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1 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: The recessed  
2 Senate sitting as an Impeachment Tribunal will  
3 come to order.

4 Madam Secretary, reading and approval  
5 of the Journal.

6 MADAM SECRETARY: Senate Journal For  
7 the Impeachment Tribunal of January 28, 2009.

8 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Senator  
9 Hunter.

10 SENATOR HUNTER: Mr. President, I move  
11 that the Journal for the Impeachment Tribunal  
12 just read by the Secretary be approved unless  
13 some Senators has additions or corrections to  
14 offer.

15 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Senator  
16 Hunter moves to approve the Journal just read by  
17 the Secretary. There being no objection, it is  
18 so ordered.

19 Madam Secretary, please call the names  
20 of each Senator and record their attendance.

21 MADAM SECRETARY: Althoff.

22 SENATOR ALTHOFF: Present.

23 MADAM SECRETARY: Bivins.

24 SENATOR BIVINS: Present.

1 MADAM SECRETARY: Bomke.  
2 SENATOR BOMKE: Present.  
3 MADAM SECRETARY: Bond.  
4 SENATOR BOND: Present.  
5 MADAM SECRETARY: Brady.  
6 SENATOR BRADY: Present.  
7 MADAM SECRETARY: Burzynski.  
8 SENATOR BURZYNSKI: Present.  
9 MADAM SECRETARY: Clayborne.  
10 SENATOR CLAYBORNE: Present.  
11 MADAM SECRETARY: Collins.  
12 SENATOR COLLINS: Here.  
13 MADAM SECRETARY: Cronin. Cronin.  
14 Crotty.  
15 SENATOR CROTTY: Here.  
16 MADAM SECRETARY: Dahl.  
17 SENATOR DAHL: Here.  
18 MADAM SECRETARY: DeLeo.  
19 SENATOR DeLEO: Present.  
20 MADAM SECRETARY: Delgado.  
21 SENATOR DELGADO: Here.  
22 MADAM SECRETARY: Demuzio.  
23 SENATOR DEMUZIO: Here.  
24 MADAM SECRETARY: Dillard.

1           SENATOR DILLARD: Here.  
2           MADAM SECRETARY: Duffy.  
3           SENATOR DUFFY: Present.  
4           MADAM SECRETARY: Forby. Forby.  
5           Frerichs.  
6           SENATOR FRERICHS: Present.  
7           MADAM SECRETARY: Garrett.  
8           SENATOR GARRETT: Here.  
9           MADAM SECRETARY: Haine.  
10          SENATOR HAINE: Here.  
11          MADAM SECRETARY: Harmon.  
12          SENATOR HARMON: Present.  
13          MADAM SECRETARY: Hendon.  
14          SENATOR HENDON: Present.  
15          MADAM SECRETARY: Holmes.  
16          SENATOR HOLMES: Present.  
17          MADAM SECRETARY: Hultgren.  
18          SENATOR HULTGREN: Present.  
19          MADAM SECRETARY: Hunter.  
20          SENATOR HUNTER: Here.  
21          MADAM SECRETARY: Hutchinson.  
22          SENATOR HUTCHINSON: Present.  
23          MADAM SECRETARY: Jacobs.  
24          SENATOR JACOBS: Aye.

1 MADAM SECRETARY: Emil Jones.  
2 SENATOR EMIL JONES: Present.  
3 MADAM SECRETARY: John Jones.  
4 SENATOR JOHN JONES: Present.  
5 MADAM SECRETARY: Koehler.  
6 SENATOR KOEHLER: Here.  
7 MADAM SECRETARY: Kotowski.  
8 SENATOR KOTOWSKI: Present.  
9 MADAM SECRETARY: Lauzen.  
10 SENATOR LAUZEN: Here.  
11 MADAM SECRETARY: Lightford.  
12 SENATOR LIGHTFORD: Here.  
13 MADAM SECRETARY: Link.  
14 SENATOR LINK: Present.  
15 MADAM SECRETARY: Luechtefeld.  
16 Luechtefeld.  
17 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: Here.  
18 MADAM SECRETARY: Maloney.  
19 SENATOR MALONEY: Here.  
20 MADAM SECRETARY: Martinez.  
21 SENATOR MARTINEZ: Here.  
22 MADAM SECRETARY: Meeks.  
23 SENATOR MEEKS: Here.  
24 MADAM SECRETARY: Millner.

1 SENATOR MILLNER: Here.  
2 MADAM SECRETARY: Munoz.  
3 SENATOR MUNOZ: Present.  
4 MADAM SECRETARY: Murphy.  
5 SENATOR MURPHY: Here.  
6 MADAM SECRETARY: Noland.  
7 SENATOR NOLAND: Here.  
8 MADAM SECRETARY: Pankau.  
9 SENATOR PANKAU: Present.  
10 MADAM SECRETARY: Radogno.  
11 SENATOR RADOGNO: Here.  
12 MADAM SECRETARY: Raoul.  
13 SENATOR RAOUL: Present.  
14 MADAM SECRETARY: Righter.  
15 SENATOR RIGHTER: Present.  
16 MADAM SECRETARY: Risinger.  
17 SENATOR RISINGER: Here.  
18 MADAM SECRETARY: Rutherford.  
19 SENATOR RUTHERFORD: Present.  
20 MADAM SECRETARY: Sandoval.  
21 SENATOR SANDOVAL: Present.  
22 MADAM SECRETARY: Schoenberg.  
23 SENATOR SCHOENBERG: Present.  
24 MADAM SECRETARY: Silverstein.



1           SENATOR SILVERSTEIN: Present.

2           MADAM SECRETARY: Steans.

3           SENATOR STEANS: Here.

4           MADAM SECRETARY: Sullivan.

5           SENATOR SULLIVAN: Present.

6           MADAM SECRETARY: Syverson.

7           SENATOR SYVERSON: Present.

8           MADAM SECRETARY: Trotter.

9           SENATOR TROTTER: Here.

10          MADAM SECRETARY: Viverito.

11          SENATOR VIVERITO: Present.

12          MADAM SECRETARY: Watson.

13          SENATOR WATSON: Here.

14          MADAM SECRETARY: Wilhelmi.

15          SENATOR WILHELMI: Present.

16          MADAM SECRETARY: Cronin.

17          SENATOR CRONIN: Here.

18          MADAM SECRETARY: Forby.

19          SENATOR FORBY: Here.

20          MADAM SECRETARY: And Mr. President.

21          PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Here.

22          CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Madam

23          Secretary, Governor's motion for leave to

24          appear.

1                   MADAM SECRETARY: Motion for leave to  
2 file written appearance.

3                   I, Rod R. Blagojevich, in my official  
4 capacity as Governor of the State of Illinois  
5 pursuant to Senate Impeachment  
6 Rule 21(a) hereby move for the Honorable Senate  
7 of the State of Illinois sitting as an  
8 impeachment tribunal to grant leave to file a  
9 written appearance in the above-captioned  
10 proceeding and in support thereof state the  
11 following:

12                   One, pursuant to Senate Resolution 7,  
13 the date for the Governor to file an appearance  
14 in this proceeding was January 17, 2009.

15                   Two, I wish to appear and participate  
16 as a party in this proceeding.

17                   Three, a duly-executed appearance is  
18 attached to this motion as Exhibit A wherefore  
19 I respectfully move that the Senate grant the  
20 instant motion. Respectfully submitted, Rod R.  
21 Blagojevich, Governor, dated January 29th, 2009.

22                   CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: The Governor  
23 seeks leave to enter his appearance and to  
24 participate as a party in this proceeding.

1           Is there leave?

2           MULTIPLE VOICES: Leave.

3           CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: There being  
4 no objection, leave is granted.

5           Let the record reflect that the House  
6 Prosecutor is present in the Chamber.

7           We are going to begin with closing  
8 arguments in just a moment. I would prefer if  
9 there was no movement in and out of the Chamber  
10 floor during closing arguments of any of the  
11 parties or their lawyers. Thus, if we could  
12 self-regulate ourselves, I would appreciate  
13 that, but there should be no movement on to the  
14 floor during an argument.

15           We now proceed to closing arguments.

16           The House Prosecutor is recognized for  
17 the purpose of making his closing argument. He  
18 has 60 minutes in which to present this portion  
19 of his argument.

20           Please be seated.

21           HOUSE PROSECUTOR ELLIS: Thank you very  
22 much, Mr. Chief Justice.

23           President Cullerton, Leader Radogno,  
24 Ladies and Gentlemen of the Illinois Senate.

1           In this trial, we have laid out a  
2 pattern of abuse of power by Governor Rod  
3 Blagojevich that culminated in his arrest on  
4 December 9, 2008.

5           The Governor was arrested for five  
6 separate criminal acts, all of which demonstrate  
7 that every decision this Governor made was based  
8 on one of three criteria: His legal situation,  
9 his personal situation and his political  
10 situation.

11           During this trial, we've explained all  
12 of these acts largely through the Governor's own  
13 words. But they were more than just words; they  
14 were actions. They were directives to act, and  
15 they were acknowledgments of wrongdoing.

16           We're going to take you through each  
17 one of these acts and then demonstrate that this  
18 pattern of abuse of power spanned, in fact,  
19 throughout the Governor's entire tenure in  
20 office.

21           First I'd like to talk about the Senate  
22 seat. The Governor's own words demonstrated  
23 time and time again that he saw his ability to  
24 appoint a U.S. Senator as a golden goose, as a

1 bargaining chip to be leveraged for his own  
2 personal and political well-being.

3 31 conversations intercepted by the  
4 Federal Government and related in the affidavit  
5 of Daniel Cain, 31 conversations in which the  
6 Governor made it crystal clear that he was  
7 trying to trade that Senate seat for something  
8 of value to himself.

9 How did the Governor himself  
10 characterize his power to appoint a United  
11 States Senator? "It's an F-ing valuable thing.  
12 You just don't give it away for nothing."

13 The Governor wanted to make a trade.  
14 What was he asking? Well, he started high. He  
15 wanted a cabinet-level position in the Obama  
16 Administration if he appointed the person who he  
17 thought the President-Elect wanted: Secretary  
18 of Health and Human Services; an ambassadorship;  
19 a lucrative job for his wife; paid corporate  
20 board positions for his wife.

21 And why was he entitled to these  
22 things? Because the Senate seat is a valuable  
23 thing; you just don't give it away for nothing.

24 Then his options began to dwindle.

1       What did he later end up considering? A  
2       position with Change to Win, an organization  
3       composed of several unions that promote union  
4       interests, a 501(c)(4) political lobbying  
5       organization that he hoped the President would  
6       help fund through his friends.

7                 And if nothing else, if none of those  
8       could work out, he talked about appointing  
9       himself. Why? Because you don't give it away  
10      for nothing.

11                Now, the Governor has been saying that  
12      this was just harmless chatter, that this was  
13      just political talk.

14                The evidence shows that the Governor  
15      repeatedly directed subordinates to act, telling  
16      people to go negotiate on his behalf.

17                What did he say to these people when he  
18      sent them on their way? He said, "You should  
19      assume everybody is listening. The whole world  
20      is listening. Don't put it in writing. I would  
21      do it in person. I wouldn't do it on the  
22      phone."

23                Who says those words except somebody  
24      who has something to hide, something to cover

1 up?

2           The Governor would say that there are  
3 people out there surrounding this issue, public  
4 individuals, who are claiming that they weren't  
5 approached or they did not have inappropriate  
6 conversations.

7           But, Ladies and Gentlemen, as we said  
8 in our opening statement, as we've maintained  
9 throughout this case, that's not our case.

10           We don't know what the Governor's  
11 subordinates did when they were given their  
12 directives. We don't know if they tried and  
13 failed. We don't know if they didn't try at all  
14 because they had second thoughts about the  
15 legality of what they were doing. We don't know  
16 if the Governor's arrest interrupted their  
17 plans. We don't know.

18           What we do know is what the Governor  
19 said, captured over and over again by the  
20 Federal Government, showing that he put his own  
21 interests first and foremost, directed other  
22 people to act and knew beyond any doubt that  
23 what he was doing was wrongful. 31 different  
24 conversations when the Governor thought no one

1 was listening. 31 wrongful acts. Easily,  
2 easily a pattern of abuse of power all by  
3 itself.

4 Let's talk about The Tribune Company.  
5 The evidence clearly showed that the Governor  
6 attempted to put a price tag on the provision of  
7 financial assistance to The Tribune Company, and  
8 what was that price tag? He wanted some  
9 editorial board members at the Chicago Tribune  
10 fired.

11 Fifteen conversations with John Harris  
12 over a one-month period, fifteen conversations  
13 in which the Governor repeatedly directs Harris  
14 to talk to high-ranking members of the Tribune  
15 Company, fifteen conversations in which the  
16 Governor makes it clear the message he wants  
17 delivered: No money from the State unless those  
18 editorial board members are fired.

19 The Governor was secretly recorded  
20 directing John Harris to tell a Tribune official  
21 everything is lined up, but before we go to the  
22 next level, we need to have a discussion about  
23 what you guys are going to do about that  
24 newspaper.



1                   Harris replies back, "I won't be so  
2                   direct." And the Governor says, "Yeah, you know  
3                   what you got to say."

4                   Repeatedly, the Governor follows up  
5                   with John Harris. Repeatedly, Harris reports  
6                   back that he delivered the directive. More than  
7                   once, we read the exchange between the Governor  
8                   and Harris: "He got the message, right?"  
9                   "Right. He got it loud and clear."

10                  And Ladies and Gentlemen, make no  
11                  mistake the Governor knew that what he was doing  
12                  was wrongful. He agreed that Harris should not  
13                  be so direct. He agreed that Harris should  
14                  deliver the message in person, not on the phone.  
15                  When Harris described his conversations as --  
16                  with the Tribune Company as delicate, very  
17                  delicate, the Governor says, "I know. I know.  
18                  Don't push too hard, but you know what you got  
19                  to do, right?"

20                  Now, the Governor will say that there  
21                  are people around the Chicago Tribune or the  
22                  Tribune Company who would say that they did not  
23                  have improper conversations.

24                  We don't know who those people are or

1 if they're telling the truth, but what we do  
2 know from intercepted wiretaps, intercepted oral  
3 communications at Friends of Blagojevich is that  
4 the Governor repeatedly directed John Harris to  
5 reach out to the Tribune. And whether it was  
6 true or not, Harris was telling him back, "I've  
7 been talking to them, I've delivered the  
8 message."

9 The Governor's own words, the  
10 Governor's own words, scheming and plotting to  
11 shake down the Tribune Company, "Fire your  
12 editorial board members if you want \$150 million  
13 in State aid."

14 Fifteen different conversations,  
15 fifteen different examples of abuse, more than  
16 enough all by itself to constitute a pattern of  
17 abuse of power.

18 Let's talk about some of the  
19 pay-to-play schemes that we heard about.

20 We learned that the Governor wanted to  
21 raise \$2.5 million by the end of last year, by  
22 the end of 2008, before the new ethics bill went  
23 into play that would have obviously curtailed  
24 his ability to raise money. And in his haste to

1 raise as much money as he could before that  
2 deadline, we learned about three schemes where  
3 the Governor made the price of an official act a  
4 coerced campaign contribution.

5           We heard about pediatric care  
6 reimbursements. The Governor had promised, had  
7 promised to release \$8 million in children's  
8 pediatric care reimbursements. Yet, in the same  
9 breath that he mentioned that, he talked about  
10 getting \$50,000 from Hospital Executive 1. What  
11 did he say? "I'm going to do 8 million for  
12 them. I want to get Hospital Executive 1 for  
13 50."

14           He even contemplated when he didn't get  
15 the contribution right away breaking his  
16 commitment, holding up the money.

17           You recall that long exchange between  
18 Deputy Governor A and the Governor ending with  
19 the Governor asking, "We could pull that back if  
20 we needed to, budgetary concerns, right?" And  
21 Deputy Governor A said, "Right."

22           We heard about the Tollway project.  
23 We learned that the Governor announced a  
24 \$1.8 billion Tollway project and in the same

1 breath, talking to subordinates, said he wanted  
2 half a million dollars from a particular highway  
3 contractor. From his own mouth, the Governor's  
4 own words: I could have made a larger  
5 announcement, but I wanted to see how they  
6 performed by the end of the year. If they don't  
7 perform, "F" 'em.

8 The third pay-to-play scheme involved  
9 the Horse Racing Impact Fee Bill.

10 Ladies and Gentlemen, you have on your  
11 desks a transcript from the audiotapes from the  
12 federal wiretaps. I'm going to ask the  
13 Secretary now to play these tapes one by one.  
14 I'd like to take you through each one and talk  
15 to you a little bit about it and break it down  
16 for you.

17 Before we get to the first one, I --  
18 obviously, these are chronological. The first  
19 phone call is from the -- is from the tapped  
20 home phone of Rod Blagojevich. It's on November  
21 13th, 2008 at 10:05 a.m.

22 I'll remind you of the evidence in the  
23 record that the Horse Racing Impact Fee Bill has  
24 not passed at this point; it's still being

1 lobbied. It didn't pass until the 20th of  
2 November.

3 If the Secretary could play the first  
4 tape, please.

5 (Whereupon, the following  
6 audio recording was played.)

7 BLAGOJEVICH: Hey.

8 ROB: Hey.

9 BLAGOJEVICH: How we doing?

10 ROB: Good. Uh, talked to Lon. And  
11 uh, he says Johnny Johnston is good for it.  
12 He's gonna give you -- ya know, he didn't get  
13 it. But he said, ya know, I'm good for it. I  
14 gotta just decide what, what uh, accounts to get  
15 it out of. And, and Lon's going to talk to you  
16 about some sensitivities legislatively tonight  
17 when he sees you with regard to timing of all of  
18 this?

19 BLAGOJEVICH: Right - before the end of  
20 the year though, right?

21 ROB: Oh, yeah. Yeah. Yeah. So, uh -  
22 there was no waffling there, it just uh, ya  
23 know, we gotta, we just gotta figure it out and  
24 -- so he'll give you the specific details.



1 to talk to you about this transcript.

2 First of all, on Page 2 of the  
3 transcript, the second of the two pages, on  
4 Lines 10 and 11, the Governor says, "He's down  
5 there right now with him lobbying on a bill."  
6 He's talking about the fact that Lobbyist 1 is  
7 lobbying for the Horse Racing Impact Fee Bill  
8 with John Johnston.

9 The Governor knows exactly what's going  
10 on. He knows that Lobbyist 1 is down there, he  
11 knows what they're there for, he knows what  
12 their interests are.

13 And then on Lines 14 through 16, again,  
14 the Governor, "Yeah, they're pushing a bill."  
15 And then he says, "So that's probably what he  
16 wants to wait on. That's probably what he wants  
17 to wait on."

18 The Governor is saying John Johnston  
19 doesn't want to pay the contribution until he's  
20 sure the bill is actually going to reach the  
21 Governor's desk.

22 Could you play the second tape, please?

23 I'm sorry. I apologize.

24 The second tape takes place on December

1 3rd, 2008 at 2:21 p.m. This is after the bill  
2 has passed. This is from the intercepted cell  
3 phone call of Lobbyist 1. It's between Lobbyist  
4 1 and John Johnston.

5 (Whereupon, the following  
6 audio recording was played.)

7 JOHNSTON: Hello.

8 LOBBYIST 1: John. How are you? It's  
9 Lon.

10 JOHNSTON: Good. How are you?  
11 Checking in.

12 LOBBYIST 1: Where, oh, you, I didn't  
13 know you called.

14 JOHNSTON: Oh, yeah, I left a message  
15 earlier today.

16 LOBBYIST 1: What um, where are you  
17 right now?

18 JOHNSTON: I'm at the track.

19 LOBBYIST 1: Can I come see you?

20 JOHNSTON: Can you come see me?

21 LOBBYIST 1: Yeah.

22 JOHNSTON: Yeah, yeah.

23 LOBBYIST 1: Um, I'll be there probably  
24 about 45 minutes.



1                   JOHNSTON: Okay. See ya.

2                   LOBBYIST 1: Bye.

3                                   (End of audio recording.)

4                   HOUSE PROSECUTOR ELLIS: Now we're

5 going to take you to the third call which occurs

6 at 4:11 p.m. on that same day. This is a little

7 under two hours later. This is intercepted from

8 Lobbyist 1's cellular phone. It's between the

9 Governor and Lobbyist 1.

10                                   (Whereupon, the following

11                                   audio recording was played.)

12                   UF: Friends of Blagojevich.

13                   LOBBYIST 1: Hey, it's Lon.

14                   UF: Hey, Lon. Hold on one second.

15                   LOBBYIST 1: Is -- is Rod there?

16                   UF: Yeah, they're both here. Hold on.

17                   LOBBYIST 1: Okay.

18                   BLAGOJEVICH: Hey, Lon.

19                   LOBBYIST 1: Hey. So I'm just leaving

20 there, um, and I talked to him about commitment.

21 He goes -- I said, "two separate conversations.

22 What about your commitment?" He goes, "Lon, I

23 have to leave in two weeks, and I'm gonna be

24 gone for two weeks. I know that I have to have

1 this in your hand by the end of those two  
2 weeks." And I said, "look, there's a concern  
3 that there's gonna be some skittishness if your  
4 bill gets signed because of the timeliness of  
5 the commitment." He said, "absolutely not. I  
6 mean, do you want me to put some into the next  
7 quarter." I said, "No. That's not my point.  
8 My point is this has all gotta be in now." He  
9 goes, "I'm gonna have -- I hope I'm gonna have  
10 it next week, but you have my commitment. I've  
11 always been there. I'm gonna be there. I've  
12 gotta have it in the next two weeks cause I'm  
13 going out of town.

14 BLAGOJEVICH: Good. Um.

15 LOBBYIST 1: And it -- and the reason  
16 it took so long was is that Billy came in and  
17 started talking about George Steinbrenner and  
18 not about the bill so much, but just about his  
19 illness and all that, and I didn't want to have  
20 that conversation in front of Billy.

21 BLAGOJEVICH: Ya, I know. Good job.  
22 Hey, um --

23 (End of audio recording.)

24 HOUSE PROSECUTOR ELLIS: I would like

1 to take you to Page 1 of that transcript that we  
2 just heard. Lines 9 and 10.

3 This is Lobbyist 1: "So I'm just  
4 leaving there, um, and I talked to him about the  
5 commitment."

6 Notice there's no context there. The  
7 Governor requires no explanation from Lobbyist 1  
8 about what "there" means or who "him" is. The  
9 Governor knows exactly where Lobbyist 1 is,  
10 exactly what he's doing.

11 Lobbyist 1 talks about there's a  
12 concern there's going to be some skittishness if  
13 your bill gets signed because of the timeliness  
14 of the commitment. This is what Lobbyist 1 said  
15 he said to John Johnston. He's telling Johnston  
16 they don't -- they didn't want to sign the bill,  
17 they don't want to sign the bill until the  
18 contribution is in.

19 And the Governor at Line 27 responds to  
20 that by saying, "Good."

21 Later in the call, at the very bottom  
22 of Page 1 and spilling over to the top of Page  
23 2, Lobbyist 1 is apologizing to the Governor for  
24 why his -- his call is -- seems late, it's later

1 than, I think, it appears the Governor expected  
2 it to be.

3 He's explaining that Billy came in,  
4 presumably Billy Johnston, -- I don't know --  
5 and started talking about things. And as Lon --  
6 as -- as Lobbyist 1 puts it on Line 4, "I didn't  
7 want to have that conversation in front of  
8 Billy."

9 Well why not? Why didn't Lobbyist 1  
10 want to have that conversation with John  
11 Johnston in front of somebody else? Because it  
12 was an improper conversation. That's why.

13 I would like to play the fourth tape  
14 now. And this is the next day, December 4th, at  
15 9:09 a.m. It's between Lobbyist 1 and the  
16 Governor. And I'm going to ask the Secretary to  
17 stop it a couple of times and explain some  
18 things, make some points out to you. And then  
19 when it's over, we'll play the whole thing again  
20 without me interrupting.

21 (Whereupon, the following  
22 audio recording was played.)

23 BLAGOJEVICH: Hey, Lon.

24 LOBBYIST 1: How are ya?

1                   BLAGOJEVICH: Good.

2                   LOBBYIST 1: Yeah. Ahm, so lemme, ah,  
3 so one thing I was thinking about last night is  
4 that, um, you ought to give, not today, but  
5 maybe tomorrow, just give John Johnston a call  
6 and say, you know, calling just to say hello,  
7 um, you know, I'm working on the timing of this  
8 thing, but it's gonna get done.

9                   BLAGOJEVICH: Okay.

10                  LOBBYIST 1: It's -- it's --

11                  BLAGOJEVICH: Call him tomorrow?

12                  LOBBYIST 1: It's a two -- it's a  
13 two-minute conversation.

14                  BLAGOJEVICH: Yeah, happy do it. Call  
15 him tomorrow, right?

16                  LOBBYIST 1: Yeah.

17                  BLAGOJEVICH: Okay. Call Johnny  
18 Johnston, or should I call -- have Harris call  
19 him?

20                  LOBBYIST 1: Ahm --

21                  BLAGOJEVICH: I mean, you want me to  
22 call him directly, I will, whatever's the best  
23 thing. I'm just a little bit --

24                  LOBBYIST 1: I think it's better if you

1 do it.

2 BLAGOJEVICH: Okay.

3 LOBBYIST 1: For -- it's better if you  
4 do it just from a pressure point of view.

5 BLAGOJEVICH: Yeah, good. I'll call  
6 him and say yeah, we'll -- and we want to do an  
7 event down sou -- down sou -- downstate.

8 LOBBYIST 1: Right.

9 BLAGOJEVICH: We wanna do it and  
10 hope -- hope to do this so we can get together  
11 and start picking some dates to do a bill  
12 signing? Right?

13 (Audio recording paused.)

14 HOUSE PROSECUTOR ELLIS: Okay, let's  
15 stop there. At Line 3, Lobbyist 1, talking  
16 about the Governor being the one to make the  
17 call to John Johnston says, "It would be better  
18 if you do it from a pressure point of view."

19 What does the Governor say in response  
20 to that? He says, "Yeah, good."

21 And then a few lines down, elaborating  
22 on what he will say to John Johnston, he says,  
23 "We hope to do this so we can get together and  
24 start picking some dates to do a bill signing."

1                   The Governor is going to make sure in  
2 his conversation with John Johnston about a  
3 political contribution that he mentions that  
4 bill.

5                   (Whereupon, the following  
6 audio recording was played.)

7                   LOBBYIST 1: Okay. So what are -- what  
8 are the chances based on my conversation with  
9 you yesterday, that this gets done next week?

10                  BLAGOJEVICH: You know, they're good.

11                  LOBBYIST 1: Okay.

12                  BLAGOJEVICH: I mean --

13                  LOBBYIST 1: He's, I'm -- I'm telling  
14 you he's gonna be good for it. I got in his  
15 face.

16                  BLAGOJEVICH: Okay, good.

17                  (Audio recording paused.)

18                  HOUSE PROSECUTOR ELLIS: So Lobbyist 1  
19 asks the Governor what are the chances that this  
20 gets done next week. He's asking can this bill  
21 get signed next week. The Governor initially  
22 says, "You know, they're good."

23                  Lobbyist 1 says, "Okay."

24                  And then the Governor says, "I mean,"

1 and he trails off. You heard a pause there.

