responsibility to the Constitution and to the American people.

On Sunday, it was my great honor to be sworn in as Speaker and to preside over a sacred ritual of renewal as we gathered under the stone of the temple of democracy to open the 117th Congress. I said, as we were sworn in then, we accept a responsibility as daunting and demanding as any previous generation of leadership has ever faced.

We know that we are in difficult times, but little could we have imagined the assault that was made on our democracy today.

To those who stoked deterrence from our responsibility, you have failed. To those who engaged in the gleeful desecration of this, our temple of democracy, American democracy, justice will be done.

Today, January 6, is the Feast of the Epiphany. On this day of revelation, let us pray that this instigation to violence will provide an epiphany for our country to heal.

In that spirit of healing, I invoke the song of Saint Francis. I usually do. Saint Francis is the patron saint of my city of San Francisco, and the "Song of Saint Francis" is our anthem.

Lord, make me a channel of thy peace.

Where there is darkness, may I bring light.

Where there is hatred, let us bring love.

Where there is despair, let us bring hope.

We know that we would be part of history in a positive way today, every 4 years when we demonstrate again the peaceful transfer of power from one President to the next, and despite the shameful actions of today, we still will do so. We will be part of a history that shows the world what America is made of, that this assault, this assault is just that. It shows the weakness of those who have had to show through violence what their message was.

My colleagues, it is time to move on. I wear this pin quite frequently. Actually, I gave it to our beloved JOHN LEWIS just the weekend or so before he left us. It is the flag of our country, a flag of the United States of America. On it, it says, "One country, one destiny."

"One country, one destiny" is written on the flag. That was also what was embroidered in Abraham Lincoln's coat that he had on that fateful night—Lincoln's party, Lincoln's message: One country, one destiny.

So on this holy day of Epiphany, let us pray. I am a big believer in prayer. Let us pray that there will be peace on Earth and that it will begin with us. Let us pray that God will continue to bless America.

With that, let us proceed with our responsibilities to the Constitution to which we have just, within 72 hours, taken the oath to uphold.

Mr. HOYER. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOYER. Madam Speaker, it is a sad day in America. It is a wrenching day in America. It is a day in which our words and our actions have had consequences of a very, very negative nature. We ought to watch our words and think what it may mean to some.

My remarks were written before the tragic, dangerous, and unacceptable actions—and “unacceptable” is such a tame word. My remarks started with, “Madam Speaker, the American people today are witnessing one of the greatest challenges to our democracy in its 244-year history.”

Little did I know that this Capitol would be attacked by the enemy within. I was here on 9/11 when we were attacked by the enemy without.

We need to all work together to tame and reduce the anger and, yes, the hate that some stoke. What some—not all, Madam Speaker, but some—in this House and this Senate are doing today will not change the outcome of the election, which is the clear and insurmountable victory of President-elect Biden and Vice-President-elect Harris. Instead, all they will accomplish is to further the dangerous divisions.

This was written before this Capitol was assaulted, before this democracy was put aside by thousands, encouraged by the Commander in Chief.

Instead, all they will accomplish is to further the dangerous divisions, as I said, among our people and energize conspiracy theories stoked by our foreign adversaries, which seek to erode America’s confidence in our democracy and our system of free and fair elections.

I was here in 2000. I was strongly in favor of Al Gore for President, and my candidate got more votes than the other candidate. His name was George Bush, of course. And one of the saddest days was January 20th of 2001 when our candidate, who won the election, in my view, was not elected. But it was also one of the proudest moments of my career because the greatest power on Earth passed peacefully from Bill Clinton to George W. Bush.

Not a shot was fired. Nobody assaulted this Caucus or this Congress or this Chamber. Because we were not disappointed? No. Because we were not angry? No. Because we believe in democracy. We believe in “We the people.”

One of the speakers, I think it was the Senator from Texas, expressed: We are here for the people.

If those were the people, we are in a lot of trouble.

Our electoral system, our democratic system, however, did not break under the strains of the misinformation, the claims of fraud, which court after court

after court have dismissed out of hand, not because there was a little evidence, but because there was no evidence.

That is why we are the longest-lasting constitutional democracy in the world. I hope all of us in this body are proud of that and understand why that is the case. Because, as Dick Gephardt said on this floor many years ago, democracy is a substitute for war to resolve differences. It proved once more the ever-beating strong heart that gives life to our Republic and our freedoms.

That strength, Madam Speaker, is derived in part from our institution and our laws, but most importantly, it is powered by citizens’ and leaders’ commitment to our Constitution. Not just us. We swear an oath. But it is all of America.

Barack Obama spoke from that Chamber, and he said: I am going to be taking another title next year—citizen.

And he was proud to take that. And every citizen needs to protect, preserve, and uplift our democracy.

Some today did not do that, many today.

Sixty-eight years ago in Springfield, Illinois, Governor Adlai Stevenson gracefully conceded his loss to General Dwight Eisenhower. He said this: “It is traditionally American,” he told his deeply disappointed supporters, “to fight hard before an election.”

□ 2115

But then he added, it is equally traditional to close ranks as soon as the people have spoken—not the Congress, not the electors, the people have spoken.

That which unites us as American citizens is far greater than that which divides us as political parties.

It was another man from Springfield, fourscore and 8 years earlier, who won reelection to the Presidency in the national crisis that tested our country and its democratic institutions, who pleaded even in his hour of victory for the same spirit of reconciliation. That was the party of Lincoln. That hasn’t happened to this hour.

Lincoln said: “. . . now that the election is over,” he asked, “may not all, having a common interest, reunite in a common effort to save our common country?”

Such is the duty of an American who stands for elections, or participates in our politics, to be either humble in triumph or gracious in defeat.

I have lost some elections—not too many—and I have won a lot of elections. I hope that I have been gracious in defeat and humble in victory. I hope that I put my State and my country first, not myself.

It is clear to all that the outgoing President has not followed the path that Stevenson and Lincoln urged. So, we, the people—each one of us represents about 750,000 to 800,000 people, some a few less. The people, they have spoken in the way that our Constitution set for them to be heard by us and

by the country—they voted, and they voted pretty decisively.

We, the people, together, must turn away from division and its dangers.

The senior Member of our body, DON YOUNG from Alaska, spoke the other day when we were sworn in and said: Ladies and gentlemen of this House, we are so divisive that it is going to destroy our country. We need to reach out and hold one another’s hands.

We all have a title that we honor more than any other—perhaps parent, perhaps husband. But we are all Americans. Not Americans-R; not Americans-D. We are Americans.

