

the fundamental principles and values of our constitutional democracy.

The "We the People * * * The Citizen and the Constitution" program is the most extensive educational program in the country developed specifically to educate young people about the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The three-day national competition is modeled after hearings in the United States Congress. These hearings consist of oral presentation by high school students before a panel of adult judges. The students testify as constitutional experts before a "congressional committee," that is, the panel of judges representing various regions of the country and a variety of appropriate professional fields. The student testimony is followed by a period of questioning during which the judges probe students for their depth of understanding and ability to apply their constitutional knowledge.

Administered by the Center for Civic Education, the "We the People * * * The Citizen and the Constitution" program has provided curricular materials at upper elementary, middle, and high school levels for more than 26.5 million students nationwide. Members of Congress and their staff enhance the program by discussing current constitutional issues with students and teachers and by participating in other educational activities.

The student team from Milford High School is currently conducting research and preparing for the upcoming national competition in Washington, D.C. As a former history teacher, I recognize the importance and value of this unique educational experience. I wish the students and their teacher, Mr. David Alcox, the best of luck at the "We the People * * * The Citizen and the Constitution" national finals. I look forward to greeting them when they visit Capitol Hill, and I am honored to represent them in the United States Senate.●

ST. PAUL'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF LANSING 150TH ANNIVERSARY

● Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Lansing, Michigan, and its members who are currently celebrating its 150th Anniversary. The congregation can be proud of the founding members' faith and devotion which brought about the organization of this church in 1849.

Members of St. Paul's Church met in Michigan's Capitol building for a decade until the continued growth of the congregation required that a separate building be constructed. Further growth necessitated the completion of a newer church in 1873, and again in 1914. As our country begins to rediscover the importance of family and personal values, the building of faith by St. Paul's Episcopal Church is of great significance to us all.

I extend my warmest regards and best wishes to all of the members of St.

Paul's congregation as they celebrate this great achievement.●

SUPPORT OF MOTION TO DISMISS ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT

● Mr. DODD. Mr. President, last week the Senate, sitting as a court of impeachment, voted on Senator BYRD's motion to dismiss the articles of impeachment brought by the Managers from the House of Representatives. I voted in support of this motion, and would like to briefly state my position on this important question.

While the motion failed, it received the support of forty-four senators—eleven more votes than needed to acquit the President of the charges made by the Articles. Therefore, this vote demonstrates to a near certainty that there are insufficient votes to support the Managers' position that the President should be convicted.

This result comes as a surprise to no one—including most if not all of those who support the President's removal. These Articles should never have been presented to the Senate. The President's actions were undoubtedly reprehensible. They deserve condemnation and may warrant prosecution after he leaves office. But they do not warrant removal—a sanction unprecedented in our nation's history, and one that the Framers of our Constitution envisioned would be used in only the rarest of circumstances to protect the country.

The case presented by the Managers is fatally deficient in three respects:

First, the facts presented, even if viewed in the light most favorable to the Managers' case, do not allege conduct that meets the high standard laid out by the framers for the impeachment, conviction, and removal from office of a president.

Second, the articles as drafted are vague and contain multiple allegations—denying the President the fairness and due process that is the right of every American citizen, and depriving senators of the clarity that is essential to discharging their responsibility as triers of fact.

Third, the Managers have failed to present facts that meet their heavy burden of proving the allegations contained in the Articles.

Let me address these points in turn.

The conduct alleged by the Managers to be worthy of conviction arises out of a private, civil lawsuit and a private, consensual, yet improper relationship between the President and Ms. Monica Lewinsky. It is the President's conduct in that lawsuit and in that relationship that are the basis of the charges at issue here. No charges arise from his official conduct as President.

(It is worth noting that, with regard to the Jones matter, the Supreme Court itself considered the conduct alleged therein to be private. The Court ruled that, while the President may delay or avoid until leaving office lawsuits based on his official conduct, he may claim no such immunity in an ac-

tion based on private conduct unrelated to official duties.)

The Managers claim that what is at issue is not the President's private actions but his actions in connection with efforts to prevent his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky from becoming known to his family and others. These actions, the Managers argue—including his testimony in the grand jury and his statements to staff and others—are official in nature. However, these actions clearly arise out of the President's efforts to keep secret a personal relationship which he admitted to be wrong. Under no reasonable analysis can they be understood to relate to the President's official duties.

It follows, then, that the President's actions certainly do not rise to the level of "treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors" set forth by the Framers as the standard for removing a president from office. As Alexander Hamilton explained, impeachment is to be reserved as "a remedy for great injuries done to the society itself". The impeachment process is intended to protect the nation from official wrongdoing, not punish a president for personal misconduct.

It is not in my view reasonable to conclude that the President's actions—while by his own admission wrong and offensive—pose a danger to the institutions of our society. The President's past behavior did not—and his continuation in office does not—pose a threat to the stability of those institutions.

Indeed, I submit that convicting and removing the President based on these actions, not the actions themselves, would have a destabilizing effect on our institutions of government. Were this scenario to come to pass, then henceforth any president would have to worry that he or she could be removed on a partisan basis for essentially personal conduct. That standard would weaken the presidency. In the words of Madison, it would in effect make the president's term equivalent to "a tenure during pleasure of the Senate", and upset the careful system of checks and balances established by the Framers to govern relations between the legislative and executive branches.

The Articles also deserve to be dismissed because of the fatally flawed manner in which they are drafted. Those flaws are of two separate kinds.

First, the Articles fail to allege wrongdoing with the kind of specificity required to allow the President—or indeed, any person—to defend himself, and to allow the Senate to fully understand and judge the charges made against him. White House counsel described the articles as an "empty vessel", a "moving target" where neither the President nor the Senate knows with precision what has been alleged. Senators were presented with videotaped testimony of former federal prosecutors who stated that standard prosecutorial practice requires that allegations of perjury and obstruction