2 Now, how does Lobbyist 1 interpret that  
3 pause? He jumps him in and says, "I'm telling  
4 you, he's gonna be good for it. I'm telling  
5 you, he's gonna be good for it. I got in his  
6 face."

7 The Governor was expressing hesitation  
8 about signing the bill before he got the  
9 contribution, and Lobbyist 1 was making sure  
10 he -- the Governor understood he will be getting  
11 that contribution.

12 (Whereupon, the following  
13 audio recording was played.)

14 LOBBYIST 1: All right.

15 BLAGOJEVICH: I know, it's --

16 LOBBYIST 1: Huh?

17 BLAGOJEVICH: I feel like there's  
18 somebody else who's holding him back.

19 LOBBYIST 1: No.

20 BLAGOJEVICH: I believe it's Chris.

21 LOBBYIST 1: No. No.

22 BLAGOJEVICH: Well, what took, you  
23 know, a whole year? You know what I mean? Hey,  
24 Lon --



1                   LOBBYIST 1: No, I don't think he's  
2                   been talking to Chris. I don't think he's been  
3                   talking to Chris.

4                   BLAGOJEVICH: Okay.

5                                   (End of audio recording.)

6                   HOUSE PROSECUTOR ELLIS: Now, before we  
7                   play that again, I want to make one more point.  
8                   At the bottom of Page 2, the -- Line 28, the  
9                   Governor says, "What took, you know, a whole  
10                  year for this contribution?"

11                  This is not a man who is willingly  
12                  paying a contribution; this is a man who is  
13                  being pressured to pay a contribution.

14                                   (Whereupon, the following  
15                                   audio recording was played.)

16                  BLAGOJEVICH: Hey, Lon.

17                  LOBBYIST 1: How are ya?

18                  BLAGOJEVICH: Good.

19                  LOBBYIST 1: Yeah. Ahm, so lemme, ah,  
20                  so one thing I was thinking about last night is  
21                  that, um, you ought to give, not today, but  
22                  maybe tomorrow, just give John Johnston a call  
23                  and say, you know, calling just to say hello,  
24                  um, you know, I'm working on the timing of this

1 thing, but it's gonna get done.

2 BLAGOJEVICH: Okay.

3 LOBBYIST 1: It's -- it's --

4 BLAGOJEVICH: Call him tomorrow?

5 LOBBYIST 1: It's a two -- it's a

6 two-minute conversation.

7 BLAGOJEVICH: Yeah, happy do it. Call

8 him tomorrow, right?

9 LOBBYIST 1: Yeah.

10 BLAGOJEVICH: Okay. Call Johnny

11 Johnston, or should I call -- have Harris call

12 him?

13 LOBBYIST 1: Ahm --

14 BLAGOJEVICH: I mean, you want me to

15 call him directly, I will, whatever's the best

16 thing. I'm just a little bit --

17 LOBBYIST 1: I think it's better if you

18 do it.

19 BLAGOJEVICH: Okay.

20 LOBBYIST 1: For -- it's better if you

21 do it just from a pressure point of view.

22 BLAGOJEVICH: Yeah, good. I'll call

23 him and say yeah, we'll -- and we want to do an

24 event down sou -- down sou -- downstate.

1                   LOBBYIST 1: Right.

2                   BLAGOJEVICH: We wanna do it and  
3 hope -- hope to do this so we can get together  
4 and start picking some dates to do a bill  
5 signing, right?

6                   LOBBYIST 1: Okay. So what are -- what  
7 are the chances based on my conversation with  
8 you yesterday, that this gets done next week?

9                   BLAGOJEVICH: You know, they're good.

10                  LOBBYIST 1: Okay.

11                  BLAGOJEVICH: I mean --

12                  LOBBYIST 1: He's -- I'm -- I'm telling  
13 you he's gonna be good for it. I got in his  
14 face.

15                  BLAGOJEVICH: Okay, good.

16                  LOBBYIST 1: All right.

17                  BLAGOJEVICH: I know, it's.

18                  LOBBYIST 1: Huh?

19                  BLAGOJEVICH: I feel like there's  
20 somebody else who's holding him back.

21                  LOBBYIST 1: No.

22                  BLAGOJEVICH: I believe it's Chris.

23                  LOBBYIST 1: No. No.

24                  BLAGOJEVICH: Well, what took, you

1 know, a whole year? You know what I mean? Hey,  
2 Lon --

3 LOBBYIST 1: No, I don't think he's  
4 been talking to Chris. I don't think he's been  
5 talking to Chris.

6 BLAGOJEVICH: Okay.

7 (End of audio recording.)

8 HOUSE PROSECUTOR ELLIS: Thank you.

9 So far, we have been talking about the  
10 information derived from the Federal  
11 Government's intercepts at the Governor's home  
12 phone and at Friends of Blagojevich. We have  
13 from this information 60 conversations, 60  
14 conversations, on court-authorized, intercepted  
15 communications, each one sworn to in this room  
16 by Special Agent Daniel Cain, paragraph by  
17 paragraph swearing that everything in that  
18 paragraph is true, swearing that the quotes were  
19 accurately written in, swearing that the voice  
20 identification of the Governor was positive.

21 Sixty conversations all in which the  
22 Governor places his own interests first, all of  
23 which he directs other people to set plots in  
24 motion to use his official powers to personally

1 gain. 60 examples of abuse of power.

2 Is that not a pattern of abuse of power  
3 right there?

4 We then heard other pay-to-play schemes  
5 earlier in the Governor's administration, some  
6 of which came to light several years later. We  
7 heard about Ali Ata.

8 Ali Ata admitted in federal court under  
9 oath that he bought his position at IFA for two  
10 \$25,000 campaign contributions. And by the way,  
11 he was named executive director of a very  
12 important new agency, an agency created to  
13 consolidate the bonding authority in this State.

14 But who did he report to? Who did Ali  
15 Ata report to? Did he report to the Governor?  
16 No. Did he report to the budget office? No.  
17 Did he report to anyone employed by State  
18 government? No. Ali Ata reported on a weekly  
19 basis to Tony Rezko.

20 Let's talk about the Health Facilities  
21 Planning Board.

22 The evidence was clear that the  
23 Governor directed votes on hospital permits.  
24 You got your permit approved if you made a

1 political contribution.

2           We heard testimony regarding Mercy  
3 Hospital in Crystal Lake. A vote of no on a  
4 Certificate of Need permit suddenly became a  
5 vote of yes. Why? Because that hospital gave  
6 the Governor a political contribution. And this  
7 was testimony corroborated by a number of  
8 independent witnesses at the Rezko trial and  
9 later, as he began to cooperate, by Tony Rezko  
10 himself.

11           Then we heard about Joseph Cari and his  
12 plane ride with the Governor, about what the  
13 Governor wanted to do, what plans he had to be  
14 Governor.

15           What did the Governor tell Joseph Cari,  
16 that he wanted to balance the budget, that he  
17 wanted to improve education? No. He said he  
18 intended to use the power of his office, his  
19 power to award contracts to get campaign  
20 contributions from those contractors.

21           And why did Joe Cari ultimately plead  
22 guilty? Because he told a company that they had  
23 to hire a particular consultant company, or they  
24 wouldn't get State work. Joe Cari admitted to

1     telling that company in Illinois, in Illinois,  
2     the Governor and the people around the Governor  
3     pick the consultants.

4             The Governor's abuse of power extended  
5     to his disregard of the legislature. You heard  
6     testimony that the Governor repeatedly directed  
7     his staff to -- to intrude upon the legislative  
8     powers, on your powers, by ordering his agency  
9     to ignore decisions of the Joint Committee on  
10    Administrative Rules, JCAR.

11            Now, whether or not you believe that  
12    expanding FamilyCare is a good idea, and I know  
13    a lot of you do, the point is not the ends but  
14    the means.

15            As the Auditor General said yesterday,  
16    we are a State and country of laws, and  
17    everyone, the Governor included, must obey them.

18            And yet, he directed the Department by  
19    rule to raise the eligibility level for  
20    FamilyCare despite the fact that JCAR rejected  
21    that rule not once, not twice, but four  
22    separate times. He directed the agency to  
23    follow not the law on the books but the law  
24    that the Governor wanted.

1           But the Governor cannot make law. Only  
2 you here in the legislature can do that. And if  
3 we allow this to happen just because this  
4 particular program is a well-intentioned one,  
5 then how do we stop a Governor when he  
6 implements one for an ill-intentioned purpose?

7           We have the Executive Inspector General  
8 Report. We didn't have a live witness for that,  
9 we didn't need a live witness for that. That  
10 report couldn't have been clearer.

11           The Governor's Office of  
12 Intergovernmental Affairs, GOIA, directed the  
13 Illinois Department of Employment Security to  
14 manipulate job descriptions to avoid veterans'  
15 hiring preferences, told employees to falsify  
16 their employment applications.

17           The Executive Inspector General found  
18 that the Governor's Office was behind all of  
19 these illegal actions and showed, quote, a  
20 complete and utter contempt for the law.

21           We heard from the Auditor General who  
22 talked about many things, first the efficiency  
23 initiative. Now this was something that started  
24 out in the General Assembly. It was designed to



1 reduce costs, to streamline governmental  
2 services. But when the Governor and his staff  
3 got ahold of it, it became a tool to subvert the  
4 appropriations process and to direct millions of  
5 dollars to favored consultants, the largest of  
6 which, a \$25 million contract, went to a company  
7 that didn't even exist at the time.

8 Two Senators during questioning  
9 described this as a money-laundering scheme.

10 The flu vaccine procurement. The  
11 Governor knew that the procurement of vaccine  
12 was illegal under federal and State law, but he  
13 proceeded anyways. And worse yet, he not only  
14 violated federal and State law, but he entered  
15 into a contract for \$2.6 million in vaccine,  
16 knowing that -- not only that it couldn't be  
17 delivered but that we didn't need it. We  
18 already had the vaccine, but he had started down  
19 the road, and he wasn't going to turn back.

20 The State is still on the hook for that  
21 \$2.6 million. And based on the other vaccine  
22 that Illinois talked about buying for other  
23 states, we're lucky that number is not 8.2  
24 million.

1                   Then we get to the I-SaveRx program.  
2                   More of the same. Again, the FDA told the  
3                   Governor not once but twice that importing drugs  
4                   from foreign countries was illegal under both  
5                   federal and State law not because it was a bad  
6                   idea per se, not because affordable drugs are a  
7                   bad thing. Far from it, but because drugs from  
8                   foreign countries cannot be determined to be  
9                   safe, not by the federal government at least.

10                   But the government was -- the Governor  
11                   was undeterred. He implemented the program  
12                   anyways. The result? No monitoring, no testing  
13                   of the drugs, no supervision of the foreign  
14                   pharmacies whatsoever. Exactly the reasons why  
15                   it's illegal in the first place under federal  
16                   law, because it's unsafe. But for the Governor,  
17                   splashy press releases were far too valuable to  
18                   let little details like safety and soundness get  
19                   in the way.

20                   It cannot go unmentioned here as we  
21                   talk about whether the Governor is fit to  
22                   serve -- it cannot go unmentioned other things  
23                   that we heard on the intercepted federal  
24                   wiretaps in which the Governor indicated that he

1 no longer wishes to serve. He indicated that  
2 several times in several ways.

3 He was quoted on November 10th, he does  
4 not want to be Governor for the next two years.  
5 He referred to remaining in office as Governor  
6 as having to suck it up for two years. He  
7 expressed frustration at being stuck as  
8 Governor.

9 When he was talking to the Chicago Cubs  
10 about the IFA financing, he told them they  
11 better get that project done by the January  
12 meeting of the IFA because, quote -- I'm sorry  
13 not quote yet -- the Governor was, quote,  
14 "contemplating leaving office in early  
15 January 2009."

16 And we know he was contemplating  
17 leaving office. Look at the jobs he was trying  
18 to get: Secretary of Health and Human Services,  
19 ambassador, a job at Change to Win, anything,  
20 anything but the Office of Governor.

21 I'd like to say just a couple of words  
22 about the rules of this proceeding because we've  
23 heard so much about it outside this Chamber this  
24 week.

1           I have said before and I will say again  
2           that these rules are evenhanded and fair. They  
3           apply equally to both sides.

4           The Governor has spent a lot of time  
5           outside this State mischaracterizing these  
6           rules.

7           He says that evidence from the House  
8           Impeachment Record cannot be questioned. That  
9           is absolutely not true. The Governor questioned  
10          the evidence in the House, and he can do so  
11          here. You Members have been questioning and  
12          challenging the evidence for the last three  
13          days. If the Governor had watched, he would  
14          know that.

15          The prohibition from the United States  
16          Attorney's office. Well, listen, that hampered  
17          us as well. Don't you think we would have loved  
18          to be able to call the victims of these  
19          shakedowns, the hospital executive at Children's  
20          Memorial, John Johnston? We were just as  
21          hampered as he was.

22          But we told you all along our case was  
23          really not about those subsidiary people, it was  
24          about the Governor's own words. And in that

1 regard, we called special agent Dan Cain who  
2 told you he listened to all those tapes and  
3 verified it was the Governor's voice and  
4 verified that the quotes were accurately  
5 transmitted to the affidavit paragraph by  
6 painstaking paragraph.

7           The Governor wasn't here to  
8 cross-examine him. The Governor wasn't here to  
9 testify in his own defense because who has  
10 better knowledge about what the Governor said  
11 than the Governor?

12           The Governor has called this tribunal a  
13 kangaroo court, he's called it a sham. He's  
14 claimed the fix is in.

15           Ladies and Gentlemen, I'm here to tell  
16 you that is not the body that I have been  
17 working in front of this week. That's not what  
18 I've seen. I have seen a body that has  
19 deliberated at length. I have seen a body that  
20 has repeatedly challenged us, as you should, on  
21 every point, a body that has asked insightful  
22 and deliberative questions.

23           I have seen a body that has done honor  
24 to this process and honor to the Constitution,

1 and I am proud to have had the opportunity to  
2 present in front of you this week.

3 Ladies and Gentlemen, we believe that  
4 we have more than adequately demonstrated a  
5 pattern of abuse of power. We're asking you to  
6 judge this Governor based on the totality of his  
7 actions.

8 Now, I want to be clear, the Article of  
9 Impeachment refers to some or all of the acts.  
10 We have 13 paragraphs. It is not our  
11 responsibility, our burden -- it is not  
12 necessary that -- that you be satisfied that all  
13 13 paragraphs have been established.

14 All that you need to be satisfied with  
15 individually is that you have found a pattern of  
16 abuse, no matter how many different paragraphs  
17 that takes. Or as we have suggested in some of  
18 these like the Senate seat, I would argue that's  
19 a -- that's a pattern all by itself with 31  
20 separate acts.

21 From the intercepted conversations,  
22 oral and wire communications alone, we  
23 have 60 conversations all related to plots by  
24 the Governor to use his official acts to further

1 his own personal gain.

2 That, I would suggest, easily shows a  
3 pattern of abuse of power all by itself. That's  
4 not counting the corruption at the Health  
5 Facilities Planning Board, that's not talking  
6 about Ali Ata's purchase of his position, that's  
7 not talking about Joseph Cari and the things  
8 that the Governor said to Joseph Cari.

9 Combined with that, the Governor's  
10 clear disregard of the law and legal procedures  
11 with regard to JCAR, the Executive Inspector  
12 General's report, scathing report, on hiring at  
13 the Department of Employment Security and the  
14 Holland audits, the pattern of abuse of power is  
15 unmistakable.

16 The evidence showed that throughout his  
17 tenure as Governor, the Governor has abused the  
18 power of his office and put his own interests  
19 above the people's. Which interests? Legal,  
20 personal, political.

21 The people of this State deserve so  
22 much better. The Governor should be removed  
23 from office.

24 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Is the

1 Governor present?

2 We're advised that the Governor is in  
3 the building and will be here shortly. We will  
4 stand at ease. Please -- stay near the Chamber  
5 because as soon as we're able, we'll take it up  
6 again.

7 (Whereupon, a short recess  
8 was taken.)

9 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: The Senate  
10 is back in session. We're informed that the  
11 Governor will be here momentarily. We'll see.

12 The Sergeant-at-Arms will please escort  
13 the Governor into the Chambers. The  
14 Sergeant-at-Arms will escort the Governor into  
15 the Chambers.

16 Let the record reflect that the  
17 Governor is present. Good afternoon, Governor.

18 GOVERNOR BLAGOJEVICH: Good afternoon,  
19 Justice. Ladies and gentlemen of the Senate --

20 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: The Governor  
21 is recognized for the purpose of making a  
22 closing argument. He has 90 minutes in which to  
23 present his argument.

24 Governor, if I may, please, just to



1 give you some lay of the land, this table over  
2 here is yours with the two chairs, and you're at  
3 the -- at the same podium that was used by the  
4 House Prosecutor in making his argument. If you  
5 need to move a step or two away, that would be  
6 permissible as well.

7 GOVERNOR BLAGOJEVICH: Thank you,  
8 Justice.

9 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: You may  
10 proceed.

11 GOVERNOR BLAGOJEVICH: Okay. Thank you  
12 very much.

13 Mr. Chief Justice, thank you. Ladies  
14 and gentlemen of the Senate, thank you very  
15 much. I'm grateful for the opportunity to be  
16 here today and present my closing argument and  
17 my chance to be able to talk to you, talk to the  
18 people of Illinois and talk to anybody else who  
19 is listening.

20 I had -- the last couple of days I've  
21 had a chance to be able to go out and talk to as  
22 many people as I possibly could about my desire  
23 to be able to appear here before the Senate, the  
24 Senate trial, and have a chance to be able to

1 tell the whole story, have every single witness  
2 I could possibly bring, be able to tell the  
3 truth, the whole truth and nothing but the  
4 truth, present as much evidence as available to  
5 be able to have the whole story told and have a  
6 chance to be able to show you here in the  
7 Senate, show the people of Illinois and show  
8 anybody else who's listening that I have done  
9 absolutely nothing wrong, that I followed every  
10 law, that I never, ever intended to violate any  
11 law, and that when the whole truth is heard and  
12 the whole story is told, that's ultimately what  
13 will be shown.

14 I was hopeful that I'd have a chance to  
15 be able to do that in a Senate hearing in this  
16 trial, a chance to be able to bring witnesses  
17 in, a whole list of witnesses, every single  
18 witness in the criminal complaint. It would  
19 have been nice to have them here so they can  
20 tell truth and tell you under oath what they  
21 know.

22 I wanted to be able to bring in  
23 witnesses from Rahm Emanuel, the President's  
24 Chief of Staff, to Senator Dick Durbin to

1 Senator Harry Reid, and Bob Menendez, to every  
2 single person connected with any conversation I  
3 may have had in relation to picking the United  
4 States Senator. Unfortunately, these rules have  
5 prevented me from being able to do that. And in  
6 spite of efforts to try to get you -- to give me  
7 that chance to do it, it didn't work.

8           So I went to the people, talked to as  
9 many people as I possibly could. And I was over  
10 and over repeating to them just give me a chance  
11 to be able to let the truth come out, so sooner,  
12 rather than later, I can show you I've done  
13 nothing wrong, so sooner, rather than later, I  
14 can clear my name, and we can put this behind us  
15 and get on with working to do things for people,  
16 get on with the business of the people.

17           Now, when I did that and met a lot of  
18 different people and made that case to them,  
19 they were mostly sympathetic. They understood  
20 my position. They said, of course you're  
21 entitled to a fair trial. Every American  
22 citizen is. Of course you're entitled to bring  
23 witnesses in so you can disprove things that are  
24 being said about you and show that they're not

1 true. Of course you're entitled to confront  
2 your accusers.

3 This is the United States of America.  
4 It's guaranteed by the Constitution. It's a  
5 fundamental civil liberty that every American  
6 enjoys. And imagine what it would be like to  
7 live in a country like this if you weren't  
8 allowed to be able to defend yourself.

9 And of course, an impeachment trial is  
10 not a court of law. It's different. But  
11 whether it's a court of law or an administrative  
12 hearing, whether it's schoolyard justice when  
13 one kid hits another, but the kid that hit him  
14 wasn't the one who did it, and he's got other  
15 boys he'd like to have tell the teacher he  
16 didn't do it, whether it's that or whether it's  
17 an impeachment process where you are seeking to  
18 remove a governor who was twice elected by the  
19 people, I think fundamental fairness,  
20 fundamental justice, natural law and  
21 constitutional rights suggest I should be able  
22 to bring witnesses in to say I didn't do the  
23 things they said I did.

24 Now, when I made that case to people,

1 they listened to me and were supportive. But  
2 they also said to me, if you feel so strongly  
3 about it, Governor, then why don't you go to the  
4 Senate and tell them yourself? Why don't you go  
5 there and tell them instead of you just telling  
6 us? And so that's why I'm here. I'm here to  
7 talk to you and appeal to you, to your sense of  
8 fairness, your sense of responsibility, your  
9 commitment to the Constitution, your commitment  
10 to basic fairness.

11 And I'm asking you, as I speak to you  
12 today, to imagine yourself walking in my shoes.  
13 Think about you if someone said the things that  
14 they've said about me and you know you didn't do  
15 it, but there's been a rush to judgment and a --  
16 an evisceration of the presumption of innocence.

17 Imagine how you would approach this and  
18 what you would do. Think about if you knew you  
19 were right and you were innocent and you didn't  
20 do anything wrong, whether you should be rushed  
21 out of office, disgrace your family, disgrace  
22 your children and imply, and imply that you  
23 might have actually done the things they said  
24 you did.

1           Think about your responsibilities when  
2 the people choose you, and you know you've kept  
3 your faith with them, but everybody else is  
4 saying you didn't. But if you quit and give up  
5 and leave without having a chance to prove your  
6 innocence, how you abandoned them and you quit  
7 on them and you violated your commitment to  
8 them.

9           I'm here to give every possible  
10 explanation to every one of these allegations,  
11 and I'm grateful that you've at least given me  
12 that. But I would hope that maybe when you  
13 consider what I have to say, who knows, maybe  
14 you'll reconsider and give me a chance to call  
15 those witnesses I'd like to call. And who  
16 knows? Maybe you'll reconsider and give me a  
17 chance to see if there's some possible way where  
18 every one of those conversations that were taped  
19 can be right here before you so you can hear all  
20 of them, words and all, the truth, unadulterated  
21 truth. Maybe not flattering in some case, but  
22 it's the truth, and there was never a  
23 conversation where I intended to break any law.

24           So I'm here to do what I can to explain

1 to you my side of the story. Now, the Articles  
2 of Impeachment, as they're configured, are  
3 broken up basically in two portions. One is a  
4 portion that alleges that I abused the executive  
5 discretion that the governor is given, and then  
6 the other is the allegations in the criminal  
7 complaint.

8           Articles 1 through 8 in the -- deal  
9 with the allegations in the criminal complaint,  
10 but here at this trial, only Article 3, only  
11 Article 3, was there any evidence presented to  
12 suggest that something may have been done. In  
13 all the other Articles, no evidence was  
14 presented to prove up criminal allegations.

15           And let's look at the one Article where  
16 they actually brought evidence. The evidence is  
17 the four tapes. You heard those four tapes. I  
18 don't have to tell you what they say. You guys  
19 are in politics. You know what we have to do to  
20 go out and run -- run elections. There was no  
21 criminal activity on those four tapes.

22           You can express things in a free  
23 country, but those four tapes speak for  
24 themselves. Take those four tapes as they are,

1 and you will, I believe, in fairness recognize  
2 and acknowledge those are conversations relating  
3 to the things all of us in politics do in order  
4 to run campaigns and try to win elections.

5 Now, I understand that the Federal  
6 Prosecutor and the U.S. Attorney has made it  
7 clear, and I respect and understand his  
8 position, that he doesn't want witnesses called  
9 and that he doesn't want evidence called, and  
10 that's why on all the other seven Articles, with  
11 the exception of those four tapes that you  
12 heard, there hasn't been any evidence to show or  
13 prove any criminal conduct. I understand that.

14 That's why I am appealing to you that  
15 unless they allow us to bring that evidence in,  
16 then that case ought to be heard in the  
17 appropriate place, in a court of law, and  
18 respect the U.S. Attorney and his needs to be  
19 able to bring those witnesses. But how can you  
20 throw a governor out of office on a criminal  
21 complaint, and you haven't been able to show or  
22 prove any criminal activity? How can you throw  
23 a governor elected twice by the people out of  
24 office when the rules don't even require that



1 you prove up elements of criminal allegations.

2           And more than that, how can you throw a  
3 governor out of office who is clamoring and  
4 begging and pleading with you to give him a  
5 chance to bring witnesses in to prove his  
6 innocence, to do more than just ask for a  
7 presumption of innocence. Don't even give me  
8 that. Let me make my case. Let me bring my  
9 witnesses in. Let me show you that I'm innocent  
10 and I didn't do anything wrong.

11           So Articles 1 to 8 do not show or prove  
12 any criminal case. And if that's the case, how  
13 can you throw me out of office without proving  
14 something like that and set a dangerous  
15 precedent that could have an impact on people  
16 and governors in Illinois and governors in other  
17 states.

18           Now, the four tapes that you heard  
19 speak for themselves. You also had a chance to  
20 listen to the FBI agent who was here, but what  
21 did he do? He just read allegations. He didn't  
22 allow you to challenge the allegations. He  
23 didn't allow you to cross-examine any of the --  
24 of the people involved in those allegations. He

1 simply read a criminal complaint. That's not  
2 proving criminal allegations.

3           And again, I would respectfully suggest  
4 to you how can you throw somebody out of office,  
5 whether it's me, or maybe one day it happens to  
6 you, without even expecting someone to try to  
7 prove something that they're saying that you  
8 did. So I'm appealing to you and your sense of  
9 fairness. And because Articles 1 through 8  
10 don't allow, don't allow for having proven any  
11 criminal activity, I can't imagine how you can  
12 possibly throw me out of office for something  
13 that wasn't shown that I did.

14           As for the other -- as for the -- the  
15 other allegations, the allegations that I  
16 allegedly abused the executive discretion, I'd  
17 like to take each one of those one by one.  
18 Let's begin with the first one. The first one  
19 I'd like to talk about, and I want to talk about  
20 each one of these and what I did in each one of  
21 those cases. And I'm glad for having finally  
22 been given a chance to be able to explain each  
23 of these issues because I've been dying to do  
24 this for years.

1           The first issue is the issue of my  
2 giving healthcare, my giving healthcare to  
3 parents in low-income families, to parents who  
4 have children who are getting healthcare through  
5 the All Kids Program, to parents who come from  
6 low-income families who used to have healthcare,  
7 but then in late 2007, President Bush and the  
8 Bush Administration changed its policies, and  
9 those 35,000 people who used to have healthcare  
10 didn't have it.

11           Let me talk about what I did here.  
12 What did I do in this case but provide  
13 healthcare for low-income families? Now, I  
14 understand the importance of the JCAR committee,  
15 the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules. I  
16 understand that six of you here in the Senate  
17 are members of that. The fact that you'd be  
18 picked to be on JCAR means you're in good  
19 standing with your legislative leaders.

20           I remember when I was a legislator. I  
21 remember when I was a freshman in Congress, and  
22 I got a chance to be on what they call a  
23 conference committee when you get to sit with  
24 the leaders of the different committees in the

1 House and in the Senate, and what a thrill it  
2 was for me to be able to, as a freshman  
3 congressman, be in a room with legendary U.S.  
4 Senators like John Glenn and Ted Kennedy and  
5 John McCain and John Warner, the Senator from  
6 Virginia who incidentally had once been married  
7 to Elizabeth Taylor.