Let us hope tonight that we act like Americans. Not as Ds and Rs, but as Americans, just as Al Gore, just as Hillary Clinton, just as Adlai Stevenson, just as Abraham Lincoln, who had won that election, of course. But he had defeated people, and he said that is not the issue; the issue is to reunite.

We, the people, must again be the strong heart of our American democracy.

We, the people, on this day in Congress, must be agents of unity and constructive action to face the grave threats that confront us and tell those who would assault our Capitol: That is not the American way.

We, the Members of Congress, who swore an oath before God to preserve and protect the Constitution of the United States and our democracy, must do so now.

I don’t usually read Senator MCCONNELL’s speeches, but I am not speaking as a Democrat, nor was he speaking as a Republican just a few hours ago.

“We’re debating a step that has never been taken in American history, whether Congress should overrule the voters and overturn a Presidential election.”

He went on to say that he supports a strong State-led voting reform.

“The Constitution,” he said, “gives us here in Congress a limited role. We cannot simply declare ourselves a national board of elections on steroids. The voters, the courts, and the States have all spoken.”

Five people said the election of 2000 was over. We didn’t agree with them. But Al Gore said: We are a nation of laws. Five people—yes, they were members of the Supreme Court, but they were five people—said the election is over. I sat on that podium and saw that power transfer to George W. Bush.

MCCONNELL went on to say: “If we overrule them, it would damage our Republic forever.”

He said that, MCCONNELL, the Republican leader of the Senate, about 2 hours ago, 3 hours ago, now 4 hours.

He went on to say: “If this election were overturned by mere allegations from the losing side, our democracy would enter a death spiral.”

He concluded: “It would be unfair and wrong to disenfranchise American voters and overrule the courts and the States on this extraordinarily thin basis. And I will not pretend such a

vote would be a harmless protest gesture . . .”

How presciently he spoke. People who think that the election has been stolen with some fraud, why do they think it? Because the Commander in Chief said so, and they respect him and they follow him. And words matter.

“Pete,” as he ended, “I will not pretend such a vote would be a harmless protest gesture while relying on others to do the right thing. I will vote to respect the people’s decision and defend our system of government as we know it.”

I urge my colleagues to vote “no” on this objection, as MCCONNELL said, a danger to our democracy.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Madam Speaker, I rise for a point of personal privilege to address the House for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Madam Speaker, I rise to address what happened in this Chamber today and where do we go from here.

The violence, destruction, and chaos we saw earlier was unacceptable, undemocratic, and un-American. It was the saddest day I have ever had serving as a Member of this institution.

The Capitol was in chaos. Police officers were attacked. Guns were drawn on this very floor. A woman tragically lost her life.

No one wins when this building and what it stands for are destroyed. America, and this institution, is better than that.

We saw the worst of America this afternoon. Yet, in the midst of violence and fear, we also saw the best of America.

It starts with our law enforcement—the Capitol Police, the National Guard, the FBI, and the Secret Service—who faced the most difficult challenges but did their duty with confidence and strength. Many of them are injured right now.

It also extends to this Chamber, where both Democrats and Republicans showed courage, calm, and resolve.

I would like to recognize the Members now who helped to hold the line: MARKWAYNE MULLIN, TONY GONZALES, JASON CROW, PAT FALLON, and TROY NEHLS. Working with the Capitol Police, they ensured the floor of this Chamber was never breached. These are the heroes among us. Thank you for the show of courage.

Looking back on the past few hours, it is clear this Congress will not be the same after today, and I hope it will be the better. I hope not just this institution, but I hope every American pauses for that moment and thinks among themselves that we can disagree with one another but not dislike each other; we can respect the voices of others.

There are many times we debate in this body, and we should. There are many times we can get heated. I still consider STENY HOYER a very good friend. There are times I get upset, and I will call him at home to express the

things I may not see fair or just, but that is the way we should handle things.

The majority leader is right: We are all Americans first.

But we should also think for a moment: What do we put on social media? What do we convey to one another? Just because you have a personal opinion different than mine, you have a right to say it, but nobody has a right to become a mob. And we all should stand united in condemning the mob together.

We solve problems before our Nation, not through destruction, but through debate. That is the heart of this democracy. I know what we debate today is tough, but it is just; it is right.

This isn’t the first side of the aisle that has ever debated this issue. I thought of what Madam Speaker said back in 2005, “this is democracy at its best,” when they talked about a Presidential election in Ohio.

These are the moments that we should raise the issue about integrity and accountability and accuracy in our elections. But you know what we should do, the next difference? Not just raise the issue, but work together to solve the problems.

Now is the moment to show America we can work best together. I will tell you, the size of the majority is slim, so it gives us the opportunity to make that happen. The only thing that can hold us back is the will of one another to do it.

This side of the aisle always believes in working with anybody who wants to move it forward. That does not mean that we are going to agree 100 percent of the time. That does not mean our voice cannot be heard. That does not mean we cannot be treated fairly; we should be. That may mean on the size of committees, that means on our ability to offer an amendment, that means on our ability to have our voice. But at the end of the day, it helps us come to a better conclusion.

By returning here to complete the work we were sent to do, we are proving that our democracy cannot be disrupted by criminal behavior. We will not falter; we will not bend; and we will not shrink from our duty.

Let me be very clear: Mobs don’t rule America. Laws rule America. It was true when our cities were burning this summer, and it is true now.

When Americans go to bed tonight, their lasting memory should not be a Congress overrun by rioters. It must be a resolute Congress conducting healthy debate.

We may disagree on a lot in America, but tonight we should show the world that we will respectfully, but thoroughly, carry out the most basic duties of democracy.

We will continue with the task that we have been sent here to do. We will follow the Constitution and the law and the process for hearing valid concerns about election integrity. We will do it with respect.

□ 2130

We will respect your opinion, we will respect what you say, and we are willing to listen to it. I think the Nation will be better for it on both sides of the aisle. Let’s show the country the mob did not win. We have a job to do. Let’s do it with pride and let’s be better when the sun rises tomorrow.

Mr. STANTON. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. STANTON. Madam Speaker, over the last few hours, we have seen the consequences of dangerous un-American rhetoric; an armed insurrection against the seat of government of the most powerful country on Earth; a breach of this Capitol building to attack Congress, something that has not taken place since the British occupied this building during the War of 1812; an attempted coup spurred by rhetoric coming from those who are looking out for themselves, not country.

It is stunning, Madam Speaker, that there are some in this House who have voiced support for what happened. It was not a protest. It was treason. It was sedition. And it should be prosecuted as such.

At its root is a disease that has infected our politics, one that will make some political leaders do anything, including lie and incite violence to hold on to power. That is what we are seeing before our very eyes.

