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Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee of Texas Committee on the Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties Virtual Hearing on: "Constitutional Means to Prevent Abuse of the Clemency Power" Tuesday, February 9, 2021 9:00 a.m. (EST) Cisco Webex

Thank you, Chairman Cohen and Ranking Member Johnson, for convening this hearing on Constitutional Means to Prevent Abuse of the Clemency Power.

Let me welcome our witnesses:

Caroline Frederickson, Distinguished Visitor from Practice, Georgetown University Law Center; Karen Hobert Flynn, President of Common Cause; Timothy Naftali, Clinical Associate Professor of History, New York University; and Josh Blackmon, Professor of Law, South Texas College of Law Houston (Minority Witness)

Thank you for your participation and I look forward to discussing with you how to prevent the misuse and abuse of the important Pardon Power conveyed to the President by Article II, section of the Constitution, and to increase the exercise, where appropriate, of the Pardon Power, which the Framers regarded as an act of sovereign grace.

Mr. Chairman, this hearing takes place at a sobering moment for on this very day, February 9, 2021, trial is to begin on the second impeachment of the 45th President of the United States for inciting insurrection against the United States in what has been described by Congresswoman Lynn Cheney of Wyoming, the Chair of the House Republican Conference, as the greatest violation of his oath and duty by a President in the history of our country.

That unforgivable attack on democracy incited by the 45th President – where his loyalists laid siege to the Capitol Building, parading the obscenity of the Confederate battle flag while seeking to disrupt the Joint Meeting of Congress to count and announce the winner of the majority of votes cast by presidential electors all the while chanting "Hang Mike Pence" – culminated a reign of corruption, abuse of power, criminal conduct, unethical behavior, and malfeasance unseen in America and that weakened our country, made it poorer, and left it more divided than ever.

Perhaps the only things to rival the domestic terrorist attack fomented by the 45th President was his active involvement in trying to extort a foreign nation to interfere to his benefit in the 2020 presidential election and his beseeching of the Russian government to aid his election campaign in the 2016 election, which in turn led to the investigation conducted by Special Counsel Robert Mueller which resulted in dozens of indictments, and the arrests, and convictions or guilty pleas of persons acting for or on behalf of the 45th President.

It is regrettable that events and the conduct of the 45th occupant of the White House has compelled us to assemble here today

to discuss and make explicit what has long been implicitly understood and internalized by both citizens, and holders of offices of public trust, and that is as President Roosevelt so eloquently stated on December 7, 1903: ``No man is above the law and no man is below it: nor do we ask any man's permission when we ask him to obey it.'' That is why in the 116th Congress, I was an original cosponsor of H.R. 2678, the No President Above The Law Act, introduced by Chairman Nadler to amend 18 U.S.C. §3282 to provide for the tolling of the statute of limitations with regard to certain offenses committed by the President of the United States during or prior to tenure in office. This sensible legislation makes clear that a president is estopped from relying on the statute of limitations to escape from prosecution for criminal acts that under current DOJ Office of Legal Counsel policy cannot be instituted during a president's continuance in office. I also cosponsored in the last Congress H.R. 7694, the Abuse of the Pardon Prevention Act, which was incorporated in H.R. 8383, the "Protecting Our Democracy Act," that was reported favorably by this Committee and is designed to deter abuses of the pardon power and is made necessary by recent actions of the 45th President, who on his way out the door pardoned convicted felon Roger Stone, who was found guilty by a jury of his peers of obstruction of Congress, witness tampering, and five counts of lying to Congress. In fact, as the judge in his case described during sentencing, Roger Stone was "prosecuted for covering up for the President" and lied repeatedly to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence about his extensive communications with the Trump Campaign regarding WikiLeaks, in which he repeatedly held himself out as having contacts with WikiLeaks and advance knowledge of WikiLeaks's planned releases of stolen emails. And Roger Stone further obstructed justice by making a number of disturbing attempts to intimidate a witness from cooperating in the investigation against him. There is ample evidence in the public domain that strongly suggests that the President held out the possibility of a pardon for Stone to encourage Stone's silence on matters that could have caused the President great embarrassment or even criminal liability. Mr. Chairman, the "Abuse of the Pardon Prevention Act," requires transparency in circumstances where the President uses that power for potentially self-serving purposes or in a manner that could undermine the functions of Congress. The legislation would require that if the President issues a pardon for someone in connection with an investigation in which the President or one of his family members is a target, subject, or witness, the Department of Justice (DOJ) must disclose to Congress its investigative files pertaining to that person; it further requires DOJ and the White House to disclose all materials relating to their consideration of the pardon at issue. Additionally, it requires these disclosure obligations if the President issues a pardon for a crime that compromises the integrity of Congressional proceedings, such as for offenses involving obstruction of Congress. Second, "Abuse of the Pardon Prevention Act," would amend the federal bribery statute to make explicit that offering or granting a pardon or commutation may serve as the basis for finding criminal culpability under the statute and includes the President and Vice-President among the persons covered by the statute. Third, the legislation makes explicit the self-evident and widely held view of constitutional scholars that a president cannot pardon himself and that any attempt to do would be void and without effect. This existing understanding is shared by the Department of