8           That's all I could think about when I  
9 saw him in that room. And then he asked me for  
10 a cup of coffee because he thought I was a  
11 staffer. And I didn't tell him I was a  
12 congressman. Instead I went and asked him how  
13 do you take it, and he said black. And I went  
14 and got him the coffee. I saw him the following  
15 week, and he asked me for another cup of coffee.  
16 He, obviously, forgot I was a congressman.

17           I remember what it was like to be in  
18 that committee, and I know how important it is  
19 for those of you who you are appointed to a  
20 committee like that, but let me respectfully  
21 suggest a couple of things.

22           The Joint Committee on Administrative  
23 Rules is a committee that other states have,  
24 too. And in nine other states, there have been

1 challenges when the Executive Branch seeks to do  
2 something, and then that committee, the Joint  
3 Committee on Administrative Rules, has another  
4 idea.

5           Now, ever since I've been Governor, for  
6 the entire six years I've been Governor, I've  
7 respected that committee. And as far as I know,  
8 our agencies have always approached the JCAR  
9 committee and sought requests for the rules so  
10 you guys can decide on that committee whether  
11 those rules should be issue or not. But I've  
12 been given legal advice by lawyers, and I  
13 believe they're right. And other courts have --  
14 have agreed that those lawyers were right, that  
15 JCAR is an advisory committee, that it cannot  
16 dictate to the Executive Branch, that if the  
17 Executive Branch seeks to do something, that  
18 committee can advise you and suggest whether  
19 it's right or wrong, or they agree with you or  
20 not, but they can't stop you.

21           If you want to stop the Executive  
22 Branch under our Constitution and the ideas of  
23 separation of powers, then you all know how it  
24 works. The House passes a bill. You, in the

1 Senate, pass a bill. I may not like it. You  
2 send it to me. I veto that bill. It goes back  
3 to you, and then you override my veto.

4 That's how you stop the Executive  
5 Branch and a governor. But 12 lawmakers,  
6 however, however intelligent and honest and  
7 impressive and schooled as you may be, 12  
8 lawmakers picked by a legislative -- by  
9 legislative leaders cannot constitutionally  
10 thwart the Executive Branch. Nine states, nine  
11 states have challenged this case, and in all  
12 nine states, the right of the Executive Branch  
13 to do what it sought to do without the consent  
14 of JCAR was upheld.

15 There's a current court case pending  
16 now about this healthcare issue as we speak, and  
17 the issue is this: When those 35,000 families,  
18 those low-income parents lost their healthcare  
19 because President Bush changed the rules in  
20 Washington, I felt it a moral obligation to try  
21 to help those families keep their healthcare and  
22 still be able to go to the doctor.

23 I worked with the Senate Democratic  
24 leadership on this issue. Every decision I made

1 was done in conjunction with your previous  
2 leader and presumably with your leadership team.  
3 And then we made a tactical decision to try to  
4 get the House to see if they could pass  
5 legislation, chose not to do it, and then I  
6 chose a way through legal advice and agency  
7 directors to protect those families and keep  
8 them from losing their healthcare.

9           Now, how is it an impeachable offense  
10 to protect low-income parents from losing their  
11 healthcare? How is it an impeachable offense to  
12 keep those families in a position to be able to  
13 see their doctors? In addition, just the other  
14 day the Illinois State Supreme Court took this  
15 case up and approved the payments to those  
16 families, so how can you possibly impeach a  
17 governor when a case is pending and taken by the  
18 Illinois Supreme Court which may rule in my  
19 favor?

20           And even if it doesn't, how can you  
21 impeach a governor when what we did was about  
22 helping families and kids and not anything that  
23 wasn't done in consultation with lawyers and  
24 others and is now being tested in a court of

1 law? And then again, what I did on that  
2 particular case was one I did with the Senate  
3 Democratic leadership at that time in  
4 conjunction with the Senate Democratic  
5 leadership at that time and in partnership with  
6 the Senate Democratic leadership at that time.

7 Now, the next Article are the flu  
8 vaccines, the issue of the flu vaccines. What  
9 did I do here? Now, in 2005, and my  
10 recollection is it was somewhere around the  
11 early fall of 2005, there were warnings coming  
12 from the Center for Disease Control in  
13 Washington saying that we were about to see one  
14 of the worst flu seasons in recent American  
15 history. They warned that you ought to get your  
16 flu shot, and then they warned, especially to  
17 seniors and mothers with small children,  
18 infants, that you better make sure your kids --  
19 your babies and your elderly parents get flu  
20 shots because the flu that's coming could  
21 actually take people's lives.

22 We then sought to get the necessary flu  
23 vaccines for the people of Illinois. The  
24 supplier of those flu vaccines, unfortunately, a



1 portion of their supply was contaminated, and so  
2 there was a shortage. Because we had a creative  
3 program, which apparently another Article of  
4 Impeachment has been filed, to go to Canada and  
5 get cheaper and safer and affordable  
6 prescription medicines for our senior citizens,  
7 we had relationships with some of the  
8 manufacturers of prescription drugs and flu  
9 vaccines. And so we found a way, through our  
10 agency, to go to companies like Aventis Pasteur  
11 and GlaxoSmithKline, legitimate FDA-approved  
12 companies that manufacture medicines and flu  
13 vaccines.

14           And understanding that there was going  
15 to be some risk that I might get criticized,  
16 because we had this chance to be able to get  
17 those flu vaccines, and because I was foreseeing  
18 the possibility that our elderly and infants  
19 might be vulnerable to flus that could  
20 conceivably take their lives, to me, it was a  
21 no-brainer. Get the flu vaccines. Bring them  
22 in. And by the way, if I get criticized for it,  
23 that ain't the first time. That just goes along  
24 with the territory.

1           Not only did we successfully get the  
2 flu vaccines we sought, but there was a desire  
3 and demand from other states for those flu  
4 vaccines. And Governor Bill Richardson from New  
5 Mexico called, and we were able to get him some.  
6 And my recollection, my recollection is the  
7 governor of Tennessee was interested, Governor  
8 Bredesen, to see whether or not we could share  
9 some of those flu vaccines with him.

10           Now, the FDA ultimately got involved  
11 and prevented us from getting those flu  
12 vaccines, but let me point out to you this case  
13 is still pending. The State of Illinois hasn't  
14 lost \$2.5 million. It's before the Illinois  
15 Court of Claims, and the Attorney General has  
16 made the argument before the Illinois Court of  
17 Claims that the taxpayers shouldn't pay the bill  
18 because the FDA didn't approve what those drug  
19 companies decided to do.

20           But here again, my question to you is  
21 how can you throw a governor out of office who  
22 was acting to protect the lives of senior  
23 citizens and infants and trying to find ways to  
24 be able to help families? Now, I understand the

1 House Prosecutor mentioned, well, the means  
2 don't justify the ends. These were legal means.  
3 These are legal means to be able to get those  
4 medicines. There was nothing against the law.  
5 The question was whether or not the FDA would  
6 allow us to bring them in.

7 Sure there was a bit of a risk  
8 involved, but the risk was that we spend some  
9 money, and the upside was we protect seniors and  
10 children from dying. And if it doesn't happen,  
11 then at the worst, I'll be criticized because we  
12 didn't have the -- we weren't able to be able to  
13 get the flu vaccines for the money that we'd  
14 have to pay.

15 But the money hasn't been paid yet, so  
16 therefore, that complaint hasn't happened, and  
17 more importantly, we and I pursued what I  
18 believe was the moral and right thing to do with  
19 legal means to do them, helping families make  
20 sure they had the flu vaccines that are  
21 necessary to keep them alive and make sure that  
22 children and our seniors don't get sick when we  
23 could find a way to try to help and protect  
24 them.

1                   Now, let me point out about this  
2 particular Article. This was not something that  
3 just happened yesterday. This was something I  
4 did in the first term. If it was an impeachable  
5 offense, then you should have impeached me  
6 before I got reelected. I did this, and then  
7 the people of Illinois knew I did it, and then  
8 they hired me again.

9                   How can you impeach me on a charge like  
10 this that happened in the first term? You  
11 didn't impeach me then, and then the people  
12 chose me again because they evidently approved  
13 of what I did because they understand that  
14 they'd like to have a leader who's going to go  
15 out and try to get results for them.

16                  Third point, the other Article,  
17 prescription drugs from Canada. I can't wait to  
18 talk about this one. What did I do here? What  
19 did I do? How many of us on this side of the  
20 aisle, and I've got to think some of you on that  
21 side of the aisle, went all over the campaign  
22 trail and talked to senior citizens at bingos  
23 and senior homes and in kitchens and homes  
24 around the State and understood how difficult it

1 was for them to be able to afford their  
2 medicines and pay for their groceries and afford  
3 their electric bills?

4           How many of us talked about those  
5 things in speeches? How many of us who were  
6 familiar with how Congress operates actually had  
7 talking points that were given by the Democratic  
8 Congressional Campaign Committee, and they had  
9 that line, food or medicine, food or medicine?  
10 How many of us said all that?

11           And how many of us kept railing against  
12 the FDA because they wouldn't allow Canada --  
13 wouldn't allow American seniors to go to Canada  
14 and get the same prescription drugs, the same  
15 medicines made by the exact same companies, only  
16 if you go to Canada, you can get it for 40 or 50  
17 percent less and save money for senior citizens?

18           And how many of us believe in free  
19 trade? Democrats believe in it, and I know you  
20 guys on the Republican side of the aisle believe  
21 in it. And yet, somehow on the issue of  
22 prescription drugs, we don't have free trade.  
23 We can't go to Canada, our number-one trading  
24 partner, and get the medicines that are

1 necessary to save the lives of our seniors and  
2 our families and our children.

3           So we found a way to go to Canada, and  
4 I was the first State, I was the first Governor  
5 to do it. And the idea came to me not from me,  
6 but from then Congressman Rahm Emanuel. Senator  
7 Cullerton's congressman, my congressman came to  
8 me with a good idea and said, why don't you lead  
9 the charge and lead the fight on this and be the  
10 first state to go to Canada and test whether or  
11 not the FDA will allow you to do it or not.

12           Think about the morality of this.  
13 Think about how we can help our seniors, and  
14 think about what we can do to help families.  
15 And I loved the idea, and we did it. And then  
16 so did Wisconsin, and so did Kansas, and so did  
17 Vermont.

18           If you're impeaching me on providing  
19 safe and affordable prescription drugs by going  
20 to Canada and getting the same medicines made by  
21 the exact same companies, then the governor of  
22 Wisconsin ought to be impeached. The governor  
23 of Kansas ought to be impeached. The governor  
24 of Vermont ought to be impeached. And while

1 we're at it, let's go reach right into the  
2 United States Senate, and let's expel John  
3 McCain and Ted Kennedy because I worked with  
4 them on this issue of the reimportation of  
5 prescription drugs.

6           And then let's not stop there. Let's  
7 demand that President Obama fire Rahm Emanuel  
8 because Rahm Emanuel is the one who gave me this  
9 idea. If you're going to throw me out of office  
10 for something like this, then how can those guys  
11 stay in the offices that they have?

12           Here again is an issue that happened in  
13 the first term, not the second term. And  
14 everybody knew about it. And in spite of the  
15 criticism, and I understand all that, the people  
16 of Illinois elected me a second time knowing  
17 what I did with regard to prescription drugs for  
18 our senior citizens.

19           The next paragraph, the next Article is  
20 the issue of the Auditor General. Now, what did  
21 I do there? The Auditor General apparently,  
22 it's my understanding, had an issue with CMS,  
23 Central Management Services. Now, I may be the  
24 only one here left who still is proud of all the

1 different things I've been able to accomplish as  
2 governor, and I want to say most of it couldn't  
3 have happened without you here in the State  
4 Senate. You all know what the political dynamic  
5 has been here over the past six years. And  
6 every one of the big achievements I've been able  
7 to get as governor couldn't have been done  
8 without you and sometimes with you.

9           But I want you to know that one of the  
10 best things we did was invest record amounts of  
11 money in education, \$8.4 billion in new money in  
12 education, a 30 percent increase, and we didn't  
13 do it on the backs of the middle class by  
14 raising their taxes. We expanded healthcare to  
15 750,000 families who didn't have it before  
16 increasing payments within the budget, but we  
17 didn't do it without -- by raising taxes on the  
18 middle class, but we did it in different ways.

19           And one of the ways we did it was by  
20 efficiency, consolidating functions, having  
21 agencies do a better job making sure they can  
22 streamline their activities. And Central  
23 Management Services, CMS, was one of those  
24 places. In the first term, they were successful



1 in saving over \$500 million for taxpayers  
2 because they found creative ways to do it.

3 And in this particular case on this  
4 issue with the Auditor General, they found a way  
5 to save some money in some place, and then what  
6 they wanted to do was allow us to be able to use  
7 that money in the General Revenue Fund to invest  
8 in healthcare and education and other general  
9 revenue items, but then the Auditor General got  
10 involved and said, stop, don't do it.

11 Now, I have a recollection of actually  
12 remembering this because I remember I was in  
13 Washington, D.C. when the head of CMS and  
14 Mr. Holland, the Auditor General got into a  
15 little bit of a verbal fight. And I remember  
16 being amused by that thinking you had a couple  
17 of accountants kind of scrapping over the issue  
18 of whether or not the money should be spent a  
19 certain way or not. When the Inspector {sic}  
20 General, Mr. Holland, told us you can't do it,  
21 guess what we did? We didn't do it.

22 How can you impeach me and throw me out  
23 of office? The chief accountant of the State  
24 comes in and says, you can't do that. We hear

1 you. We're not doing it, and we didn't do it.

2 How can that be an impeachable offense?

3           And here, too, like on prescription  
4 drugs for seniors and flu vaccines for the  
5 elderly and for infants, here, too, this was an  
6 issue that took place in the first term, not the  
7 second term. This was something if it was so  
8 bad, you should have impeached me on before and  
9 not now. And in spite of it, the people of  
10 Illinois elected me a second time.

11           Now, the last Article is the report  
12 from the IG, the Inspector General. And just to  
13 back up and give you a little bit of history,  
14 one of the accomplishments that we were able to  
15 have together in the first term in the veto  
16 session of 2003 was to create a new ethics law,  
17 change the rules in ethics and for the first  
18 time ever, create an Inspector General that was  
19 independent of the Governor, not the Governor's  
20 friend, but an independent Inspector General who  
21 would be brought on to police the system of  
22 State government, that he or she would be there  
23 to make sure that all of us, all State employees  
24 and others who work for the Governor in this

1 case are doing things right.

2 We hired a former United States  
3 Attorney as our first Inspector General. This  
4 report from the Inspector General alleges that  
5 some people, perhaps, may have -- it's an  
6 allegation, nothing proven, nothing shown yet to  
7 be true, but an allegation that some people who  
8 worked for me may have violated some of the  
9 hiring rules.

10 In that very report by the Inspector  
11 General, there's never an allegation that I ever  
12 knew anything about it. How can I possibly be  
13 thrown out of office on something that the  
14 Inspector General doesn't even claim I knew  
15 anything about, and incidentally, something that  
16 still has not been resolved?

17 So I ask you to remember, too, that  
18 that issue was one that took place in the first  
19 term, not the second term. And if it was so bad  
20 then, then, perhaps, I should have been  
21 impeached over that, but yet again, the  
22 Inspector General doesn't say that I knew  
23 anything about it. There hasn't been any  
24 finding that anybody did anything wrong.

1                   And I've got to tell you the fact that  
2 we have an Inspector General was something that  
3 I pushed very hard for, and yeah, it gets  
4 embarrassing sometimes when your own Inspector  
5 General finds that some people who work for you  
6 may not have done something right, but the  
7 greater good is served because you're policing  
8 the system and making sure that people don't do  
9 things they shouldn't do and have a better  
10 understanding on some of the things they  
11 shouldn't be in a position to be able to do.

12                   So I believe in all of the evidence  
13 that's been presented to you -- in fact, I know  
14 there hasn't been a single piece of information  
15 that proves any wrongdoing. You haven't proved  
16 a crime, and you can't because it hasn't  
17 happened. You haven't given me a chance to  
18 disprove a crime, but so far, a crime has not  
19 been proven here in this impeachment proceeding.  
20 How can you throw a governor out of office with  
21 insufficient and incomplete evidence?

22                   You haven't been able to show that  
23 there was anything wrong in my judgment on any  
24 of these allegations with regard to things I did

1 in my first term for senior citizens and for  
2 children, how we complied with the Auditor  
3 General when he told us to follow his rules, how  
4 we had an Inspector General who found some  
5 things, but didn't say I was involved in it.  
6 How can those things be shown to be anything but  
7 what they are, but not wrongdoing? It's not  
8 evidence of any wrongdoing. In fact, there is  
9 no evidence before your Body here that shows --  
10 no evidence, zero -- that there was any  
11 wrongdoing by me as Governor.

12           And again, if you give me a chance to  
13 be able to bring witnesses in, I can show you  
14 not only that I didn't do anything wrong, I can  
15 show you that I did a lot of things that were  
16 mostly right and that some of the things that  
17 are being said about me simply aren't true. And  
18 when I get my day in court, I'll have a chance  
19 to be able to prove it.

20           Now, I know we've had some ups and  
21 downs. I have mostly had ups with this side of  
22 the aisle. I wouldn't be where I am in terms of  
23 the accomplishments I take pride in if it wasn't  
24 for the Senate Democratic Caucus. I know that

1 those of you on this side of the aisle haven't  
2 always agreed with my positions. Those have  
3 been mostly philosophical differences, the  
4 ordinary differences that separate Democrats  
5 from Republicans, honest differences.

6 But we've also had a chance to work  
7 together, had a good opportunity to work with  
8 all of you on a public works program. We've  
9 been working together for a long, long time in  
10 good faith trying to get a capital bill passed  
11 so we can create 500,000 jobs, put people to  
12 work, stimulate our economy and do what's right.

13 And I know sometimes we've had some  
14 difficulties and some disagreements, but isn't  
15 that what a democracy is? And isn't that how  
16 this process is supposed to work? And isn't it  
17 really the way our country was founded?  
18 Nothing's smooth, but conflict -- and out of  
19 conflict, hopefully good results occur.

20 And maybe sometimes you rightfully  
21 slowed me down because my instincts are to keep  
22 doing things. And maybe sometimes we were able  
23 to find ways to get things done for people, but  
24 always those ways were lawful. Always those

1 ways were done in consultation with lawyers.  
2 And with all due respect to the prosecutor, Mr.  
3 Ellis, always the means were legal, and in most  
4 cases, the ends were moral.

5           When you go out and try to find a way  
6 with legal advice to save 35,000 poor people and  
7 keep their healthcare, you've done it through  
8 legal means, and you've done a moral thing.  
9 When you're trying to help senior citizens  
10 afford their medicines instead of just giving a  
11 bunch of political baloney and speeches and say  
12 you care, but then you don't do anything about  
13 it, but you've found a way that you can actually  
14 do something and help them be able to have a  
15 better quality of life, not ration their  
16 medicine, maybe extend their lives, the means  
17 are legal, because if they're not, then the  
18 governor of Wisconsin, the governor of Kansas  
19 and Ted Kennedy and Rahm Emanuel and John McCain  
20 and others ought to be co-conspirators with me.

21           But how can you impeach me for legal  
22 means with moral ends? Those are a lot of the  
23 things that I've done as governor.

24           Now, I know my style sometimes, I know,

1 I know sometimes I probably push too much and  
2 prod too much. I know you guys have this  
3 impression that sometimes, you know, I go  
4 outside of you and say certain things. I know.  
5 I know. But I want you to know where I come  
6 from.

7 I have been blessed to live the  
8 American dream. My background's humble, like  
9 most of yours. My dad was an immigrant who came  
10 here from a Communist country, a Republican cold  
11 warrior, spent four years in a Nazi prisoner of  
12 war camp. And then instead of going back to his  
13 home after the war, he waited for three years in  
14 a refugee camp so that one day maybe he might  
15 have a chance to go to the United States, this  
16 place he'd heard so many great things about.

17 Then in 1948, the Congress that one day  
18 his youngest son would one day become a member  
19 of passed a law called the Displaced Persons Act  
20 and permitted him and millions of others like  
21 him with these long and hard-to-pronounce last  
22 names a chance to come to America, the land of  
23 freedom and the land of opportunity.

24 My dad, his whole world changed. He



1 saw himself as a rising officer in the  
2 Yugoslavian Army, and then everything changed.  
3 But then he came to this place, and he wasn't  
4 the guy he thought he might be, the career he  
5 thought he might have. He was a factory worker,  
6 a steel worker, and worked all the time, 50, 60,  
7 70 hours a week, got a second job, did  
8 everything he could to scratch and claw and  
9 sacrifice because he got to a point in his life,  
10 and you know this probably from your parents,  
11 when you realize it ain't there for you, so I'm  
12 going to do everything I can to create  
13 opportunities for my kids.

14 My mother was a working person, CTA  
15 ticket agent passing out transfers in the subway  
16 stations. Everything they did was to work and  
17 sacrifice for their kids and give us a chance at  
18 a better life that wasn't there for them. And  
19 then one day their youngest son grows up, and he  
20 becomes governor of the fifth largest state.

21 And he became governor because he had a  
22 lot of people helping him. He became governor  
23 because he went out and gave a lot of speeches  
24 about all the things he wanted to do for people

1 just like his parents. And then you wake up and  
2 suddenly, holy cow, it happened. Hard to  
3 believe I'm the governor of Illinois.

4           And when that happens to you one day,  
5 and surely some of you here might have that  
6 experience, I wonder if you'll have the same  
7 appreciation I had. I suspect Senator Cullerton  
8 felt that way when he became Senate president.  
9 You've hit a pinnacle. You've hit something  
10 that maybe you never thought you'd have. And  
11 people entrusted you with this special place, so  
12 what are you going to with it?

13           Me? In spite of what a lot of my  
14 critics have said, it wasn't promoting me for  
15 higher office. I didn't go to all those  
16 Washington, D.C. functions. I didn't try to  
17 sell myself to the national media. I didn't go  
18 to governors conferences. I've been criticized  
19 for not doing that. I just stayed right here in  
20 Illinois to try to do the best I can to get real  
21 results for people and to push and prod maybe  
22 too hard sometimes, but to get real results for  
23 people.

24           And who are those people? People like

1 my parents, my own life experience. I didn't go  
2 to Harvard. Applied on a Monday, got my letter  
3 of rejection back on a Tuesday. I went to more  
4 modest-type schools, but I've been blessed to  
5 have a chance, and now suddenly I'm the  
6 governor. What will I do with that? Squander  
7 it, or will I try to get things done for people  
8 like my parents, and will I try to take my life  
9 experience, a life experience that so many of  
10 you understand and have experienced.

11 Willie Delgado from a neighborhood like  
12 mine, very close. Jimmy DeLeo from the same  
13 kind of life experience like mine, the same kind  
14 of life experience, and then try to take  
15 policies and set priorities that before we got  
16 together to be able to do these things, those  
17 priorities were not the priorities of the State,  
18 and try to expand opportunities for families who  
19 otherwise wouldn't have it, opportunities for  
20 healthcare, opportunities for education,  
21 opportunities for preschool, try to level the  
22 playing field, but do it in ways that doesn't  
23 burden the middle class, a different approach,  
24 ruffling feathers here, not the kind of thing

1 that everybody agreed with, but an approach that  
2 I thought would help families and not burden  
3 them and give them a lift up a little bit and  
4 not have them just run in place hearing a lot of  
5 stuff that the governor said he did, but not  
6 really feeling like their lives have improved.

7 I think about my parents a lot. I  
8 think about ordinary people I've met along the  
9 way a lot. I met a woman not long ago who told  
10 me her story, and she's the kind of person that  
11 I believe my policies have been for. And I want  
12 to tell the story not because it's that unique,  
13 but I want to tell it because I want you to know  
14 how sometimes maybe I get too frustrated. Maybe  
15 I get too impatient with the process. Maybe I  
16 forget that I used to be a lawmaker, and I just  
17 don't understand why you guys -- not you guys,  
18 but some of you, your colleagues mostly in the  
19 other place, are holding things up when we're  
20 about helping people, and we've said we want to  
21 do these things for families.

22 But I met a woman who told me the story  
23 of her day-to-day life. She's a mom with an  
24 immigrant mother from Mexico. She was born

1 here, a mom in her late 20s, two boys, six and  
2 four. She works out by the airport, does some  
3 clerical work, I think, in an accounting firm.  
4 They live in the near south side, I think in  
5 Back of the Yards, maybe Pilsen, maybe  
6 Bridgeport.

7           She gets up every morning at 5:00  
8 because she has to start work at 7:00 or 8:00  
9 depending upon when her boss wants her in. And  
10 she also gets up because she's been able to have  
11 some flexibility in her schedule. She lives in  
12 a two-flat. Her mother owns the building where  
13 her late father used to live. Dad left the kids  
14 and left her all by herself.

15           She lives in the two-flat and pays rent  
16 to her mother where her mother gives her a break  
17 and gives her a hand. She's up before dawn.  
18 Her kids are still in bed. She sits down. Mom  
19 comes up, her mom, has a cup of coffee with her.  
20 They talk about the things of the day, and then  
21 she's ready to go to work. It's still dark  
22 outside if it's winter. She tippy-toes into the  
23 bedroom and kisses her boys goodbye and leaves  
24 them to their grandmother.

1                   And then she walks out a couple of  
2 blocks, goes to a bus stop and waits in the  
3 darkness before dawn in the cold of winter to  
4 catch a bus, and then that bus takes her to a  
5 subway train, and that subway train takes her to  
6 her job out by O'Hare. And then she goes to  
7 work, and she works hard, and she's been there a  
8 long time.

9                   And she started when she was getting  
10 paid less than \$30,000 a year, but she did a  
11 good job for her boss, and she's getting paid  
12 now more than \$40,000 a year. She gets  
13 benefits, gets healthcare through the All Kids  
14 Program, which is something we provided. She  
15 puts in eight or nine hours a day, and then it's  
16 time to leave.

17                   She gets back on that subway train,  
18 gets back to that bus, then comes home. And if  
19 she's lucky, she's home maybe by 6:00 or 6:30,  
20 and she can spend a little bit of time with her  
21 boys because Grandma has just made them dinner.  
22 And then maybe she'll eat her dinner and eat  
23 some of that fast.

24                   And then she'll do what moms do taking

1 care of her kids, get them ready for bed. And  
2 then maybe if she's lucky, she might have an  
3 hour or two at best where she might be able to  
4 actually relax and watch her favorite television  
5 program and get away from it all, but she knows  
6 she's got to get up early because this whole  
7 thing starts again tomorrow and the next day and  
8 the next day.

9 My policies have been all about helping  
10 families like those, give her a chance to afford  
11 healthcare through the All Kids Program, give  
12 her a chance to send those boys to preschool,  
13 give her a chance to be able to make a living  
14 and hopefully have upward mobility and protect  
15 her from those who might want to raise her taxes  
16 and make it harder for her. My policies have  
17 been about trying to help families like those.

18 And then when I run into gridlock and  
19 legislative gridlock, I'm too impatient, and I  
20 get frustrated. And I confess maybe I push too  
21 hard. I confess maybe I fight maybe too much,  
22 but I ask you to remember it ain't about me. My  
23 kids have -- it ain't about me. Charge it to my  
24 heart. Charge it to a desire to help families I

1       came from and life stories I've heard along the  
2       way in my life and as governor. And when you  
3       get the experience to be governor and you have a  
4       chance to help families like that and you can do  
5       it, it's gratifying. It's gratifying.