In contesting the outcome of this election, my Republican colleagues make a contradictory argument that puts party and power before country. They argue the election results were valid when it showed they won their races, but the same ballots were somehow fraudulent when it produced a result President Trump did not like.

Keep the results we like, they demand, cancel the one we don’t.

That is not how democracy works, and neither is armed insurrection.

Here is the truth: Arizona has a long bipartisan record of conducting safe, secure, and fair elections. And I say that as someone whose party has more often than not been on the losing end of those elections. This last election was, once again, safe and secure. And I commend our State and county election officials, public servants on both sides of the aisle, for making Arizona proud once again.

We are here because the case that Republicans have brought before us has failed in court over and over and over again.

My colleagues say: Let’s go back to the State, let them decide.

My friends, Arizona has spoken. They have sent the correct electors.

Arizona’s Republican attorney general, one of the most partisan in the country, said: “There is no evidence, there are no facts that would lead anyone to believe the election results will change.”

The Republican speaker of our State house has told us he doesn’t like the

results of the election, but they are the right results. Joe Biden has won Arizona.

The State supreme court, made up entirely of justices appointed by Republican Governors, has spoken, too. The court said the President's challenge "fails to present any evidence of misconduct, illegal votes, or that the Biden electors did not in fact receive the highest numbers of votes for office."

Look to the words of one of the President's own campaign chairs in my State, our Governor, Doug Ducey. Our Governor loves the President. He has been so loyal. He made sure the President could hold large rallies in our State in the middle of a pandemic. The Governor personally attended them. They spoke so often that the Governor gave the President a special "Hail to the Chief" ring tone on his phone.

After election day, as the legal challenges played out, the Governor kept quiet; but when the truth became clear, even he acknowledged "Joe Biden did win Arizona."

I am grateful that, in this instance, the Governor put law, not partisan politics, first. And I urge my colleagues in the House to follow his lead.

Each and every one of us in this House, the people's House, swore an oath to preserve, protect, and defend our Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Over the last few hours, we have gained a better understanding of what that means.

The future of the Constitution, the most precious of the founding documents of the greatest democracy human kind has ever known, is in our hands. Defending democracy is not, and should not be, a partisan task. It is a sacred one. Right here, right now, we must recognize that fidelity to the founding principles of our Nation are not about loyalty to one man, but rather to ensure that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the Earth.

The world is watching us all right now. We must get it right. Reject this ill-conceived attack on our democracy.

Ms. STEFANIK. Madam Speaker, I rise to support the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentlewoman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. STEFANIK. Madam Speaker, I rise with a heavy heart. This has been a truly tragic day for America. We all join together in fully condemning the dangerous violence and destruction that occurred today in our Nation's Capitol.

Americans will always have their freedom of speech and the constitutional right to protest, but violence in any form is absolutely unacceptable. It is anti-America, and must be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

Thank you to the heroic United States Capitol Police. And thank you to the bipartisan professional staff of the United States Capitol for protecting the people's House and the American people.

This hallowed temple of democracy is where generations of Americans have peacefully come together to face our Nation's greatest challenges, bridge our deepest fissures, and create a more perfect system of government. This is the appropriate place we stand to respectfully and peacefully give voice to the people we represent across our diverse country.

The Representatives of the American people in this House are standing up for three fundamental American beliefs: The right to vote is sacred, that a Representative has a duty to represent his or her constituents, and that the rule of law is a hallmark of our Nation.

And in the spirit of healing—those are not my words—those are the words of you, Madam Speaker, from this very Chamber, when some of my colleagues and friends across the aisle objected to the 2005 electoral college certification.

In fact, there were objections on this floor to the certification of nearly every Republican President in my lifetime: In 1989, in 2001, in 2005, and in 2017.

So history is our guide that the people's sacred House is the appropriate venue for a peaceful debate. And this peaceful debate serves as a powerful condemnation to the violence that perpetrated our Capitol grounds today. The violence that was truly un-American.

Today's discussion is about the Constitution and it is about the American people, but it must also be about clearly and resolutely condemning the violence that occurred today.

I am honored each and every day to represent New York's 21st Congressional District, and I believe it is my solemn and sacred duty to serve as their voice and their vote in the people's House.

Tens of millions of Americans are concerned that the 2020 election featured unconstitutional overreach by unelected State officials and judges ignoring State election laws. We can and we should peacefully and respectfully discuss these concerns.

In Pennsylvania, the State supreme court and secretary of state unilaterally and unconstitutionally rewrote election law eliminating signature matching requirements.

In Georgia, there was constitutional overreach when the secretary of state unilaterally and unconstitutionally gutted signature matching for absentee ballots and, in essence, eliminated voter verification required by State election law.

In Wisconsin, officials issued illegal rules to circumvent a State law, passed by the legislature as the Constitution requires, but required absentee voters to provide further identification before obtaining a ballot.

In Michigan, signed affidavits document numerous unconstitutional irregularities: Officials physically blocking the legal right of poll watchers to observe vote counts, the illegal counting

of late ballots, and hand-stamping ballots with the previous day's date.

My North Country constituents and the American people cherish the Constitution. They know, according to the Constitution, elected officials closest to the people in State legislatures have the power of the pen to write election law, not unelected bureaucrats, judges, Governors, or secretaries of state.

To the tens of thousands of constituents who have reached out to me, thank you. Please know that I am listening and I hear you, both those who agree and those who disagree. Our Constitutional Republic will endure this tragic day because the Founding Fathers understood Congress and the American people would face unprecedented and historic challenges by debating them on this very floor.

I believe that the most precious foundation and the covenant of our Republic is the right to vote, and the faith in the sanctity of our Nation's free and fair elections. We must work together in this House to rebuild that faith so that all our elections are free, fair, secure, safe and, most importantly, that they are according to the United States Constitution.

Mr. ROY. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROY. Madam Speaker, today, the people's House was attacked, which is an attack on the Republic itself. There is no excuse for it. A woman died. And people need to go to jail. And the President should never have spun up certain Americans to believe something that simply cannot be.

I applaud House leadership of both parties for bringing us back to do our job, which is to count the electors and no more.

The problem we face, though, is even bigger. We are deeply divided. We are divided about even life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The words which used to bind us together now, at times, tear us apart because we disagree about what they even mean.

My constituents at home in Texas are genuinely upset. I say to my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, we have a constant barrage of those who wish to remake America into a socialist welfare State, efforts to attack our institutions, tear down statues, erase our history, defund our police. We have seen the debasing of our language. We teach our children that America is evil. We destroy our sovereignty, empower cartels. We attack our Second Amendment. We destroy small businesses through lockdowns. We divide ourselves by race. We can't even agree that there is man and woman. We extinguish the unborn before they even have a chance to see daylight.

