

due process to the President, nor to the minority during the House investigation. In October of 2019, as the House began formally considering impeachment in earnest, Senator LINDSEY GRAHAM led several Senators in introducing S. Res. 378. It laid out specific issues we had with the House process in hopes it would remedy the situation before sending the articles to the Senate.

In it, we mentioned five rights President Trump was being denied, although the House had provided similar due process to Presidents Nixon and Clinton during their impeachments. The denied rights included allowing the President to be represented by counsel, permitting the President's counsel to be present at all hearings and depositions, permitting the President's counsel to present evidence and object to the admission of evidence, allowing the President's counsel to call and cross-examine witnesses; and giving the President's counsel access to and the ability to respond to the evidence offered by the Committee.

The impeachment process against President Trump had been nothing more than secretive hearings and selective leaks designed to sway public opinion and hurt the President politically. It was a hyper-partisan process completely void of due process, and that never changed until it reached the Senate. In our resolution, we also highlighted the fact that "the main allegations against President Trump are based on assertions and testimony from witnesses whom he is unable to confront, as part of a process in which he is not able to offer witnesses in his defense or have a basic understanding of the allegations lodged against him."

The issue of evidence, both its origin and the lack of compelling proof from the House managers, became the foundation of this impeachment. This investigation began because an anonymous national security official approached Democratic chairman ADAM SCHIFF with a secondhand claim that President Trump sought to withhold aid to a foreign country to force it to announce it would launch an investigation into one of the President's political rivals.

President Trump was quick to offer the transcript of the phone call where this allegedly occurred. He did, and it showed there was, in fact, no quid pro quo, and House Democrats in their investigation were never able to produce a firsthand witness to testify otherwise.

Future Senators should be sure to note the eagerness or reluctance of an accused President to share clarifying information. President Trump took unprecedented action to release the transcript of the conversation Democrats called into question—an action he was not legally required to take and most of his predecessors have never done. Contrast that with President Nixon, who fought until the end to hide his recorded conversations because he knew

the contents were damning. Contrast President Trump's actions even further with the House Democrats who pursued a secretive, one-sided process to craft the narrative they wanted.

Despite several pieces of information demonstrating the President's innocence and none to the contrary, House Democrats continued this crusade. Their fixation on his removal was a conclusion in search of a justification.

They manufactured criminality from a simple phone conversation between world leaders, leaked by one of the many career bureaucrats who seem to have forgotten they work for the elected leaders in this country, not the other way around. Motives matter. In the future, Senators should be vigilant in figuring out an accuser's intention.

There is a common narrative that career bureaucrats are simply righteous, opinion-less civil servants. This impeachment and the actions leading up to it prove the exact opposite. By no means are all of them evil or ill-willed, but this proceeding showed they are far from unbiased, and they are capable of weaponizing the tools and access they are given.

Unsurprisingly, this led to two Impeachment Articles being sent to the Senate on a party-line vote that were without merit. They were an affront to this institution and to our Constitution, representing the very same partisan derangement that worried our Founding Fathers so much they made the threshold for impeachment this high.

The Founders created the Senate for moments just like this. When Impeachment Articles are sent to the Senate, it is not our job to fix the mistakes made by the House, and it is not our job to finish an investigation it admittedly did not complete. It is the Senate's solemn duty to set aside the heat of the moment, prevent short-term stress from leading to long-term decay, and deliver impartial justice.

As James Madison said at the Constitutional Convention, "The Senate is to consist in its proceeding with more coolness, with more system, and with more wisdom, than the popular branch." That is why, even under the cloud of purely partisan politics of the House of Representatives, the Senate conducted a complete, comprehensive trial. The obvious result of which was the conclusion that the Democratic-led House of Representatives failed to meet the most basic standards of proof and dramatically lowered the bar for impeachment in the future to unacceptable levels.

With all of this established, we as a Congress and as a nation must unite around some commonsense changes, both to institutional rules and to our understanding of the impeachment process. Lowering the bar for impeachment undermines our shared democratic principles.

Impeachment must be a tool employed only when the evidence is overwhelming and well-founded. We must

discourage future House actions like what we just witnessed from ever occurring again.