6                 Now, I'm asking you to look at the  
7       evidence that you've heard here and to ask  
8       yourself is it the right precedent to set to  
9       throw a governor twice elected by the people out  
10      of office without proving any wrongdoing? Is  
11      that the right precedent to set? Think about  
12      the dangerous precedent that will be set if you  
13      throw me out of office when you haven't been  
14      able, and rightfully you wouldn't because it  
15      didn't happen, prove criminal allegations, and  
16      all those other Articles that are not  
17      wrongdoing.

18                Does it set the right precedent because  
19      there are some issues now, and I know there's a  
20      certain sense that maybe it would be good if I  
21      wasn't here, and you guys can put all this  
22      behind you and move on, but to quote Mr. Ellis,  
23      the means need to -- the ends don't justify the  
24      means. An improper impeachment not based on



1 evidence are improper means that don't justify  
2 the ends.

3           And even worse, in a case where a  
4 governor has been elected by the people of his  
5 or her state, to remove that governor like this  
6 sets a dangerous and chilling precedent for the  
7 future. Impeachments are very rare, and they're  
8 designed to be that way. They're supposed to be  
9 used only in extreme cases. That's why there  
10 have been so few impeachments in American  
11 history. That's why I stand before you in a  
12 very unique and lonely place.

13           But there's a reason why these  
14 impeachments are rare, because you're not  
15 supposed to just throw the will of the people  
16 out unless you have shown wrongdoing. And you  
17 haven't been able to show wrongdoing in this  
18 trial, and you've denied me the right to be able  
19 to bring in a whole bunch of witnesses who will  
20 show you I didn't do anything wrong and have  
21 done most things right.

22           Imagine what future governors in  
23 Illinois will face if I'm thrown out of office  
24 for this. And imagine other governors in other

1 states because there's only been a couple where  
2 this has happened, and you look and see what  
3 other states have done. And imagine what will  
4 happen if I'm thrown out of office with a  
5 dangerous precedent like this.

6 So I'm here to appeal to you, to your  
7 sense of fairness, your sense of responsibility  
8 and to the truth, and to the truth. I'm asking  
9 you to acquit me and give me a chance to show my  
10 innocence. And if you're not comfortable with  
11 an acquittal, then extend this process and get  
12 more evidence, if you can get it, to show that I  
13 did something wrong or give me a chance to bring  
14 my evidence in, bring my witnesses in to show  
15 you I did nothing wrong, but don't set a  
16 dangerous precedent removing the governor who  
17 was elected by the people on these grounds.

18 And then I'll appeal to you personally.  
19 Imagine yourself in my place. Walk a mile in my  
20 shoes. Think about if something like this can  
21 happen to me, it could happen to you. Imagine  
22 going to bed one night thinking everything is  
23 fine, excited about decisions that you're going  
24 to make, confident that you'll be able to get a

1 lot of the things you've been trying to do  
2 before done like creating jobs and expanding  
3 healthcare and protecting taxpayers and doing  
4 some other things.

5           Imagine going to bed comfortably and  
6 then the next morning your whole world changes  
7 unexpected, unanticipated, not even aware or  
8 knowing what it was about. And then imagine  
9 what it's like when you realize what it is and  
10 you get home and the whole world is like outside  
11 your house. And then you, before you can even  
12 catch a breath, everybody has convicted you.

13           Imagine how you'd feel when the  
14 presumption of innocence that every American  
15 citizen has a right to is completely wiped out  
16 because of sensationalization of the media and  
17 other things. And then you don't even have a  
18 chance to be able to come around and figure out  
19 what happened, and before long, a rush to  
20 judgment has already occurred. Imagine how  
21 you'd feel.

22           Now, if I felt I did something wrong, I  
23 would have resigned in December. If I felt I  
24 violated a law, I would meet my

1 responsibilities. I would have resigned in  
2 December. I wouldn't put my family through  
3 this. I wouldn't put you through this. And  
4 most importantly, I wouldn't put the people of  
5 Illinois through this.

6 But I didn't resign then, and I'm not  
7 resigning now because I have done nothing wrong.  
8 And all I ask of you is to give me a chance to  
9 show you that I have done nothing wrong. Let me  
10 bring those witnesses in. And sure, there's  
11 political embarrassment to members of my party  
12 in far-away Washington, D.C. Sure, there's some  
13 inconvenience, but all the witnesses I'd like to  
14 call will testify honestly, and they did nothing  
15 wrong either.

16 They had political conversations with  
17 me about a decision regarding a United States  
18 Senator. Let them come in here and talk about  
19 those conversations, and let me show you that  
20 I've done nothing wrong.

21 I cannot possibly admit to something I  
22 didn't do. And it's not about me as much as it  
23 is about not shaming my daughters so that their  
24 dad they might think may have done some things

1 that he didn't do and allowing them to have this  
2 feeling that I let them down.

3           And even more important than my  
4 daughters, the people of Illinois. It is  
5 painful to be in a position like this. It's  
6 painful to hold your tongue and not be able to  
7 say too much because people are telling you you  
8 shouldn't do anything, and they've already  
9 rushed to judgment and said you did something  
10 you didn't do.

11           It is painful to be in a car and drive  
12 and see people sitting, standing at bus stops or  
13 walking down the street who voted for you,  
14 presumably, more of them did than didn't, and  
15 they've hired you and trusted you, and you're  
16 dying to tell them, I didn't do it, I didn't let  
17 you down, give me a chance to show you. It's  
18 painful, and it's lonely.

19           But I want you to know, I want you to  
20 know I never, ever intended to commit a criminal  
21 act. I never, in any conversation, intended to  
22 violate any criminal law. All the  
23 conversations, words and all, ought to be heard.

24           This is not Richard Nixon and Watergate

1     trying to keep the tapes from being heard. I  
2     want all the evidence heard, and I want it  
3     sooner rather than later so I can clear my name,  
4     and we can get on doing the things that matter  
5     most.

6             I want to thank you for giving me a  
7     chance to be here. I know these are tough  
8     times. I want to apologize to you for what  
9     happened, but I can't because I don't think --  
10    because I didn't do anything wrong. These are  
11    circumstances that have happened, and I'm sorry  
12    that we're all in this. I'll apologize for  
13    that. And I'll apologize for maybe pushing and  
14    prodding too much and the rest in the past.

15            But I want you also to know that  
16    whatever you do here, and I hope you think about  
17    the big, broad picture and the big consequences,  
18    not me, think about future governors. Think  
19    about the constitutional rights that are  
20    involved. Think about the precedents. Think  
21    about the civil liberties that we, Americans all  
22    enjoy.

23            Think about the dangerous precedent of  
24    removing me without proving any wrongdoing. If

1 it could happen to a governor, it could happen  
2 to any citizen.

3           And then I would say to all of you  
4 think about the things we've been able to do  
5 together, healthcare for all of our kids first  
6 in the nation, preschool for three and  
7 four-year-olds best in the nation, record amount  
8 of money in education, all of our senior  
9 citizens riding public transportation for free,  
10 holding the line on taxes. Think about all the  
11 good things we've been able to do for people.  
12 Give me a chance to stay here so we can roll up  
13 our sleeves and continue to do good things for  
14 people. Thank you very much.

15           CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Governor,  
16 it's your choice. You're welcome, of course, to  
17 remain. You're representing yourself now with  
18 your filing.

19           GOVERNOR BLAGOJEVICH: They're welcome  
20 to deliberate whatever they think is right.  
21 Thank you, Judge. I appreciate it. Thank you.

22           CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: You may  
23 leave.

24           I'm going to recognize the House

1 Prosecutor for the purpose of making closing  
2 rebuttal argument. You have 30 minutes to  
3 present your argument, Counselor.

4 One moment, Mr. Ellis.

5 The Chair recognizes President  
6 Cullerton.

7 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Thank you, Mr.  
8 Chief Justice. I would ask leave to ask for a  
9 caucus, Democratic Caucus, and we'll come back  
10 at 1:00.

11 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: The Chair  
12 recognizes Senator Radogno.

13 SENATOR RADOGNO: Thank you, Mr. Chief  
14 Justice. I would likewise request a Republican  
15 Caucus.

16 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: We'll --  
17 each party will be in a one-hour caucus. Court  
18 will stand adjourned until 1:00 p.m. -- in  
19 recess until 1:00 p.m.

20 (Whereupon, a short recess  
21 was taken.)

22 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: The Senate  
23 will come to order.

24 Now, I want to make certain that I



1 don't begin with the House Prosecutor's argument  
2 before everybody's here. It looks like we're  
3 short some.

4 The House Prosecutor is recognized for  
5 the purpose of making his closing rebuttal  
6 argument. He has 30 minutes in which to present  
7 that argument.

8 HOUSE PROSECUTOR ELLIS: Thank you very  
9 much, your Honor, and I will not need nearly  
10 30 minutes.

11 President Cullerton and Leader Radogno,  
12 Members of the Senate, well, I can't give a  
13 speech like the Governor. I'm not a politician;  
14 I'm just a lawyer.

15 When the cameras are on and he thinks  
16 people are listening, the Governor can give a  
17 pretty good speech, but I want to talk about the  
18 Rod Blagojevich when he's off camera when he  
19 doesn't know people are listening.

20 When the camera is on like today, he  
21 wants to create jobs, but when the camera is  
22 off, what does he say? Talking about a Tollway  
23 project: "I could have made a larger  
24 announcement, but I wanted to see how they'd

1 perform by the end of the year, if they don't  
2 perform 'F' them." Nothing in there about  
3 creating jobs.

4 When the camera is on, he wants health  
5 care, particularly for children. When the  
6 camera is off, what does he say? "I'm going to  
7 do 8 million for them. I want to get Hospital  
8 Executive 1 for 50."

9 And then what happens when that 50  
10 isn't forthcoming right away? What do we then  
11 hear him say when he doesn't know anyone's  
12 listening? That long exchange with Deputy  
13 Governor A: "We could pull it back if we need  
14 to, right? Budgetary concerns, right?"

15 Deputy Governor A: "We sure could,  
16 yeah."

17 That's Rod Blagojevich when he's not on  
18 camera.

19 When the camera is on, the Governor is  
20 for the little guy, the little people. When the  
21 camera is off, what are his priorities? For not  
22 just some decisions but in his own words, every  
23 decision, this decision, like every other one,  
24 needs to be based on that, speaking of the

1 Senate seat: Legal, personal, political.  
2 Nothing in that statement about the people of  
3 the State of Illinois. Nothing in that  
4 statement about the little guy.

5 The Governor mentions witnesses, all  
6 these witnesses he couldn't call. I tried to  
7 make the point to you -- I hope I made it --  
8 that our case was not built on what other people  
9 did after the Governor directed them to do  
10 things whether they succeeded or not. Maybe  
11 they did, maybe they didn't.

12 Our point was on his words, his  
13 secretly recorded words. And who in the world  
14 was more qualified to testify about the  
15 Governor's words than the Governor himself? But  
16 where was he?

17 He could have put himself under oath  
18 and faced my questions and more importantly,  
19 much more importantly, faced your questions.  
20 But he didn't do that, did he? He was even  
21 here. He was even here today, but he wouldn't  
22 put himself under oath, he wouldn't face your  
23 questions.

24 He talked more about the evidence with

1 Barbara Walters on The View than he did in this  
2 Chamber today where he's facing impeachment and  
3 removal from office.

4 He could have been here, and he wasn't.  
5 He could have provided the context for those  
6 recorded conversations, and he didn't. He could  
7 have denied he said those words, but he didn't.

8 Not one word in that speech about the  
9 vacant U.S. Senate seat, not one word about the  
10 Tribune Company, not one word about the  
11 pay-to-play allegations, nothing. Nothing about  
12 any of that. He simply says there's no evidence  
13 and walks off the stage.

14 No evidence? Sixty recorded  
15 conversations by a federal agent. He swore to  
16 each one of them, unlike the Governor. A  
17 federal agent who is already sworn, by the way,  
18 took an oath under penalty of perjury and said,  
19 "I listened to every one of those tapes and I  
20 checked those transcripts against the tapes, and  
21 that's what he said."

22 Look at the tapes we do have. Check  
23 them against Paragraph 68(e). They're right.  
24 If that helps.

1                   And we all know how easy it is to  
2 understand Governor Blagojevich's voice. You  
3 heard those tapes. Was it hard to tell it was  
4 him?

5                   Special Agent Cain swore to all of  
6 that. That is unrefuted testimony, 60 different  
7 conversations where the Governor is trading --  
8 using his official acts, using his official  
9 power, as some kind of a chit for personal gain  
10 - unrefuted by this Governor. He comes in and  
11 says there's no evidence and gets off the stage.

12                   He says walk a mile in his shoes.  
13 Well, if I were innocent and I were in his  
14 shoes, I would have taken that witness stand and  
15 I would have testified and I would have told you  
16 why I was innocent. The Governor didn't do  
17 that.

18                   As always, the Governor plays only by  
19 the rules that he chooses. Even today before  
20 this tribunal, he plays by his rules, not yours.

21                   Under the Governor's rules, you don't  
22 ask him questions. Under the Governor's rules,  
23 he talks and you listen, no questions.

24                   The Governor is right that impeachment

1 should be rare -- and removal from office. It  
2 should be rare. It is rare. I think it always  
3 will be.

4           And judging by the looks on your faces  
5 back from that first day when I walked in here  
6 and exhibited the Articles of Impeachment and  
7 I could have heard a pin drop in the room to  
8 today to the looks on your faces right now.  
9 Everybody in this room is taking this seriously.  
10 Nobody takes this casually.

11           But why do we have impeachment? We  
12 have it to protect the citizens. It's not about  
13 punishment. The Governor's speech is as if he's  
14 trying to be punished. It's not fair to me, he  
15 says. All he talks about is himself: It's not  
16 fair to me.

17           What about the people of this State?  
18 What about when our bond rating is falling?  
19 It's now going to be more expensive. What about  
20 when -- we now have the only governor in the  
21 country who doesn't have access to security  
22 information from the federal government, when  
23 every constitutional officer -- when the  
24 President of the United States is calling for

1 him to resign?

2 Does that not speak to the harm  
3 inflicted on this State, the stain on this State  
4 from what the Governor has done?

5 But he doesn't think for one minute  
6 about the people. He just thinks about himself.

7 He has a constitutional right not to be  
8 thrown in jail without a fair trial and proof  
9 beyond a reasonable doubt, but he does not have  
10 a constitutional right to be Governor. That's  
11 what the Governor doesn't understand. Being  
12 Governor is not a right, it is a privilege, and  
13 he has forfeited that privilege. He has abused  
14 the power of his office. He has traded it for  
15 personal gain time and time again.

16 I think the people of this State have  
17 had enough. They're looking to you now, and  
18 they want to know is today going to be more of  
19 the same or is today going to be a new era in  
20 this State. The people want to know, are we  
21 finally going to turn the page.

22 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: President  
23 Cullerton, for what purpose do you rise?

24 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Thank you,

1 Mr. Chief Justice. I would rise to ask for a  
2 Democratic Caucus. We would need one hour.

3 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Senator  
4 Radogno, for what purpose do you rise?

5 SENATOR RADOGNO: Thank you, Mr. Chief  
6 Justice. We would also request a caucus at this  
7 time.

8 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: We will at  
9 this time stand in recess to attend the caucus  
10 and will return here at 2:15, one hour from now.

11 (Whereupon, a short recess was  
12 taken.)

13 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: The Senate  
14 will come to order.

15 Senator Cullerton, for what purpose do  
16 you rise?

17 I'm sorry. Senator Hendon, for what  
18 purpose do you rise?

19 SENATOR HENDON: Thank you, Honorable  
20 Chief Justice.

21 I rise to make a request of you.  
22 Honorable Chief Justice, under our rules,  
23 Rule 21, Section C.

24 Your reputation precedes you, sir, and



1 many in the legal community told me that this  
2 was the route to go.

3 I make a request, your Honor, that you  
4 rule that we be allowed to vote on Sections 9,  
5 10 and 11 in a subsequent roll call. These are  
6 Section 9, the expansion of KidCare and health  
7 care; Section 10, the flu vaccine, a purchase  
8 that the Governor made; and Section 11 is his  
9 prescription drug program for seniors.

10 There are some of us who believe that  
11 this should have been separated in the Articles  
12 of Impeachment. As you know, your Honor, there  
13 is only one Article of Impeachment. This should  
14 have been separated which would have allowed  
15 those of us in the Senate who supported those  
16 measures, the health care measures, to vote on  
17 those separately than the other charges.

18 If you allow us this, your Honor, I  
19 think it will be in the best interest of  
20 justice. And you being the most esteemed jurist  
21 that I know, I'm placing that request to you.

22 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: In  
23 considering your motion, Senator, I have to  
24 first deal with my authority to act on it, as

1 all judges do.

2           The Article of Impeachment was returned  
3 by the Illinois House of Representatives. It  
4 was pursuant to their constitutional authority  
5 that they created it and formed it and had it  
6 sent to the Senate.

7           I believe that the only one who is at  
8 this late juncture even possibly authorized to  
9 make such a change would be the House itself.

10           I have to further observe that  
11 Rule 24(c) of the impeachment rules states an  
12 Article of Impeachment and the question put to  
13 the Senate is not divisible for the purpose of  
14 voting thereon at any time during the trial.

15           I would note that that is a specific  
16 instruction from the rule, and I think that the  
17 specific always governs the general.

18           So having considered these matters that  
19 you bring to me, believing I lack the authority  
20 and believing that the rules prohibit it, for  
21 both of those reasons, the motion will be  
22 denied. Thank you, Senator.

23           Certainly, Senator. I'm sorry. You  
24 may proceed.

1                   SENATOR HENDON: Thank you, your Honor.

2 I accept the ruling of the Chief Justice.

3                   CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Thank you,

4 sir.

5                   Pursuant to Senate Resolution 7, the  
6 time has come for the final action of this  
7 impeachment tribunal, the vote of the Senate on  
8 the Article of Impeachment. So that the  
9 Senators may deliberate before voting, the House  
10 Prosecutor will accompany me from the Chamber.  
11 Senator Cullerton will preside during  
12 deliberations.

13                   PRESIDENT CULLERTON: We will  
14 deliberate and debate in preparation for voting  
15 on the Articles of Impeachment pursuant to  
16 Impeachment Rule 17 and Senate Rule 7-3 (g).

17                   Each Senator will have an opportunity  
18 to speak to the Article and the evidence for  
19 five minutes, and we have a timer. If you wish  
20 to speak, please indicate.

21                   Senator Haine.

22                   SENATOR HAINE: Thank you,  
23 Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen of the  
24 Senate. I wish to thank my colleagues for their

1 attention and attendance, especially Senator Ed  
2 Maloney who has done so under difficult  
3 circumstances.

4 I also express my gratitude to the  
5 Chief Justice of Illinois for his able effort to  
6 preside over this unfortunate trial.

7 I express also my gratitude to the  
8 House of Representatives, to its minority  
9 leader, Mr. Cross, and above all, for the  
10 Speaker of the House for bringing to us a  
11 well-founded bill of impeachment. And my  
12 gratitude goes, therefore, to the lawyers who  
13 brought this case to the well of this Senate.

14 I want to add that my expression of  
15 gratitude to the Speaker includes an  
16 appreciation for his constancy over the past  
17 years in steadfastly upholding the  
18 constitutional system that we have in this State  
19 and the adherence to the strict rule of law that  
20 has been subverted by this administration.

21 The evidence is clear that this  
22 Governor and his associates, his close  
23 associates, who have been named in a federal  
24 complaint not only misused his position of great

1 power and authority, a gift from the citizens,  
2 but he misused good public policy to enrich  
3 these associates and himself and to further his  
4 political gain.

5           There is no question that his argument  
6 today is consistent with not only the pattern of  
7 abuse that's been presented here because the  
8 pattern of abuse is based upon an arrogant  
9 assumption of power.

10           His argument in the well of the Senate  
11 was not evidence. He did not present any  
12 evidence to contradict the sworn statements  
13 under oath.

14           His reference to the allegations in the  
15 federal complaint avoid mentioning the fact that  
16 the federal complaint is a United States court  
17 document made under oath and the allegations are  
18 consistent with a pattern of abuse. They are  
19 not inconsistent. They are consistent with his  
20 efforts to raise -- his frenzy to raise money.

21           This Governor has used his office in  
22 the past month in a dishonest effort to  
23 mischaracterize the proceeding here today and  
24 this past week.

1                   At the core of this Governor's  
2 presentation today and in the past few days on  
3 national television, at its core, it is  
4 dishonest, and it should be rejected by the  
5 Members of this Senate. We must act consistent  
6 with our oath, and we must find him unfit for  
7 this great office.

8                   Thank you, Mr. President.

9                   PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Righter.

10                  SENATOR RIGHTER: Thank you,  
11 Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the  
12 Chamber.

13                  When I first walked through the doors  
14 of the State capitol in the fall of 1997 as a  
15 Member of the General Assembly, I brought with  
16 me two things. Like many of us, I brought in my  
17 head the issues and concerns of the citizens  
18 whom I was directed to represent, but I also  
19 brought with me in my heart an ideal, an ideal  
20 about public service, an ideal that says simply  
21 that public office -- that representing the  
22 public is a public trust, a public trust that  
23 does not require perfection but surely requires  
24 our best and most sincere efforts in the

1 performance of our duties.

2 Mr. President, much has been wrong  
3 about this State government in the last six  
4 years, and in my humble opinion, the chief  
5 executive of this State is clearly not solely  
6 responsible for what has been wrong, but Rod  
7 Blagojevich is the subject of these impeachment  
8 proceedings, and so we should focus our  
9 attention there.

10 We've heard much from the Governor. We  
11 heard a spell-binding performance today on the  
12 floor of the Senate. It is not unlike many of  
13 the performances we have heard from this  
14 Governor in the last six years, both during his  
15 time as Governor and while he was campaigning  
16 for Governor.

17 Some have found these to be inspiring  
18 words. Some have even taken these words, and  
19 with the help of some friends, they have lifted  
20 Rod Blagojevich to the highest office in this  
21 State.

22 But over the last six years and in  
23 startling detail in the last four days, we have  
24 heard other words, words spoken by this Governor

1 when he thought only his closest conspirators  
2 were listening and other deeds, deeds undertaken  
3 when this Governor thought that he was behind a  
4 shroud of secrecy or obscured by the thicket of  
5 governmental bureaucracy.

6           These words and deeds tell us a  
7 different story, not a story of a Governor who  
8 intends on changing the way we do business in  
9 Springfield, in cleaning up corruption in State  
10 government but rather a Governor who before he  
11 was even elected Governor conspired with the  
12 likes of Ali Ata and Joseph Cari and Tony Rezko  
13 to build a political kingdom on the backs of the  
14 public's resources, not a Governor who sincerely  
15 believes his words about the sanctity of law and  
16 the process but a Governor who repeatedly and  
17 intentionally and apparently without reservation  
18 violated State and federal law in the execution  
19 of his duties.

20           And finally, not a Governor, not a  
21 Governor who sincerely believes his words about  
22 health care, about health care for children  
23 because no public official who has any concern  
24 for those issues, much less a sincere concern,



1 would shake down a children's hospital and the  
2 doctors who care for our sickest children and  
3 grandchildren.

4 No, those are not the words and deeds  
5 of a public official who understands or even  
6 comprehends what a public trust really means.  
7 Those are the words and deeds of a devious,  
8 cynical, crass and corrupt politician and  
9 someone from whom the people of this State must  
10 be protected.

11 Mr. President, I have been convinced by  
12 clear and convincing evidence the House of  
13 Representatives not only did what was  
14 appropriate but did what was necessary in  
15 sending us this Article of Impeachment and that  
16 this Governor should be convicted of that  
17 Article of Impeachment. He should be removed  
18 from office, and he should be barred from ever  
19 holding public office in this State again.

20 Thank you, Mr. President.

21 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Dillard.

22 SENATOR DILLARD: Thank you,  
23 Mr. President and Members.

24 I come to this tribunal with a very

1 unique perspective. For a third of my life,  
2 I served as a top aide to two governors. I was  
3 Governor Jim Edgar's chief of staff and seven  
4 years as Governor Jim Thompson's Director of  
5 Legislative Affairs.

6 My family's great-great-grandfather's  
7 portrait hangs down on the second floor in the  
8 Hall of Governors. He was a three-time Governor  
9 of Illinois, nominated Lincoln for the  
10 presidency, coined the name "The Railsplitter"  
11 for Old Abe and buried him.

12 I've read my grandfather's biography  
13 and I've read all his personal papers and  
14 letters. I know what governors do. Honest and  
15 competent governors don't act like Rod  
16 Blagojevich.

17 Robert Howard, who has written the  
18 definitive biography on Illinois governors, and  
19 it's called Mostly Good and Competent Men for a  
20 reason. In that book, you're going to learn  
21 that the governors of Illinois up until a  
22 certain period have been honorable men.

23 And it's ironic we're moving offices  
24 here in this transition, Mr. President. When I

1 reached in a box because I'm moving offices,  
2 sandwiched between this Mostly Good and  
3 Competent Men book were ironically the  
4 autobiography of Paul Simon and Adlai  
5 Stevenson's biography.

6 Those folks along with Abraham Lincoln  
7 and Ronald Reagan are the Illinois political  
8 figures that I envy and that I know and that the  
9 people of this State have elected.

10 Jim Edgar taught me that as Governor,  
11 he understood that the governorship was serious  
12 business; it wasn't show business. And after  
13 this performance here today in the well by our  
14 current governor, I wish him well on his new  
15 Hollywood career.

16 Even when Governors Thompson and Edgar  
17 disagreed with the General Assembly -- and we  
18 can be a pain to deal with -- and I bet you  
19 Justice Fitzgerald is going to have some  
20 stories, although the decorum of all of us has  
21 been something to be proud of here in this  
22 Chamber this week.

23 Even when Edgar and Thompson disagreed  
24 with the General Assembly, they always treated

1 us in a civil and lawful way, respecting the  
2 separation of powers.

3 And how pathetic is it that we have a  
4 governor who says he's concerned with health  
5 care, and on these tapes, he says, "I want to  
6 get the CEO of a children's hospital for  
7 \$50,000" and ask if he can withhold the money?

8 Or he sends out to my area and the  
9 beginning of the unraveling of his  
10 administration began with the courageous CEO of  
11 Edward Hospital in Naperville who wore a wire.

12 And years ago, it was learned unless  
13 you hired Rod's guys, you didn't get your  
14 hospital expansion. What kind of health care  
15 concern is that?

16 As the father of two young daughters, I  
17 worry about our homeland security. Is there any  
18 other governor in the country that doesn't have  
19 homeland security clearance in case of a natural  
20 disaster or a terrorist attack? I don't think  
21 so.

22 And I got to tell you also, on the  
23 theme of being a dad with two young kids, it  
24 galls me to see the millions of extra dollars

1 we've got to spend because our bond rating or  
2 our credit rating has been put on watch by Wall  
3 Street, the millions of extra interest costs  
4 that we could use to put in the classrooms,  
5 overcrowded classrooms, to teach our kids.