But at the heart of our path forward lies the essence of our Republic, its cornerstone. That we are a union of States bound together for common defense and economic strength, and more

so bound together through federalism in which we may live together peacefully as citizens in this vast land agreeing to disagree, free to live according to our own beliefs and according to the dictates of our conscience.

Now, many of my colleagues were poised this afternoon to vote to insert Congress into the constitutionally prescribed decisionmaking of the States by rejecting the sole official electors sent to us by each of the States of the Union. I hope they will reconsider.

I can tell you that I was not going to, and I will not be voting to reject the electors. And that vote may well sign my political death warrant, but so be it. I swore an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and I will not bend its words into contortions for personal political expediency.

Number one, rejecting the electors certified to Congress by sovereign States violates the 12th Amendment and the entirety of the Constitution it amends, notwithstanding claims that you must read certain sections first. It is clear, it is black and white, we count. It is ministerial. And our only job is to count the electors before us. We have only one slate of electors per State sent to us under color of law, and no more.

Number two, to the extent you believe we do have constitutional authority to reject, we are arguing using incomplete and often misleading data points to prove it. I am not afforded time to go point by point, but there are more misleading claims than legitimate ones.

□ 2145

Three, rejecting the electors ignores the Founder's specific admonition that Congress not choose the President, as articulated in Federalist No. 68.

Four, indeed, the Founders drafted the inclusion of a phrase specifically putting Congress into the manner of the election process then specifically rejected it.

Five, if more than a trivial bloc of this body votes to reject a sovereign State's electors, it will irrevocably empower Congress to take over the selection of Presidential electors, and doing so will almost certainly guarantee future Houses will vote to reject the electors of Texas or any of our States for whatever reason.

Six, voting to reject the electors is not remotely consistent with our vote on Sunday, a vote I forced to highlight the very hypocrisy: to accept the outcome of the election of ourselves through elections conducted under the same rules, by procedures put in place by the same executive branch officials, impacted by rulings from the same judges, State and Federal. To do so is entirely inexplicable on its face.

Seven, the argument for rejection most given by my colleagues is based on the allegations of systemic election abuse by executive or judicial branch officials interfering with the "legislatures thereof" in Article II.

Many States made poor policy decisions. Whether these poor policy decisions violate State laws is a contested matter and a matter for the States to resolve for themselves.

More, five of the six legislatures are controlled by Republicans. Not one body has sent separate electors. Not one body has sent us even a letter by a majority of its whole body. The only body, the Pennsylvania Senate, who managed to come up with a majority of Republicans to complain only did so yesterday in an eleventh-hour face-saving political statement. Not one GOP statewide official has formally called on us to change. Not one law enforcement organization, State or Federal, has presented a case of malfeasance.

History will judge this moment.

Let us not turn the last firewall for liberty we have remaining on its head in a fit of populist rage for political expediency when there is plenty of looking into the mirror for Republicans to do for destroying our election systems with expansion of mail-in ballots.

I may well get attacked for this, but I will not abandon my oath to the Constitution. And I will make clear that I am standing up in defense of that Constitution to protect our federalist order and the electoral college, which empowers the very States we represent to stand athwart the long arm of this Federal Government by its very design.

Mr. BROOKS of Alabama. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BROOKS of Alabama. Madam Speaker, for years, Democrats and their media allies deceived America about Trump-Russian collusion and the extent of foreign interference in the 2016 elections. Yet, in 2020, Democrats promoted massive foreign interference in American elections by helping illegal aliens and other noncitizens vote in American elections, thereby canceling the votes of and stealing elections from American citizens.

Want evidence? Exhibit A. In 1993, Democrats rammed through Congress the National Voter Registration Act, making it illegal—illegal—to require proof of citizenship that prevents illegal aliens and noncitizens from registering to vote.

Why did Democrats do that? Simple. To steal elections, of course.

Exhibit B. How bad is the noncitizen voting problem? In 2005, Democrat President Jimmy Carter's Commission on Federal Election Reform warned that "noncitizens have registered to vote in several recent elections" and recommended that "all States should use their best efforts to obtain proof of citizenship before registering voters."

Exhibit C. A June 2005 General Accountability Office report discovered that up to 3 percent of people on voter registration lists are not U.S. citizens.

Exhibit D. In 2008, Electoral Studies surveyed 339 noncitizens. Eight percent admitted voting in American elections.

As an aside, I have seen higher percentages in other studies.

Exhibit E. The 2010 Census counted 11 million illegal aliens in America.

Exhibit F. A 2018 Yale study estimated as many as 22 million illegal aliens in America.

Exhibit G. The math means between 880,000 and 1.72 million illegal aliens illegally voted in the 2020 elections.

Exhibit H. In 2014, Old Dominion University and George Mason University professors surveyed noncitizens and illegal aliens and found they vote Democrat roughly 80 percent of the time.

Exhibit I. The math is again straightforward. The 60 percent Biden advantage times the illegal alien voting number means Joe Biden gained roughly 1,032,000 votes from illegal alien voting. That is the high number.

Exhibit J. While no one knows for sure how massive the illegal alien voting bloc is, we do know Joe Biden and his campaign believed it large enough and critical enough to winning the Presidential race that, at the October 22 Presidential debate, Joe Biden publicly solicited the illegal alien bloc vote by promising: "Within 100 days, I am going to send to the United States Congress a pathway to citizenship for over 11 million undocumented people."

Ladies and gentlemen, Madam Speaker, that is the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow for illegal aliens. Joe Biden knew exactly what he was doing by seeking the illegal alien bloc vote. After all, on May 11, 1993, then-Senator Joe Biden voted for the National Voter Registration Act, which makes it illegal to require proof of citizenship from illegal aliens and other noncitizens when they seek to register to vote.

Madam Speaker, the evidence is compelling and irrefutable. Noncitizens overwhelmingly voted for Joe Biden in exchange for the promised amnesty and citizenship and in so doing helped steal the election from Donald Trump, Republican candidates, and American citizens across America.

Madam Speaker, in my judgment, if only lawful votes cast by eligible American citizens are counted, Joe Biden lost and President Trump won the electoral college.

As such, it is my constitutional duty to promote honest and accurate elections by rejecting electoral college vote submissions from States whose electoral systems are so badly flawed as to render their vote submissions unreliable, untrustworthy, and unworthy of acceptance.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, as a proud Republican, I rise in opposition to the objection to the electorate.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I come to this side of the aisle as a proud Republican but, most importantly, as a proud American.

Today, we saw an assault on our democracy. I love this institution. I love the United States Congress, and I love

the United States of America. And what I saw today was mob rule that spat upon the blood of my father that is in the soil of Europe and in the soil of Korea, and who gave us through that blood this sacred Constitution and the sacred ability to lead this world as a power that says we settle our differences not with mob rule; we settle our difference through elections. And when those elections are over, we have a peaceful transition of power.

