

(3) Attorney General, A.H. Garland, 1886—On March 24, 1886, the Senate passed a resolution of "condemnation" of the Attorney General for refusing to turn over government papers regarding the removal of a District Attorney from Office.

(4) Ambassador Thomas Bayard, 1896—On March 20, 1896 the House of Representatives considered a resolution condemning and censuring Ambassador Bayard for diplomatic improprieties. He was charged with making partisan remarks to British audiences.

CENSUR OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Congress has also used censure to condemn the conduct of its own members. Nine senators and 22 members of the House have been censured.

Indeed, many members of this body personally know former senators who have been censured. To those who argue that censure is "a wet noodle across the wrist," I would respectfully request that they ask their colleagues how these former senators felt about being censured. I am confident, because I have had some of these conversations myself, that they would find that censure was felt deeply, and was a very significant stain upon their reputations and legacy.

CENSURE HISTORY CONCLUSION

In sum, censure is a powerful tool used very sparingly by Congress to condemn unacceptable conduct. Congress has initiated censure proceedings in policy disputes, but it has also criticized executive branch officials in the case of President Buchanan, Navy Secretary Welles, and President Nixon for personal misconduct.

So to those who argue that passing this censure would establish a precedent for the future where presidents and cabinet officials could be censured, I hope this discussion has made it clear: that precedent has already been set.

BIPARTISAN CENSURE PROMOTES HEALING

In this bipartisan censure, we provided the Senate with a real opportunity to achieve a strong, unifying, bipartisan conclusion to this whole tawdry, exhausting and divisive controversy.

The House's actions were marred with partisanship. Indeed, one example of this was the action of the House leadership to prevent a censure resolution from even being considered on the House floor.

The Senate started its proceedings on a high note, when we came together to agree unanimously, across party lines, upon procedures for the trial. Passing our censure resolution by a strong, bipartisan vote would represent an appropriate "bookend" to this bipartisan beginning, and would stand this Senate well in the annals of history.

Moreover, it would put the proper historical perspective upon the Senate's actions and determinations, which should not be read as a vindication of the President.

I believe that passing this censure on a bipartisan basis would bring a real

closure to the process, and would help to heal the divisions between the parties which were created during these proceedings, so that we can move on to work together to address the real problems confronting the American people, like saving social security, improving education, and continuing the fight to reduce crime.

It is time that we move on to these other matters of significance to our people, to reconcile differences between and within the branches of government, and to work together—across party lines—for the benefit of the American people.

I ask unanimous consent that a list of cosponsors and the text of the resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

COSPONSORS

Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Moinihan, Mr. Chafee, Mr. Kohl, Mr. Jeffords, Mr. Lieberman, Mr. Smith of Oregon, Mr. Daschle, Ms. Snowe, Mr. Reid, Mr. Gorton, Mr. Bryan, Mr. McConnell, Mr. Cleland, Mr. Domenici, Mr. Torricelli, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Wyden, Mrs. Lincoln, Mr. Kerry, Mr. Kerrey, Mr. Schumer, Mr. Durbin, Mrs. Murray, Mr. Wellstone, Mr. Breaux, Ms. Mikulski, Mr. Dorgan, Mr. Baucus, Mr. Reed, Ms. Landrieu, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Levin, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Robb, Mr. Inouye, and Mr. Akaka.

RESOLUTION OF CENSURE

Whereas William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States, engaged in an inappropriate relationship with a subordinate employee in the White House, which was shameful, reckless and indefensible;

Whereas William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States, deliberately misled and deceived the American people, and people in all branches of the United States government;

Whereas William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States, gave false or misleading testimony and his actions have had the effect of impeding discovery of evidence in judicial proceedings;

Whereas William Jefferson Clinton's conduct in this matter is unacceptable for a President of the United States, does demean the Office of the President as well as the President himself, and creates disrespect for the laws of the land;

Whereas President Clinton fully deserves censure for engaging in such behavior;

Whereas future generations of Americans must know that such behavior is not only unacceptable but also bears grave consequences, including loss of integrity, trust and respect;

Whereas William Jefferson Clinton remains subject to criminal actions in a court of law like any other citizen;

Whereas William Jefferson Clinton's conduct in this matter has brought shame and dishonor to himself and to the Office of the President; and

Whereas William Jefferson Clinton through his conduct in this matter has violated the trust of the American people: Now therefore, be it

Resolved, That the United States Senate does hereby censure William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States, and does condemn his wrongful conduct in the strongest terms; and now be it

Further resolved, That the United States Senate recognizes the historic gravity of this bipartisan resolution, and trusts and urges

that future congresses will recognize the importance of allowing this bipartisan statement of censure and condemnation to remain intact for all time; and be it

Further resolved, That the Senate now move on to other matters of significance to our people, to reconcile differences between and within the branches of government, and to work together—across party lines—for the benefit of the American people.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, we are prepared to conclude the session. I simply await the instructions from the majority leader to do such items as may remain.

I suggest the absence of a quorum. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR STAR PRINT—S. 5

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill S. 5 be star printed with the changes that are at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 94-304, as amended by Public Law 99-7, appoints the Senator from Colorado (Mr. CAMPBELL) as Co-Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to the order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, appoints the Senator from Ohio (Mr. VOINOVICH) to read Washington's Farewell Address on Monday, February 22, 1999.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the President pro tempore, pursuant to Public Law 96-388, as amended by Public Law 97-84, appoints the following Senators to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council: The Senator from California (Mrs. BOXER), and the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. LAUTENBERG).

The Chair, on behalf of the President pro tempore, pursuant to Public Law 99-498, appoints Donald R. Vickers, of Vermont, to the Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance for term ending September 30, 2001.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair announces, on behalf of the Majority Leader, pursuant to Public Law