6           You know, when I worked for Edgar and  
7 Thompson, nobody said, "Let's go put pressure on  
8 somebody." Nobody said, "Hey, I got in their  
9 face." And nobody said, especially when  
10 legislation was pending, "Hey, we're going to  
11 get it before the end of the year, right?"

12           You know, and while it's not relevant,  
13 I do worry about the decorum and how people view  
14 the Governor's Office just like I worry about  
15 who is in the Oval Office.

16           You know, Jim Edgar never used  
17 profanity. I think "golly" or "Jiminy  
18 Christmas" was the strongest terms he's ever  
19 used.

20           Repeatedly, the Auditor General, the  
21 head of JCAR, a U of I law professor said that  
22 Rod Blagojevich violated State and federal law  
23 over and over and over again.

24           You know, Blagojevich insists -- he

1       said it today -- that he puts the people's  
2       interests before his own.

3                I mean, give me a break. You know, in  
4       his own words, as the House Prosecutor put up  
5       there, every decision, every decision is legal,  
6       personal or political. I never saw the word  
7       "the people" appear in any of those wiretaps.

8                A man who really wants to help people  
9       is not going to say he doesn't want to be,  
10       quote, stuck in the Governor's Office the next  
11       two years.

12               I got to tell you, having served in  
13       that office with Governors Thompson and Edgar,  
14       being the Governor of Illinois is one of the  
15       premier political positions in the world, let  
16       alone the United States.

17               You know the light of the political  
18       ambition of Rod Blagojevich burned so hot that  
19       he repeatedly abused his power, and we need to  
20       extinguish it, and we need to extinguish it  
21       today.

22               I'm going to give my hometown friend,  
23       Pat Quinn, if he's -- if we do what I think what  
24       we're going to do today, this book called

1       Governors on Governing from Duke University  
2       where Mario Cuomo and the great governors of  
3       this State give tips on how to run your  
4       administration and how to govern. Jim Edgar and  
5       I read it. Jim Thompson gave it to me to give  
6       to Jim Edgar and I.

7                 Rod Blagojevich needs to be removed  
8       from office. He's inept, he's corrupt, he has  
9       cost the State millions of dollars, and he  
10      jeopardizes our national -- or our homeland  
11      security and our security in the event of a  
12      natural disaster. The State government is  
13      paralyzed. We need to move Illinois forward  
14      both ethically and fiscally.

15                Thank you.

16                PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Thank you,  
17      Senator.

18                Please be mindful of the timer. We  
19      have a five-minute timer.

20                Senator Murphy.

21                SENATOR MURPHY: Thank you. Thank you,  
22      Mr. President.

23                Let me first commend the Chief Justice  
24      on the dignity he brought to this process and

1 commend my colleagues as well for the gravity  
2 that you obviously saw in this process.

3 I want to also take a minute to commend  
4 the House Prosecutor. This isn't always -- it's  
5 kind of a unique situation, and he put on a  
6 workman-like, professional case, and was a real  
7 credit to the House who's case he put on, which  
8 leads, of course, to the Governor and the case  
9 he put on today, or shall we say the speech he  
10 gave today.

11 He reminded us today in real detail  
12 that he is an unusually good liar. He came down  
13 here without impunity and lied to every Member  
14 of this Chamber. He lied about the process,  
15 that the rules that we put in place, that we  
16 adopted for this solemn occasion were unfair to  
17 him.

18 As a member of the committee that put  
19 the rules together, a committee that I've  
20 referred to as nonpartisan -- bipartisan isn't  
21 strong enough. It was nonpartisan.  
22 Partisanship had no place in the making of these  
23 rules.

24 I can assure you as a member of that



1 committee that we bent over backwards to make  
2 this process fair for this governor.

3           The fact that he chose to go on a media  
4 circus and show disrespect to the people of the  
5 State and to our State Constitution that he  
6 swore to uphold by not showing up here until the  
7 last minute, -- ironic that he was late -- the  
8 fact that he made that choice was his to live  
9 with, but it is not a reflection on the fairness  
10 of the rules of this process. His suggestion to  
11 the contrary is disingenuous.

12           His conduct this last week, though, is  
13 not why I'm voting to convict him.

14           He came down here and he said, "There's  
15 no evidence. I did nothing wrong."

16           It's pretty clear he extorted or  
17 attempted to extort from the caregivers of sick  
18 children \$50,000 before he would give your  
19 taxpayers' dollars to the sick kids.

20           He came down and wrapped himself in the  
21 Constitution, spent the whole week talking about  
22 his rights under the Constitution, seeming to  
23 neglect the fact that they don't apply in this  
24 instance, but forgetting that for a second, what

1 about the First Amendment, what about the  
2 freedom of the press?

3 The man is on tape trying to buy off  
4 and get people fired out of the very press, the  
5 First Amendment, the very first one they gave.  
6 But he's a big fan of the Constitution. He's a  
7 hypocrite.

8 He sold jobs. We heard about the  
9 public trust. The selling of jobs. Ali Ata: I  
10 plunk 25 grand on a desk in front of him, I get  
11 to be the Illinois Finance Authority Chairman.

12 The federal jury in the Tony Rezko  
13 trial heard that same testimony,  
14 cross-examination, everything in a criminal  
15 trial, every advantage. They bought it. They  
16 convicted Tony Rezko on the charges that that  
17 testimony was pertinent to. That is tested. He  
18 sold that job.

19 The U.S. Senate seat. Is there any  
20 question, any real question, in anybody's mind  
21 that the thing he saw as bleeping golden he  
22 planned to use for his own benefit, not the  
23 people of the State of Illinois? I don't think  
24 so.

1           It's been said that true character is  
2     doing the right thing when you don't realize  
3     that anybody is looking, or perhaps more  
4     fittingly here, listening.

5           I thought the House Prosecutor's  
6     comments about the Rod Blagojevich on camera and  
7     the Rod Blagojevich on tape or off camera were  
8     compelling.

9           He showed us the true test of his  
10    character on those tapes, who he was down here.  
11    A Frank Capra wannabe is a lie.

12           He failed the test of character. He is  
13    beneath the dignity of the State of Illinois.  
14    He is no longer worthy to be our Governor, and I  
15    urge everybody here on behalf of the people I  
16    represent to vote to remove him from office.

17           Thank you.

18           PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Duffy.

19           SENATOR DUFFY: Thank you,  
20    Mr. President.

21           As a freshman Senator, let me say it  
22    has been an interesting first month in office.  
23    It is an honor to represent the people of the  
24    26th District and to sit here in their chair.

1           I have heard over the past few days how  
2 the Governor has traded official acts in  
3 exchange for personal profit and campaign  
4 contributions. He did this many times in a  
5 variety of ways.

6           I have also heard how the Governor  
7 violated State and federal laws. The Governor's  
8 speech today was incredible, a very passionate  
9 political speech, but it doesn't change the  
10 facts.

11           The Governor's actions show a pattern  
12 of abuse which clearly tramples over the  
13 Illinois Constitution and violates his oath of  
14 office.

15           The testimony presented definitely  
16 warrants the Governor's removal from office, but  
17 what confuses me is that the testimony shows  
18 that this abuse of power has been going on for  
19 years and that many people in this government  
20 and in this Chamber had to have known about it.

21           According to the Governor's speech  
22 today, he said that what he did he did in  
23 conjunction with the Democratic Senate  
24 Leadership. He said he couldn't have done any

1 of this without their help and support.

2 The Auditor General's testimony  
3 yesterday reflects how deep and how widespread  
4 the corruption has gone.

5 How is it that the majority in this  
6 Chamber, the same people who have presented this  
7 case reflecting years of corruption, are the  
8 same people that have praised the Governor by  
9 giving him three pay raises over the past two  
10 years? Three raises since the 2006 election,  
11 increasing the Governor's salary by almost  
12 18 percent at the same time that all this  
13 documented corruption was taking place.

14 Mr. President, we have just scratched  
15 the surface of corruption. The Governor did not  
16 and could not have done all this without a lot  
17 of help. We must implement clear and concise  
18 transparency laws in this State.

19 Every single government check written,  
20 whether for payroll, bills or expenses, should  
21 be posted on the Internet on a website for all  
22 to see.

23 Voters should have the ability to  
24 recall, if necessary, any elected official in

1 this State.

2           And we should have a whistle-blowers'  
3 hotline for all legislators, staff and lobbyists  
4 to call if they suspect or know of any  
5 corruption that's taking place. This hotline  
6 should be maintained by a nonpolitical  
7 appointment who will keep names anonymous and  
8 offer rewards for convictions.

9           This is just the beginning,  
10 Mr. President, and we have a lot of work to do.

11           Thank you.

12           PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Lauzen.

13           SENATOR LAUZEN: Thank you,  
14 Mr. President.

15           Like many of us in this Chamber, I  
16 could not properly serve in the Senate without  
17 the active help and support of my family and our  
18 very competent staff. I'm eternally grateful to  
19 my wife, Sarah, who is here today on her  
20 birthday and the many good people who have  
21 devoted their careers to honestly serving the  
22 people of Illinois: Abbe, Kim, Fran, Tom,  
23 Kiyoshi, Phil, Bomba, Nancy, Kris, Jeanne,  
24 Linda, Tara and thousands more who do their jobs

1 properly every day along with their families,  
2 too.

3 Today, we are examining our collective  
4 conscience. We have been summoned to judge what  
5 the Illinois Constitution Article V, Section 8  
6 literally calls the supreme executive power in  
7 our State.

8 Last night, before my wife and I went  
9 home, with the help of our staff and modern  
10 technology, Sarah and I called 34,300 of our  
11 constituents to listen to their opinions and  
12 advice. At one point in the conversation, 3,600  
13 of us the people gathered together on the phone  
14 considering what those of us in this Chamber  
15 will conclude today.

16 We asked the question: Should the  
17 Governor be convicted or acquitted in his  
18 impeachment trial. The verdict in this one  
19 unscientific poll was 80 percent, four out of  
20 every five participants, convict; 12 percent  
21 acquit, 8 percent were uncertain.

22 I believe that now I generally know  
23 where the people I serve stand, but our  
24 direction in a constitutional republic is not do

1 a poll and report back to the Senate floor.

2           We each took an office in this -- we  
3 each took an oath in this trial to do justice  
4 under the law, but which law? What is just?  
5 For Moses in the Old Law, an eye for an eye, a  
6 tooth for a tooth; or Plato, Socrates and  
7 Callicles in The Republic, the struggle between  
8 the expedient might makes right or the ideal of  
9 right makes might; or Jesus in the New Law, only  
10 judge as you will be judged; Aquinas in the  
11 Middle Ages, do good to others, injure no one  
12 and render to every man his own; or Immanuel  
13 Kant's categorical imperative, the moral command  
14 to act as if the maxim of thy action were to  
15 become by thy will a universal law of nature,  
16 basically, do unto others as you would have done  
17 to you.

18           Or is it most simply as our Chief  
19 Supreme Court Judge, Tom Fitzgerald, suggested  
20 on the first day in his opening remarks, the  
21 essence of justice is fairness, and fairness is  
22 balance, duty and equality?

23           You know in natural law, there is good  
24 and evil, and we can judge a tree by its fruit.



1 The good produces peace, prosperity and calm.  
2 The bad yields conflict, scarcity and anxiety.

3 On Tuesday when we heard the wiretap  
4 tapes for the first time, I looked around these  
5 ornate Senate Chambers. I watched and felt the  
6 reactions of especially our guests in the  
7 gallery and members of the audience who have not  
8 become as callous as perhaps some of us have  
9 become to politics as usual.

10 There was a hushed silence that felt  
11 like the air and the remaining innocence of this  
12 Chamber were being sucked out. There was shock  
13 and the most profound sadness. If a room could  
14 cry, there would have been tears flowing down  
15 the aisles. The absence of any good shocked,  
16 silenced and saddened.

17 But the presence of justice is  
18 equality. Fairness is my cutting an apple and  
19 letting you choose which half you'd like.

20 Fairness under any constitutional law  
21 and duty is not conspiring to sell government  
22 jobs and appointments for campaign  
23 contributions.

24 Fairness is not selfishly, recklessly

1 and consistently and deliberately ignoring the  
2 three-part checks and balance of constitutional  
3 law to get what you want for your own political  
4 aggrandizement; it is not trampling on the U.S.  
5 and Illinois Constitution.

6 In the end, honor means that our word  
7 is our bond. When a governor places one hand on  
8 a Bible, lifts the other hand to swear, "I, Rod  
9 Blagojevich, do solemnly swear that I will  
10 support the Constitution of the United States  
11 and the Constitution of the State of Illinois  
12 and that I will faithfully discharge the duties  
13 of Office of the Governor to the best of my  
14 ability," we all trust that he will keep his  
15 word to 12 and a half million people who rely on  
16 him.

17 The Governor has broken his --  
18 repeatedly -- his oath of office.

19 Our own oaths of office require us to  
20 support and protect our constitution. Our  
21 consciences and judgment demand that we convict  
22 the Governor of impeachment.

23 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Delgado.

24 SENATOR DELGADO: Thank you,

1 Mr. President, Members of the Senate.

2 Mr. President, speaking on behalf of  
3 the constituents of the 2nd Legislative District  
4 of Humboldt Park, Belmont Cragin and Hermosa  
5 communities, communities that are made up of  
6 rich and proud cultures of hard working class  
7 families, middle class, some of them  
8 underemployed, many of them with small  
9 businesses but many of them with the need of  
10 having access to health care.

11 And I sit in the Senate chair that was  
12 occupied by a now-city clerk of the City of  
13 Chicago that walked me through 15 years ago and  
14 had me help sponsor health fairs in my  
15 community, and today and last year, this  
16 celebrated our 15th year serving thousands of  
17 those who are hard to serve and hard to locate  
18 and provide the necessary back-to-school  
19 physicals and the needs of adults.

20 Yet, it saddens me to see so many  
21 people with needs to feel that still as  
22 frustrating, as someone said earlier, but as  
23 frustrating as it is to try to get those  
24 services not only in my community but in many of

1       yours if it was on the Rural Task Force for  
2       health care, developing a work force development  
3       in the farm communities and downstate  
4       communities. However, with that frustration,  
5       I still had to pass a bill to make any policy  
6       changes, to make any statute changes here in the  
7       General Assembly, I still had to file that bill  
8       and get it through Rules.

9                I still had to file that bill, and once  
10       it came out of Rules, I had to go in front of  
11       many of you in committees and then bring it back  
12       for your review of the whole Chamber and then of  
13       the House of Representatives.

14               But I started in the House of  
15       Representatives and I've dedicated my 10 years  
16       that I've been in the General Assembly to human  
17       services and health care to see the faces of  
18       many families, children who have diseases that  
19       may take their life, but still, the challenge  
20       remains of passing a bill and getting it funded  
21       and convincing all of my colleagues that this is  
22       necessary.

23               But no matter how frustrating it is,  
24       there's a process, and the integrity of that

1 process my communities have always distrusted.

2           And now we're finally at the table and  
3 we're all working hand in hand from as far south  
4 as Effingham to the City of Chicago and north to  
5 McHenry, but today, we find ourselves in a very,  
6 very sad day in the State of Illinois, and my  
7 communities and those communities who have  
8 worked so hard to make sure when they get up  
9 every day, they don't get the breaks that many  
10 of us -- or they think that we get here.

11           But let me say we're here to restore --  
12 and when I got elected, it was to restore that  
13 public trust, to make sure that our communities  
14 are at the table and not on the menu because  
15 many times, it is my communities that suffer  
16 these distractions and realize that we have to  
17 do the right thing.

18           And yes, we talk about health care. I  
19 was the chief sponsor of the Health Care Justice  
20 Act in the House of Representatives and that the  
21 now-President Barack Obama was the chief sponsor  
22 here in the Senate, and we made that available.

23           And now today, I sit here in shame and  
24 with -- and disconnect to the fact that I see it

1 in shambles. I see a distrust to do the basic  
2 thing, and that is to provide health care, but I  
3 know better.

4 I know that everybody understands that  
5 we have a process that must be respected, a  
6 process that I have learned to accept when I  
7 thought why doesn't government work for my  
8 communities, why doesn't it work for the poor of  
9 the poorest. But yet I understand if you do it  
10 right, you can get it done.

11 If you share and stay true to your  
12 word, people will listen, but most importantly,  
13 tell them like it is because where I come from,  
14 we have to be brutally honest to be able to get  
15 where I'm at, let alone to be able to walk  
16 safely down the streets, there must be trust.

17 And that's why we have rules in our  
18 society, and that's why today, I am put in a  
19 position as the now-Chairman of Public Health in  
20 the Senate as I was Chair of Human Services in  
21 the House to have to make a decision that is --  
22 that has to deal with the small politics of this  
23 State and any part of our country.

24 However, I caution everyone to make

1       sure we look in each other's eyes so we can see  
2       your soul and understand it's time to move  
3       forward. And Mr. President, it saddens me, but  
4       in my communities, we prefer to file a bill and  
5       get the work done through the process that  
6       exists today.

7                     Thank you.

8                     PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Cronin.

9                     SENATOR CRONIN: Thank you,  
10       Mr. President, Chief Justice Fitzgerald, House  
11       Prosecutors, Illinois House of Representatives,  
12       Members, the constitutional framers who  
13       understood the need for this extraordinary  
14       measure called impeachment.

15                    I do not delight in my task here today,  
16       but I do welcome it. It's my responsibility. I  
17       believe the evidence is clear and compelling.

18                    After six years of enduring this  
19       Governor, watching the process of State  
20       government deteriorate seriously and  
21       dramatically all the while this Governor, as the  
22       evidence has shown, totally immersed himself in  
23       contracts and appointments and schemes to demand  
24       campaign cash in exchange for official acts.

1                   So unfortunate. So unfortunate that  
2 his pathetic legacy can be summed up in his own  
3 words: Legal, personal, political.

4                   So sad, so sobering, so very  
5 discouraging for all of us. This man is  
6 without, without a doubt, unfit to govern.

7                   Please let me offer one thought, if I  
8 may, a solemn vow, if you will, that I will do  
9 all I can as we come together today, all of us,  
10 Republicans and Democrats, as we come together  
11 today and come together after today to change  
12 Illinois government, to change and turn this  
13 great State around and to a new and honorable  
14 direction, today, I vote without hesitation for  
15 conviction and removal.

16                   Thank you.

17                   PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Bivins.

18                   SENATOR BIVINS: Thank you,  
19 Mr. President.

20                   I would also like to thank the Chief  
21 Justice and the prosecution. They all did an  
22 excellent job.

23                   I'm going to begin my remarks with  
24 disagreeing with the Governor in something he



1 said here today, and then I'm going to conclude  
2 my remarks with agreeing with the Governor.

3 The Governor said here today, "You know  
4 what we have to do to run and go out and win  
5 elections. All of us in politics do."

6 Governor, if you're listening, all of  
7 us don't run for election by violating State and  
8 federal laws.

9 Two weeks ago yesterday, we all stood  
10 here and took an oath to uphold the constitution  
11 of this State and of this country. I've taken  
12 that oath twice as State Senator and six times  
13 over 32 years as a police officer and a  
14 five-term sheriff.

15 That oath I took in law enforcement to  
16 defend our constitution, both State and federal,  
17 and our laws I took knowing what that meant,  
18 that it may even mean defending it with my life  
19 if need be. So I take that oath very seriously.

20 Based on evidence presented this week,  
21 the Governor has violated State and federal law  
22 and violated the oath he took and has -- I would  
23 say violated, but he has trampled on our  
24 constitution with his behavior. He did this not

1 once but repeatedly.

2 And I would conclude by saying I do  
3 agree with the Governor on one point he made  
4 several times when he said, "You should have  
5 impeached me before I was re-elected."

6 Thank you, Mr. President.

7 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Raoul.

8 SENATOR RAOUL: Thank you,  
9 Mr. President.

10 Like to also thank the Chief Justice  
11 for his endurance and his ability to preside  
12 over this unfortunate but necessary proceeding.

13 Like to also thank the House Prosecutor  
14 for presenting the overwhelming evidence that  
15 was, in fact, presented in this case.

16 And I think the House Prosecutor said  
17 it best. Being Governor is not a right, it's a  
18 privilege, and it's one that's been abused by  
19 our Governor.

20 I would like to remind my colleagues  
21 and everybody that's listening that this was not  
22 a criminal proceeding, and in a criminal  
23 proceeding, one's liberty is at stake, and as a  
24 result, the standard of proof is beyond a

1 reasonable doubt. And evidence that's  
2 considered, there are evidentiary rules in  
3 criminal cases that prohibit hearsay and things  
4 of that nature.

5           And so there may be those out there who  
6 may question the nature of evidence that was  
7 presented before us. And in fact, had the  
8 Governor had either himself or through a lawyer  
9 challenged the sufficiency of the evidence  
10 because of its -- some of it's hearsay  
11 nature, -- and some of it was direct evidence --  
12 he may have raised questions, but he didn't. He  
13 had the opportunity.

14           And it's a lie for him to say that he  
15 did not have an opportunity to present  
16 witnesses, a lie. Our rules provided him the  
17 opportunity to present witnesses.

18           And I would like to remind everybody,  
19 as Senator Haine did before me, that closing  
20 arguments are not evidence. The Governor  
21 presented absolutely no evidence in this case,  
22 absolutely no evidence.

23           All of the House Prosecutor's evidence  
24 went un rebutted, and so while I've indicated

1 that this was not a criminal case, I think there  
2 were evidence of criminal acts committed by the  
3 Governor, such acts involving plotting to  
4 utilize the power to appoint a U.S. Senator,  
5 someone to replace my predecessor, for personal  
6 gain - for personal gain. And it's been  
7 indicated by the Governor that this is about his  
8 desire to provide health care.

9 Now, I've stood by the Governor while  
10 he's advocated for the expansion of health care,  
11 but I'm not going to allow him to change this to  
12 a question about health care. I'm an advocate  
13 for expansion of health care. If he was sincere  
14 about providing health care, he wouldn't be  
15 trying to shake down a chief executive of  
16 Children's Hospital.

17 Selling of an executive director  
18 position at the Illinois Finance Authority, that  
19 is a criminal act, and there was evidence put  
20 forth that went unrebutted.

21 Rule 15 of our rules allowed him to  
22 request subpoenas for witnesses. Not a single  
23 witness was presented before us.

24 The question before us is whether there

1 was a pattern of abuse. It's not complicated,  
2 folks. All the evidence was overwhelming, it  
3 was overwhelming.

4 It would have been nice to have had  
5 some more direct evidence, but I understood the  
6 predicament that the House Prosecutor was in  
7 with the pending criminal case. And we can't  
8 wait. We can't call for the citizens of  
9 Illinois to wait for a criminal proceeding to  
10 take its course. We had and we have enough  
11 unrefuted evidence now.

12 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator  
13 Rutherford.

14 SENATOR RUTHERFORD: Thank you,  
15 Mr. President and to the Ladies and Gentlemen,  
16 my colleagues in the Illinois State Senate and  
17 particularly to our fellow citizens of the State  
18 of Illinois.

19 The greatest offense is not just that  
20 Rod Blagojevich's behavior is disgraceful,  
21 though it was, it's not just that he once  
22 shattered the public trust, though he did, and  
23 it's not even that he turned our State into a  
24 national joke, and he has definitely done that.

1           No, the greatest offense committed by  
2 this Governor is that he effectually paralyzed  
3 our State government, and these consequences are  
4 being felt by organizations and businesses and  
5 communities and especially are being felt by  
6 real people in every part of our State.

7           The bottom line is this: That as the  
8 Governor continued to play a lead role in his  
9 own bizarre political theater, our families and  
10 our communities are paying that price.

11           Rod Blagojevich has hurt the economy of  
12 local communities. And you know what? I know  
13 that. And Rod Blagojevich has actually hurt  
14 real people. And you know what? I know that.  
15 And Rod Blagojevich has hurt families. And I  
16 know that personally.

17           For the majority of the ten years I was  
18 in the State House and now going on seven in  
19 this Illinois State Senate, I have served on the  
20 Joint Committee on Administrative Rules. I have  
21 had the good fortune to work with three  
22 governors in this wonderful oversight, and I got  
23 to tell you, colleagues, I have not seen in  
24 three governors anyone blatantly abuse the

1 process of shared governance as what I've seen  
2 happen by Rod Blagojevich and his team.

3 There is no question in my mind that  
4 Rod Blagojevich is not fit to serve. This  
5 governor has abused the power of his office.  
6 His performance in office and his treatment of  
7 people, his treatment of people, is  
8 irresponsible.

9 We must lift this heavy, dark cloud  
10 over our State and we need to return Springfield  
11 back to a place where we can get things done for  
12 those people, and this is possible. But the  
13 only way this cloud can be gone is when Governor  
14 Blagojevich is no longer the Governor of the  
15 State of Illinois.

16 So Mr. President, when my name is going  
17 to be called when the roll is going to be taken,  
18 I adamantly intend to cast my vote to remove Rod  
19 Blagojevich as the Governor of Illinois.

20 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator  
21 Luechtefeld.

22 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: Thank you,  
23 Mr. President and Members of the Senate.

24 You know, a few years back, I remember

1 a previous governor being convicted and  
2 sentenced to prison. And I remember saying to  
3 my wife at the time that, you know, if this  
4 doesn't change anything in this State, then it's  
5 really not been worth it.

6 And again, we're faced with the same  
7 situation. We have a Governor who has violated  
8 the laws and certainly has not been truthful  
9 throughout his last six years. And if this  
10 doesn't change the State and the culture of  
11 corruption that we obviously have had over the  
12 years, then it really hasn't been worth it.

13 So I guess it's up to, you know, to us  
14 to make that -- to get that done.

15 And the Governor mentioned several  
16 times that he had -- if he is deserved to be  
17 convicted and impeached, many of those things  
18 happened before his last election and an awful  
19 lot of people helped him win that last election  
20 and the people did, too, and sometimes people  
21 get what they deserve.

22 Again, he has broken all of the laws.  
23 He deserves to be impeached. I certainly will  
24 vote to convict him, but if things don't change,



1 we've spent an awful lot of energy and time here  
2 today and through the last week so time will  
3 tell whether it does. Hopefully, the  
4 prosecutors will go after any other corruption  
5 that he can find. And let's decide to make this  
6 a better State.

7 Thank you.

8 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Viverito.

9 SENATOR VIVERITO: Thank you,  
10 Mr. President. I certainly want to thank Chief  
11 Justice Thomas Fitzgerald, the prosecuting  
12 attorneys and certainly Ladies and Gentlemen of  
13 this grand Chamber.

14 This is truly a somber day that I never  
15 thought I would see. Like many of you, I was  
16 elected by the people of my district to come to  
17 Springfield to help the most vulnerable of our  
18 society, the elderly, the children, the working  
19 class, never thinking of these proceedings  
20 today.

21 Removing someone from his or her  
22 elected office is one of the most powerful and  
23 solemn duties of a Senator. We were bestowed  
24 that power to protect -- excuse me -- to help

1 the most vulnerable of our society, the elderly,  
2 the children, the working class.

3 Removing someone from his or her  
4 elected office is one of the powerful and solemn  
5 duties of a Senator. We were bestowed this  
6 power to protect the citizens of this State  
7 against the abuses by its elected officials.

8 It is this body's responsibility under  
9 the Constitution to remove an officer when that  
10 officer abuses his authority or breaks the  
11 public trust. When that officer so clearly  
12 violates his oath of office, that removal must  
13 be done.