Now, make no mistake to my colleagues on the Democratic side of the aisle, I will be passionate in my disagreement with you. I will be passionate in my ideas for the future of this country, and I will fight for my Republican ideas that I hold near and dear. But I will stand with you tonight and send a message to the Nation and all Americans that what we saw today was not American, and what we see tonight in this body shall be what we do in America, and that is to transfer power in a peaceful way.

Mr. GOTTHEIMER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REED. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. GOTTHEIMER. Madam Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding and for standing with me and with all of us.

TOM REED is my co-chair of the Problem Solvers Caucus. He is a Republican, and I am a Democrat. When it comes to policy views, we often disagree. But at the end of the day, we are united as Americans. My good friend, like me, always puts country first.

Today, a group of lawless thugs sought to upend the Constitution and the peaceful transition of power because they didn't like the outcome of the Presidential election. So, they tried to nullify it using improvised explosives, shattering windows, breaking down doors, injuring law enforcement, and even tearing down the American flag that rises above this beacon of democracy.

But their attempt to obstruct democracy failed. Their insurrection was foiled. The American people and the greatest democracy the world has ever known won.

Abraham Lincoln, who served in this very body, famously said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand." That is why, for the sake of this country, we must stand together, united, and celebrate a peaceful transition of power.

In 14 days, President-elect Biden will be sworn in. And despite all of our differences, I have faith that, for the American people, we will come together, Democrats and Republicans, committed to unity, civility, and truth. We will recognize our higher purpose to help America through these dark days.

That is the only way we will beat COVID, rebuild our economy, and stand up to threats at home and abroad.

Working together as Democrats and Republicans, I know our best days will always be ahead of us.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to always search their conscience and their souls. I respect my Republican colleagues and my Democratic colleagues, but today, let us pause and remember what happened here today. Let us pause that our tenure in this Congress will far surpass the time that we stay here. And let us pause and cast our votes today recognizing that what we do here today will set the course of this institution for years to come.

This institution, Madam Speaker, shall not fail because the United States of America shall forever be the beacon of hope, the inspiration to all.

May God bless our great country.

Mr. ZELDIN. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ZELDIN. Madam Speaker, my constitutional oath is sacred, and I have a duty to speak out about confirmed evidence-filled issues with the administration of the 2020 Presidential election in certain battleground States.

Signature verification, ballot observation, voter roll integrity, voter ID requirements, and ballot collection protections were weakened on top of the millions of mailboxes that were flooded with unrequested mail-in ballots.

Many of my constituents have been outraged and demanding that I voice their objections here today.

This debate is necessary because rogue election officials, secretaries of state, and courts circumvented State election laws. They made massive changes to how their State's election would be run. These acts, among other issues, were unlawful and unconstitutional.

Congress has the duty to defend the Constitution and any powers of State legislatures that were usurped.

Some claim today's objections set new precedent by challenging State electors. That claim, of course, ignores that Democrats have objected every time a Republican Presidential candidate has won an election over the past generation. If you don't have any observations today, that is your call, but don't lecture about precedent.

Over the past 4 years, Democrats boycotted President Trump's inauguration and State of the Union Addresses, pushed the Trump-Russia collusion conspiracies and investigations and knowingly lied about it, voted to impeach the President before even knowing what to impeach him for, and then actually passed Articles of Impeachment before Senate Democrats voted to remove him from office.

Today's debate is necessary, especially because of the insistence that everything President Trump and his supporters say about the 2020 election is evidence-free. That is simply not true.

No one can honestly claim it is evidence-free. When I say that, in Arizona,

courts unilaterally extended the legislatively set deadline to register to vote.

□ 2200

The Arizona State Senate issued subpoenas post-election to get information from the Maricopa County board on various election matters, but the board and the courts refused to help at all to let the State senate complete its constitutional duties.

In Pennsylvania, where State legislators wrote us about their powers being usurped, the Democrat majority on the State supreme court changed signature, signature matching and postal marking requirements. The date to submit mail-in ballots was extended contradictory to the date set by State law.

The State legislature expanded no-excuse mail-in balloting without a constitutional amendment. Constitutions apply to the acts of all branches of government.

The issue was magnified by the voter rolls being so inaccurate that more voters submitted ballots than there were registered voters. Signature authentication rules for absentee and mail-in ballots were weakened by the Democrat secretary of the Commonwealth without authorization. Ballot defects were allowed to be cured in some counties but not others. There were poll watchers denied the ability to closely observe ballot counting operations.

In Georgia, the secretary of state unilaterally entered into a settlement agreement with the Democratic Party, changing statutory requirements for confirming voter identity. Challenging defective signatures was made far more difficult, and the settlement even required election officials to consider issuing training materials drafted by an expert retained by the Democratic Party.

In Wisconsin, election officials assisted voters on how to circumvent the State's voter ID laws and signature verification laws, while also placing unmanned drop boxes in locations picked to boost Democrat turnout. The Democracy in the Park event in Wisconsin had over 17,000 ballots transferred that shouldn't have been.

These are all facts and certainly not "evidence free."

Americans deserve nothing less than full faith and confidence in their elections and a guarantee that their vote—their voice—counts and that their concerns are being heard. That is why we need to have this debate today, whether you like it or not.

This isn't about us. This is about our Constitution, our elections. This is about our people and our Republic.

Mr. GALLEGO. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arizona is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GALLEGO. Madam Speaker, I am the proud son of immigrants. Growing up, I heard stories about parties,

politicians, and Presidents invalidating elections when the people took power for themselves. That is why, when I joined the Marine Corps, the most sacred part of my oath was to protect the Constitution of the United States.

I never thought I would have to do that on the floor of Congress, but here we are. The people have spoken, and the power of the people, the Constitution, will be preserved.

Madam Speaker, I left my youth, I left my sanity, I left it all in Iraq for this country because there is this one precious idea that we all had, that we all believed: that this country was going to protect everyone's individual rights, that you were going to be able to vote, that you were going to be able to preserve democracy and pass it on as a legacy, as an inheritance to every American.

But today—today—there was treason in this House. Today, there were traitors in this House.

So I am not asking my Republican colleagues to help me and stop this objection to Arizona; I am asking you to get off all these objections. It is time for you to save your soul. It is time for you to save your country.

That man at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue will forget you. He will use you and he will dump you to the side, but what will be left will be the stain—the stain—on democracy that you are engaging in right now.

Listen to yourselves. I consider most of you very smart, believe it or not, but the idea that we would rig an election for the President but not preserve the congressional seats for all of our friends that we just lost in the last election is absurd.