We must also find ways to take on a bureaucracy run rampant. President Trump was impeached because an unelected bureaucrat provided falsehoods to an overly receptive Democratic House chairman's office with a directive to remove President Trump. The opinion of Federal career staff is not sacrosanct. Without further action, these impeachment proceedings will be interpreted as empowering to them, rather than a reminder of who holds constitutional power.

Finally, as we seek to apply the lessons learned from this historic time, I was reminded of the words Chaplain Black offered to us during his daily opening prayer. "We must pray for God's will to be done." There is a higher power than any of us, and our country would benefit from remembering that more often.

BAHRAIN

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, 9 years ago this month, citizens of Bahrain took up banners to demand a greater role in their society and political process.

Bahrain's ruling monarchy cracked down on the peaceful protestors; State police and security forces arrested hundreds and killed more than a dozen, according to press reports at the time. Bahrain's leaders promised accountability and reforms in response to international condemnation, but they would implement hardly any of them, and they rolled back some of the few they did implement.

Indeed, the situation in Bahrain has only grown worse. Americans for Democracy and Human Rights in Bahrain wrote last year that "since 2017, the government has intensified the repression through the arrest, detention, and conviction of individuals who draw attention to the kingdom's human rights record or criticize the government."

Last month, Human Rights Watch wrote, "Bahrain's human rights record worsened in 2019, as the government carried out executions, convicted critics for peaceful expression, and threatened social media activists."

It gives me no great pleasure to point out the monarchy's increasing repression. I have no personal animosity toward Bahrain, which remains an important U.S. ally.

But the U.S. Government has a duty—an obligation—to be honest with friends and allies and to hold them to a high standard. I regret to say that the Obama administration did not do nearly enough to hold Bahrain to that high standard, as I repeatedly came to this floor to discuss. The Trump administration has, for its part, been even more callously indifferent to the regime's abuses, despite Secretary of State Mike Pompeo speaking many times about the importance of human rights.

Just last year, Secretary Pompeo said America can effect change “[b]y articulating abuses and pressuring non-compliant regimes.”

I agree.

So where is Secretary Pompeo when it comes to articulating Bahrain’s abuses and pressuring Bahrain’s rulers to do better? The Secretary, like his boss, is missing in action.

I urge my colleagues to take a hard look at Bahrain’s human rights record, to talk with victims of the regime and hear their stories of persecution.

As I do every year, I renew my call on Bahrain’s rulers to change course and open space for dialogue, for free thought, and for peaceful expression and protest.

CAREER AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION MONTH

Mr. KAINE. Mr. President, our Nation’s continued progress and the socioeconomic mobility of our citizens are contingent on the education and skills of the American workforce and its ability to adjust to and fulfill the needs of the 21st-century economy. Career and technical education, CTE, programs are essential to every student’s education, providing them access to the important knowledge, skills, and credentials needed to obtain careers in rapidly growing, high-demand industries. Today, approximately 11.8 million students across the Nation are enrolled in CTE programs offered by thousands of career academies, comprehensive high schools, CTE high schools, community colleges, and CTE centers. Through applied learning, these students obtain workplace skills and technical training that mirror in-demand positions in the workforce.

In the next decade, nearly 3 million skilled workers will be needed to fill infrastructure positions in the United States, including jobs related to designing, building, and operating transportation, housing, telecommunication, and utilities facilities. CTE programs intentionally match skills with workforce demands, lowering the probability of high school dropout and increasing the likelihood of graduating on time. These skills-based training programs will help fill the estimated 30 million U.S. jobs available with an average income annual income of \$55,000 that do not require a bachelor’s degree yet necessitate some level of postsecondary education.

Across Virginia, I hear from manufacturers frustrated by the shortage of qualified skilled production employees—roles that require the training and instruction provided by CTE. It is essential that we highlight the important role of CTE in the country’s ability to meet the challenges we face in economic development, student achievement, and global competitiveness. In 2018, Congress affirmed the importance of CTE by passing the Strengthening Career and Technical Education for the 21st Century Act

which supports CTE programs in secondary and postsecondary education.