14 Before I continue, may I offer my  
15 prayers to the Blagojevich children and the rest  
16 of the family during these difficult times. My  
17 prayers are also with the great citizens of this  
18 State of Illinois who have suffered through this  
19 ordeal.

20 I came to this Chamber proceedings with  
21 an open mind. I have listened to the testimony  
22 and heard the tapes available to us, especially  
23 the words under oath of FBI Agent Cain, and I  
24 have reviewed the evidence presented.

1       Therefore, after much deliberation, with deep  
2       concern for our State, it is with a heavy heart  
3       that I feel imperative to cast my vote to  
4       impeach Governor Blagojevich.

5                       PRESIDENT CULLERTON:   Senator Brady.

6                       SENATOR BRADY:   Thank you,  
7       Mr. President.

8                       Ladies and Gentlemen, today, we have an  
9       opportunity to close a sad chapter in the  
10      history book of Illinois.

11                      Today, we can't help but feel  
12      embarrassed, but we also can't help to feel a  
13      little bit of a sense of pride in this great  
14      State, the land of which several decades ago  
15      brought us a great president, the land which  
16      several terms ago brought us another great  
17      president, the land which several years ago  
18      convicted a former governor, the land of which  
19      just a week ago inaugurated another president  
20      and the land of which over the last several  
21      hours these past few days will convict and  
22      remove a governor from office.

23                      Cycles are part of life.   Some of them  
24      we cannot avoid, and others we can.   Corruption

1 in this State is a cycle that we must learn to  
2 avoid.

3 The testimony we heard today and over  
4 the last several days, whether you be someone  
5 who questioned the ethics of this administration  
6 or someone who went along, must indicate to us  
7 that things have to change.

8 Although we are closing this chapter  
9 today, our work is not done. We know from the  
10 evidence we heard that corruption still exists  
11 in Illinois and there are people in this State  
12 who also need to be removed from their  
13 responsibilities.

14 We know that we need to pass  
15 whistle-blower laws and that we need to increase  
16 the standard in this State so that nobody, no  
17 legislative body, has to be embarrassed the way  
18 we were embarrassed today.

19 Illinois is a State of great  
20 opportunities, and we have given great things to  
21 this country and this world. We need to go back  
22 to those reputations. We will, I believe, do  
23 the right thing today, but our work is not over.  
24 We must work to preserve the integrity of this

1 great State.

2 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator  
3 Burzynski.

4 SENATOR BURZYNSKI: Thank you,  
5 Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen of the  
6 Senate.

7 You know, I've been sworn in to the  
8 General Assembly eight times now and soon to  
9 begin another new administration.

10 And I'll tell you, two weeks ago, as  
11 Senator Bivins mentioned, we were sworn in, and  
12 we were sworn in to protect the Constitution of  
13 the State of Illinois.

14 And I can tell you I get asked all the  
15 time, "Well, is there anything different?" And  
16 every time that we're sworn in, it is a new  
17 feeling, it's a new beginning. It's a new sense  
18 of duty, of honor.

19 And certainly two weeks ago, we had  
20 this cloud hanging over our heads at that time,  
21 and looking ahead knowing what we were going to  
22 be faced with was not necessarily the easiest  
23 thing to do, but it is our duty.

24 I'm very proud, very humble to serve

1 with each and every one of you. And I think  
2 that when we can work together, we can achieve  
3 great things for the citizens of the State of  
4 Illinois.

5 Senator Viverito talked about his  
6 prayers going out to the family of Governor  
7 Blagojevich, the people of the State of  
8 Illinois.

9 Every day, we begin our business with a  
10 prayer. And certainly, I think that it is  
11 incumbent upon us to really take that moment and  
12 to take to heart what those prayers mean as we  
13 strive to conduct ourselves in this place.

14 But today, we're faced with an awesome  
15 responsibility. As Senators, we have a duty to  
16 uphold the State's constitution by casting a  
17 vote, determining whether or not to convict the  
18 Governor of impeachable offenses.

19 During the past few days, we've heard  
20 testimony from several witnesses regarding both  
21 criminal activity and abuse of power by Governor  
22 Blagojevich. And if that isn't enough, many of  
23 us have witnessed that firsthand during the past  
24 six years.

1           Did the Governor act on his own in all  
2 of these cases? Certainly not. There were many  
3 others in State government who enabled and  
4 encouraged him. And during his statement today,  
5 he even commented that he couldn't have achieved  
6 his accomplishments without the help of others.

7           State government has come to a  
8 standstill because of a lack of trust in this  
9 administration. Bills are not being paid in a  
10 timely fashion, services to our constituents are  
11 being pared down and cut, and put very bluntly,  
12 the process does not work.

13           This Governor has time and time again  
14 bypassed the legislative process in order to  
15 begin new programs and expand existing programs.

16           As a member of JCAR, the Joint  
17 Committee on Administrative Rules, I've  
18 witnessed firsthand the abuse of power by the  
19 Governor in trying to circumvent the  
20 legislature.

21           The Governor says JCAR is advisory.  
22 The law says otherwise. And by his actions and  
23 the actions of many agencies under his direct  
24 control, the Governor has proven his disdain for

1 us as legislators and for the separation of  
2 powers.

3 We now have the opportunity to move  
4 forward, to begin moving past this era of  
5 corruption, pay-to-play politics and abuse of  
6 power. And folks, this isn't about us, and it's  
7 not really all about the Governor, either. It's  
8 about the people that each and every one of us  
9 represent. It's about the entire State of  
10 Illinois.

11 We must restore integrity, honor and  
12 trust in government. We must return government  
13 to the people of Illinois. We can and should  
14 begin this process today, but this is not the  
15 end game.

16 As we heard in testimony before the  
17 tribunal, there are individuals sprinkled  
18 throughout government and State agencies who  
19 have played integral roles in this illegal  
20 activity and abuse of power. They, too, must be  
21 sought out and removed from those positions.

22 Today is a sad day in Illinois history,  
23 but we know what we have to do. I ask you to  
24 join me in voting to remove Governor Rod



1 Blagojevich from office.

2 Thank you, Mr. President.

3 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Noland.

4 SENATOR NOLAND: Thank you,  
5 Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the  
6 Senate.

7 I rise to speak because I think that it  
8 is important -- it is very important for me to  
9 inform this Chamber, the people of Illinois and  
10 those of my district why I am today voting to  
11 convict our governor under the Article of  
12 Impeachment presented by the House.

13 First, the testimony provided by  
14 Special Agent Cain, however selected from the  
15 many hours of taped conversation, was convincing  
16 if not compelling.

17 Allowing as the Governor has asked that  
18 we believe there is more, it is difficult to see  
19 how the words he uttered were intended to do  
20 anything other than to force concessions from  
21 those having business before this State.

22 Second, with regard to the U.S. Senate  
23 seat, there is no doubt, whether it was for the  
24 betterment of the State of Illinois or for his

1 political advantage or for his personal  
2 aggrandizement, an unethical, if not illegal,  
3 quid pro quo was being attempted by the  
4 Governor.

5 Third, the public record of the  
6 Governor's indiscriminate transfer of public  
7 funds from one account to another, however well  
8 intended or within his executive authority, was  
9 a reckless and imprudent undertaking.

10 Hindsight may be 20/20, but the degree  
11 to which this unilateral fiscal policy was  
12 undertaken unabated is impeachable on its face.

13 But the sad fact of the matter in all  
14 of this is that in nearly every instance,  
15 whether it was Senate Candidates 1 through 6,  
16 Deputy Governor A or Individual B, discussing  
17 the disposition of the U.S. Senate seat or  
18 whether it was an individual or organization  
19 having business before the State, there was no  
20 instance where the Governor looked to them with  
21 a wink and a nod where a wink and nod at least  
22 on some level was not offered in return.

23 The testimony we have heard would  
24 strike astonishment in the hearts of angels, but

1 I must say this being my first in what I hope  
2 will be several terms in the Senate, my fear is  
3 that this is exactly how business has been done  
4 in the State of Illinois for years.

5 I will never forget over the summer of  
6 2006 knocking on the door of an elderly woman in  
7 my district and asking her for her vote. She  
8 sighed heavily and said to me, "Mr. Noland, I'm  
9 sorry, but I'm not going to vote. I'm through.  
10 I'm 86 years old, and over my lifetime in  
11 Illinois, I've watched the majority of governors  
12 here either go to jail or to be investigated for  
13 some sort of wrongdoing."

14 And then she went down the list of both  
15 Democrats and Republicans alike, Green,  
16 Stratton, Kerner, Walker, Ryan and then Governor  
17 Blagojevich who at the time was being  
18 investigated, and as we now know, impeached.  
19 She went on to say, "I just can't take it  
20 anymore."

21 I told her I was sorry for that and  
22 that I pledged to do better.

23 I must pause, too, to note that I find  
24 it hard to believe that the Thompson and Edgar

1 administrations were oases of executive  
2 propriety. I make no specific assertions, but I  
3 am confident that there are those not only still  
4 alive but still serving who could regale us with  
5 accounts of what at least some would consider  
6 arm twisting or heavy handedness by even these  
7 honorable gentlemen.

8           So I say to my fellow Members of the  
9 General Assembly here today, both the House and  
10 Senate: We are on notice. We will be held  
11 accountable for what comes after. If we don't  
12 right this wrong, no one whenever they leave  
13 this Chamber will ever be able to say that their  
14 work was truly done. This, however, is a debate  
15 for the coming session.

16           The lesson for us today if we're to  
17 accept the purpose of impeachment and that the  
18 purpose of impeachment is to protect the people  
19 of the State of Illinois is first, as always, no  
20 one is above the law.

21           Second, Illinois needs a new business  
22 model for doing the people's business.

23           And finally, the true measure of each  
24 of us as servants holding the public trust is

1 that which we would do with that trust if we  
2 thought it would not be known to all the world.  
3 Let us all pledge to do better.

4 Thank you, Mr. President.

5 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator John  
6 Jones.

7 SENATOR JOHN JONES: Thank you,  
8 Mr. President.

9 This is a sad day in the State of  
10 Illinois. It should be a joyous day because  
11 back in November, our two caucuses met and made  
12 a change in the Illinois Senate. They chose  
13 you, Senator Cullerton, to be the next President  
14 of the Illinois Senate. And so this should be a  
15 joyous day for your side and your caucus.

16 And we on this side, on the Republican  
17 side, did something that has never been done in  
18 the State of Illinois before. We chose Senator  
19 Christine Radogno, the first woman to ever lead  
20 a caucus in the State of Illinois.

21 It should be a joyous time, but it's  
22 not. This is a sad day for the State of  
23 Illinois. And we must right our ship.

24 You know, as I've listened to the

1 evidence over the last four days and, you know,  
2 we've all heard stuff long before this, I kind  
3 of agreed with the Governor on one statement he  
4 made today, and that was backing up that, you  
5 know, some of the things we're impeaching him on  
6 and voting on today didn't start yesterday.  
7 It's been going on since 2003.

8 We didn't have to be here today. This  
9 should have been done before now. And we had an  
10 opportunity last year to give the voters a right  
11 to speak up and put recall on the ballot, but we  
12 didn't do that because some shenanigans were  
13 played on this floor. So we stopped the people  
14 of this State having a right. I hope the next  
15 time we don't do that.

16 But as I've listened to the evidence  
17 that's been presented over the last few days, I  
18 think two people really convinced me of what was  
19 really going on in the State of Illinois, and  
20 that was Auditor General Bill Holland, who I  
21 have the greatest respect for.

22 And we all know that he is a Democrat,  
23 but he does his job, folks. Maybe the only  
24 agency in the State of Illinois right now that

1 is doing his job right.

2 He's the one that dug up a lot of this  
3 stuff. He's the one that proved that the  
4 Governor was misusing funds that belonged to the  
5 taxpayers of this great State.

6 And then the Governor today really put  
7 the icing on the cake for me when he said  
8 repeatedly, "I did not intend to break the law."  
9 He said that more than once today, folks, "I did  
10 not intend on breaking the law."

11 He did break the law. He broke the  
12 trust of the people of this great State.

13 You know, when we come here and we're  
14 sworn in to represent our districts, -- and I  
15 represent the 54th District in the southeastern  
16 part of the State of Illinois -- we have a  
17 couple of things: We have our word, and we have  
18 our integrity.

19 We all know the Governor's word is not  
20 worth the paper it's written on, and his  
21 integrity is not there either.

22 You know, I grew up on a family farm in  
23 Southeastern Illinois. And we had all the  
24 things that you have normally on a farm, but we

1 also raised apples and peaches. And when we  
2 would gather those apples and peaches and put  
3 them in a basket to sell, and if we didn't sell  
4 them in a few days, we would sort through there  
5 to see if there was any bad ones in there that  
6 was going to spoil the rest of the basket.

7           Folks, what we're doing here today is  
8 we're reaching in there and we're taking out one  
9 bad apple. There's more around here.

10           There are a lot of people in government  
11 right now that this Governor put in those  
12 positions, and we need to scrutinize what  
13 they're doing and how much they knew over the  
14 last six years. It will be mind-boggling when  
15 you really find out what some of these people  
16 know and what they knew earlier.

17           You know, one other thing I want to  
18 address that the Governor kept repeating on  
19 national TV -- and we're being watched all over  
20 the world. It's time to right this ship, but  
21 the Governor kept saying he was denied due  
22 process. The same rules applied to him as they  
23 did to the House Prosecutor.

24           He knew the rules. He had an



1 opportunity to call witnesses. But what he's  
2 done, -- and the citizens of Illinois should not  
3 overlook this -- he has not been denied his  
4 rights.

5 He had an opportunity to call  
6 witnesses, but every witness he has named he  
7 knew could not legally be brought here before  
8 us. He named those people for a reason, because  
9 he knew they could not come here and testify.

10 It's time to right the ship in the  
11 State of Illinois. It's time to vote this  
12 Governor out of office.

13 Thank you.

14 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Bomke.

15 SENATOR BOMKE: Thank you,  
16 Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen of the  
17 Senate.

18 In May of last year, I became  
19 overwhelmingly frustrated with this Governor's  
20 action, and at that time, I sent a letter to the  
21 Speaker of the House asking him to start the  
22 impeachment process. Unfortunately, it didn't  
23 start then. It did not start until December  
24 until after the Governor was arrested by federal

1 agents. But fortunately, it did start.

2 A committee was formulated. They  
3 investigated the Governor's actions, they filed  
4 impeachment with the House, Articles of  
5 Impeachment. As we know, the House voted and,  
6 in fact, impeached the Governor.

7 Over the last three days, we've had an  
8 opportunity to hear from a number of witnesses.  
9 We've learned that the Governor was involved in  
10 unconscionable acts.

11 In 2002, the Governor ran on cleaning  
12 up government, cleaning up government, ridding  
13 us of pay-to-play which we've become renownedly  
14 known for here in Illinois.

15 Over the last three days, we've learned  
16 instead of cleaning up corruption and  
17 pay-to-play, he's epitomized it, he's taken it  
18 to another level.

19 We heard from an FBI agent, we read the  
20 transmission, we heard the federal wire tapes,  
21 the conversations that the Governor had with  
22 other people.

23 We learned that when he ran in 2002  
24 when he was running on cleaning up corruption

1 that he was offered a contribution by an  
2 individual, and in return, the Governor promised  
3 him a job if he were elected, and in fact, he  
4 got that job.

5 We also have learned that the Governor  
6 allegedly withheld a grant from a children's  
7 hospital while he solicited an executive of that  
8 hospital for a contribution.

9 We've learned that he held up on  
10 signing major legislation while he solicited an  
11 individual whose business would have benefitted  
12 once the Governor signed the legislation.

13 We've learned that the Governor tried  
14 to cut a deal with a major paper here in the  
15 State of Illinois they would receive State funds  
16 if they removed from their editorial board  
17 members who had written unfavorable editorials  
18 about the Governor.

19 But the most damaging witness in my  
20 opinion or testimony came from, as Senator Jones  
21 said, William Holland who stated the fact that  
22 this Governor has spent State funds that broke  
23 both State and federal law.

24 As frustrated as I have been, it isn't

1 nearly as frustrating as it has been for the  
2 thousands of State employees who have worked for  
3 this Governor. He has devastated some of their  
4 lives. He once impugned them by saying State  
5 employees are lazy at a time we now know he  
6 hardly went to his office or rarely.

7 He has disappointed the people of the  
8 State of Illinois. Enough is enough, and I'm  
9 asking you to join me in voting yes to remove  
10 Rod Blagojevich from Governor of the State of  
11 Illinois.

12 Thank you, Mr. President.

13 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Link.

14 SENATOR LINK: Thank you,  
15 Mr. President. Thank you, Chief Justice, for  
16 running what has probably been the saddest week  
17 of my political career.

18 It's a very black cloud over the State  
19 of Illinois today, and I want to remind a few  
20 people of something for those who may not be old  
21 enough to remember and those who are of a  
22 speech -- of a little comment that was made in  
23 1968 at the Democratic National Convention of a  
24 Senator who stood up there and he hollered out,

1 "The whole world is watching."

2 Well, the whole world is watching  
3 Illinois again today. And you know what? I'm  
4 sick and tired of it.

5 You know, you read through all of this  
6 pounds of paper of testimony, you listen to the  
7 people that were here. You don't know whether  
8 to get angry or cry because we've been duped  
9 again. You were with the last Governor; we were  
10 with this Governor. I'm tired of it. I'm tired  
11 of it in Illinois.

12 A couple of my colleagues on that side  
13 said something that I appreciate, -- and I hope  
14 they fulfill those words -- that we, we in this  
15 Chamber, can do something about this now.

16 This isn't a partisan problem. We have  
17 to get the trust of the citizens of the State of  
18 Illinois back to government, not to a political  
19 party but to government because as Senator  
20 Noland said, there's a lot of those 86-year-old  
21 women out there, and some of them aren't 86  
22 years old, who are tired of voting because they  
23 put their faith and trust in people and got  
24 disillusioned. I did.

1                   I've had a lot of faith in a lot of  
2 people on both sides of the aisle, and I've got  
3 disappointed through the years. Today, I'm  
4 disappointed again.

5                   I'm going to cast a vote that I wish to  
6 God I never would have had to cast. It's not a  
7 happy moment. There should not be one person  
8 that walks out of this Chamber jubilus because  
9 there's nothing happy about this.

10                  We're doing something that's going to  
11 be in history forever, but it's not going to be  
12 a footnote that you're going to be happy that  
13 your grandchildren will be reading. It's a sad  
14 day for Illinois, but it's something that has to  
15 be done.

16                  I agree with everybody in this room.  
17 I'm pretty sure I know what the vote is going to  
18 be, but we have to do it, but we can't be proud  
19 of it.

20                  Yeah, my heart goes out for the family.  
21 I have daughters, as Senator Dillard said and  
22 that, and I said many a times, "I hope to God I  
23 never do anything that my children will  
24 disrespect me for."

1           Ladies and Gentlemen, we are forging on  
2 unchartered territory today, but it's a  
3 territory that we must do because in the  
4 Constitution, it tells us this is part of our  
5 job. But I tell you, it's with sad and deepened  
6 heart that I have to cast the vote that I'm going  
7 to be casting, and I hope the Governor well in  
8 whatever he does, but I'm glad we'll be opening  
9 a new chapter in a couple hours.

10           Thank you.

11           PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Syverson.

12           SENATOR SYVERSON: Thank you,  
13 Mr. President and Members of this solemn Senate.

14           We've heard a lot today about this  
15 being a sad day for Illinois, but I guess I  
16 would like to take a little bit of a different  
17 angle that in some ways, it's a good day because  
18 the citizens of this State know that our system  
19 of laws and justice work, and that may have  
20 taken a while, but the system works. It shows  
21 that no one is above the law, even the Governor  
22 of the State.

23           In my 16 years in the Senate, we have  
24 passed ethical legislation after ethical

1 legislation after ethical legislation. We have  
2 passed campaign finance reform after campaign  
3 finance reform, yet, we still have this culture  
4 of corruption.

5 We're not going to fix this problem by  
6 passing more ethical legislation. Fixing an  
7 ethical problem can only be done by electing  
8 ethical leaders. Rod Blagojevich is not an  
9 ethical leader.

10 The evidence that we have seen has  
11 shown that he has broken the law and that he has  
12 misused his office.

13 It's important for all those that are  
14 listening back in my district that the decision  
15 that I am making today is not solely based on  
16 this evidence that we've heard the last four  
17 days even though the evidence is overwhelming,  
18 but the decision is based on firsthand  
19 experience of serving with this Governor for six  
20 years and seeing how Rod Blagojevich has abused  
21 the Governor's Office, abused the taxpayers,  
22 abused the very people that he said he was  
23 trying to help.

24 The Governor did give a great speech



1 today, but a speech doesn't change the facts of  
2 this case. And it's for that reason that I on  
3 behalf of those that I represent will be casting  
4 a vote to remove the Governor from office and to  
5 bar him from ever holding office again.

6 Thank you.

7 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Sandoval.

8 SENATOR SANDOVAL: Thank you,  
9 Mr. President.

10 Ladies and Gentlemen of the Illinois  
11 Senate, the people of the Southwest Side of  
12 Chicago, the Town of Cicero, the City of Berwyn,  
13 the Village of Stickney but greater to the  
14 people of Illinois, today, at the dawn of a new  
15 beginning in this great country we call the  
16 United States of America, in the Land of Lincoln  
17 and in the Land of Obama, it is a shameful day.

18 This day truly will go down as a day of  
19 infamy.

20 Rod Blagojevich was elected just a few  
21 years ago on the promise of restoring the  
22 confidence of government, bringing transparency  
23 and democracy and order to this great State.  
24 Six years later, he has not delivered on that

1 promise. In fact, he has broken his promise.

2 He leaves us, the people of Illinois,  
3 the fifth largest economy in this country, with  
4 many struggles and with much hurt. The people  
5 of Illinois today struggle.

6 We have broken faith in government.  
7 Our finances are in disarray. We have the  
8 highest unemployment rate. In fact, our  
9 unemployment rate far exceeds the national  
10 unemployment rate. And he's left us with the  
11 tainted moral character of our governance.

12 I echo the sentiments of my colleagues  
13 on the other side of the aisle. Rod Blagojevich  
14 is not a reflection of the good will of the  
15 people of Illinois.

16 And certainly on the eve of the  
17 bicentennial of one of our greatest presidents  
18 that has ever lived, Abraham Lincoln, this is  
19 not a proud day for us in the Illinois Senate.  
20 And this is a day that I would rather not be a  
21 part of history in the Illinois Senate.

22 We are here tonight because we believe  
23 that it is in our power to remove Rod  
24 Blagojevich from the Governor's Office. We must

1     forge once again a new destiny, and it must be  
2     without Rod Blagojevich.

3             Ladies and Gentlemen of the Senate,  
4     this is our time, January 29th, 2009. It's once  
5     again an opportunity to make history, to write a  
6     new chapter in the lives of the people of  
7     Illinois. And in the spirit of the people of  
8     our great country over the last few weeks, let  
9     us remove Rod Blagojevich from the State of  
10    Illinois and once again rejoice: Free at last,  
11    free at last, free at last.

12            PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Dahl.

13            SENATOR DAHL: Thank you,  
14    Mr. President, Members of the Senate.

15            During the past few days, we've heard a  
16    lot about the Governor's past. I would like to  
17    talk a little bit about the future and where we  
18    go from here.

19            Over the last six years, thanks in  
20    large part to Governor Blagojevich, people have  
21    lost confidence in our State government.  
22    They've seen partisanship trump statesmanship.  
23    They've seen division trump cooperation.  
24    They've seen a State government run by egos and

1 inside deals rather than common sense and the  
2 common good. Hopefully, today's vote can move  
3 us beyond that.

4 It's time to open a new chapter in this  
5 State. It's time to put aside our party labels  
6 and work together for the best interest of the  
7 people. Well, we don't have any time to lose.

8 The problems facing our State extend  
9 way beyond the sale of a Senate seat. Illinois  
10 is facing the worst budget and economic crisis  
11 it has faced in decades, and the only way we're  
12 going to meet these challenges is by working  
13 together and leaving our party labels at the  
14 door.

15 My hope is that today will be the first  
16 step in a new direction for the people of  
17 Illinois and the generations to come.  
18 Hopefully, when we come back next week, we can  
19 move that center aisle, be one room and work for  
20 the people of Illinois instead of for ourselves.

21 Thank you.

22 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Susan  
23 Garrett.

24 SENATOR GARRETT: Thank you,

1 Mr. President.

2           Based on the evidence I heard and read,  
3 I believe that the Governor wanted to have it  
4 both ways when it comes to innocence and guilt  
5 both in his position as Governor over the last  
6 six years and as an impeached governor as he  
7 delivered his final speech to the Senate today  
8 in Springfield.

9           On one hand, he proclaims and defines  
10 his innocence by association to popular, populist  
11 issues such as providing low-cost prescription  
12 drugs, flu vaccines and health care to the  
13 uninsured.

14           He looks at himself as a savior to the  
15 poor and needy, on the other hand, he denies his  
16 guilt by association to lobbyists and others who  
17 were willing to participate in the pay-to-play  
18 games, explaining that he did nothing to break  
19 the law.

20           In my mind, I believe that as he  
21 continued his mission to resolve the problems  
22 for those that are powerless, he clearly lost  
23 his way. He became obsessed with assuming more  
24 and more power and monetary rewards for himself

1 and his future aspirations.

2 In the end, his quest for power, his  
3 quest for financial returns for simply doing his  
4 job overrode his commitment to honesty and  
5 realistically helping the poor and the  
6 powerless.

7 In the end, his personal desire for  
8 power and influence left him powerless and left  
9 us with the responsibility to resurrect the  
10 Office of Governor in the State of Illinois.

11 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator  
12 Schoenberg.

13 SENATOR SCHOENBERG: Thank you,  
14 Mr. President.

15 Like those who have preceded me, I wish  
16 to extend my deep gratitude to Chief Justice  
17 Fitzgerald, to you and Minority Leader Radogno  
18 for ensuring an impeccable sense of fairness in  
19 the rules governing these proceedings, to the  
20 House Prosecutor and his team and to our  
21 respective staffs who have done a tireless job  
22 under extraordinary circumstances.

23 Today, the State of Illinois, the soul  
24 of the nation's heartland, the home of our

1 country's 44th president is bruised today, and  
2 it hurts as it has never ached before.

3           There is no disputing, as the evidence  
4 and testimony overwhelmingly prove, there is a  
5 consistent thread tying all the behavior  
6 together which clearly demonstrates a pattern of  
7 abuse of power.

8           If, as the Governor indicated in his  
9 remarks to the Chamber this morning, Special  
10 Agent Cain was constrained in his testimony, the  
11 transcripts of Ali Ata and Joseph Cari's plea  
12 agreements, the Federal Government's criminal  
13 complaint, the sworn testimony in the Rezko  
14 trial and the Auditor General's damning findings  
15 elevated the whisper to a shout from the  
16 rooftops.

17           Without question, there was a  
18 systematic effort to extort money from hospital  
19 executives, racetrack owners, investment banking  
20 firms, State leaseholders, and the list goes on  
21 and on.

22           And I have to say, Ladies and Gentlemen  
23 of the Senate, that this is not a template that  
24 was created just six years ago.

1                   There is no set of circumstances --  
2           there is simply no set of circumstances that any  
3           of us know of where someone in any public office  
4           can commit to spending public taxpayer dollars  
5           without a signed contract, without legal  
6           authorization, without a fair, competitive  
7           bidding process that does not have a thumb on  
8           the scale. People who work hard and who live in  
9           our communities expect nothing less.