The idea that we would help Vice President Biden win but wouldn't make sure that we got enough Senators in the Senate for us to pass a full agenda is absurd.

The idea that there was somehow nefarious border registration in Arizona that tipped the scale when, during that same time of border registration, there were more registered voters that were Republicans than Democrats is absurd.

You are better than this. Many of you did serve, many of you have never served, but there is an opportunity and a time for courage. I hope you never have to face fire or bullets or bombs for your country, but right now—right now—this country is asking you to be better. Right now, this country is asking you to show courage.

That man will leave. Your soul will stay with you for the rest of your life.

You owe it to democracy. You owe it to the hundreds and thousands of men and women that have sacrificed their life.

You know better. You are better. Be the good American. Be the American you want. Preserve this democracy; reject this movement; and stop this terrorism that is happening from the White House.

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

Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina. Madam Speaker, I rise to speak in favor of the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina. Madam Speaker, it has been quite a day. And in contrast to the gentleman's comments just now, I couldn't get over this text that I received from the mayor of Charlotte, Vi Lyles, about 30 minutes ago. She is a progressive Democrat, a political opponent for years, a tremendous and graceful person. She said:

Representative Bishop, I hope you are safe and well. It must have been a day of anguish for the world to see our Capitol buildings under siege. I know you have a long night ahead and want you to know I was thinking about you, your family, and staff.

God bless.

Vi.

Back home, the generosity of spirit still exists.

And I understand the sharp words and feelings on the other side tonight, but there are also good people back home, and I have heard from many, many, many of them.

News would suggest there are millions of Americans—that is a big number—millions, tens of millions, who believe something went awry in this election. And they aren't dumb. They aren't mindless. They don't believe things simply because the President says them. There were problems.

I know that Joe Biden will be President, but I don't know that it hurts or would hurt any of us to have the generosity of spirit to continue to reflect on what might be better or what might seriously have gone wrong here, even if you reject the notion that the result was wrong.

I would like to offer a slightly different perspective, a distinct perspective. Perhaps it will be rejected. I think if I were sitting on the other side of the aisle, it would be very difficult for me to listen to tonight, but you all have heard it said, and it certainly is true, that many executive branch officials around the Nation departed from State legislatures' enacted laws.

I know it is less understood how this came to pass.

It was not a spontaneous, independent decisionmaking, but it resulted, I would argue, from a coordinated, nationwide partisan plan. And the fact and scope of the plan really isn't disputed.

If you go to democracydocket.com, it is the website of Marc Elias, the national Democratic election lawyer who appeared in hundreds of cases across the country in the course of the election year.

This plan was not a response to COVID, by the way. It preexisted that. And his website shows that as well. He explained that in January of 2020.

It was a chaos strategy, a plan to flood State and Federal courts with hundreds of simultaneous election year

lawsuits aimed at displacing State legislative control.

Now, as I have seen it, only the most experienced and independent judges appear to have recognized what was afoot. In the fourth circuit, dissenting judges Wilkinson and Agee said this: "Let's understand the strategy that is being deployed here . . . Our country is now plagued with a proliferation of preelection litigation." And as they put it, 385 election year cases to that point on October 20, and they referred to the website healthyelections.org to verify that.

"Around the country," they wrote, "courts are changing the rules of the upcoming elections at the last minute. It makes the promise of the Constitution's Elections and Electors Clauses into a farce."

This was a political operation masquerading as a judicial one. And in keeping with that, it featured gross breaches of litigation ethics: forum shopping, repetitive suits after losses, and collusive settlements with cooperating Democratic officials of State and local governments.

That is what led to officials changing the rules in State after State, mainly through consent orders, or the preliminary, unreviewed decisions of State and Federal trial judges inclined by partisanship or having limited experience with the Electoral Clause.

In turn, the displacement of rules set by State legislatures led to chaotic conditions on the ground, about which so many Americans are angry and disheartened.

I think we can do better. I think that strategy was unwise, and I think, particularly in light of what has happened here today, we should.

Mr. O'HALLERAN. Madam Speaker, I rise tonight in opposition to the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arizona is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. O'HALLERAN. Madam Speaker, as a nation, we have endured trying times and overcome many challenges, and now we face an unprecedented effort to ignore the will of the American people and the people of Arizona. Given the facts and the unprecedented events of tonight, this effort must be finished, and America can be united again. That is going to take leadership.

We are all leaders.

We are elected to be leaders. And if we are going to do that, we have to do it from respect to others, the idea that truth is important, that factual content is important, that we are going to tell the American people what is going on in this country and not what we hope they hear from a 30-second sound bite.

I used to be a homicide investigator. My job was to follow the facts, develop a case, make decisions and recommendations based on where those facts led me. Following the process means that decisions cannot be made on rumors and innuendos alone.

I am proud to say that Arizona has used mail-in voting for over two decades. Both Republicans and Democrats

have long been proud of how our State has administered elections.

In 2020, over 65 percent of eligible Arizonans voted, a record number. Our Republican Governor, Republican attorney general, Democratic secretary of state, and our State's election administrators and volunteers worked with integrity to administer a fair election.

We saw turnout increases in both Republican and Democratic areas, and, in fact, more Republicans registered in this election than any other party. I am proud that many of our Tribal, rural, and underserved communities voted in record numbers, all during a pandemic. In 2020, Arizonans made their voices heard.

The fact is, multiple Federal and State judges, agencies, and State elected officials concluded the winner was Joe Biden.

In Arizona, this process was administered and overseen by officials from both parties. Election officials conducted random, hand-counted audits of many precincts that confirmed there were no errors that would change the result of the election.

The fact is that the Republican chairman of Maricopa County, the largest Republican county in the State, the biggest population county, stated: "More than 2 million ballots were cast in Maricopa County, and there is no evidence of fraud or misconduct or malfunction."

He concluded: "No matter how you voted, this election was administered with integrity, transparency, and in accordance with State laws."

The fact is, the President, his campaign, and several Republican-led groups filed eight election lawsuits, all of which were dismissed. The Arizona Supreme Court, a body where all justices have been appointed by Republican Governors, unanimously dismissed the case.

□ 2215

The justices found that the party had "failed to present any evidence of 'misconduct,' or 'illegal votes' . . . let alone establish any degree of fraud or a significant error rate that would undermine the certainty of the election results."

After these judicial rulings, the Governor said: "I trust our election system. There's integrity in our election system."

The fact is, Joe Biden is the certified winner of Arizona's 11 electoral votes. Arizona's elected and appointed officials from both parties followed the facts and came to this conclusion. I urge my colleagues to do the same.