Justice, constitutional scholars, and even the Republican-invited witness at a hearing on this issue held in the 116th Congress by this Subcommittee. The pardon granted to Roger Stone was one of the latest but far from the only instance of his abuses of the pardon power in the short span the 45th President occupied the White House. Special Counsel Robert Mueller's Report on the Investigation Into Russian Interference in the 2016 Presidential Election describes multiple instances in which the 45th President dangled the possibility of a pardon for witnesses who refused to cooperate with investigators. For example, during the prosecution of former Trump Campaign Chairman Paul Manafort "and while the jury was deliberating, the 45th President repeatedly stated that Manafort was being treated unfairly and made it known that Manafort could receive a pardon." The 45th President also suggested he was considering a pardon (which he subsequently granted) for former national security advisor Michael Flynn; and the President's former personal attorney, Michael Cohen, testified that he had discussed a potential pardon with the 45th President's personal counsel before Cohen began cooperating with investigators. Moreover, the 45th President used his pardon powers in other potentially self-serving, abusive, and arbitrary ways; a June 2020 review of the 36 instances in which the 45th President granted pardons or commuted sentences indicates that "[a]lmost all of the beneficiaries of Trump's pardons and commutations have had a personal or political connection to the president." And in 21 of those instances, the pardon or commutation served the President's political agenda—such as when he pardoned Sheriff Joe Arpaio after he was convicted for defying court orders relating to his unlawful detention of immigrants or former Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich, convicted in June 2011 of corruption charges in connection with attempting to sell the appointment to the Senate seat vacated by President-elect Barack Obama. Mr. Chairman, on January 20, 2017, with his right hand placed on the historic Lincoln Bible, Donald Trump uttered one of the most important statements in the life of this nation. He declared to the nation and the watching world that ''I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.'' Mr. Chairman, these 35 words have immense meaning. Not only are they mandated by Article II, Section I of the U.S. Constitution but they bind the taker, as Lincoln said in 1861, "to an oath registered in Heaven." These 35 words cover the two fundamental duties of the President: to ''take care that the laws be faithfully executed'' and to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution. Before January 20, 2017, Donald Trump had never been elected to public office, nor served in the military, nor held a position in the government, nor been admitted to practice law before the bar. This is noteworthy because it means that in his 70 years of living, Donald Trump had never taken a public oath to uphold the Constitution before January 20, 2017. With his assumption of the office, however, it soon became obvious that the 45th President's previous stints as a real estate mogul, television personality, and owner of the Miss Universe beauty pageant left him wholly unequipped to grasp the full weight, scope, meaning of—and the obligations he assumed in taking the Presidential Oath of Office. As a senior member of Congress and the House Committees on Judiciary and Homeland Security, I am ever mindful of my responsibility to preserve and protect the pillars of our democracy. I answer to my constituents directly and indirectly to all

Americans, and my publics actions are constrained by my fidelity to the rule of law. The 45th President, unfortunately, never was able to grasp this fact or accept these democratic constraints. The 45th President repeatedly acted out his selfish desire to discredit or eliminate an official investigation into Russian meddling in the 2016 Presidential election and to avoid accountability for his conduct. As one who cherishes the Constitution and the system of separated powers and checks and balances, I had long been alarmed by the 45th President's attempts to undermine the rule of law and abuse the pardon power. That is why on June 25, 2017, I introduced a resolution, H. Res. 474, joined by our colleagues Mr. Cohen, Ms. Bass, Mr. Lieu, Mr. Raskin, and others condemning any action by the 45th President to remove Special Counsel Mueller, impede his investigation, or pardon any person for offenses against the United States arising out of Russia's meddling in the 2016 Presidential Election. Mr. Chairman, on January 20, 2017, the 45th President took an oath—the first of his life—to preserve and protect the Constitution and to take care that our nation's laws are faithfully executed. He treated his oath as a mere non-binding suggestion and now it falls to us to do all we can to ensure that no future president will ever feel so emboldene

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d to make a mockery of his office and the democracy we hold dear.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I yield back my time.

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