10                   In his remarks, which frankly I thought  
11           were insulting to the law-abiding citizens of  
12           our communities, the Governor was clearly trying  
13           to disprove that there was a consistent pattern  
14           of behavior, one in which private individuals  
15           serving in public capacities accountable to no  
16           one directed the spending of millions and  
17           millions of public dollars. That's inexcusable.  
18           It's not a philosophical difference. It's  
19           against the law.

20                   The Governor also cited the Executive  
21           Inspector General in his remarks earlier today  
22           and how it was a matter of pride that there was  
23           even an executive inspector general in place.

24                   But what the Governor omitted in his



1 remarks was that at the end of her submission,  
2 she pointed out, as the chief prosecutor from  
3 the House ably pointed out as well, that there  
4 was utter contempt and disregard for the law.

5           As I indicated earlier, much of what  
6 we've heard and I anticipate much of what we'll  
7 hear in the future in a different context does  
8 not represent a template of abuse that developed  
9 overnight. Nor are the participants solely  
10 affiliated with one political party.

11           It may have grown exponentially in  
12 these past six years, but those seeds, my  
13 friends, were sewn long ago. Let me reiterate  
14 as others have before me that this is not a  
15 criminal trial. It is a constitutional  
16 proceeding to determine the Governor's fitness  
17 to serve all of the taxpayers of Illinois.

18           Governor Blagojevich as our State's  
19 chief executive oversaw a public enterprise  
20 where legal mechanisms to assert oversight,  
21 accountability and transparency over public  
22 dollars were repeatedly dismissed or ignored.  
23 They were characterized as cumbersome, outdated  
24 business models, inconvenient so that real

1 estate leases, consulting contracts, investment  
2 decisions and a host of other public assets were  
3 used to extract money and to deny taxpayers  
4 honest services.

5 In one instance, the so-called  
6 efficiency initiative, a private entity was  
7 created out of whole cloth and payments of  
8 public dollars were made, payments of dollars  
9 that were stripped from State agencies that the  
10 legislative branch was mandated constitutionally  
11 to ensure that they could fulfill their  
12 respective missions. And those dollars were  
13 used in a very elaborate shell game.

14 Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of  
15 the Senate, our neighbors and our nation are  
16 today confronted with great economic uncertainty  
17 that requires true ethical and undistracted  
18 attention from our State's chief executive.  
19 Their livelihoods, their homes and their very  
20 existence during this economic crisis depends on  
21 focused and principled leadership to provide for  
22 a better future.

23 Governor Blagojevich and through the  
24 actions of his and those of his associates have

1 demonstrated, unfortunately, tragically he is no  
2 longer fit to hold the office of the State's  
3 chief executive.

4 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Hultgren.

5 SENATOR HULTGREN: Thank you,  
6 Mr. President and Members of the Senate.

7 On August 16th, 1837, Abraham Lincoln  
8 wrote in a letter, "I want in all cases to do  
9 right."

10 Although some try to deny it, there are  
11 things that are right and things that are wrong.

12 My wife and I tell our four children  
13 because other people do things that are wrong  
14 don't make them right.

15 It's right and proper for the citizens  
16 in Illinois to be sick and tired of their  
17 elected officials being involved in shaking down  
18 children's hospitals, pay to play, money  
19 laundering, patterns of abuse of power and  
20 cultures of corruption.

21 Today is the first step in many  
22 necessary steps to come. There is so much more  
23 to be done as we vote to remove our governor  
24 because of the patterns of abuse that we've

1 heard these last days. Our work has only just  
2 begun in rooting out corruption and wrongdoing  
3 in our government.

4 Rod Blagojevich has done wrong and must  
5 be removed, but he did not act in isolation.  
6 I believe our State government must enter rehab,  
7 moral rehabilitation. From something painful,  
8 good things can come. I'm not perfect. I know  
9 none of us are perfect, but we're called to so  
10 much more than this.

11 Abraham Lincoln certainly was far from  
12 perfect, but he was a courageous leader of  
13 strong moral character. Today, let's join  
14 together in saying in all cases, we want to do  
15 right.

16 Thank you.

17 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Sullivan.

18 SENATOR SULLIVAN: Thank you,  
19 Mr. President.

20 I, too, want to thank Chief Justice  
21 Fitzgerald for presiding over this tribunal.  
22 I'd also like to thank my colleagues here in the  
23 Illinois Senate, for we have taken the matter  
24 before us with utmost seriousness. We realize

1 the consequences of our actions and the  
2 precedent we are setting here today.

3 With the exception of the Governor's  
4 brief appearance today, I deeply regret his  
5 absence and lack of participation in these  
6 proceedings. His appearance today was, to say  
7 the least, too little too late.

8 The State of Illinois faces many  
9 problems, and to solve these problems, we need a  
10 strong leader, a leader who has the confidence  
11 of this General Assembly, but most importantly  
12 the confidence of the people of the State of  
13 Illinois.

14 This is a sad day, and as a colleague  
15 told some of us earlier today, I feel like I've  
16 been punched in the gut, but this day is  
17 necessary because my vote and our vote to remove  
18 the Governor from office will begin the healing  
19 process. Today, we can and I believe we will  
20 begin to rebuild the confidence of the people of  
21 the State of Illinois.

22 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Koehler.

23 SENATOR KOEHLER: Thank you,  
24 Mr. President and Members of the Senate.

1           After reading all the testimony and  
2       hearing the testimony here, it's without  
3       hesitation that I will vote to remove the  
4       Governor from office. But I'm a little  
5       overwhelmed with the enormity of the task  
6       because I'm intrigued by the fact that our  
7       constitution doesn't really set a standard by  
8       which we should make this determination. And so  
9       I want to add just an observation and hopefully  
10      a contribution to the fact that this is a  
11      precedent-setting event.

12           I think that's very important that we  
13      not ever see impeachment used as a policy  
14      difference. And I don't think we've done that  
15      in this case. But I want to point that out  
16      because I was very taken up and I supported as a  
17      Democrat the Governor's last two election  
18      attempts and I believed in when he said about  
19      health care and about providing for the needs of  
20      the poor, and so I feel sorry that we're at this  
21      point in time. What becomes clear to me is that  
22      we can not achieve moral ends by immoral means.

23           If we had recall, that is always the  
24      prerogative then of the electorate to make

1 decisions on policy. And that's really the  
2 foundation of our democracy is that voters get  
3 to decide those issues based on policy and on  
4 direction. But we are representatives of the  
5 people, and I think it's important that we  
6 decide this issue based on behavior and actions.

7 I want to express my compassion for the  
8 family and for all those that have been really  
9 injured by the actions and the behavior of the  
10 Governor.

11 And just as a last statement, I also  
12 want to say my compassion goes out and my heart  
13 goes out to those members of his staff who are  
14 really good people, decent people that have been  
15 caught up in something that they don't deserve.  
16 They've tried to do their job in the best way to  
17 serve the people of the State of Illinois, and  
18 somehow, they'll be tainted by all of this as  
19 well.

20 Thank you.

21 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Martinez.

22 SENATOR MARTINEZ: Thank you,  
23 Mr. President.

24 And today, I stand here very sad and

1 very restless, restless because last night, like  
2 the last few nights, it's very hard to go to  
3 sleep and know what's ahead of you, know that  
4 you have to come here and do something that  
5 you've never had to do.

6           And to me, this is a very, very serious  
7 set of things that have happened in the last few  
8 weeks, especially given the fact that we took an  
9 oath a couple of weeks ago to make sure that we  
10 do this and do it correctly.

11           But the most important thing to me was  
12 that this morning, I woke up and I was watching  
13 CNN, and there was a joke by some of the people  
14 that were there about Chicago and about Illinois  
15 and about the Governor and about what was going  
16 on, and I felt saddened at the time to hear that  
17 we're being ridiculed about the impending  
18 impeachment of our Governor, but at the same  
19 time, they were saying that in the stimulus  
20 package that there was -- and I don't know if  
21 it's a joke, and I think it might be a reality,  
22 that they were saying in part of the stimulus  
23 package, there is nothing to come to Chicago, to  
24 Illinois, as long as Governor Blagojevich is



1       there.

2                   And whether that was a joke or whether  
3       that was a just -- you know, part of it, it kind  
4       of really hit home for me as to what we need to  
5       do here today.

6                   And today, it's with, you know, great  
7       sadness and with a heavy heart that I have to  
8       vote on an individual that I think, like many,  
9       six years ago, when he came when he was -- when  
10      he was out there campaigning, the thing that  
11      attracted me the most was about health care  
12      because I think health care is so important to  
13      so many of us, especially in my community, like  
14      many of your communities.

15                  And I know that when we come here, we  
16      come here to do the job of the people. We come  
17      here to make sure that we are representing the  
18      most neediest and we're representing the ones  
19      that do not have, the ones that cannot afford.

20                  And I believed in the Governor then  
21      when he talked about health care and how  
22      important it was for us to be able to provide  
23      health care to the most neediest and to the ones  
24      that didn't have any means to pay.

1           I believe that he believed in something  
2 but somewhere, somehow got caught up in the  
3 process as far as how to get there.

4           And when I heard those tapes, when I  
5 read the tons of manuscripts that we had here in  
6 the last few days, it just really, really broke  
7 my heart to know that someone that I believed in  
8 as far as the concept about the people and to  
9 hear the same individual that I believed in for  
10 so long as far as what he came here to do and  
11 what he's done since, it's really, really hard  
12 to hear what we heard.

13           And I know that many of us, and I would  
14 say that all 59 of us, we are honorable people.  
15 We are here because the people elected us, and  
16 we know that we are here to do the work of the  
17 people so I have hope.

18           I think tonight, I'm probably going to  
19 sleep a little better, but I think that I have  
20 this hope that we're going to be able to move  
21 forward.

22           Come next week, we're going to look at  
23 a brand new day. We're going to work and go  
24 back to what we were sent here to do, and that

1 is to continue to look for affordable health  
2 care, affordable daycare, affordable housing.  
3 We're going to continue to work for the things  
4 that we really believe in.

5           And I just have to say that I am very  
6 hopeful and I'm thankful for the process that we  
7 have and, you know, it's with great sadness that  
8 I'm so glad that today is going to be over, but  
9 I am happy that tomorrow, we're going to have a  
10 brand new day.

11           Thank you.

12           PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Meeks.

13           SENATOR MEEKS: Thank you so much,  
14 Mr. President.

15           This is not a sad day for me; this is a  
16 great day.

17           We are not ruled by angels, we're not  
18 ruled by super humans. We have, unfortunately,  
19 as our leaders in our State, city, country,  
20 people with flaws, human beings just like the  
21 rest of us who are prone to mistakes. We have  
22 leaders who make errors.

23           However, when those errors drift into  
24 criminal activity or abuse of power, when that

1 happens and a leader oversteps his or her  
2 boundary, what a joy that we don't have to form  
3 a militia, we don't have to form an army, an  
4 upstate army and a downstate army and go down to  
5 the second floor and get grenades and guns and  
6 bomb the Governor out of the second floor. What  
7 a joy, we have a process.

8 I'm happy to have participated in this  
9 process, and yeah, it's unprecedented, but  
10 future generations will know that the General  
11 Assembly, that we have this thing called  
12 impeachment, and whenever any of our leaders who  
13 are human beings like us overstep the boundary,  
14 then the process is in place. And so  
15 prayerfully, it will encourage them to do a good  
16 job. I say we have this thing called  
17 impeachment, and it's bleeping golden, and we've  
18 used it the right way.

19 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Hunter.

20 SENATOR HUNTER: Thank you,  
21 Mr. President, Chief Justice Fitzgerald and  
22 Members of the Senate.

23 Yes, today is a sad day in Illinois.  
24 My heart is heavy today as we take the vote to

1       impeach the Governor.

2                   My district is one of the most  
3       underserved areas in the State. This State will  
4       never be the same again ever. We have a lot of  
5       work to do to restore confidence in the people  
6       of this great State.

7                   Yes, today is a sad day in the State of  
8       Illinois as far as I'm concerned, but it is also  
9       commencement day. Today is the beginning of a  
10      new day, new opportunities to put our State back  
11      on track so that we can begin to move progress  
12      forward.

13                  Thank you.

14                  PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Kotowski.

15                  SENATOR KOTOWSKI: Thank you,  
16      Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the  
17      Senate and the good people of the 33rd District  
18      who put me here in this seat.

19                  Today is the day that we rise above any  
20      partisanship, any petty politics and confront  
21      that which has threatened to bring our State  
22      down.

23                  The question before us is simple,  
24      whether Governor Blagojevich is fit to govern

1 this State, and the answer is "no," a resounding  
2 "no."

3 In reviewing the evidence, I have  
4 determined that Governor Blagojevich has  
5 demonstrated a willful disregard for the law and  
6 the truth. He has violated the public trust,  
7 and he has repeatedly selected selfish interests  
8 over the common good.

9 For these reasons, I believe Governor  
10 Rod Blagojevich should be convicted on the  
11 Article of Impeachment.

12 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Collins.

13 SENATOR COLLINS: Thank you,  
14 Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen of the  
15 Senate.

16 As it's been said, impeachment is a  
17 political process, it is not a legal proceeding.  
18 And ultimately, that is the framework by which  
19 we must now decide whether to remove Governor  
20 Rod Blagojevich from office.

21 I have read, reviewed and heard the  
22 evidence, and while I believe expending health  
23 care and providing prescription drugs to the  
24 people of Illinois are laudable policies to be

1 pursued and deserve real action, I believe the  
2 Governor has a political responsibility to  
3 conduct himself in a manner that instills  
4 confidence in the process and in the people of  
5 Illinois.

6 His actions as laid out in the criminal  
7 complaint and further explained during trial  
8 have eroded the public trust to a point that he  
9 is no longer able to effectively govern this  
10 State.

11 But in closing, let me say we fool  
12 ourselves if we believe impeaching this governor  
13 is the panacea for the political ills that  
14 plague our State and plague our republic.

15 The problem of pay to play is systemic  
16 and thus requires not only reforming the system  
17 but also electing individuals of courage,  
18 integrity and character.

19 So true campaign finance reform would  
20 be an appropriate and adequate follow-up to our  
21 historic actions today.

22 Thank you.

23 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Hendon.

24 SENATOR HENDON: Thank you,

1 Mr. President.

2 First of all, let me say that Illinois  
3 is still the greatest State in the Union  
4 regardless, but this is a sad day. It's a sad  
5 day for the citizens of Illinois.

6 Any time two congressmen from Illinois,  
7 one Republican and one Democrat, say don't send  
8 some money to their home State, that's a sad  
9 day.

10 If you believe the headlines in the  
11 Chicago Sun-Times when it comes to the alleged  
12 selling of the senate seat that is held by --  
13 once held by our esteemed President was true and  
14 that powerful Democratic leaders in Washington  
15 had a list, a don't-send-me-no-black-person  
16 list, that's sad.

17 But you know, something good should  
18 come out of every tragedy, and we have  
19 opportunity here. We have opportunity here.

20 As Senators have said on that side of  
21 the aisle and this, if nothing comes out of  
22 this, it's worthless, time wasted.

23 I want to thank members of the  
24 Republican Party who did not make this a



1 partisan issue, but some of you let it creep in.  
2 So I'm just going to remind you. You may not  
3 have been here.

4 I know, Senator Duffy, you weren't  
5 here, but in my first year here, first year, the  
6 Governor was not Blagojevich, the Governor was  
7 not Ryan. I was fortunate enough by Leader  
8 Jones to be put on Appropriations Committee with  
9 Donne Trotter and Howard Carroll, and a contract  
10 came up that we had to discuss.

11 The State of Illinois was paying \$14 a  
12 pair for underwear for prisoners. I asked the  
13 question: "Are these silk drawers or what?"  
14 \$14 a pair. Somebody had the contract,  
15 somebody's friend.

16 There also was prescription drugs. One  
17 pill, same pill that we pay for for horses for  
18 40¢, for people, we were paying \$6.

19 Nobody went to jail, nobody got  
20 impeached. They renegotiated the contracts and  
21 cut the price down in half.

22 Now, if you believe for one moment that  
23 the prisoners of the State of Illinois were  
24 getting \$14-a-pair underwear, you're crazy or

1 cuckoo.

2           Now, what good can come out of this not  
3 just for Illinois but for the United States of  
4 America? I'll tell you what can come out of it.  
5 We can have real change, real reform.

6           Senator Duffy, please join me. I want  
7 to have recall. Senator Jones, we didn't kill  
8 recall over here because it wasn't a good idea,  
9 but they were playing games in the House.

10           We asked Representative Franks, "Why  
11 don't you have the mayors in the recall bill?  
12 Let's put the aldermen in the recall bill.  
13 Let's recall everybody."

14           I'm going to put that bill forward, and  
15 let's see what the do-gooders and all the  
16 self-righteous in this Chamber do. It should go  
17 out of here 59 to nothing just like this is  
18 going to be, 59 to nothing. Let's get recall.

19           Campaign finance reform. I'm now for  
20 public financing. In my first election, my  
21 opponent -- I had \$30,000. Senator Jacobs  
22 thought I had some real money. I looked at my  
23 opponent's D-1s and D-2s. He had \$1,800,000 for  
24 a Senate seat. I won anyway because the people

1       were with me.

2                       So now, wouldn't it be great if we  
3 never had to raise another dime and if the rich  
4 couldn't pay for their campaigns and the poor  
5 would have a chance? So let's do that not just  
6 for Illinois but for America.

7                       My good friend used to sit right  
8 there -- he's now President of the United  
9 States -- had to raise \$771 million to become  
10 President of the United States, 771 million.

11                      Altogether, the election that just  
12 passed, -- and I did the research -- over  
13 \$2 billion was spent. So let's take it out.  
14 Let's relieve Barack Obama of that burden where  
15 he has never to raise another dime. And we'll  
16 pay for it with any future tax increase.

17                      Special elections. If a special  
18 election was good enough when it looked like  
19 Blagojevich might put in Danny Davis or Roland  
20 Burris, then a special election is good every  
21 time.

22                      I'm going to put in a bill that says  
23 special election every time for aldermen, for  
24 county commissioners, for congressmen as well as

1 our State Senators. I bet you that don't get  
2 out of here 59 to nothing, but it should.

3 Let's special election every time,  
4 recall every time, public financing of  
5 campaigns. Then we won't have to worry about  
6 pay to play because nobody would have to pay.

7 Think about it. Let's get something  
8 out of this for the people of Illinois and for  
9 the people of America.

10 Finally, I'll close by saying I  
11 congratulate the press. Freedom of the press.  
12 You have re-established your power, and it's a  
13 good thing. Use it wisely.

14 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator  
15 Hutchinson.

16 SENATOR HUTCHINSON: As one of the  
17 newest Members of this Body, thank you,  
18 Mr. President.

19 As one of the newest Members of this  
20 Body, I don't have any personal ties or previous  
21 history with the Governor, but I do have  
22 personal ties to the people in my district, and  
23 they are tired of not being able to trust our  
24 elected officials.

1                   And I need by my actions here in this  
2 Chamber to show my children and the rest of the  
3 families across this State that there is honor  
4 in public service, especially when the person  
5 holding the office is honorable.

6                   I've listened along with my colleagues  
7 to the case presented by the House Prosecutor,  
8 and I left and read more just to make sure that  
9 I understood what was happening, but the silence  
10 that spoke the loudest was the absent voice of  
11 the Governor.

12                   We are not here to convict on criminal  
13 charges. This is not a criminal proceeding;  
14 it's a referendum on a job: Has the Governor  
15 abused his power to the extent that he can no  
16 longer govern; can the Governor effectively  
17 still do his job.

18                   And based on everything I've seen and  
19 read and heard including the absence of a  
20 defense, the one person who could have  
21 challenged every one of these charges was the  
22 Governor himself. The absence of a defense  
23 tells me that the answer to that question is no.  
24 And because of that, he should be removed from

1 office.

2 The price of corruption is just too  
3 high, and I know the people in my district are  
4 simply tired of paying for it over and over  
5 again.

6 Thank you.

7 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Watson.

8 SENATOR WATSON: Well, thank you,  
9 Mr. President. And publicly I want to  
10 congratulate you. My first opportunity to do  
11 that. And I want to congratulate our Minority  
12 Leader.

13 And I want to say that the way you two  
14 have started this session in working together in  
15 cooperation is a good sign for the future.

16 I mean, I was in that chair for six  
17 years, and there wasn't that air of cooperation,  
18 sorry to say.

19 So you have a burden on you,  
20 Mr. President. If we're going to do something  
21 here, we're going to have to cooperate.

22 Maybe it's a little bit of my fault  
23 that I didn't work well or didn't work out with  
24 the former president, and I feel bad for that

1 and maybe wouldn't be here today if things were  
2 different -- if things were done differently.

3 I want to thank the special prosecutor,  
4 House Prosecutor David Ellis and Mike Kasper and  
5 Heather Wier. They did a fabulous job putting  
6 this together.

7 Our staff, Phil Luetkehans, Jo Johnson,  
8 Tim Nuding and Phil Draves and Patty Schuh, they  
9 all worked hard on this over the last three or  
10 four days and it's been very difficult for them,  
11 and they've kind of gone unnoticed.

12 But one thing about this -- and I'm  
13 sorry about this. Pardon me. I never was  
14 emotional. Right? I never had that problem  
15 here. Right?

16 Anyway, you expect me to pop a cork or  
17 throw paper or whatever. This rehabilitation  
18 I'm going through has been difficult, and so  
19 bear with me, but yesterday's testimony by Bill  
20 Holland, the Auditor General, was it.

21 I mean, this didn't just happen  
22 yesterday, as many people have said. Bill  
23 Holland did a fabulous job. His staff over the  
24 years has done a fabulous job and brought this

1 to the attention of all of us of what was going  
2 on.

3 And one thing that I have always said,  
4 we're only as good as the people we have around  
5 us, and Bill Holland has got good people.

6 Where were the good people around  
7 Governor Blagojevich?

8 I heard time and time again of names of  
9 people who were responsible for proceeding with  
10 the direction of this Governor. Who was there  
11 to say, "Whoa, wait a minute, wait a minute, we  
12 shouldn't do this, we shouldn't go there. This  
13 is a violation of State law, federal law,  
14 whatever it might be. We can't do that"?

15 Where were these people? Where was the  
16 backbone of people that ought to have been in  
17 that room to say "No"? I don't know. Were they  
18 there? I don't think so.

19 I've had enough personal relationship  
20 with him to know I don't think it was.

21 Some of those people are still  
22 operating in State government, they're still  
23 there. So if we're going to have anything about  
24 the public trust, if anything we do about public



1 trust, then those people who were responsible  
2 for what's happened over the last six years, you  
3 know, there's the door. And if you're not going  
4 to walk through it, we'll shove you through it.  
5 It's time to leave.

6 And this public corruption, the  
7 distrust has got to end. And there's people  
8 that are still there.

9 And I was disappointed, Mr. President,  
10 when you went from 13 witnesses to eight and  
11 then ultimately to six because I felt like we  
12 were really getting someplace. Let's open the  
13 door. Let's find out. Let's have true  
14 transparency about what was going on.

15 I'll tell you what. I went toe to toe  
16 with this governor, as you all already know. I  
17 was -- as Republican Leader here. And I'm proud  
18 of this caucus over here because we did, and we  
19 let him know what we thought. And I personally  
20 let him know what I thought.

21 He wouldn't look at me when he talked  
22 about the I-SaveRx because he knows how I feel  
23 about it. I'm a pharmacist. You know that. He  
24 wouldn't look at me when he spent the

1 practically the whole speech talking to me,  
2 I felt like.

3 A lot of personal sacrifice. I tell  
4 you, there's people on this floor that have had  
5 personal sacrifice on our side because we went  
6 toe to toe with the Governor. We did.

7 It could have been different. It could  
8 have been different. And you're going to set  
9 the tone, Mr. President. There's a lot of  
10 pressure on you, but I hope you two will  
11 continue to work together because a new  
12 direction can be found here. And the air of  
13 cooperation not only between you two but the  
14 other two over on the other side, I know how  
15 the -- disdain is for the Illinois House.

16 There's no reason for that. We all  
17 ought to be working together, and I think we'd  
18 have a better day. So I'm going to press the  
19 green button to convict. And it isn't something  
20 I relish, but I'm going to do it because it has  
21 to be done.

22 Thank you, Mr. President.

23 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Senator Radogno.

24 SENATOR RADOGNO: Thank you,

1 Mr. President.

2 I would also like to add my  
3 appreciation to Chief Justice Fitzgerald, the  
4 House Prosecutor and his team and all the staff  
5 that helped guide us through these proceedings.

6 You know, it's tough to go next to  
7 last, and I offer that as a word of hope for  
8 everyone that's just listened to 35 speeches,  
9 but I really do want to express my appreciation  
10 to all of my colleagues for your unbelievably  
11 eloquent remarks that all of you have just made.

12 I also want to express my appreciation  
13 for the sake of the people of Illinois for the  
14 decorum with which these proceedings have seen.  
15 I think we can all be proud of how we've  
16 conducted ourselves.

17 You know, this isn't about disagreeing  
18 with the Governor as he would have us believe.  
19 It's not about the ordinary differences between  
20 Republicans and Democrats, to use terminology  
21 the Governor used. We're going to have those  
22 disagreements, and we should have those  
23 disagreements. We represent vastly different  
24 constituencies. And we will continue to have

1 those next week, and hopefully, they'll produce  
2 good public policy for this State.

3 But the witnesses that we've heard, the  
4 Prosecutor and the Members who have spoken  
5 before me have all detailed and re-detailed just  
6 the numerous instances of misdeeds and  
7 malfeasance and the severe damage that it's  
8 caused the State of Illinois by our Governor.

9 I'm glad the Governor came today. I'm  
10 glad he had a chance to have his say, but based  
11 on what I'm hearing, I don't think he was  
12 terribly persuasive.

13 As we ready ourselves to vote, -- and  
14 we're near the end of this -- we'll be voting on  
15 the fate of Governor Rod Blagojevich, but it's  
16 after a House investigation, a Senate trial  
17 that's been fair and open and thorough. And I  
18 believe that the totality of the evidence shows  
19 that Governor Blagojevich has abused his power  
20 repeatedly and over a long period of time. And  
21 I think that we can all vote with a clear  
22 conscience to remove Governor Blagojevich from  
23 office.

24 Thank you.

1                   PRESIDENT CULLERTON:  Senator  
2 Clayborne.

3                   SENATOR CLAYBORNE:  Thank you,  
4 Mr. President and Members of the Senate.

5                   First of all, I want to commend the  
6 President and to say that he's put together an  
7 excellent legal staff that has guided us through  
8 this process as well as he has made sure that  
9 this process has been as smooth as it could be.

10                  And I do want to say on the record that  
11 I believe that the Members on this side chose a  
12 good man, a great man to lead us over the next  
13 two years as President of the Senate.

14                  You know, I -- and as well as to  
15 commend the prosecutors for doing such an  
16 excellent job.

17                  You know, in my previous life, I guess  
18 my first set of real employment, I was a  
19 prosecutor so I know how difficult it is to put  
20 on a case and I know the time that is spent.  
21 And they did an excellent job.

22                  And throughout this week, we have  
23 received many documents and we've heard  
24 testimony, and that's the only thing that we can

1 base whether the Governor abused his power or  
2 whether or not he was involved in some criminal  
3 activities and whether he remains fit to be  
4 Governor.