To my colleagues across the aisle, I know we may disagree on who we want as President, but what we personally want is not what matters here. Rather, the people's influence, as reflected in the certified electoral college results, is what matters. Facts matter.

Undermining faith in our election process by attempting to mislead the

American public only serves to weaken us and make us vulnerable to foreign actors who do us harm. For the good of our country, this must stop. Now is the time to come together to preserve our democracy and to protect our national security.

I know my constituents are looking to Congress to move past its divisions, find common ground, and pass legislation to improve the lives of struggling families. We must stay focused on fighting the pandemic. We must work to ensure all Americans can be vaccinated as soon as possible so we can save American lives, safely reopen schools, get people back to work, and visit loved ones again. I urge my colleagues to follow this.

Mr. GAETZ. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GAETZ. Madam Speaker, one of the first things we did when the House convened today was to join together to extend our grace and our kindness and our concern for a colleague who has experienced just an insurmountable amount of grief with his family. And I want all of our fellow Americans watching to know that we did that because we care about each other and we don't want bad things to happen to each other, and our heart hurts when they do.

Now, I am sure there are plenty of folks over there who don't like me too much and there are few of them that I don't care for too much. But if anybody had been hurt today, it would have been even more of a catastrophe than we already saw, and I think that is an important point for the country.

Another important point for the country is that this morning, President Trump explicitly called for demonstrations and protests to be peaceful. He was far more—you can moan and groan, but he was far more explicit about his calls for peace than some of the BLM and leftwing rioters were this summer when we saw violence sweep across this Nation.

Now, we came here today to debate, to follow regular order, to offer an objection, to follow a process that is expressly contemplated in our Constitution; and for doing that, we got called a bunch of seditious traitors.

Now, not since 1985 has a Republican President been sworn in absent some Democrat effort to object to the electors; but when we do it, it is the new violation of all norms. And when those things are said, people get angry.

Now, I know there are many countries where political violence may be necessary, but America is not one such country.

Madam Speaker, it was wrong when people vandalized and defaced your home. It was wrong when thugs went to Senator HAWLEY's home. And I don't know if the reports are true, but The Washington Times has just reported some pretty compelling evidence from a facial recognition company showing

that some of the people who breached the Capitol today were not Trump supporters. They were masquerading as Trump supporters, and, in fact, were members of the violent terrorist group antifa.

Now, we should seek to build America up, not tear her down and destroy her. And I am sure glad that, at least for one day, I didn't hear my Democrat colleagues calling to defund the police.

Now, I appreciate all the talk of coming together, but let us not pretend that our colleagues on the left have been free of some antidemocratic impulses. Just because we signed on to legal briefs and asked courts to resolve disputes, there were some on the left who said that we should not even be seated in the body, that we ought to be prosecuted, maybe even jailed. Those arguments anger people.

But people do understand the concepts of basic fairness, and no competition, contest, or election can be deemed fair if the participants are subject to different rules.

Baseball teams that cheat and steal signs should be stripped of their championships. Russian Olympians who cheat and use steroids should be stripped of their medals. And States that do not run clean elections should be stripped of their electors.

This fraud was systemic; it was repeated; it was the same system; and, I dare say, it was effective. We saw circumstances where, when Democrat operatives couldn't get the outcomes they wanted in State legislatures, when they couldn't get the job done there, they went and pressured and litigated and usurped the Constitution with extra-constitutional action of some officials in some States. They fraudulently laundered ballots, votes, voter registration forms, and then they limited review.

In 2016, Democrats found out that they couldn't beat Donald Trump at the ballot box with voters who actually show up, so they turned to impeachment and the witness box. And when that failed, they ran to the mailbox, where this election saw an unprecedented amount of votes that could not be authenticated with true ID, with true signature match, and with true confidence for the American people.

Our Article III courts have failed by not holding evidentiary hearings to weigh the evidence. We should not join in that failure. We should vindicate the rights of States. We should vindicate the subpoenas in Arizona that have been issued to get a hold of these voting machines, and we should reject these electors.

Ms. DEGETTE. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentlewoman from Colorado is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. DEGETTE. Madam Speaker, I am very pleased to yield my time to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GRIJALVA), the dean of the Arizona delegation.

Mr. GRIJALVA. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Colorado for yielding time.

I will be very brief, Madam Speaker. There is really nothing left to say. This challenge brought by Members of this House, Republican Members from this House from Arizona and a Senator from Texas, the whole discussion today, this challenge to the 11 electoral votes that are designated for President Biden and Vice President Harris, the discussion today proves there is no merit to denying those electoral votes. There is no legal standing. The courts have proven that in Arizona time and time again. There is no precedent. There was no constitutional violation.

But we are here today, Madam Speaker, because of one man and those who are desperate to please him.

So what do we have to show for this process today? Fear, a lockdown, violence, and, regrettably and sadly, death, arrests, present and real danger, threats, an assault on our institution, this House, this Congress, and the very democracy that we practice here.

And to what end? What did we accomplish?

The reality is that the challenges will be defeated. Come January 20, President Biden and Vice President Harris will be the President and Vice President of the United States.

So what have we accomplished? To further divide this Nation? To continue to fan the same rhetoric of division and us versus them? To paralyze and dismantle our democracy? Is that what we attempted to accomplish today?

The mob that attacked this institution, I hold no Member specifically responsible for that madness that was around us, but we do share a responsibility, my friends, to end it. It is past time to accept reality, to reaffirm our democracy and move on.

I would urge my colleagues from Arizona who filed this challenge to withdraw their challenge to this, to Arizona and to the electors that have been chosen to give their 11 votes to the winners in that election.

But if that doesn't happen, then I would urge my colleagues to reject this challenge and defend all voters, defend the voters of Arizona and that democracy that we practice daily in the representation of our constituents. That is what is at stake today.

Ms. DEGETTE. Madam Speaker, on Sunday, every Member in this Chamber took an oath to uphold the Constitution, and there is only one vote tonight for those who took that oath, and that vote is to reject this challenge.

The SPEAKER. All time for debate has expired.

The question is, Shall the objection to the Arizona electoral college vote count submitted by the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR) and the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ) be agreed to.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes appeared to have it.