Today, with my Senate CTE Caucus cochairs Senator PORTMAN, Senator BALDWIN, and Senator YOUNG and more than half of my colleagues in the Senate, I am pleased to introduce a bipartisan resolution to designate February as Career and Technical Education, CTE, Month. CTE Month encourages students, parents, counselors, educators, and school leaders to learn more about the diverse educational opportunities offered in their communities and recognize the valuable role of CTE in developing a well-educated and highly skilled workforce in the United States.

By formally recognizing CTE Month through this resolution, it is our aim to raise greater awareness of the importance of improving access to high-quality CTE for millions of America’s students and our Nation’s ongoing economic competitiveness.

RECOGNIZING THE WYOMING STOCK GROWERS ASSOCIATION

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, Scott Sims and his family are ranchers at McFadden, in southeastern Wyoming. Scott also serves as president of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association.

The Sims family are practitioners of holistic management and low-cost production. They believe they have a responsibility “to take care of the land, with its weather, beauty, isolation and recreation. We strive to live independently and to follow our passion: with power of choice, faith in States rights, and freedom from excessive regulation.”

The values the Sims family follows in their work and lives are simple: honesty, respect, integrity, trust, fairness, tolerance, work ethic, self-work, and appreciation of each other and individual faiths.

The Wyoming Stock Growers Association is making plans to celebrate their 150th anniversary in 2022. They are laying the groundwork for the association to begin its next 150 years of service to Wyoming’s livestock businesses and families with a strong commitment to Wyoming’s resources, the industry and their communities.

In the Winter 2020 edition of Cow Country, the official magazine of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, Scott authored an article titled “Defining the Path Forward.” I believe his words apply just as much to life in America today as they do to the association’s planning for the next 150 years. I wish the Stock Growers all the best as they complete their first 150 years in Wyoming, and begin their next century of work on behalf of Wyoming’s livestock producers.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article written by Scott Sims be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Cow Country, Winter 2020]

DEFINING THE PATH FORWARD

I can only imagine what the founders of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association envisioned as to what the path forward would look like back in 1872. It probably had more to do with control of the range and dealing with cattle rustling. I am pretty sure their vision did not include the range of issues that the association deals with today, that came about as obstacles developed while riding up the path.

I do know that right now I want to look back down the path to the 2019 Winter Roundup Convention. Thank you to all that attended and made it such a success. There was a wide range from older, to young, to very young in attendance. There was broad representation from other industry groups, state and federal agencies, legislators, and etc. The point being is that the great diversity, the variety of issues that are dealt with, and the huge array of people that come to share their knowledge and expertise, make for a strong organization. For you members that can’t come to the convention, feel assured that the Wyoming Stock Growers is only a phone call away from addressing your needs.

So what does the path forward look like? I think that it might look different moving forward. Many of us realize that the dynamics of the ranching industry look much different than in past generations. The future of the Wyoming Stock Growers is in the hands of the next generations. They will have the voice as to what is most important to their future in the business, and where the association might play a role.

I feel there is a great future in the ranching business. The way businesses are structured will have a different look as to the land we operate on. There will be land arrangements such as leasing and smarter estate planning to keep family ranches in the right hands. There will be marketing opportunities if you take the time to develop and promote a good product. There is no one solution that will make or break the cattle business, but ultimately it will come down to cattle cycles and how you manage through them. There is a role for government, but keep it limited. Regenerative agriculture is a growing way of management that can allow for substantially increasing production on the land. Two things that you have control over are managing costs, and managing the land. Being able to sell what you do to improve the health of the land will allow you many opportunities. Tell your story and tell it with confidence. You may find yourself at the table across from people that may not understand you. They definitely won’t understand if you are not there.

I just gave my thoughts on what I think is along the path forward, but what does it look like for you? Whatever it is, let’s ride the path together as an industry and as members of the Wyoming Stock Growers.

TRIBUTE TO LAURA DOVE

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize and honor Laura Dove as she retires from serving as Secretary for the Majority of the U.S. Senate.

Laura began her service many years ago as a Senate page. She returned as an assistant in the Senate Republican Cloakroom under Republican Leader Bob Dole. In her more than 20 years of dedicated service, she has worked in various capacities. This includes in the Republican Cloakroom, with the Senate Republican Conference, under Republican leadership, and in her current