5           You know, I think about just the  
6 basics, that on Tuesday when we heard the  
7 wiretaps and we heard that the Governor's  
8 brother was on the wiretap and we heard that the  
9 Governor throughout on Monday talked about the  
10 fact that he couldn't call witnesses, Governor,  
11 I ask the question: Why didn't you call your  
12 brother to refute what those tapes said?

13           Why didn't you call your brother to  
14 refute the fact that -- what Special Agent Cain  
15 said that you implied on that wiretap. You  
16 didn't refute it.

17           When I listened to all of the things  
18 that Dave Ellis went and cited about different  
19 conversations and I went through the indictment,  
20 and there are employees under the Governor's  
21 control, Governor, I ask the question: Why  
22 didn't you call them to refute the problems  
23 you -- or associated with the Chicago Tribune  
24 and the sale of the Cubs? Why didn't you refute

1 the issue of not giving something away valuable?  
2 You had those people under your own control, and  
3 you decided not to call them.

4           When I listened to the evidence of  
5 Auditor General, you talk about health care and  
6 you talk about things that are vital to people  
7 in my community, yet, you talk about a case that  
8 you may win.

9           Governor, why didn't you call those  
10 lawyers to come in and refute what the Auditor  
11 General said? Why didn't you call them to let  
12 them testify that you had a basis, a legal  
13 basis, and that the Auditor General was wrong?  
14 Governor, you didn't do that.

15           When I listened to Vicki Thompson {sic}  
16 and she talked about what has happened in JCAR  
17 and the same issues, health care and so forth,  
18 and again, you have a legal basis, you say in  
19 court that you'll probably win. Governor, why  
20 didn't you call those lawyers to testify on your  
21 behalf and refute what was stated? You didn't.

22           And I can only base -- I can only base  
23 my decision that you're unfit on the testimony  
24 that was presented. Maybe when you were

1 traveling around and speaking on the circuit in  
2 New York, you didn't have to be here, but you  
3 could have had a lawyer here. You chose not to  
4 do that. You chose not to put on any evidence  
5 at all.

6           You come here today, and you're not  
7 under oath. Everybody that came into this  
8 Chamber and testified took an oath to tell the  
9 truth, the whole truth and nothing but the  
10 truth. You didn't do that.

11           So I have to call into question the  
12 sincerity and believability of your testimony --  
13 or of your statement, rather, because everybody  
14 else -- even though a lot of us were  
15 disappointed with not getting responses from  
16 Special Agent Cain, he did put himself under  
17 oath. Governor, you did not put yourself under  
18 oath.

19           You know, when I was thinking about  
20 this process over the last couple of weeks --  
21 and we've all received calls from our  
22 constituents. Some have said vote to impeach,  
23 and some have threatened that if we did vote to  
24 impeach, we wouldn't get their vote.



1           And I told both sides, I said that I  
2 was sworn to be fair and impartial. And I came  
3 to this Chamber, drove up to Springfield on  
4 Monday, to be fair and impartial. And we took  
5 an oath on January 14th to be fair and impartial  
6 and do justice according to the law.

7           And based upon the testimony presented  
8 or lack thereof, I believe that, Governor, you  
9 are unfit.

10           I have sons, and I constantly remind  
11 them that you will be held accountable for your  
12 actions or your inactions, and in this case,  
13 Governor, you will be held accountable for your  
14 actions and your lack of actions.

15           Thank you.

16           PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Debate having  
17 been concluded, the Sergeant-at-Arms will ask  
18 the House Prosecutor to return to the Chamber,  
19 and the Chief Justice will resume the chair.

20           Mr. Chief Justice.

21           CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: The  
22 impeachment tribunal will come to order in  
23 preparation for the vote of the Senate on the  
24 Article of Impeachment against Governor Rod R.

1 Blagojevich.

2           Impeachment Rule 24 allows two  
3 questions to be voted upon. The first to  
4 sustain the Article of Impeachment and remove  
5 the Governor requires a two-thirds vote of those  
6 elected to the Senate. If the Article is not  
7 sustained, then Impeachment Rule 24 requires me  
8 to pronounce a judgment of acquittal.

9           If two-thirds of those elected to the  
10 Senate sustain the Article of Impeachment, then  
11 Impeachment Rule 24 requires me pronounce  
12 judgment of conviction against Rod R.  
13 Blagojevich together with his removal from  
14 office as Governor.

15           Second, if a judgment of conviction is  
16 entered, then it will be in order upon the  
17 motion of any Senator to determine whether  
18 Rod R. Blagojevich shall be disqualified from  
19 holding any future public office of this State.

20           If two-thirds of those elected to the  
21 Senate do not vote in favor of disqualification,  
22 Impeachment Rule 24 requires me to state that  
23 the question is lost.

24           If two-thirds of those elected to the

1 Senate vote in favor of disqualification, then  
2 Impeachment Rule 24 requires me to pronounce  
3 judgment of disqualification.

4 We will now proceed to vote on the  
5 first question. And you may be seated.

6 When the Secretary calls your name in  
7 alphabetical order, Senators should rise, wait  
8 for your microphone to be turned on and then  
9 answer the question which I will now pose by  
10 stating your answer "yes" or "no" aloud and by  
11 voting the corresponding electronic switch. You  
12 may then be seated. Pursuant to Senate rules,  
13 you may not explain your vote.

14 I charge you with your oath to do  
15 justice according to law in answering this  
16 question: Shall the Senate sustain the Article  
17 of Impeachment against Governor Rod R.  
18 Blagojevich and remove him from the Office of  
19 Governor?

20 Madam Secretary, please call the names  
21 of each Senator and record their responses.

22 MADAM SECRETARY: Althoff.

23 SENATOR ALTHOFF: Yes.

24 MADAM SECRETARY: Bivins.

1 SENATOR BIVINS: Yes.  
2 MADAM SECRETARY: Bomke.  
3 SENATOR BOMKE: Yes.  
4 MADAM SECRETARY: Bond.  
5 SENATOR BOND: Yes.  
6 MADAM SECRETARY: Brady.  
7 SENATOR BRADY: Yes.  
8 MADAM SECRETARY: Burzynski.  
9 SENATOR BURZYNSKI: Yes.  
10 MADAM SECRETARY: Clayborne.  
11 SENATOR CLAYBORNE: Yes.  
12 MADAM SECRETARY: Collins.  
13 SENATOR COLLINS: Yes.  
14 MADAM SECRETARY: Cronin.  
15 SENATOR CRONIN: Yes.  
16 MADAM SECRETARY: Crotty.  
17 SENATOR CROTTY: Yes.  
18 MADAM SECRETARY: Dahl.  
19 SENATOR DAHL: Yes.  
20 MADAM SECRETARY: DeLeo.  
21 SENATOR DELEO: Yes.  
22 MADAM SECRETARY: Delgado.  
23 SENATOR DELGADO: Yes.  
24 MADAM SECRETARY: Demuzio.

1 SENATOR DEMUZIO: Yes.  
2 MADAM SECRETARY: Dillard.  
3 SENATOR DILLARD: Yes.  
4 MADAM SECRETARY: Duffy.  
5 SENATOR DUFFY: Yes.  
6 MADAM SECRETARY: Forby.  
7 SENATOR FORBY: Yes.  
8 MADAM SECRETARY: Frerichs.  
9 SENATOR FRERICHS: Yes.  
10 MADAM SECRETARY: Garrett.  
11 SENATOR GARRETT: Yes.  
12 MADAM SECRETARY: Haine.  
13 SENATOR HAINE: Yes.  
14 MADAM SECRETARY: Harmon.  
15 SENATOR HARMON: Yes.  
16 MADAM SECRETARY: Hendon.  
17 SENATOR HENDON: Yes.  
18 MADAM SECRETARY: Holmes.  
19 SENATOR HOLMES: Yes.  
20 MADAM SECRETARY: Hultgren.  
21 SENATOR HULTGREN: Yes.  
22 MADAM SECRETARY: Hunter.  
23 SENATOR HUNTER: Yes.  
24 MADAM SECRETARY: Hutchinson.

1 SENATOR HUTCHINSON: Yes.  
2 MADAM SECRETARY: Jacobs.  
3 SENATOR JACOBS: Yes.  
4 MADAM SECRETARY: Emil Jones.  
5 SENATOR EMIL JONES: Yes.  
6 MADAM SECRETARY: John Jones.  
7 SENATOR JOHN JONES: Yes.  
8 MADAM SECRETARY: Koehler.  
9 SENATOR KOEHLER: Yes.  
10 MADAM SECRETARY: Kotowski.  
11 SENATOR KOTOWSKI: Yes.  
12 MADAM SECRETARY: Lauzen.  
13 SENATOR LAUZEN: Yes.  
14 MADAM SECRETARY: Lightford.  
15 SENATOR LIGHTFORD: Yes.  
16 MADAM SECRETARY: Link.  
17 SENATOR LINK: Yes.  
18 MADAM SECRETARY: Luechtefeld.  
19 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: Yes.  
20 MADAM SECRETARY: Maloney.  
21 SENATOR MALONEY: Yes.  
22 MADAM SECRETARY: Martinez.  
23 SENATOR MARTINEZ: Yes.  
24 MADAM SECRETARY: Meeks.

1 SENATOR MEEKS: Yes.  
2 MADAM SECRETARY: Millner.  
3 SENATOR MILLNER: Yes.  
4 MADAM SECRETARY: Munoz.  
5 SENATOR MUNOZ: Yes.  
6 MADAM SECRETARY: Noland.  
7 SENATOR NOLAND: Yes.  
8 MADAM SECRETARY: Pankau.  
9 SENATOR PANKAU: Yes.  
10 MADAM SECRETARY: I apologize.  
11 Murphy.  
12 SENATOR MURPHY: Yes.  
13 MADAM SECRETARY: Radogno.  
14 SENATOR RADOGNO: Yes.  
15 MADAM SECRETARY: Raoul.  
16 SENATOR RAOUL: Yes.  
17 MADAM SECRETARY: Righter.  
18 SENATOR RIGHTER: Yes.  
19 MADAM SECRETARY: Risinger.  
20 SENATOR RISINGER: Yes.  
21 MADAM SECRETARY: Rutherford.  
22 SENATOR RUTHERFORD: Yes.  
23 MADAM SECRETARY: Sandoval.  
24 SENATOR SANDOVAL: Yes.

1 MADAM SECRETARY: Schoenberg.  
2 SENATOR SCHOENBERG: Yes.  
3 MADAM SECRETARY: Silverstein.  
4 SENATOR SILVERSTEIN: Yes.  
5 MADAM SECRETARY: Steans.  
6 SENATOR STEANS: Yes.  
7 MADAM SECRETARY: Sullivan.  
8 SENATOR SULLIVAN: Yes.  
9 MADAM SECRETARY: Syverson.  
10 SENATOR SYVERSON: Yes.  
11 MADAM SECRETARY: Trotter.  
12 SENATOR TROTTER: Yes.  
13 MADAM SECRETARY: Viverito.  
14 SENATOR VIVERITO: Yes.  
15 MADAM SECRETARY: Watson.  
16 SENATOR WATSON: Yes.  
17 MADAM SECRETARY: Wilhelmi.  
18 SENATOR WILHELMI: Yes.  
19 MADAM SECRETARY: And Mr. President.  
20 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Yes.  
21 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Madam  
22 Secretary, please take the record.  
23 (Whereupon, a discussion was  
24 had off the record.)



1 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Madam  
2 Secretary, for the record, we are going to re-do  
3 the roll call.

4 I charge you with your oath to do  
5 justice according to law in answering this  
6 question: Shall the Senate sustain the Article  
7 of Impeachment against Governor Rod R.  
8 Blagojevich and remove him from the Office of  
9 Governor?

10 Madam Secretary, the voting is open.

11 Have all voted who wish? Have all  
12 voted who wish? Have all voted who wish?

13 Madam Secretary, take the record.

14 In answering the question "Shall the  
15 Senate sustain the Article of Impeachment  
16 against Governor Rod R. Blagojevich and remove  
17 him from Office of the Governor," there are 59  
18 Senators voting yes and zero Senators voting no.

19 The Article of Impeachment having been  
20 sustained by the required constitutional  
21 majority, I now pronounce the judgment of  
22 conviction against Rod R. Blagojevich, thereby  
23 removing him from the Office of Governor  
24 effective immediately.

1           Is there a motion to disqualify the  
2 Governor from holding future office of this  
3 State?

4           Senator Frerichs.

5           SENATOR FRERICHS: Now having been  
6 convicted of impeachment, I move that Rod R.  
7 Blagojevich be disqualified from holding any  
8 future public office of this State.

9           CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Is there a  
10 second to the motion?

11          Senator Radogno.

12          SENATOR RADOGNO: I second the motion.

13          CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: The motion  
14 is in order.

15          Is there leave to vote on whether  
16 Rod R. Blagojevich should be disqualified from  
17 holding any future public office of this State?

18          VOICES: Leave.

19          CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Leave is  
20 granted.

21          As previously stated, Impeachment  
22 Rule 24 requires a two-thirds vote of those  
23 elected to the Senate on the question of  
24 disqualification.

1           When the Secretary calls your name in  
2   alphabetical order, Senators should rise, wait  
3   for your microphone to be turned on and then  
4   answer the question which I will now pose by  
5   stating your answer "yes" or "no" aloud and by  
6   voting the corresponding electronic switch. You  
7   may then be seated. Pursuant to Senate rules,  
8   you may not explain your vote.

9           I charge you with your oath to do  
10   justice according to law in answering this  
11   question: Shall Rod R. Blagojevich be  
12   disqualified from holding any future public  
13   office of this State?

14           Madam Secretary, please call the names  
15   of each Senator and record their responses.

16           MADAM SECRETARY: Althoff.

17           SENATOR ALTHOFF: Yes.

18           MADAM SECRETARY: Bivins.

19           SENATOR BIVINS: Yes.

20           MADAM SECRETARY: Bomke.

21           SENATOR BOMKE: Yes.

22           MADAM SECRETARY: Bond.

23           SENATOR BOND: Yes.

24           MADAM SECRETARY: Brady.

1 SENATOR BRADY: Yes.  
2 MADAM SECRETARY: Burzynski.  
3 SENATOR BURZYNSKI: Yes.  
4 MADAM SECRETARY: Clayborne.  
5 SENATOR CLAYBORNE: Yes.  
6 MADAM SECRETARY: Collins.  
7 SENATOR COLLINS: Yes.  
8 MADAM SECRETARY: Cronin.  
9 SENATOR CRONIN: Yes.  
10 MADAM SECRETARY: Crotty.  
11 SENATOR CROTTY: Yes.  
12 MADAM SECRETARY: Dahl.  
13 SENATOR DAHL: Yes.  
14 MADAM SECRETARY: DeLeo.  
15 SENATOR DELEO: Yes.  
16 MADAM SECRETARY: Delgado.  
17 SENATOR DELGADO: Yes.  
18 MADAM SECRETARY: Demuzio.  
19 SENATOR DEMUZIO: Yes.  
20 MADAM SECRETARY: Dillard.  
21 SENATOR DILLARD: Yes.  
22 MADAM SECRETARY: Duffy.  
23 SENATOR DUFFY: Yes.  
24 MADAM SECRETARY: Forby.

1 SENATOR FORBY: Yes.  
2 MADAM SECRETARY: Frerichs.  
3 SENATOR FRERICHS: Yes.  
4 MADAM SECRETARY: Garrett.  
5 SENATOR GARRETT: Yes.  
6 MADAM SECRETARY: Haine.  
7 SENATOR HAINE: Yes.  
8 MADAM SECRETARY: Harmon.  
9 SENATOR HARMON: Yes.  
10 MADAM SECRETARY: Hendon.  
11 SENATOR HENDON: Yes.  
12 MADAM SECRETARY: Holmes.  
13 SENATOR HOLMES: Yes.  
14 MADAM SECRETARY: Hultgren.  
15 SENATOR HULTGREN: Yes.  
16 MADAM SECRETARY: Hunter.  
17 SENATOR HUNTER: Yes.  
18 MADAM SECRETARY: Hutchinson.  
19 SENATOR HUTCHINSON: Yes.  
20 MADAM SECRETARY: Jacobs.  
21 SENATOR JACOBS: Yes.  
22 MADAM SECRETARY: Emil Jones.  
23 SENATOR EMIL JONES: Yes.  
24 MADAM SECRETARY: John Jones.

1 SENATOR JOHN JONES: Yes.  
2 MADAM SECRETARY: Koehler.  
3 SENATOR KOEHLER: Yes.  
4 MADAM SECRETARY: Kotowski.  
5 SENATOR KOTOWSKI: Yes.  
6 MADAM SECRETARY: Lauzen.  
7 SENATOR LAUZEN: Yes.  
8 MADAM SECRETARY: Lightford.  
9 SENATOR LIGHTFORD: Yes.  
10 MADAM SECRETARY: Link.  
11 SENATOR LINK: Yes.  
12 MADAM SECRETARY: Luechtefeld.  
13 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: Yes.  
14 MADAM SECRETARY: Maloney.  
15 SENATOR MALONEY: Yes.  
16 MADAM SECRETARY: Martinez.  
17 SENATOR MARTINEZ: Yes.  
18 MADAM SECRETARY: Meeks.  
19 SENATOR MEEKS: Absolutely.  
20 MADAM SECRETARY: Millner.  
21 SENATOR MILLNER: Yes.  
22 MADAM SECRETARY: Munoz.  
23 SENATOR MUNOZ: Yes.  
24 MADAM SECRETARY: Murphy.

1                   SENATOR MURPHY:   Yes.  
2                   MADAM SECRETARY:  Noland.  
3                   SENATOR NOLAND:   Yes.  
4                   MADAM SECRETARY:  Pankau.  
5                   SENATOR PANKAU:   Yes.  
6                   MADAM SECRETARY:  Radogno.  
7                   SENATOR RADOGNO:  Yes.  
8                   MADAM SECRETARY:  Raoul.  
9                   SENATOR RAOUL:    Yes.  
10                  MADAM SECRETARY:  Righter.  
11                  SENATOR RIGHTER:  Yes.  
12                  MADAM SECRETARY:  Risinger.  
13                  SENATOR RISINGER: Yes.  
14                  MADAM SECRETARY:  Rutherford.  
15                  SENATOR RUTHERFORD: Yes.  
16                  MADAM SECRETARY:  Sandoval.  
17                  SENATOR SANDOVAL: Yes.  
18                  MADAM SECRETARY:  Schoenberg.  
19                  SENATOR SCHOENBERG: Yes.  
20                  MADAM SECRETARY:  Silverstein.  
21                  SENATOR SILVERSTEIN: Yes.  
22                  MADAM SECRETARY:  Steans.  
23                  SENATOR STEANS:   Yes.  
24                  MADAM SECRETARY:  Sullivan.

1                   SENATOR SULLIVAN:  Yes.

2                   MADAM SECRETARY:  Syverson.

3                   SENATOR SYVERSON:  Yes.

4                   MADAM SECRETARY:  Trotter.

5                   SENATOR TROTTER:  Yes.

6                   MADAM SECRETARY:  Viverito.

7                   SENATOR VIVERITO:  Yes.

8                   MADAM SECRETARY:  Watson.

9                   SENATOR WATSON:  Yes.

10                  MADAM SECRETARY:  Wilhelmi.

11                  SENATOR WILHELMI:  Yes.

12                  MADAM SECRETARY:  And Mr. President.

13                  PRESIDENT CULLERTON:  Yes.

14                  CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD:  Madam

15                  Secretary, please take the record.

16                  In answering the question "Shall Rod R.

17                  Blagojevich be disqualified from holding any

18                  future public office of this State," there are

19                  59 Senators voting yes and zero Senators voting

20                  no.

21                  A constitutional majority having

22                  voted in favor of the question, I now pronounce

23                  judgment of disqualification against Rod R.

24                  Blagojevich, thereby disqualifying him from



1 holding any future public office of this State  
2 effective immediately.

3 In the matter of the impeachment of  
4 Rod R. Blagojevich, the Senate of the  
5 Ninety-Sixth General Assembly of the State of  
6 Illinois Sitting As An Impeachment Tribunal has  
7 sustained the Article of Impeachment, therefore,  
8 Rod R. Blagojevich is removed from the Office of  
9 Governor of the State of Illinois effective  
10 immediately, and further, he is disqualified  
11 from holding any future public office of this  
12 State.

13 I hereby sign an order reflecting the  
14 judgment of the Senate and direct the Secretary  
15 of the Senate or her designee to file the order  
16 with the Secretary of State and to inform the  
17 House.

18 When I first met with you last Monday,  
19 I reminded you that this was a solemn and  
20 serious business. You have treated it in just  
21 that manner. I'm proud of you for the work that  
22 you have done, the attention you have exhibited  
23 and the questions you have asked.

24 I have learned a great deal about the

1 legislative process. It will be a help to me in  
2 my day job.

3 Well, my closing remarks are perfect.

4 Your kindness, both from the Senators  
5 and the staff, have been most appreciated.  
6 Thank you all.

7 Senator Cullerton.

8 You may be seated, please.

9 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Mr. Chief  
10 Justice, I would move for the adoption of Senate  
11 Resolution Number 37.

12 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Madam  
13 Secretary, resolutions.

14 MADAM SECRETARY: Senate Resolution 37  
15 offered by Senators Cullerton, Radogno and all  
16 Senators.

17 Whereas, Article IV, Section 14 of the  
18 Illinois Constitution provides that when the  
19 Governor of the State of Illinois is tried on  
20 impeachment, the Chief Justice of the Illinois  
21 Supreme Court shall preside over the Senate; and  
22 whereas, pursuant to the Senate impeachment  
23 rules, on January 14th, 2009, the Senate  
24 notified Thomas R. Fitzgerald, Chief Justice of

1 the Illinois Supreme Court, of the time and  
2 place fixed for consideration of the Article of  
3 Impeachment against Rod R. Blagojevich, Governor  
4 of the State of Illinois, and requested the  
5 Chief Justice to attend; and whereas, in the  
6 intervening days since January 14th, 2009, Chief  
7 Justice Fitzgerald has presided over the Senate  
8 when sitting as an impeachment tribunal for the  
9 purpose of trying the Article of Impeachment for  
10 long hours, over many days; and whereas, Chief  
11 Justice Fitzgerald in presiding over the Senate  
12 has exhibited extraordinary qualities of  
13 fairness, patience, equanimity and wisdom; and  
14 whereas, by his manner of presiding over the  
15 Senate, Chief Justice Fitzgerald has contributed  
16 greatly to the Senate's decorum and has ensured  
17 that the impeachment trial proceedings were in  
18 all respects consistent with the Senate's  
19 impeachment rules and fair, impartial and  
20 dignified to both the House Prosecutor and  
21 Governor; and whereas, the Senate and the State  
22 of Illinois are indebted to Chief Justice  
23 Fitzgerald for his distinguished and valued  
24 service in fulfilling his constitutional duty to

1     preside over the Senate in the trial of the  
2     Article of Impeachment.

3             Therefore, be it resolved by the Senate  
4     of the Ninety-Sixth General Assembly of the  
5     State of Illinois that the Senate expresses its  
6     profound gratitude to Thomas R. Fitzgerald,  
7     Chief Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, for  
8     his distinguished service -- service in  
9     presiding over the Senate while sitting as an  
10    impeachment tribunal for the purpose of trying  
11    the Article of Impeachment against Rod R.  
12    Blagojevich, Governor of the State of Illinois.

13            And be it further resolved that a  
14    suitable copy of this resolution be presented to  
15    the Chief Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court  
16    as a symbol of our appreciation for his  
17    distinguished service to the People of Illinois.

18            CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD:  Senator  
19    Cullerton moves to suspend the rules for the  
20    purpose of the immediate consideration and  
21    adoption of Senate Resolution 37.

22            Those in favor will say "aye" and  
23    opposed "nay."

24            The "ayes" appear to have it.

1                   Senator Cullerton moves for the  
2 adoption of Senate Resolution Number 37.

3                   All in favor say "aye," opposed "nay."

4                   The ayes have it, and the resolution is  
5 adopted.

6                   Senator Cullerton.

7                   PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Mr. Chief  
8 Justice, that resolution we just adopted has  
9 been framed and signed by all the Senators, and  
10 I will present that to you shortly.

11                   Right now, I'd move that when the  
12 Senate arises from sitting as an impeachment  
13 tribunal the regular session of the Senate be  
14 granted leave to approve the final journals of  
15 the impeachment tribunal where such journals  
16 have not prior to adjournment sine die been  
17 approved by the impeachment tribunal.

18                   CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Senator  
19 Cullerton moves that the regular session of the  
20 Senate be given leave to approve the final  
21 journals of the impeachment tribunal where such  
22 journals have not prior to adjournment sine die  
23 been approved by the impeachment tribunal.

24                   Is there leave?

1 VOICES: Leave.

2 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: Leave is  
3 granted.

4 Senator Cullerton.

5 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: Mr. Chief  
6 Justice, I move that the Senate arise from  
7 sitting as an impeachment tribunal.

8 CHIEF JUSTICE FITZGERALD: All  
9 impeachment matters have been concluded.

10 When the Senate arises from sitting as  
11 an impeachment tribunal, it will adjourn sine  
12 die as an impeachment tribunal.

13 Senator Cullerton moves that the Senate  
14 arise from sitting as an impeachment tribunal.

15 All those in favor will say "aye,"  
16 those opposed "nay." The ayes have it and the  
17 motion carries.

18 The Senate has arisen from sitting as  
19 an impeachment tribunal, and the impeachment  
20 tribunal is adjourned sine die.

21 PRESIDENT CULLERTON: The regular  
22 session of the Ninety-Sixth General Assembly  
23 will please come to order.

24 The following Senators are appointed to

1 the committee to escort the Chief Justice of the  
2 Supreme Court from the Chamber: Senators  
3 Silverstein, Garrett, Koehler, Lauzen, Dillard  
4 and Cronin.

5 Will the Committee of Escort please  
6 report to the front of the Chamber to escort the  
7 Chief Justice from the Chamber?

8 I have some announcements. I think  
9 you'll like this.

10 I'm announcing that we are cancelling  
11 session for Friday, Saturday, Monday and  
12 Tuesday. Tomorrow, Friday, January 30th, will  
13 be a perfunctory day where people can introduce  
14 first readings. And on Wednesday, February 4th,  
15 at 4:00, we will come back into session.

16 There being no further business to come  
17 before this Senate, Senator Jacobs moves that  
18 the Senate stand adjourned until the hour of  
19 4:00 on Wednesday, February 4th, 2009.

20 The Senate stands adjourned.

21 (Whereupon, which were all the  
22 proceedings had in this cause  
23 on this date.)

24

1 STATE OF ILLINOIS )  
2 ) SS:  
3 COUNTY OF C O O K )  
4

5 Gina M. Luordo and Brenda S. Tannehill  
6 being first duly sworn, on oath say that they  
7 are court reporters doing business in the City  
8 of Chicago; and that they reported in shorthand  
9 the proceedings of said hearing, and that the  
10 foregoing is a true and correct transcript of  
11 their shorthand notes so taken as aforesaid, and  
12 contains the proceedings given  
13 at said hearing.

14  
15

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GINA M. LUORDO, CSR, RPR, CRR

17  
18

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BRENDA S. TANNEHILL, CSR, RPR, CRR

19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24