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

The SPEAKER. 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 121, nays 303, not voting 7, as follows:

[Roll No. 10]
YEAS—121

Aderholt	Gaetz	Mast
Allen	Garcia (CA)	McCarthy
Arrington	Gibbs	McClain
Babin	Gimenez	Miller (IL)
Baird	Gohmert	Miller (WV)
Banks	Good (VA)	Moore (AL)
Bergman	Gooden (TX)	Mullin
Bice (OK)	Gosar	Nehls
Biggs	Graves (MO)	Norman
Bishop (NC)	Green (TN)	Nunes
Boebert	Greene (GA)	Oberholte
Bost	Griffith	Palazzo
Brooks	Guest	Palmer
Budd	Hagedorn	Perry
Burchett	Harris	Pfluger
Burgess	Harshbarger	Posey
Calvert	Harshbarger	Reschenthaler
Cammack	Hern	Rice (SC)
Carl	Herrell	Rogers (AL)
Carter (GA)	Hice (GA)	Rogers (KY)
Carter (TX)	Higgins (LA)	Rose
Cawthorn	Hudson	Rosendale
Cline	Issa	Rouzer
Cloud	Jackson	Rutherford
Clyde	Jacobs (NY)	Scalise
Cole	Johnson (LA)	Sessions
Crawford	Johnson (OH)	Smith (MO)
Davidson	Jordan	Smith (NE)
DesJarlais	Joyce (PA)	Steube
Diaz-Balart	Kelly (MS)	Tiffany
Donalds	Kelly (PA)	Timmons
Duncan	LaMalfa	Van Drew
Dunn	Lamborn	Walberg
Estes	LaTurner	Walorski
Fallon	Lesko	Weber (TX)
Fischbach	Long	Webster (FL)
Fitzgerald	Loudermilk	Williams (TX)
Fleischmann	Lucas	Wilson (SC)
Franklin, C.	Luetkemeyer	Wright
Scott	Malliotakis	Zeldin
Fulcher	Mann	

NAYS—303

Adams	Ciicilline	Fortenberry
Aguilar	Clark (MA)	Foster
Allred	Clarke (NY)	Foxx
Amodei	Cleaver	Frankel, Lois
Armstrong	Clyburn	Fudge
Auchincloss	Cohen	Gallagher
Axne	Comer	Gallego
Bacon	Connolly	Garamendi
Balderson	Cooper	Garbarino
Barr	Correa	Garcia (IL)
Barragan	Costa	Garcia (TX)
Bass	Courtney	Golden
Beatty	Craig	Gomez
Bentz	Crenshaw	Gonzales, Tony
Bera	Crist	Gonzalez (OH)
Beyer	Crow	Gonzalez,
Bishop (GA)	Cuellar	Vicente
Blumenauer	Curtis	Gottheimer
Blunt Rochester	Dauids (KS)	Graves (LA)
Bonamici	Davis, Danny K.	Green, Al (TX)
Bourdeaux	Davis, Rodney	Grijalva
Bowman	Dean	Grothman
Boyle, Brendan	DeFazio	Guthrie
F.	DeGette	Haaland
Brown	DeLauro	Harder (CA)
Brownley	DelBene	Hayes
Buchanan	Delgado	Herrera Beutler
Buck	Demings	Higgins (NY)
Bucshon	DeSaulnier	Hill
Bush	Deutch	Himes
Bustos	Dingell	Hinson
Butterfield	Doggett	Hollingsworth
Carbajal	Doyle, Michael	Horsford
Cárdenas	F.	Houlahan
Carson	Emmer	Hoyer
Cartwright	Escobar	Huffman
Case	Eshoo	Huizenga
Casten	Espallat	Jackson Lee
Castor (FL)	Evans	Jacobs (CA)
Castro (TX)	Feenstra	Jayapal
Chabot	Ferguson	Jeffries
Cheney	Fitzpatrick	Johnson (GA)
Chu	Fletcher	Johnson (SD)

Johnson (TX)	Moolenaar	Sewell
Jones	Mooney	Sherman
Joyce (OH)	Moore (UT)	Sherill
Kahele	Moore (WI)	Simpson
Kaptur	Morelle	Sires
Katko	Moulton	Slotkin
Keating	Mrvan	Smith (NJ)
Keller	Murphy (FL)	Smith (WA)
Kelly (IL)	Murphy (NC)	Smucker
Khanna	Nadler	Soto
Kildee	Napolitano	Spanberger
Kilmer	Neal	Spartz
Kim (NJ)	Neguse	Speier
Kind	Newhouse	Stanton
Kinzinger	Newman	Staubert
Kirkpatrick	Norcross	Stefanik
Krishnamoorthi	O'Halleran	Stell
Kuster	Ocasio-Cortez	Stevens
Kustoff	Omar	Stewart
LaHood	Owens	Stivers
Lamb	Pallone	Strickland
Langevin	Panetta	Suozzi
Larsen (WA)	Pappas	Swalwell
Larson (CT)	Pascrell	Takano
Latta	Payne	Taylor
Lawrence	Pelosi	Thompson (CA)
Lawson (FL)	Pence	Thompson (MS)
Lee (CA)	Perlmutter	Thompson (PA)
Lee (NV)	Peters	Titus
Leger Fernandez	Phillips	Tonko
Levin (CA)	Pingree	Torres (CA)
Levin (MI)	Pocan	Torres (NY)
Lieu	Porter	Trahan
Lofgren	Pressley	Trone
Lowenthal	Price (NC)	Turner
Luria	Quigley	Underwood
Lynch	Raskin	Upton
Mace	Reed	Van Duyn
Malinowski	Rice (NY)	Vargas
Maloney,	Richmond	Veasey
Carolyn B.	Rodgers (WA)	Vela
Maloney, Sean	Ross	Velázquez
Manning	Roy	Wagner
Massie	Roybal-Allard	Waltz
Matsui	Ruiz	Wasserman
McBath	Ruppersberger	Schultz
McCaul	Rush	Waters
McClintock	Ryan	Watson Coleman
McCollum	Sánchez	Welch
McEachin	Sarbanes	Wenstrup
McGovern	Scanlon	Westerman
McHenry	Schakowsky	Wexton
McKinley	Schiff	Wild
McNerney	Schneider	Williams (GA)
Meeks	Schrader	Wilson (FL)
Meijer	Schrier	Wittman
Meng	Schweikert	Womack
Meuser	Scott (VA)	Yarmuth
Mfume	Scott, Austin	Young
Miller-Meeks	Scott, David	

NOT VOTING—7

Bilirakis	Hastings	Tlaib
Brady	Kim (CA)	
Granger	Steel	

□ 2308

Messrs. MOONEY, WITTMAN, VICENTE GONZALEZ of Texas, YOUNG, and GROTHMAN changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Messrs. JOHNSON of Ohio, RESCHENTHALER, and Mrs. WALORSKI changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the objection was not agreed to. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated against:
Mrs. KIM of California. Madam Speaker, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "nay" on rollcall No. 10.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will now notify the Senate of the action of the House, informing that body that the House is now ready to proceed in joint session with the further counting of the electoral vote for the President and the Vice President.